

lib. 6, pag. 228 & 229 ; as likewise in a Script, published [in] 1622, in the name of the Governor and Company of New England. But they being, at the best, matters very inconsiderable and of small consequence, relating to the plantations that followed after that time, it is judged not worth the while to transcribe out of those imperfect relations any other particulars about those transactions, which may well be looked upon rather as dead and superfluous branches of the body of the following history, than any thing likely to confer much delight to the reader, or benefit to the compiler thereof.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Plantation at Patuxit, or New Plymouth, in the year 1620, with the occasions that led thereunto.

THE fore mentioned discoveries of the north parts of Virginia, being bruited abroad amongst the western country of Europe, no doubt filled the minds of many with expectations of famous plantations likely ere long to be erected in those parts of the new world: "Est enim natura hominum novitatis avida:" or, whether some divine virtue had inspired them with a desire of being instruments to promote some higher ends than ever as yet had been brought to light—all former attempts for planting those parts being vanished away, or like to come to little, about this time a strange impression was left upon the minds of some religious and well affected persons of the English nation, sojourning in a foreign country, that some place in that remote region might be found out far more convenient for their purpose, that seemed studious for reformation, than hitherto they elsewhere either had, or were like to attain unto, under the wings of a foreign state. Which consideration, for as much as it gave the first rise to the flourishing plantations of New England, since erected, we shall, in the first place, take a little notice of the occasion that led thereunto.

Notwithstanding the bright and clear rays of the Gospel light, that began to dawn and diffuse themselves

through the whole hemisphere of the English nation, promising an hopeful day of reformation to arise upon them after the long night of antichristian darkness, in the glorious reign of our English Josiah, king Edward the 6th, and Queen Elizabeth of blessed and famous memory; yet were not all that had opportunity to sit under the shadow of their royal authority so well satisfied with every part of that so happy and hopeful reformation by them begun, as to rest contented, without strenuous endeavors to shape and mould the business of church discipline more to the primitive pattern. Therefore sundry of them, having wearied themselves with their private contrivements all the whole reign of Queen Elizabeth, and finding little hope of bettering their condition under her successor, resolved to try, if change of air would not afford a remedy to the distemper at last, to their grievances and burdens they labored under at home. Divers therefore of that persuasion, that had about the year 1602 entered into a private covenant, first in the north of England, then in the Netherlands, Ann. 1610, to walk with God and one with another, according to the best and primitive patterns (as they conceived) of the word of God, finding the low and watery situation of that country as unwholesome and infectious to their bodies, and [the] national ||vices|| of the place [as] dangerous for their minds, by reason of bad example, as those of their own country [were] uncomfortable for their purses and estates, by reason of opposition, they at last projected the transporting themselves and their families into America, hoping by that means that if not all, yet the greatest and more general ends to be aimed at in reformation, might better be provided for, in a place of their own, free from all former inconveniences. The persons engaged in this design were Mr. Robinson's church, that ten years before settled at Leyden in Holland. The said Robinson, to give him his due, was a man of good learning, of a polished wit, and ingenious disposition and courteous behavior, yet not without \$too\$ great tinctures of the *sensorious* spirit of their rigid separation, as is too well known by sundry of his writings, published to the world about those times:

yet doth he deserve commendation in this, that although he had been transported so far with those principles as to publish his opinion against hearing any of the preachers of the Church of England, were they never so learned and pious; yea to that confidence was he arrived, that he began to play with Dr. Ames's name, styling him in one of his pamphlets, "Mr. William Amiss;" yet after the Doctor had taken him to task, and showed him his great mistake, in his unanswerable piece, called "A manuduction to Mr. Robinson," and finding himself unable to grapple any longer with so great a master of reason, he submitted, not being willing to speak any thing against the truth, that had been, by the help of an antagonist, discovered unto him. Yea farther, he came afterwards to acknowledge, and in a judicious and godly discourse to approve and defend, the lawful liberty, if not the duty, in case of hearing the godly preachers of the Church of England. Thus like Paul he preached that, which he had with his pen persecuted before; like some fruit, that before it is ripe is harsh, sour, and unpleasant, till it attain, by the advantage of after time, to the mildness and sweetness of riper age; as was observed in this good man, who, as he grew in years, grew in many excellent gifts, both of nature and grace, and great moderation of spirit in regard of what he manifested in former time, which was not often found in them of that rigid persuasion. This passage is intended as rather matter of commendation than reflection upon that eminent person, or any of the Christian brethren of his church. To proceed, therefore, there was one Mr. Brewster, a prudent, grave, and serious Christian, of great experience in things of religion, and a man of a finer alloy than the ordinary sort of the Separation, having had no small advantage by his education under Secretary Davison, in the court of Queen Elizabeth, that was joined with the said Mr. Robinson in the eldership, by whose prudence and discretion that church was kept in sweet and entire union and accord, both before and after their parting asunder, contrary to the manner and custom of some of that persuasion in Holland, as may ap-

