

soon after another door was opened by special Providence. For when one hand was shut by way of supply from England, another was opened by way of traffic, first to the West Indies and Wine Islands, whereby, among other goods, much cotton wool was brought into the country from the Indies; which the inhabitants learning to spin, and breeding of sheep, and by sowing of hemp and flax, they soon found out a way to supply themselves with many necessaries of linen and woollen cloth.

Thanks be to the Almighty the country was not driven to those straits to lay hold of the skirts of the next comer, for want of meat and clothing; for being so well furnished with the one, they soon found out a way, by the abundance thereof, to supply themselves with the other, which hath been the general way of the subsistence of the country ever since; and is like, by the blessing of Heaven, to continue, so long as the original grant of divine bounty continues, (which is the grand ||tenure|| whereby mankind do hold, in capite, of the supreme Head and Governor of the world) of multiplying the fish of the sea, and beasts on the earth, or fowl in the air, and the growing of the grass and fruits of the earth, for the food of man and beast, that their granaries may be full, their oxen strong to labor, and other creatures bring forth thousands in their streets.

### CHAP. XXXIII.

*Various occurrences in the Massachusetts, from the year 1636 to 1641.*

News of the scarceness<sup>1</sup> of provision in New England being carried over the sea, in the end of the year ||<sup>1</sup>1635,|| many ships laden therewith, were, by the special favor of God, early there the next year; most of them that came in the spring making their way over in five weeks time; though some, that could not be ready to set out till the middle of the summer, made it five and twenty before they reached their port; with whom were em-

|| tenor ||

|| <sup>1</sup>1634 ||

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<sup>1</sup> See Sav. Win. i. 159, 161, 169, 182, 184-5, 388.—H.

barked Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, afterwards called to be pastor of the church at Ipswich, and Mr. Partridge, afterwards called to Duxbury, in Plymouth Colony. They were driven to half a pint of water a man, and much scanted in all other provision; yet through the goodness of God came all ashore in good health, in or about the month of November, 1636.<sup>1</sup>

One of the first ships that arrived here that year was the *Charity*, of Dartmouth,<sup>2</sup> laden with provision, at that time very scarce. She brought comfort in her very name, and was by special Providence preserved in the mouth of the Bay, between Alerton's point and Nantaskit, having struck ground twice upon the ebb, in a strong north-west wind, but was got off very strangely, and her provision very charitably distributed to poor people, that then were in great distress, at a moderate price.

Mr. Henry Vane being chosen Governor that year, (the son and heir of Sir Henry Vane, one of the Privy Council,) all the ships in the harbor congratulated his election with a volley of shot. The next week he invited all the commanders to a treat, fifteen in all; after that was ended, he propounded three things, which they all gladly accepted. 1. That, after this year, all ships bound in hither, should come to an anchor below the Castle, (which is built on a small island a league below the town) unless they should signify before hand, by sending their boat ashore, that they were friends. 2. That, before they offered any goods to sale, they should deliver an invoice, and give the Governor liberty for twenty-four hours for refusal. 3. That their men might not stay ashore (except upon necessary business) after sun set.<sup>3</sup> It had been well that, as the captains of fifteen great ships had condescended to ||those|| propositions, all others had been bound to observe them; but it is easier to propound good orders, than to see them, or cause them, to be performed.

A just occasion of making such proposals was the arrival (a little before that time) of the *St. Patrick*, belonging to Sir Thomas Wentworth,<sup>4</sup> then Deputy of Ireland, whereof one Palmer was master. The Lieutenant of the

<sup>1</sup> Nov. 17th. Sav. Win. i. 205.—H.

<sup>2</sup> April 12th. Ibid. 185.—H.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 187.—H.

<sup>4</sup> Afterwards Earl of Strafford.—H.

Castle<sup>1</sup> made the master strike his flag, although the colors were not then aboard, which he complained of to the magistrates as an injury. Upon hearing the case, they condemned the Lieutenant for doing that which he had no commission to do; and therefore tendered the master such satisfaction as he desired, which was only this; that the Lieutenant should, aboard his ship, make acknowledgment of his error, that so all the ship's company might receive satisfaction; lest the Lord Deputy should *also*<sup>2</sup> have been informed that they offered that discourtesy to his ship, which they never offered to any before.

