

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.||¹ 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.^a 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. ||

¹ Edward Palmer. Sav. Win. ii. 71.—H.

^a See page 176.—H.

(Whereupon they suspected they had killed John Oldham, who had only two boys and two Narrhaganset Indians in his vessel besides himself, and the rather, because they let slip and set up sail, (being two miles from shore, the wind and tide coming off the shore of the island, whereby they drave toward the main land of Narrhaganset.) Therefore they went ahead of them, and having nothing but two pieces and two pistols, they bore up near the Indians, who stood on the deck of the vessel, ready armed with guns, swords, and pikes. But John Gallop, a man of stout courage, let fly among them, and so galled them, that they got all down under hatches; and then they stood off again, and returning with a good gale, they stemmed her upon the quarter, and almost overset her; which so affrightened the Indians, ||as|| six of them leaped overboard and were drowned. Yet they durst not board her, but stood off again, and fitted their anchor, so as, stemming her the second time, they bored her bow through with their anchor, and sticking fast to her, they made divers shot through the sides of her, and so raked her fore and aft, (being but inch board,) as they must needs kill or hurt some of the Indians; but seeing none of them come forth, they got loose from her, and then stood off again; then four or five more of the Indians leaped into the sea, and were likewise drowned. Whereupon, there being but four left in her, they boarded her; whereupon an Indian came up and yielded; him they bound, and put into the hold. Then another yielded; him they also bound. But J. Gallop, being well acquainted with their skill to unloose one another, if they lay near together, and having no place to keep them asunder, he flung him bound into the sea; then, looking about, they found John Oldham under an old sail, stark naked, having his head cleft to the brains, his hands and legs cut as if they had been cutting them off, yet warm;) so they put him into the sea; but could not well tell how to come at the other two Indians, (who were in a little room underneath with their swords.) So they took the goods which were left, and the sails, and towed the boat away; but night coming on, and the wind rising, they were forced to turn her off, and the wind carried

her to the Narrhaganset shore, where they left her ; *but what became of those two, hid in the vessel, is not said.*

On the 26th of said July the two Indians which were with John Oldham, and one other Indian, came from Canonicus, (the chief sachem of the Narrhagansets,) with a letter from Mr. Williams, to signify what had befallen John Oldham, and how grievously they were offended ; and that Miantonimo, (the second sachem of the Narrhagansets,) was gone with seventeen canoes and two hundred men to take revenge. But upon examination of the other Indian, who was brought prisoner to them, they found that all the sachems of the Narrhagansets, except Canonicus and Miantonimo, were contrivers of John Oldham's death ; and the occasion was, because he went to make peace and trade with the Pequods last year. The prisoner said also that Oldham's two Indians were acquainted with it ; but, because they were sent as messengers from Canonicus, they would not imprison them. But the Governor wrote back to Mr. Williams, to let the Narrhagansets know, they expected they should send home J. Oldham's two boys, and take revenge upon the islanders ; and withal gave Mr. Williams caution to look to himself, if there should be occasion to make war with the Narrhagansets, (for Block Island was under them.) And the next day he wrote to Canonicus, by one of those Indians, that he had suspicion of him that was sent, and yet he had sent him back, because he was a messenger ; but did expect, if he should send for the said two Indians, he should send them to him.

Four days after J. Oldham's two boys were sent home by one of Miantonimo's men, with a letter from Mr. Williams, that Miantonimo had caused the sachem of Niantick to send to Block Island for them, and that he had near one hundred fathom of Peag, and much other goods of Oldham's, which should be reserved for them : and three of the seven, that were drowned, were sachems, and that one of the two, which were hired by the Niantick sachem, was dead also. So they wrote back to have the rest of those which were ||accessary||¹ to be sent, and the

|| necessary ||

¹ This word is dubious ; I have given it as it should be.—g.

rest of the goods ; and that he should tell Canonicus and Miantonimo that they held them innocent, but the six other sachems were guilty.

Lieutenant Gibbons and Mr. Higginson¹ were sent soon after,² with ||Cutshammakin,|| * the sachem of the Massachusetts, to Canonicus, to treat with him about the murder of J. Oldham. They returned³ with acceptance and good success of their business ; observing in the sachem much state, great command of his men, and marvellous wisdom in his answers and in the carriage of the whole treaty, clearing himself and his neighbors of the murder, and offering revenge of it, yet upon very safe and wary conditions.