pear by the testimony given them by those amongst whom they sojourned before in Leyden, ||of which see|| Morton, page 4 of New England's Memorial. The reasons of their removal were debated both in ||*private and public||, and found more weighty than could readily be answered, in so much as a very great and considerable part of the church were persuaded to attend the motion, apprehending it to be from God ; and if their minds had not been fully satisfied therein, it had been scarce possible for them to have gotten over so many difficulties and sore trials as they encountered with through the whole undertakings.—As for the reasons which prevailed with them to leave Holland, the principal were these—difference of language, difficulty of subsistence, hazarding of posterity, which they feared might come to pass, and at last occasion their losing their interest in the English nation ; they being desirous (how differing soever they were in the persuasion of some matters of discipline) to live under their natural Prince, and, if it might be, to enlarge his Majesty's dominions ; having also some hope and inward zeal by this means to propagate the gospel, promote and advance the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ amongst the barbarous inhabitants of these remote parts of the world—in which good work it is hoped they have not failed of their expectation altogether. After they had, upon the reasons aforementioned, resolved upon their “terminus ξ a ξ quo,” viz. to leave Holland, the next and no less difficult question was the “terminus ad quem,” where to find a place, in which they might securely promise themselves a freedom from the former evils they had long groaned under, and an opportunity of enjoying the contrary benefits so much desired, viz. the liberty of a civil as well as ecclesiastical government, which they found by sad experience was not to be obtained or expected in any foreign nation of Europe : therefore they in the general concluded to inquire after some place that had not formerly been inhabited ; and again they were divided in their opinions. Some of their company, and those none of the meanest, were for Guiana in the West Indies, a rich and fertile soil or

country, blessed with a perpetual spring, where the earth bringeth forth abundance of all things necessary for the life of man, with little labor or art. But the greater part, considering that those hot countries were incident to sundry diseases, and in other respects very unsuitable to English bodies, beside the neighborhood of Spaniards, which they had little reason to desire, who, though they had not as yet, but soon might, possess themselves of that part of America, and might displant them, as they had done the French in Florida; therefore it was determined at last to find out some place bordering upon Virginia, then newly, or not many years before, discovered and planted. There they hoped to find liberty for a distinct colony under the general government of Virginia; and also the free exercise of their religion, which they conceived probable to be attained by some of their friends, upon suit to his Majesty; of which they were put in no small hope by some persons of great rank and quality, who were made their friends. In pursuance of this consideration, two were chosen out of their company and sent to England, at the charge of the rest, to solicit the matter; who found the Virginia Company very desirous to promote their going thither, promising to grant them a Patent, with as ample privileges, as they had or could grant to any; and some of the chief of that Company doubted not but to obtain their suit to the King for liberty of their religion, how averse so ever he had always been to the settling of it in England. Sir Robert Nanton, at that time one of the chief Secretaries of State, with some others, who had interest with¹ the Archbishop of Canterbury,² were employed therein; by whose mediation they had a promise of a conveniency upon their peaceable carrying under the civil government; upon which intimation they were encouraged to proceed on, presuming they might be allowed to plant themselves within some parts of those bounds, without molestation. This course they looked upon as most probable, conceiving they might there as safely rest in God's providence, as in other things. Upon this resolution other messengers were sent over to issue the business with

¹ In in the MS.—H.

² Dr. George Abbot.—H.

the Virginia Company, as well as they could, and procure a Patent, with as good and ample conditions as might be by any good means obtained, as also to treat and conclude with such merchants and other friends as had manifested their forwardness to provoke unto, and adventure in, this voyage, giving them instructions how far they should proceed before they returned for farther advice. One of the principal persons, with whom they were concerned of the Virginia Company, was Sir Edwin Sandys, by whose letter, directed to Mr. Robinson and Mr. Brewster, the pastor and elder of their church, it may be seen how willing they were to encourage them in this matter.