One Miller, master's mate of the Hector, (a stately ship which lay then in the harbor,) had told some of the people, aboard their ship, that they were all traitors and rebels in New England, because they had not the King's colors at the Castle. The Governor acquainted Mr. Farne,<sup>3</sup> the master, with it, who promised to deliver him to them. Whereupon they sent the Marshal for him, with four serjeants; but the master not being aboard at that time, they would not deliver him; whereupon the master himself went and brought him to the Court, and the words being proved against him by two witnesses, he was committed. The next day the master, to pacify his men, (who were in a great tumult,) requested he might be delivered to him, and did undertake to bring him before them again the next day, which was granted him, and he brought him accordingly at the time appointed. Then, in the presence of all the rest of the masters, he acknowledged his offence, and set his hand to a submission, and was discharged. Then the Governor desired the masters that they would deal freely, and tell them if they took any offence, and what they required of them. They answered, that in regard they should be examined upon their return what colors they saw there, they did desire that the King's colors might be spread at their fort. It was answered that they had not the King's colors; thereupon two of them did freely offer to give them one. The Governor replied, that whatsoever they thought or [were] persuaded of the cross in the ensign,

<sup>1</sup> The Lieutenant was, probably, Richard Morris. See Clap's Memoirs, p. 31; Sav. Win. ii. 344, 345.—H.

<sup>2</sup> Conjectural.—H.

<sup>3</sup> Ferne. Sav. Win. i. 187.—H.

as idolatrous in the rise or occasion of it, (and therefore might not set it in their own ensign,) yet because the fort was the King's, and maintained in his name, they thought it might be spread there. So the Governor accepted the colors of Captain Palmer, and promised they should be set up at the Castle, which accordingly was done.<sup>1</sup>

In the year 1638 the Plantations were begun at Salisbury, and at Winniconet, afterwards Hampton. This latter gave some occasion of difference between the Massachusetts and some of Pascataqua, which was this.

Mr. Wheelwright, after he was sent out of the Massachusetts,<sup>2</sup> gathered a company and sat down at the falls of Pascataqua, and called their town Exeter; and for their enlargement they dealt with an Indian there, and bought of him Winniconet, and then signified to the Massachusetts what they had done, and that they intended to lay out all those lands in farms, except they could show a better title. They wrote also to those who had begun to plant there, to desist, &c. Those letters coming to the General Court, [they returned answer<sup>3</sup>] that they looked at this dealing [as<sup>3</sup>] against good neighborhood, religion, and common honesty, that, knowing they claimed Winniconet within their Patent, or as *vacuum domicilium*, and had taken possession thereof by building an house there, about two years since, they should now go about by purchase to procure an unknown title, and then come and inquire of their right that had been possessed thereof before. It was in the same letter also manifestly demonstrated, that the Indians having only a natural right to so much land as they had or could improve, the rest of the country lay open to them that should occupy the same, as by the said letter did more at large appear.

Those of Exeter replied<sup>4</sup> to the answer of the Massachusetts, being resolved still to maintain the Indian right, and their interest thereby. But in the mean time the Massachusetts had sent men to discover Merrimack, and found some part of it about Pennacooke to lie more northerly than forty-three and a half degrees; and so returned answer to them, that though they would not

<sup>1</sup> See further Sav. Win. i. 188-9, ii. 344.—H.      <sup>2</sup> See page 280.—H.

<sup>3</sup> Supplied from Sav. Win. i. 290.—H.      <sup>4</sup> In May, 1639. Ibid. 303.—H.

relinquish their interest by priority of possession for any right they could have from the Indians, yet, seeing they had professed not to claim anything [which] should fall within the limits of the Massachusetts Patent, it was expected they should look no further than that, in respect of their claim.

On the 4th of September, 1639,<sup>1</sup> divers gentlemen, being joined in a military company, in and about Boston, desired to be made a corporation. But the Council considering (from the example of the Prætorian Bands among the Romans, and the Templars in Europe,) how dangerous it might be, to erect a standing authority of military men, which might easily in time overtop the civil power, thought fit to stop it betimes; yet they were allowed to be a company, but subordinate to the authority of the country.

Thus were the chief rulers of the country not only ready to espy, but timely prevent, any inconveniency that might in after time arise. Yet were they not able to prevent jealousies and animosities, occasioned thereby, from stirring in men's minds, which did more eminently appear by the transactions of the year 1638, 1639. Some of the deputies at the Court of Election, 1639, were much blamed by the freemen for yielding to a late order made in the General Court in the former year, for reducing of the towns to two deputies; which many accounted an abridgment of their liberty, seeing they were wont to send three before. Therefore many of the deputies at the next sessions of the Court propounded to have the same number restored; but, after much debate, such reasons were given for the diminishing the number of the deputies, which were now not a little increased by the addition of many new Plantations, that divers of the deputies, who came with intent to reverse the last order, were by force of reason brought to uphold it; so that when it was put to the vote, the last order, for two deputies, was confirmed. Nor could the petition from Roxbury, strengthened with the hands of some of the elders, prevail to an alteration.

