

MOURT'S RELATION

OR

Journal of the Plantation at Plymouth

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

HENRY MARTYN DEXTER



Boston

JOHN KIMBALL WIGGIN

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TO THE

HONORABLE MARCUS MORTON,

WHO CONTINUES ON THE MASSACHUSETTS BENCH AN ILLUSTRIOUS NAME,
AND IS A WORTHY LINEAL DESCENDANT OF THE GOOD MAN
WHO WAS ASSOCIATED WITH THIS

“Relation,”

AS ITS SPONSOR TO THE BRITISH PUBLIC, NEAR TWO CENTURIES AND A HALF
AGO, THIS FIRST LITERAL REPRINT OF A DEEPLY INTERESTING
AND VALUABLE TRACT

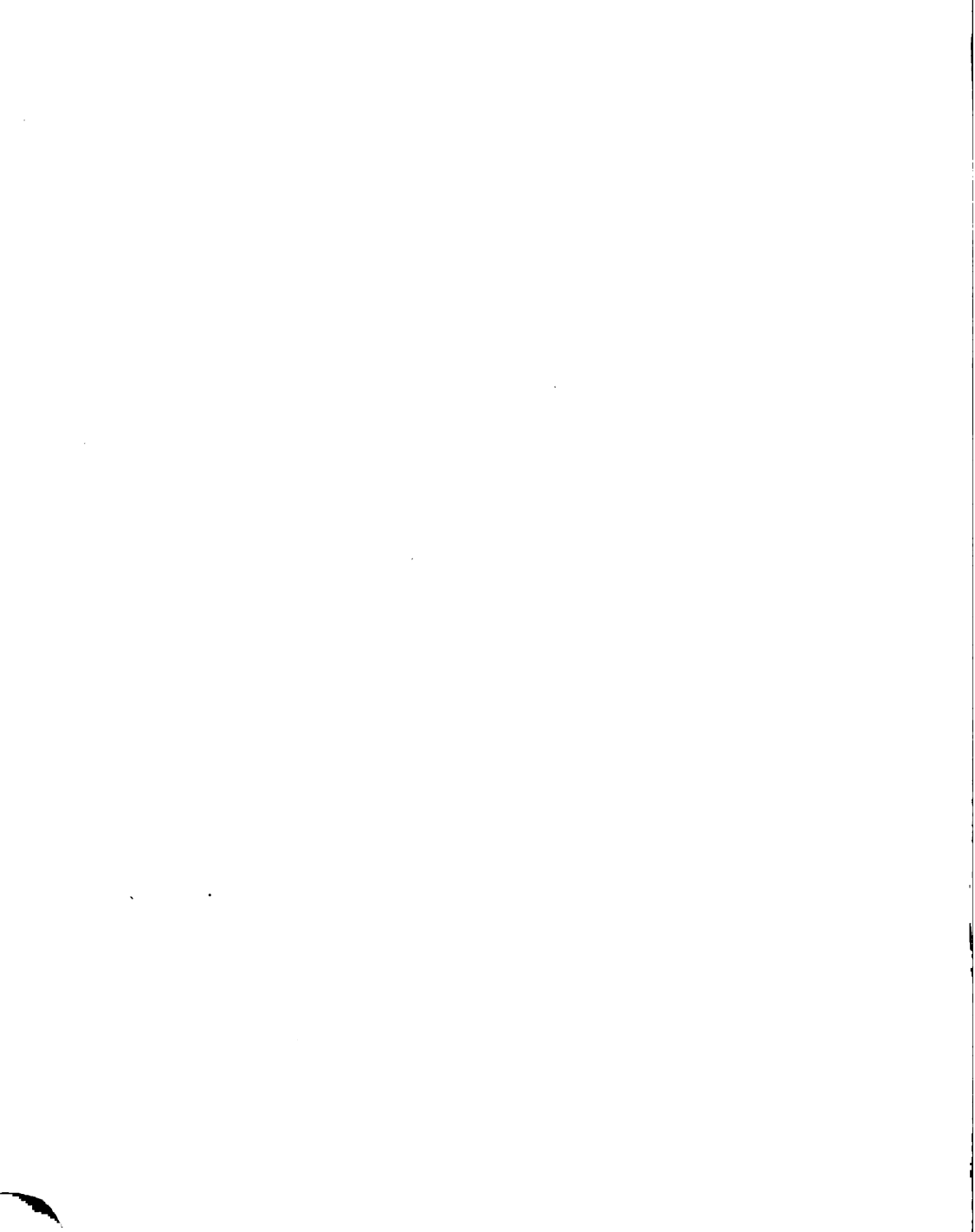
Is Dedicated with affectionate Regard,

BY HIS FRIEND AND KINSMAN,

THE EDITOR.