After my hearty salutations,—the agents of ||your|| congregation, Robert Cushman and John Carver, have been in communication with divers select gentlemen of his Majesty's Council for Virginia, and by [the] writing of seven articles, subscribed with ||^ayour|| names, have given them that good degree of satisfaction, which hath carried them on with a resolution to set forward ||^byour|| desire in the best sort that may be, for your own and the public good;^a divers particulars whereof we leave to their faithful report, having carried themselves here with that good discretion, as is both to their own and their credit from whom they came.^b And whereas, being to treat for a multitude of people, they have requested further time to confer with them that are to be interested in this action about the several particulars which in the prosecution thereof will fall out considerable,^c it hath been very willingly assented unto;^d and so they do now return unto^d you. If therefore it may please God so to direct your desires, as that on your parts there fall out no just impediments, I trust by the same direction it shall likewise appear that on our parts all forwardness to set you forward shall be found in the best sort which with reason may be expected. And so I betake you with this design, (which I hope verily is the work of God,) to the gracious protection and blessing of the Highest.

Your very loving friend,

EDWIN SANDYS.*

London, ||⁴ November 12, || 1617.

|| the ||

|| ^atheir ||

|| ^bthe ||

||⁴ Nov. 13. ||

Mr. Robinson and Mr. Brewster returned him an answer,* full of all thankful acknowledgment of his love and care for them, intimating how ready and willing they were to accept of his kindness; on which account they sent another letter to Sir John Worstenholme the January following, who was also of the Virginia Company, and had a great interest therein, as well as Sir Edwin Sandys, where they labored to satisfy him about their judgment and opinion about church discipline, expressing themselves for the substance to agree with the French Reformed Churches; from whom they said they differed only in some accidental points. But their proceedings with those of the Virginia Company met with much obstruction the next year by reason of some dissensions and factions of that Company amongst themselves, which issued in Sir Thomas Smith, that was Governor thereof, he laying down his place, and the choosing Sir Edward Sandys in his room. But at the last, it seems, they had a Patent granted them, and confirmed under the Company's seal: yet did those divisions in the said Company take off many of their pretended friends, and disappointed them of much of their hoped-for and proffered means. But by the advice of some friends, that Patent was taken, not in the names of any of their own company, but in the name of one Mr. John Wincob, a religious gentleman, belonging to the Countess of Lincoln, who intended to go with them; but God so disposed that he¹ never went, nor they ever made use of the Patent, which cost them so much time and charge.^b The reason they made no use thereof will appear in the sequel. Soon after this their agents^c were sent into England again, to conclude of articles and propositions between them and such merchants and friends, as should either go or adventure with them, and those, who in order to their removal had sold out their estates, put their moneys into a common stock, which was to be disposed of by those appointed to make general provisions. Mr. Weston was one who had interested himself much in their affairs, undertaking to provide shipping for their transportation; but about this time they were in-

¹ Substituted for *they* in the MS., from Bradford, in Young's Chronicles of Plymouth, p. 75.—H.

formed, both by the said Weston and others, that sundry honorable lords and worthy gentlemen had obtained a large Patent from the King for the more northerly part of America, distinct from the Virginia Patent, and wholly excluded from their government, and to be called by another name, viz. NEW ENGLAND.* Unto which Mr. Weston and the chiefest of them began to incline, thinking it was best for them to go thither; as for other reasons, so chiefly for the hope of present profit, to be made by fishing on that coast. But in all business the active part is most difficult, especially where there are many agents that may be concerned. So was it found in them, for some of them who should have gone in England, fell off, and would not go; other merchants and friends that proffered to adventure their money, withdrew, and pretended many excuses; some disliking they went not to Guiana; others would do nothing unless they went to Virginia; and many, who were most relied on, refused to adventure if they went thither. In the midst of these difficulties, they of Leyden were driven to great straits; but at the length, the generality was swayed to the better opinion. Howbeit, the Patent for the northern part of the country not being fully settled at that time, they resolved to adventure with that Patent they had, intending for some place more southward than that they fell upon in their voyage, at Cape Cod, as may appear afterwards. The Conditions, on which those of Leyden engaged with the merchants, the adventurers, were hard enough at the first for the poor people, that were to adventure their persons as well as their estates. Yet were their agents forced to change one or two of them, to satisfy the merchants, who were not willing to be concerned with them; although the altering them without their knowledge or consent was very distasteful to them, and became the occasion of some contention amongst them afterwards. They are these that follow.