Another matter of jealousy, stirring at the Court, was

<sup>1</sup> A mistake; it was Feb. 1637-8. Sav. Win. i. 253.—H.

about the Standing Council, which had been established by serious advice of the elders, and had been in practice two or three years, without any inconvenience; but now several of the deputies had a pique at it, and tendered an order at the next session of the Court, that no person chosen a counsellor, should have any authority as a magistrate, except he were in the annual election chosen thereunto. But the magistrates wisely chose rather to answer the difficulty, by explanation of the former fundamental order, than by drawing up any new one; viz. to declare that the intent of the said order was, that the Standing Council always should be chosen out of the magistrates; therefore that no such counsellor shall have any power as a magistrate, nor act as a magistrate, etc., except he be annually chosen, &c., according to the Patent; and this order was after passed by vote, and put a stop to any further agitation about that matter.

That which led those of the Council to yield to this desire of the deputies, was because it concerned themselves; and they did more study to remove those jealousies out of the people's heads, than to preserve any power or dignity to themselves above others.

One great occasion also of those jealousies was a secret envy in some spirits against Mr. Winthrop, because he was so often chosen Governor, (though no oftener than his worth deserved, and the condition of the Colony needed,) a place which he did never ambitiously seek, yea, did at this time unfeignedly desire to be forborne, if it might have been, that he might have had leisure to attend his family concerns, wherein he suffered much in those days, as is well known, both by the unskillfulness and unfaithfulness of him whom he trusted to manage his farm and estate. And at that time the straits of the whole country were such, that every Plantation and family had enough to do, to know how to subsist, till the providence of God put them into another way of livelihood than formerly they had been acquainted with.

About this time<sup>1</sup> it was that divers of the inhabitants of Lynn, finding themselves straitened, looked out for a new Plantation; and going to Long Island, they agreed

<sup>1</sup> In June, 1640.—H.

with the Lord Starling's agent there, (one Mr. ¶Fohead¶<sup>1</sup>) for a parcel of the Isle near the west end, and agreed with the Indians for their right. The Dutch hearing of this, and laying claim to that part of the Island, by a former purchase from the Indians, sent men to take possession of the place, and set up the arms of the Prince of Orange upon a tree. The Lynn men sent ten or twelve men with provisions, &c., who began to build, and took down the Prince's arms, and in the place thereof an Indian had drawn an unhandsome face. The Dutch took this in high displeasure, and sent soldiers, who fetched away the Lynn men, and imprisoned them a few days, not discharging them without taking an oath. Upon this the Lynn men, (finding themselves too weak, and having no encouragement to expect aid from the English,) deserted that place, and took another at the east end of the Island; and, being now about forty families, they proceeded in their Plantation, and called one Mr. Peirson,<sup>2</sup> a man of good learning, and eminent piety, a member of Boston church, to go with them; who, with seven or eight more of the company, gathered into a church body at Lynn before they went, and the whole company entered into a civil combination, with the advice of some of the magistrates of the Bay, to become a corporation. Upon this occasion the Dutch Governor, one ¶Kysse¶<sup>3</sup> (a discreet man,) wrote to the Governor at Boston, of the English usurpations, both at Connecticut, and now also at Long Island, and of the abuse offered to the Prince's arms, &c., and thereupon excused his imprisoning their men. To which the Governor of the Massachusetts returned answer, that their desire had been always to hold a peace and good correspondency with all their neighbors; and though they would not maintain any of their countrymen in any unjust action, yet they might not suffer them to be injured, &c. As for their neighbors of Connecticut, he knew they were not now under their government as formerly; and for those of Long Island, they went voluntarily from

¶ Fohead ¶

¶ Kieff ¶

<sup>1</sup> "James Forrett, Gentleman." Sav. Win. ii. 4-5.—H.<sup>2</sup> Rev. Abraham Pierson. Ibid. 6.—H.<sup>3</sup> William Kieft.—H.

them : with which, it is supposed, he rested satisfied, so as the Plantation at that place, (called South-Hampton,) went on comfortably, without any let or molestation from them afterwards.