The Governor and Council having soon after assembled the rest of the magistrates, and the ministers, to advise with them about doing justice for Oldham's death, they all agreed that it should be done with all expedition : and accordingly, on the 25th of August following, eighty or ninety men were sent out under the command of Mr. Endicot,⁴ as is declared in the narrative of the war with the Pequods.

The Narrhagansets told them afterwards, that there were thirteen Pequods killed in the expedition, and forty wounded, and but one of the Block Islanders slain.

Miantonimo soon after⁵ sent a messenger to them, with a letter from Mr. Williams, to signify that they had taken one of the Indians, who had broken prison, and had him safe for them, when they should send for him, (as they had before sent to him for that end,) and that the other had stolen away, (not knowing, it seems, that he was their prisoner,) and that, according to their promise, they would not entertain any of that island, which should come to them : but they conceived it was rather in love to him whom they concealed, for he had been his servant formerly. But when they sent for those two Indians, one was sent them, but the other was said to be dead before the messenger came. But the Pequods harbored

* *Cushamaquin*, Hutch. *Kitchmakin*, Blake. *Cutshamoquin*, Eliot.—Ed.

|| *Cushammakin* ||

¹ Edward Gibbons and Rev. John Higginson.—H.

² Aug. 8th.—H.

³ Aug. 13th.—H. ⁴ See Sav. Win. i. 192, 194-5.—H.

⁵ Aug. 26th.—H.

those of Block Island, and therefore justly brought the revenge of the English upon them.

Amongst those soldiers, that were sent under Captain Endicot, were twenty that belonged to Saybrook Fort, and were appointed to stay there, to defend the place against the Pequods. After the said Captain and the rest were departed, those twenty lay windbound in the Pequod harbor; and in the meanwhile went all of them ashore, with sacks, to fetch some of the Pequods' corn. And having fetched each man one sack full to their boat, they returned for more, and having loaded themselves, the Indians set upon them. So they laid down their corn and gave fire upon the Indians, and the Indians shot their arrows against them. The place was open about the distance of a musket shot. The Indians kept the covert, save when they came forth, ten at a time, and discharged their arrows. The English put themselves in a single file, and some ten only, that had pieces that could reach them, shot; the others stood ready to keep them from breaking in. So they continued most part of the afternoon. The English, as they supposed, killed divers of them, and hurt others, and the Indians wounded but one of the English, who was armed, all the rest being without. For they shot their arrows compass wise, so as they could easily see and avoid them standing single; and one always gathered up their arrows. At the last, the Indians being weary of the sport, gave the English leave to retire to their boat. This was in October, 1636.

About two days after, five men of Saybrook went up the river about four miles, to fetch hay out of a meadow on the Pequod side. The grass was so high as some Pequods, hiding themselves in it, set upon the English before they were aware, and took one that had hay on his back. The rest fled to their boat: one of them had five arrows in him, yet recovered. He that was taken was a goodly young man, whose name was Butterfield, whereupon the meadow was ever after called Butterfield's Meadow.

*"Icarus Icaris nomina dedit aquis."*¹

About fourteen days after, six of the soldiers were sent out of the fort to keep an house, which they had set

¹ Ovid, Eleg. Lib. 1. 1, 90.—H.

up in a corn field, about two miles from the Fort. Three of them went forth a fowling, which the Lieutenant¹ had strictly forbidden them; two had pieces, and the third only a sword; when suddenly about an hundred Indians came out of the covert, and set upon them. He who had the sword brake through, and received only two shot, and those not dangerous, and so escaped to the house, which was not $\frac{1}{2}$ above a bow-shot off, and persuaded the other two to follow him; but they staid still, till the Indians came and took them, and carried them away with their pieces. Soon after they beat² down the said house and out houses, and haystacks, and within a bow-shot of the fort killed a cow, and shot divers others, which came home with arrows sticking in them.