1. The adventurers and planters do agree, that every person that goeth, being sixteen years old and upward, be rated at ten pounds, and that ten pounds be accounted a single share.

2. That he that goeth in person, and furnisheth himself out with ten pounds, either in money or other pro-

visions, be accounted as having twenty pounds in stock, and in the division shall receive a double share.

3. The persons transported and the adventurers shall continue their joint stock and partnership the space of seven years, except some unexpected impediments do cause the whole Company to agree otherwise; during which time all profits and benefits that are gotten by trade, traffic, trucking,¹ working, fishing, or any other means, of any other person or persons, [shall] remain still in the common stock until the division.

4. That at their coming there they shall choose out such a number of fit persons as may furnish their ships and boats for fishing upon the sea; employing the rest in their several faculties upon the land, as building houses, tilling and planting the ground, and making such commodities as shall be most useful for the Colony.

5. That at the end of the seven years, the capital and profits, viz., the houses, lands, goods, and chattels, be equally divided amongst the adventurers. If any debt or detriment concerning this adventure²

6. Whosoever cometh to the Colony hereafter, or putteth any thing into the stock, shall at the end of the seven years be allowed proportionally to the time of his so doing.

7. He that shall carry his wife, or children, or servants, shall be allowed for every person, now aged sixteen years and upward, a single share in the division; or if he provide them necessaries, a double share; or if they be between ten years old and sixteen, then two of them to be reckoned for a person, both in transportation and division.

8. That such children that now go and are under [the] age of ten years, have no other share in the division than fifty acres of unmanured land.

9. That such persons as die before the seven years be expired, their executors to have their parts or share at the division, proportionably to the time of their life in the Colony.

10. That all such persons as are of the Colony are to have meat, drink, and apparel, and all provisions, out of the common stock and goods of the said Colony.

The difference between the conditions thus expressed

¹ This word is *trusting* in the MS.; evidently a slip of the pen.—H.

² Something appears to be wanting.—H.

and the former, before their alteration, stood in these two points ; first, that the houses and lands improved, especially gardens and ||home-fields,|| should remain undivided, wholly to the planters, at the seven years' end ; secondly, that the planters should have two days in the week for their own private employment, for the comfort of themselves and their families, especially such as had them to take care for. The altering of those two conditions was very afflictive to the minds of such as were concerned in the voyage ; but Mr. Cushman, their principal agent, answered the complaints peremptorily, that unless they had so ordered the conditions, the whole design would have fallen to the ground ; and necessity, they said, having no law, they were constrained to be silent. The poor planters met with much difficulty, both before and after the expiring of the seven years, and found much trouble in making up accounts with the adventurers about the division ; at which time, though those that adventured their money were no great gainers, yet those that adventured their lives in carrying on the business of the Plantation were by much the greatest sufferers, as may easily be gathered in what follows, next to be related ; for all things being now prepared, they improved their utmost endeavors to be ready to enter upon their voyage at the time agreed upon. That a Patent, as is aforesaid, was obtained, is published in print, and affirmed by such as yet survive of the first planters ; but where it is, or how it came to be lost, is not known to any that belong to the said Colony. Nor is the place with the bounds particularly specified : concerning which they were notably overreached by some of their neighbors amongst the Dutch, who, understanding their design for the southern parts about Hudson's river, where some of that nation had a design to plant for themselves, secretly contracted with Jones, the master of the bigger ship employed for their transportation, who thereupon bent his course on purpose more northward, and so fell amongst the shoals of Cape Cod, to the hazard both of the lives and goods of himself, as well as his passengers and company—had not the Almighty, whose eyes run to and fro through the whole earth,

by his merciful providence, prevented the danger, which by that false, underhand dealing they were exposed unto.^a For, meeting with sundry difficulties and obstructions, which is usual in things of that nature, it was long before they could all be removed;^b besides which they met with bad weather at first setting out to sea, which forced them to turn into harbors twice before they could clear the land's end, and at last were forced to dismiss one of the ships designed for the voyage, insomuch that it was the 6th of September before they last put to sea, which made it near the middle of November before they made any land; which after they had discovered, they were altogether ignorant where it was, or whether there was any commodious place near by, where to begin a plantation.¹ But in all these changes, whatever were the malice or fraudulency of instruments, the over-ruling hand of Divine Providence was to be acknowledged that at the last found out a resting place for them, by sending the angel of his presence to go before them, and safely conduct them through so many dangers and deaths. It is also very remarkable and worthy of consideration, that if they had, according to their intention and desire, been carried to Hudson's River, the Indians in those parts were so numerous and sturdy in their disposition, and if they landed, so many ways enfeebled, that they could never have defended themselves against them; whereas, in the place where they were now landed, a convenient situation was prepared for their reception, by the removal of the former inhabitants, who were lately swept away by a strange kind of mortality, which happened the year before. After the disappearing of the blazing star in the west, in the year 1619, the observation of which, towards the west, made Mr. Briggs, that famous mathematician, conclude that some notable event was like to ensue, betokening the death of the natives in those parts, whatever were in his presage or in the ground thereof, the matter so came to pass, not one in ten of the Indians in those parts surviving, so that they were unable, though they had never so much resolved, to have made resistance. Our Savior Christ, foretelling the