In this present year, 1640, there came over great store of provisions, both out of England and Ireland, and but few passengers, and those brought very little money; which was occasioned by the store of money and quick markets the merchants found there, the two or three years before. So as now all their money being drained away, cattle and all commodities grew exceeding cheap; which enforced them, the next General Court,<sup>1</sup> to make an order, that corn should pass in payment of new debts; Indian at 4s. per bushel, rye at 5s., wheat at 6s.; and that, upon all executions for former debts, the creditor might take what goods he pleased, (or if he had no goods, then his lands,) to be appraised by three men, one chosen by the creditor, one by the debtor, and the third by the Marshal. On such occasion were particular orders made in the General Court; but lasted no longer than the present exigent continued. For the people, having long desired a body of laws, and thought their condition very unsafe while so much power rested in the discretion of the magistrates, prevailed at the last to have the matter committed to two divines,<sup>2</sup> each of whom formed a model; which were presented to the General Court, 1639, and by them committed to the Governor and Deputy, with some others, to be considered of; and which, after longer deliberation and preparation, were confirmed by the authority of the next General Court, 1641. This matter had been long before under debate, (yet it may be not long enough,) and referred to some of the magistrates, and some of the ministers, but still it came to no effect; for being committed to the care of many, whatsoever was done by some (as is usual in such cases) was still disliked by others; till at the last, falling into two hands, it was soon after put to an issue in the said year. A model of Moses's Judicials, compiled in an exact method, had been presented to the General Court

<sup>1</sup> In October.—H.

<sup>2</sup> John Cotton and Nathaniel Ward. See Sav. Win. i. 322, ii. 55.—H.



in October, 1636.<sup>1</sup> But other emergent difficulties then falling in, the business was not revived till the end of this lustre, and not completely finished till the beginning of the next.<sup>2</sup>

As for the College,<sup>3</sup> which was erected in the year 1638, it was matter of great encouragement to those who had laid out their estates, and hazarded their lives, to make a settled Plantation here, to see one of the Schools of the Prophets set up; that from thence they might be supplied with persons fit to manage the affairs both of church and state, at such a time when a supply was like to fail elsewhere. But herein they were very unhappy, that the first man who was called to preside there so much failed the expectation of those that reposed so much confidence in him; viz. Mr. Nathaniel Eaton, who proved a mere Orbilius, and fitter to have been an officer in the inquisition, or master of an house of correction, than an instructor of Christian youth. It was said that he had been initiated among the Jesuits, though he was sent over into Holland for the sake of Doctor Ames; but, having that opportunity, he might easily acquaint himself with the other, and from thence receive those principles of avarice, pride, and cruelty, which here he began to practise. But being so notorious in the discovery thereof, he was convented before the Court, in September, 1639, where he was put out of his place, fined an hundred marks, and adjudged to give £30 to Mr. Briscoe, (whom he had taken into his family to assist him in the nature of an usher,) for his cruel and unmerciful beating of him with a cudgel, causing two men to hold him the mean time. After this he fled out of the country, and could by no means be reduced to an acknowledgment of his error.<sup>4</sup> After his departure, one Mr. Henry Dunster was called to the place, under whom that which was before but, at the best, *Schola Illustris*, grew to the stature or perfection of a College, and flourished in the profession of all liberal sciences for many years after.

This and the former lustre were the golden age of

<sup>1</sup> By John Cotton. Sav. Win. i. 202.—H. <sup>2</sup> See Hutchinson, i. 384—403.—H.

<sup>3</sup> See pages 237, 372.—H. <sup>4</sup> See Sav. Win. i. 308-13, ii. 22, 342.—H.

New England, when vice was crushed, as well by the civil, as sacred sword; especially oppression, and extortion in prices and wages, which is injustice done to the public. There was some exemplary punishment adjudged to some offenders in this kind, in the year 1639, for selling above 33 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; but since that time the common practice of the country hath made double that advance no sin; an evil which, though every one feels the burthen of, yet none know how to ease themselves thereof. A remarkable instance was that year given in one ||E. P.||<sup>1</sup> who, for asking an excessive price for a pair of stocks which he was hired to frame, had the honor to sit an hour in them first himself, to warn others not to offend in the like kind.

#### CHAP. XXXIV.

*John Oldham murdered by the Indians of Block Island; how discovered, and the war that followed thereupon with them, and the Pequods, their abettors.*

CAPTAIN STONE was killed by the Pequods in the year 1634, which they excused with false pretence, earnestly soliciting the Massachusetts to make a peace with them.<sup>a</sup> But in the year 1636 John Oldham's death was so manifest, that it could neither be concealed nor excused: the discovery whereof being remarkable, was as followeth. One J. Gallop, with one man more, and two boys, coming from Connecticut, and intending to put in at Long Island, as he came from thence, being at the mouth of the harbor, was forced, by a sudden change of the wind to bear up for Block Island, or Fisher's Island, where, as they were sailing along, they met with a pinnace, which they found to be John Oldham's, who had been sent to trade with the Pequods, (to make trial of the reality of their pretended friendship, after the murder of Captain Stone.) They hailed the vessel, but had no answer, although they saw the deck full of Indians, (fourteen in all,) and a little before that had seen a canoe go from the vessel full of Indians likewise, and goods.

|| F. P. ||

<sup>1</sup> Edward Palmer. Sav. Win. ii. 71.—H.

<sup>a</sup> See page 176.—H.