

all their drudgery and laborious work to their women, that it is rare to find any of them that care to be held to any constant employment or bodily labor a whole day together. As for our religion, some, yet a few of them, have seemed seriously to embrace it; but until they be reduced to more civility some judicious persons have conceived no great harvest is to be expected of real converts, which, for the future, must be left to the observation of them that come after, there being little progress made that way for the present, notwithstanding that many endeavors have been made in that kind; of which more afterwards.

CHAP. VII.

Of the several nations of the Indians found in New England upon the first discovery thereof; with a touch upon their laws, government, and successions.

THE northern parts of America were never observed, by any of the first discoverers, to be alike populous with the southern, the land there being less fruitful, and the winters more tedious and severe, so as such multitudes could not herd together as was found about Mexico and Peru, where little care need be taken either for meat or clothing, and not only the soil, being far more rich, but the season, being always summer in those parts, and affording more crops in a year than one, greater numbers might more easily be maintained together. But for those parts that lie more northward, they were, when the English first discovered them, never observed to be any thing so populous, nor were any great numbers ever known to be reduced under any one general head, their government being rather patriarchal than monarchical; that is, some family is commonly found ||to be predominate|| above others, of which the eldest heir hath the sole and absolute government and rule over the rest, whom they use to call sagamore or sachem. The Indians of every noted place, so combined, make a kind of a petty lordship, and are commonly united ||*in|| one chief person, who hath the rule over all those lesser fraternities or companies. In the places

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more eastward they called the chief rulers that commanded the rest, bashabeas, as in the more westward plantations they called them sagamores and sachems; and that government they have is likewise rather arbitrary and customary, than limited by any laws or constitution known before hand: so as they depend upon the absolute will of their chieftains. As for succession, it is rather collateral than direct. When the English first settled any plantations along the coast since called New England, there were several nations of these Indians that were in some kind of confederacy one with another, against some other of their potent neighbors, that were at enmity, and commonly they agreed to be at peace with those that spake the same language. Those that were seated more eastward about Pemmaquid and Kennebecke were called Tarratines, betwixt whom and those that lived about Pascatoqua, Merrimack, and Agawam, now called Ipswich, had arisen some deadly feud, upon the account of some treachery used by those western Indians against the others; so as every year they were afraid of being surprised by them, which made them upon every occasion to hide themselves among the English, after they were settled in any of those places.

Every noted place of fishing or hunting was usually a distinct seigniory, and thither all their friends and allies of the neighboring provinces used to resort in time of year to attend those seasons, partly for recreation, and partly to make provision for the year. Such places as they chose for their abode, were usually at the falls of great rivers, or near the sea side, where was any convenience of catching such fish as every summer and winter used to come upon the coast, at which times they used, like good fellows, to make all common; and then those who had entertained their neighbors by the sea side, expected the like kindness from them again, up higher in the country: and they were wont to have their great dances for mirth at those general meetings. With such kind of intercourses were their affairs and commerce carried on, between those that lived up in the country, and those that were seated on the sea coast, about

the havens and channels that issued into the sea ; where there used to be at all times, clams, muscles, and oysters, and in the summer season lobsters, bass, or mullet, and sturgeon, of which they used to take great plenty, and dry them in the smoke, and keep them the rest of the year. Up higher, at the falls of great rivers, they used to take salmon, shad, [and] alewives, that use in great quantities, more than cart loads, in the spring to pass up into the fresh water ponds and lakes, therein to spawn, of all which they, with their wares, used to take great store for their use. In all such places there was wont to be great resort. In time of year for their denomination, they use to be divided, as the clans in Scotland, by the head of the tribes, and called after their names. Every son of such a chief person used, if he could, to get a company to him, of which he also made himself the sagamore.