¹ For Gov. Bradford's account of the voyage, see Young's *Chronicles of Plymouth*, pp. 97-108.—H.

destruction of the Jews, yet out of humane or natural compassion, wished them to pray their flight might not be in the winter; yet such was the dispensation of the Almighty towards this poor despised company, that having hardly escaped the dangers of many violent and furious storms at sea, they were no sooner set on shore, but they were immediately called to encounter with hard and rough weather, in a desert and barren land, upon the very edge of winter. The sun had now by his late declination, withdrawn his delightful beams, giving them but short visits, after tedious long and cold nights, many times brought in with boisterous storms of snow or rain. The earth was also dismantled of all its comely and pleasant ornaments, observed by the first discoverers, in the summer time, by the early approach of hard and sharp frosts, presenting them with no other aspect than the ruthful and weather-beaten face of winter. The barbarians the Apostle Paul fell amongst after long storms and dangerous shipwrecks, as it is said in the Acts, shewed them no small kindness, kindling them a fire, and suffered them to gather bundles of sticks themselves for that end; whereas these barbarous savages were at the first not willing to spare them any bundle or stick, but such as were turned into arrows, and improved not to warm, but to wound their new come guests; the remembrance of which consideration remains yet in some of their minds; who, after a long passage over the vast and wide ocean, were at their first landing entertained with no other sight than that of the withered grass on the surface of the cold earth, and the grim looks of the savage enemies. Surely such passengers or pilgrims, had need of some other more inward support and comfort the world is not acquainted with. They had need of [a] good conscience within, to administer matter for a continual feast to feed upon, that are thus bereft of all other outward supplies wherewith to sustain their hearts, Habak. iii. 17, 18. It would have tried the faith of Abraham, when sent from Ur of the Chaldees, (a region bordering upon the confines of Paradise, as some conceive,) if he had been directed to the Arabian wilderness, and not into the land flowing with

milk and honey. But they that had the same faith which Abraham had, were, when put upon the trial, not unwilling to follow the conduct of Divine Providence into a land not sown, not knowing indeed, as it might truly be said, whither they went, yet hoping that God, [who] by his especial guidance had brought them into a wilderness, would not be a wilderness unto them therein, as since they have found.

Mr. Robinson, their faithful pastor, at their last parting in Holland, wrote a letter to the whole company, wherein he gave them much seasonable advice, and many wholesome directions, needful to be observed by such as undertook a work which now they had in hand, which is as followeth in page 6 of Mr. Morton's Memorial.* * Accordingly, as soon as they came to an anchor in the harbor of Cape Cod, which was on November the 9th,^b 1620, considering how necessary government would be, and to prevent any inconveniency that might arise for want thereof, and finding their Patent was made void and useless to them, now they were landed in another place, they resolved by mutual consent, for the better carrying on their affairs, to enter into a solemn combination, as a body politic, to submit to such government, laws and ordinances, as should, by general consent from time to time, be agreed upon; which was accordingly put in practice on the (Morton, page 15,) foresaid day, before any of them went ashore, by signing the Instrument here following, * * with all their hands that were of any note in the company, bearing date the 10th^b November, 1620. And soon after, Mr. John Carver was chosen Governor, for the following year; a gentleman not only well approved for his piety and religion, but well qualified also with civil prudence, for the managing of the place of rule and government amongst them. Their own necessity also, as well as the master and mariners' importunity, did in the next place put them upon a speedy looking out for a place where to take up their habitations. To that end, while the carpenters were fitting up their shallop, sixteen^d of them that were most hearty and strong after so long and tedious a voyage

* These papers are not in the MS. copy.—Ed.