Soon after this,³ Miantonimo, sachem of the Narrhagansets, came to Boston, (being sent for by the Governor,) with two of Canonicus's sons, and another sachem, and near twenty of their men, whom they call sannaps. The Governor having notice by Cushamakin, the Massachusetts Governor,⁴ sent twenty musketeers to Roxbury to meet them. They came to Boston about noon, where the Governor had called together all the magistrates and ministers to give countenance to their proceedings, and to advise about the terms of peace. After dinner Miantonimo declared what he had to say to them, in several propositions, which were to this effect: That they had always loved the English, and now desired a firm peace with them, and that they would continue war with the Pequods and their confederates, till they were subdued, and desired the English would do so too; promising to deliver their enemies to them, or kill them, and two months after to send them a present. The Governor told them they should have an answer the next morning, which was done, upon Articles subscribed by him; and they also subscribed with him, wherein a firm peace was concluded: but because they could not make them well understand the Articles, they told them they would send a copy of them to Mr. Williams, who could best interpret the same to them. So, after dinner,

¹ Lyon Gardiner. See page 179; Trumbull, i. 76.—H.

² Should be, *burnt*. Sav. Win. i. 198.—H.

³ Oct. 21st.—H.

⁴ The word should probably be *Sachem*.—H.

they took leave, and were conveyed out of town by some musketeers, and dismissed with a volley of shot.

The Articles here follow.

1. A firm peace betwixt them and their friends on either part, (if they consent,) and their confederates, (if they will observe the Articles,) and their posterity.

2. Neither party¹ to make peace with the Pequods without the other's consent.

3. Not to harbor any of the Pequods.

4. To put to death or deliver up any of the murderers of the English.

5. To return fugitive servants.

6. The English to give them notice when they go out against the Pequods, and the other to send them guides.

7. Free trade to be between them.

8. None of them to come near the English Plantations, during the war with the Pequods, without some Englishman or known Indian.

9. To continue to the posterity of both parties.¹

These Articles were indifferently well observed by the Narrhagansets, till the Pequods, their mortal enemies, were totally subdued; but then they began to grow insolent and treacherous, especially this Miantonimo himself, as will appear in the sequel.

Cushamakin also, the sachem of the Massachusetts, subscribed those Articles with the English.

The issue of the Pequod War is related in a discourse by itself, which may be annexed to this history, and therefore is here passed over, only with this intimation, that they were wholly rooted out of their country, or made to shelter themselves under the neighboring sachems. About seven hundred of them [were] thought to be destroyed; and Sassachus, their chief sachem, flying with twenty of his men, that escaped at the last fight, to the Mohawks, were all killed by them, and Sassachus's scalp sent down to the English.

On the 12th of July, 1637, one Aganemo,² a sachem of the Niantick Indians, (who were a branch of the Narrha-

¹ Part and parts in the MS.—H.

² Ayanemo, says Winthrop.—H.

gansets,) came to Boston with seventeen of his men. He made divers propositions to the English, which they took into consideration, and promised to give him an answer the next day. But finding that he had received¹ divers of the Pequods, submitting to him since the last defeat, they first demand the delivery of them, which he sticking at, they refused further conference with him; but the next morning he came and offered what they desired. So the Governor referred him to the captains at the Pequod Country, and wrote instructions to them how to deal with him. So, receiving his ten fathom of Wampam, they friendly dismissed him.

In July, 1638, Uncus, the sachem of the Mohegins, having entertained some of the Pequods, came to the Governor, at Boston, with a present, and was much dejected because that it was not at first accepted. But afterward, the Governor and Council being satisfied about his innocency, they accepted it; whereupon he promised to submit to the order of the English, both touching the Pequods he had received, and as concerning the differences betwixt the Narrhagansets and himself, and confirmed all with his compliment: "This heart," said he, (laying his hand upon his heart,) "is not mine, but yours; command me any difficult service, and I will do it; I have no men, but they are all yours; I will never believe any Indian against the English any more." And so he continued forever after, as may be seen in the following transactions between the Indians and the English: whereupon he was dismissed with some small reward, and went home very joyful, carrying a letter of protection, for himself and his men, through the English Plantations.

CHAP. XXXV.

The state of affairs in the Massachusetts, Anno 1636, while Mr. Vane was Governor.

WITH how much applause soever Mr. Vane was advanced to the Governor's place, and, at the first, managed the same, yet, in the latter end of the year, perceiving

¹ Rescued in the MS.—H.