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At every of these places there used to be, if commodious, about an hundred or two hundred inhabitants, who had a sagamore over them, whom they acknowledged as their chief ; and commonly in every province where the tribe was greater, there was some greater sagamore, to whom the rest owed more reverence than to the lesser, whom they called sachem. So as things of common concernment were acted by common consent and agreement, and in such cases they used to be mutually engaged to assist each other in time of danger.

Betwixt Kenebecke and Connecticut were observed to be about twenty societies, or companies, of these savages, when the English first came upon this coast, to which all the rest may be reduced, all of them together not being capable to make a nation. As, first, at Kenibeecke itself, where was a great number of them when it was first discovered, who were only known to those of the Massachusetts by the name of Tarratines, or Eastern men.

2. Casco bay, at the head of which, or near by about Shipscot* river, was the seat of [the] Amorascoggan Indians, still standing out in hostility against the English, in

* Pegipscot, margin.—Ed.

the year 1677, after all the rest were either subdued or fled away, if they have not lately concluded a peace with our agents. 3. Saco a more noted river than many others, which always was wont to entertain a sagamore, with a considerable number of Indians. 4. Pascataqua, which being a navigable river, and into which many lesser channels used to empty themselves, was a fit seat for many tribes of them. 5. Merrimack, where were several receptacles of them, some twenty and thirty, some forty or fifty, miles from the mouth of it, as Wameset, Pentucket, Patucket, Amoskeag, Pennicooke, etc. 6. The river of Newberry, at the falls of which was a noted plantation of them, by reason of the plenty of fish, that almost at all seasons of the year used to be found there, both in winter and summer. 7. At Agawam, called now Ipswich, was another noted and desirable place, for plenty of several sorts of fish found there in time of year, both at the harbor's mouth shell fish of all sorts, and other kinds higher up the stream, and to which belonged those of Newbery falls that lies in the midway, betwixt Merrimack and Agawam. 8. Naumkeag, now called Salem, ||as|| much frequented by the savages in former times, together with Marblehead and Lin, near adjoining, which Lin had a distinct sagamore of their own, surviving till of late, called George, and the Indians' name of the place was Saugust. 9. The Massachusetts, at or near the mouth of Charles river, where used to be the general rendezvous of all the Indians, both on the south and north side of the country, §about§ that which by the English is called Charles river,* ||²at|| the bottom of ||³the|| great bay that runs in between Cape Cod and Cape Ann, and was the seat of a great sachem or sagamore, much revered by all the plantations of the Indians; near by to which were Narponset, Punkapog, Wessagusquasset, and so up Charles river, where were several plantations of the natives seated. At Misticke was the seat of another sagamore, near adjoining which is a great creek, that meets with the mouth of Charles river, and so makes the haven of Boston. 10. Pokanacket or Sowams, the seat of the Wompanoogs, of

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whom Woosamequen or Massasoit was the chief sachem, Anno 1620, whose son was the author of the rebellion of the Indians, 1675; which fire, kindled first there, did soon run over all the country. 11. Those called Nipnetts, seated amongst some lesser rivers and great lakes up higher, within the continent, which some have said were a kind of tributaries to Massasoit. 12. The Narragansetts, a great people upon the sea coast more towards the mouth of [the] Connecticut, consisting of several lesser principalities, yet all united under one general ruler, called the Chief Sachem, to whom all the others owed some kind of subjection. It is said that before they were destroyed by their late quarrelling with the English, they had about two thousand fighting men, of all which now there are few or none left, but a hundred or two, belonging to Ninigret, who, though he secretly bore the English no more good will than the rest, yet being an old man, and cunning, and remembering how his neighbors, the Pequods, were ruined by their power, durst never engage against them, but always professed and maintained friendship to the last, in outward appearance. 13. The Pequods, seated on a brave river beyond the Narragansetts, a more fierce and warlike people than any of their neighbors, and therefore made them all stand in awe, though fewer in number than the Narragansetts, that bordered next upon them. 14. The Mohigins, whose seat is between the country of the Pequods and the river of Connecticut, upon some higher branches of that called Pequod river. 15. The River Indians, such who had seated themselves in several commodious plantations up higher upon Connecticut river. 16. The Cape Indians, upon Cape Cod and some other islands near adjoining, as at Martin's Vineyard, where civility and Christianity hath taken a deeper root than in any other plantation of the Indians. 17. The Moheganders about Hudson's river. 18. The Cynikers,* upon the same river, more westward. 19. The Moquawes, commonly called the Mohawkes, whose seat is amongst the rivers and ponds, about seventy miles