by sea, offered their service on the land, to take a view of the country, and try if they could make a discovery of any place convenient for such a purpose; and to see if they could meet with any of the natives, to begin some treaty with them, thereby to make way either for trading with them or inhabiting amongst them. This attempt of theirs was in itself no small adventure, if any should but consider what befell a French ship that was cast away on this coast but three years before; the country at that time being full of people who were under no small disgust against all foreigners that happened to land there upon one ||account|| or other, in remembrance of the villany that one Hunt¹ a few years before had acted amongst them; who after he had made his fishing voyage at Monhiggan, as is mentioned before, came to this place, as the Indians report, and took away from hence twenty, and seven from a place called Nasitt, carrying them captive to Spain. For although the men got ashore, and saved their lives, with much of their goods and victuals, yet it being understood by the Indians, they gathered together from all parts, and never left dogging and waylaying them, till they took opportunities to kill all but three or four, which they kept as slaves, sending them up and down, to make sport with them, from one Sachem to another. Two of the said French were redeemed by Mr. Dermer,² that insinuated a little into them for trade, (though with loss of his own life, as was said before;) the third lived so long amongst them till he had got so much of their language as to be able to discourse with them, and in the end, he told them before he died, that God was angry with them for their wickedness, and would destroy them and give their country to another people, that should not live like beasts as they did; but they, deriding him, said they were so many, that God could not kill them; to whom the Frenchman replied, that if they were never so many, yet God had more ways to destroy them, than they were aware of. It was not long after his death, before a pestilent disease came amongst them, that was never heard of by any of them before, which swepted them away by multitudes, leaving their carcasses like dung upon the earth, and none to

|| attempt ||

bury them; the bones of whom were seen above the ground by those of Plymouth, after they planted that side of the country. The Indians thereabouts, in remembrance of the Frenchman's words, as some of them confessed afterwards, at the first, kept at a distance from them, and would have assaulted them, but that God left an awe upon their hearts. The English, being furnished with ammunition, not only defended themselves, but struck such a terror in the Indians, that they soon after sought their favor, and came into acquaintance with them, by the means of some that had been carried away by Hunt, and had lived a while in London, or elsewhere, after they had escaped out of Spain, as shall be seen hereafter; whereby the especial providence of God was seen by such means to make way for their abode and quiet settlement in that place, which otherwise had not been possible for them to have expected or attained. But to return, the sixteen sent out upon discovery,¹ having wandered about a mile by the sea side, came within view of five or six Indians, but could not come to the speech of any of them; all taking themselves to their heels, like so many wild creatures, hasted into the woods, out of their sight. In vain it was to pursue their tracks, they being much too nimble for our scorbutic pilgrims, that had tired themselves in passing a small compass of ground; yet did they adventure to lie out all night, under the safe though open covert of heaven's protection. The next day they met with a field where Indian corn had been planted the last summer, and by accident stumbled upon some Indian ||barns|| stored with baskets of their corn, which (as to them seemed) did in some sort resemble the grapes of Eshcol, more to the apprehension of faith than of sense. However, they returned to their company with little encouragement as to situation, which put them upon a second discovery, a few days after,² by their shallop, being now ready, wherein they met with some such like rarities as they had done before, yet but with small encouragement from that called Cold Harbor, which might have cooled their affections, had they not been inspired from a higher principle; for the sharpness of

| beans |

¹ On Wednesday, Nov. 15th.—H.

² Nov. 27th.—H.

the winter drawing on apace, it put them upon an anxious dispute whether to tarry where they were, a place fit only for anchoring ships, or to remove to this branch of a Creek, which though farther up into the country, upon the present experiment they made, called Cornhill, yet could harbor nothing but boats. In fine, they resolved to make a third discovery on December the 6th,^a wherein they met with much difficulty upon sundry accounts, both of wind and weather, together with a dangerous assault from the Indians, one of whom was so resolute as to stand three shots of a musket, after the rest fled; until one taking a full aim, made the splinters fly about his ears, off the tree, behind which he sheltered himself. Some report he was wounded on the arm, as he was drawing an arrow out of his quiver, which made him sensible that a tree that could keep off a hundred arrows, was a slender defence against the English artillery; thus being mercifully delivered, in remembrance thereof they called that place ever after, the First Encounter, leaving of which they coasted along in their shallop, divers leagues, till, by a storm that arose, they were in danger of all being cast away, by a mistake of the pilot, who could not distinguish between the Gurnet's Nose, and the mouth of Sagauabe Harbor. But he that sits at the helm of all his people's affairs guided them into the right harbor, when all other help failed; for when the pilot¹ and the master's mate,² saying his eyes never saw the place before, would have run the boat ashore before the wind, in a cove full of breakers, in a rainy season, to the hazard, if not the loss, of all their lives, a stout hearted seaman that steered, cried out to them that rowed, if they were men, about with her, else they were all cast away; the which they did with all speed; so then he bade them be of good cheer, and row hard, for there was a fair sound before them, which he doubted not but it would afford them one place or other wherein to ride safely; whose words they found soon after, to their great comfort, very true, for they presently got under the lee of a small island, where they rode quietly all night. In the morning they found it to be an island which they understood not be-