* Seneca.—Ed.

northwest from fort Albany. These have lately renewed, or continued, a league tripartite with the Governor of New York and the rest of the English, both offensive and defensive. What is like to be the benefit and issue thereof future time may declare. 20. The Indians on Long Island, and on the main opposite thereunto, along the sea coast from Connecticut to Hudson's river, of whom they that live about the mouth of || that || great river, and on the island near adjoining, were always accounted more barbarous, treacherous, and false, than any other sort of them.

Concerning the right of succession and inheritance, it is not certainly known, nor is it worth the enquiring after; however, it is said by some, that brothers inherit successively before the sons, and the uncles before the nephews, following therein the custom of their ancestors, their poverty, and barbarous manner of living, not affording opportunity, for want of means, to run into many capital evils, which the wealth of other nations doth dispose them unto. Few or no crimes have been observed, besides murder and treason, amongst them to be punished with death, which seems to have been a law in force among all nations, since the Almighty destroyed the world with a flood, to purge away its guilt and defilement, contracted by the violence and cruelty of bloodshed, and soon after enacting the standing law so necessary for the upholding human society, that "whosoever sheds man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed."¹ But their inhabitants being so poor and mean, and their manner of life so uncult and brutish, it is scarce worth the while to enquire farther into the way of their successions thereunto, or the laws and customs whereby they use to be maintained and governed in the possession of them. As for their religion, they never were observed by any of the first comers or others, to have any other but what was diabolical, and so uncouth, as if it were framed and devised by the devil himself, and is transacted by them they used to call pawwoves, by some kind of familiarity with the devil, and to whom they used to resort for counsel in

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¹ Genesis ix. 6.—H.

all kind of evils, both corporal and civil. It is not worth the while either to write or read what it was, all of it depending on the uncertain reports of some occasional spectators; but nothing unclean or filthy, like the heathen's feasts of Bacchus and Venus, was ever heard of amongst any of them. Their low and mean diet and fare, (being always accustomed to drink water,) not disposing them to any inordinacy in that kind, as used to be said of old, "Sine Baccho et Cerere friget Venus;"¹ i. e. ebriety and gluttony produces venery.^a

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CHAP. VIII.

Of the first planting of New-England, or any part thereof, by the English.

AFTER the expense of much treasure, time, and pains in the discovery of that part of America called Virginia, that lieth to the north of Florida, some eminent and worthy persons, (moved more by a religious zeal to propagate the gospel, and promote the glory of the English nation, than any emulation of their catholic neighbors of Spain,) entertained serious thoughts of planting colonies of their countrymen in that part of the new world. That vast country being found upon experience and trial too large to be moulded into one entire government, (the whole extending from 34 to 48 degrees of north latitude,) it was thought meet should be divided into a first and second colony, to which end patents were granted to sundry honorable persons of the famous cities of London, Bristol, [and] Exeter, and town of Plymouth, about the year 1606, soon after which time the name of New England began to be appropriated to the north colony by the renowned Prince of Wales, after captain Smith discovered the bounds thereof, as some say, about the year 1614; the other still retaining the first name, Virginia. This latter, by the fertility of the soil and commodiousness of the havens and rivers, giving greatest hopes of prosperity and success, was undertaken by those of London, whose adventures, difficulties,

¹ Terence, Eunuch. Act. IV. Sc. v. ver. 6.—H.