¹ Robert Coppin.—H.

² Master Clarke.—H.

fore ; from thence forward they called it Clark's Island, from the name of the mate, so called, that first stepped ashore thereon ; where with much ado they kindled a fire to relieve themselves against the extremity of the cold. This being the last day of the week, they rested there the Lord's day ; but on the next day, sounding the harbor, they found it convenient for shipping, as they did the land round about commodious for situation, in meeting there with many cornfields, severed with pleasant brooks of running and wholesome water — the fittest place which yet they had seen, where to make a place of habitation ; at least the season of the year, together with their own necessity, made them so to judge ; and the news of it was no small comfort to the rest of their people, insomuch that immediately after their return they weighed anchor, and the next day, viz. December 16th, they arrived in the said harbor, newly discovered the week before ; which having viewed well the second time, they resolved for the future not only there to winter, but to pitch their dwelling ; and on the 25th of the same month were as cheerfully employed in building their first house for common use, as their friends were elsewhere about their cheer, according to the custom of the day. After some little time spent in unloading their goods, which at that time of the year was very difficult, for want of boats and other helps, they began to erect every one some small habitation for themselves — sicknesses and diseases increasing very much amongst them, by reason of the hard weather and many uncomfortable voyages in searching after a place wherein to settle, occasioning them to be much in the cold, with the inconveniency of the former harbors, that compelled them to wade much in the water upon every turn, by reason whereof many were seized with desperate coughs, as others with scurvy and such like diseases ; that in the three next months after their landing, they lost one-half if not two-thirds of their company, both passengers and seamen. Such were the solemn trials that God was pleased to acquaint them with in their first adventure, the more to exercise their faith and patience, and daily to re-

mind them that they were pilgrims and strangers upon the earth, and must not seek great things for themselves. So great was their distress in that time of general sickness, that sometimes there were not above six or seven sound and well, able to take care of the rest, who (to their commendation be it spoken) were very ready to do the meanest offices to help the weak and impotent, sparing no pains, night nor day, wherein they might be helpful to them.

It had been a very easy matter for the savages at that time to have cut them all off, as they had done others before, had not God, by his special providence, laid a restraint upon them, as was promised of old to Israel, that their enemies should not have mind to invade them, when they went up to worship before the Lord. This time of sickness and calamity continued with them all the latter part of the winter, and if a great part of those had not been removed by death, it was feared they might all have perished for want of food, before any more supplies came from England. In the beginning of March the coldness of the winter was over, and the weather began to be very comfortable, the spring coming on that year more early than ordinarily it uses to do, which was no small reviving to those decrepit and infirm planters. But that which added more life unto their hopes, was not so much the change of the air, as the change wrought in the hearts of the heathen, who were come, instead of hating, to fear this poor handful of people, and to be proffering them all kindness they were capable to show, thereby, as it were, seeking their favor. Thus was it found in their experience, that the hearts of all are in the hands of the Lord, and that he turns them as the rivers of waters; for about the middle¹ of the said month of March, an Indian, called Samoset, came to them, and soon after² another, whose name was Squanto, or Tisquantum, (for he is called in several authors by these several names,) came boldly in amongst them, and said in a broken dialect of our language, "Welcome, Englishmen." Within a day or two came the other, and spake in the like dialect, to the same purpose or effect; at which the planters were sur-

¹ March 16th.—H.

² March 22d.—H.

prised with no small amazement ; but they presently understood that the said Indians had been acquainted with our English mariners, that had of late yearly frequented the coast, upon account of making fish at the Eastward, and could tell the names of the masters of ships, and mariners that were commonly there ; yea, one of these natives, Tisquantum, that came last amongst them, was one of them that had been carried away by Hunt, and had afterward escaped from Spain, and was carried to London, where he had lived with one Mr. Slany, a merchant, about two years. These were by that means so well acquainted with our language, that they were pretty well able to discourse with them, and acquaint them with many matters needful for the carrying on their design — as how to plant their corn — after what manner to order it — where to get fish, and such other things as the country afforded, about which they would have been very much to seek without their instruction. They gave them likewise information of the number of the Indians, their strength, situation, and distance from them ; acquainting them also with the estate and affairs at the Eastward ; but the principal benefit obtained by their means was acquaintance with an Indian of the chiefest note in that side of the country, called Massasoite. Him they brought down to the English, though his place was at forty miles distance, called Sowams, his country called Pokanoket, and one that had the greatest command of the country betwixt Massachusetts and Narrhaganset. And within four or five days came the said Sachem, with his friends and chiefest attendants, to welcome them to his country ; and not only giving them liberty there to take up their habitation, but likewise acknowledging himself willing to become the subject of their sovereign Lord, King James. Further also he was willing to enter into a league of friendship with our pilgrims, which continued very firm with him and his people during the term of his own life, and some considerable time with his two sons, his successors, until that unhappy quarrel began by the second of them, by the English called Philip, in the year 1675, which ended in the loss of his own life, and the

extirpation of all his friends and adherents, within a few months after they began it, as is declared in the narrative, which may be hereunto annexed. The articles and conditions, on which the said league was agreed upon, were as followeth, as in ||Morton||, page 24.* The experiences of the aforementioned passages of Providence put the new inhabitants of Plymouth in mind of God's promise to the people of Israel in their passage towards the possession of the land of Canaan, where he engaged to them concerning the Canaanite and the Hittite, that he would by little and little drive them out from before his people, till they were increased, and did inherit the land; which consideration is the more to be remembered herein, in that it was known to the said planters of Plymouth not long after, that these Indians, before they came to make friendship with them, had taken Balaam's counsel against Israel in getting all the powwawes of the country together, who for three days incessantly had, in a dark and dismal swamp, attempted to have cursed the English, and thereby have prevented their settling in those parts, which when they discerned was not like to take place, they were not unwilling to seek after a peace. The like was confessed many years after to have been attempted by an old and noted and chief Sagamore and Powaw, about Merrimack, to the northward of the Massachusetts, called Passaconaway, who, when he perceived he could not bring about his end therein, he left it, as his last charge to his son, that was to succeed him, and all his people, never to quarrel with the English, lest thereby they came to be destroyed utterly, and rooted out of the country. This hath been confirmed to the remnant of the faithful, that surely there is no enchantment against Jacob, nor divination against Israel.

It may ||*here be|| added, that in the following year, 1621, several other Sachems or Sagamores — which are but one and the same titles, the first more usual with the southward, the other with the northward Indians, to express the title of him that hath the chief command of a place or people — as well as the afore-named Massasoit, came to the Governor of New Plymouth, and did volun-

tarily acknowledge themselves to be the loyal subjects of our Lord, King James, and subscribed a writing to that purpose with their own hands, the tenor of which here followeth, with their names annexed thereunto, that succeeding times may keep a memorial thereof, it having no small influence into the first foundations here laid. Morton, page 29.

September 13, Anno Dom. 1621.

Know all men by these Presents, That we whose Names are under-written, do acknowledge ourselves to be the Loyal Subjects of King James, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. In Witness whereof, and as a Testimonial of the same, we have subscribed our [Names or] Marks, as followeth.

Ohquamehud.	Nattawahunt.	Quadaquina.
Cawnacome.	Caunbatant.	Huttamoiden.
Obbatinnua.	Chikkatabak.	Apannow.*

CHAP. X.

Of the government, civil and military, established in the Colony of New Plymouth.

THAT which our Savior once affirmed concerning a kingdom, is as true of the smallest colony, or puny state, or least society of mankind, that if it be divided against itself it cannot stand; and how can divisions be avoided where all sorts of people are to be at their liberty, whether in things civil or sacred, to do all that doth, and nothing but what doth, seem good in their own eyes. Our first founders of this new colony, were aware of this, before they removed themselves from the parts of Europe, whether England or Holland, to those of America; and, therefore, according to the prudent advice of Mr. Robinson, their Pastor, they had procured a Patent for themselves, or had a power granted from their Sovereign Prince, whereby they might form themselves into a body politic in the place specified in their Patent. But missing of the place, the things