To a to





PUBLISHER'S PREFACE.

THIS is the first of a series of *literal* reprints of some of the most valuable tracts on our early New-England history. Their originals are now so scarce as to be, in many cases, almost beyond the reach of the amplest means; so that private collectors and public libraries must be content with some reissue. A strict *fac-simile*, page for page, and line by line, were, indeed, possible, and would be scarcely more costly than such an edition as is here proposed. Such a *fac-simile* would, however, be really no better for accuracy than this; which aims at a faithful reproduction of the original, letter by letter, though not page for page. This form is, on the whole, preferred, because it admits that light from notes, in immediate connection with the text, which is very desirable in such reprints.

The works forming this series will therefore be *literally* reprinted from the first editions, — the intention

being to reproduce every peculiarity of the original down to the minutest errors of the press,—so that he who holds one of them in his hand shall read the *ipsissima verba* of the ancient volume; while such Introductions and Notes will be added as will give the reader the benefit of the latest and broadest research in the department to which each belongs.

J. K. W.

BOSTON, 15 July, 1865.





INTRODUCTION.





Introduction by the Editor.

A NOVICE in historical criticism may very naturally shrink from entering into comparison with a veteran ; and, when invited by the publisher of this series to prepare for it an edition of the first journals of the Pilgrims, I should hardly have been able to overcome my repugnance to appear guilty of the presumption of being able to do better any thing which such a man as Dr. Young had done so well, had I not remembered that both Bradford's History and the Leyden Records have offered themselves to our study since he wrote ; had I not hoped that a personal familiarity from childhood with important portions of the ground on which the events narrated took place, might aid me to some conclusions the data of which had escaped his attentive yet sometimes unfamiliar eye ; and had I not greatly desired that a literal reprint of Mourt should be secured. I can only hope that my success, especially in the latter particular, may prove to be in

some measure equal to my endeavor; although that has lacked the well-nigh indispensable element of abundant leisure to read proof over and over and over again until every minutest untruthfulness has been eliminated.

The *Relation* was first printed in London by John Belamie, in 1622. In 1624, John Smith introduced an abstract of much of it into his *General Historie*, under the head of *A Plantation in New-England*. In 1625, it was condensed about one-half (and not very accurately) by Purchas, and inserted in the fourth volume of his *Pilgrims*. This abridgment was reprinted with notes by Dr. Freeman, in 1802, in 1 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, viii. [pp. 203-239.] In 1822, those portions which Purchas had omitted were reprinted with notes by Dr. Freeman and Judge Davis, in 2 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, ix. [pp. 26-74], from a manuscript copy, procured in 1819, by Mr. Du Ponceau, from the original volume in the City Library of Philadelphia. These *disjecta membra* were all that had been done in the way of reissue, until 1841, when Dr. Young reprinted the complete work, from the copy of the original in the library of Harvard College, in his *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers* [pp. 109-249]. He added copious and very valuable notes, but did not seek to reproduce the volume in its original style. In 1848, Rev.

George B. Cheever, D.D., of New-York City, issued an edition, which he intended should be an accurate reproduction of the *Relation* in its spelling, though he made no attempt to cast his book in the mold of the original as to form, and freely modified it in the matter of paragraphs and punctuation; adding more than two hundred and fifty pages of comment or dissertation, suggested by the contents.

The present is, therefore (throwing out the abridgments of Smith and Purchas), the fourth reprint (fifth edition) of the book, and the first reissue in which the endeavor has been made to follow exactly the first copies, in style of type, paging, and identity of embellishment,—in all of which particulars neither pains nor expense has been spared to render it worthy of the confidence and favor of *connoisseurs*. Every caption, initial letter, and ornamental heading, has been engraved in *fac-simile* from the original; and the only defect in the reproduction is, that the copy—thanks to the superior capabilities of the modern presses—is a great deal more splendid than its modest prototype ever was in all the glory of its freshness, two hundred and forty-three years ago.

The hasty reader will not do justice to the accom-

plished prefs from which this volume proceeds, unless he remembers that the proofs of the first edition of the *Relation* were very imperfectly read; and, by consequence, have compelled this reprint to blush under a load of errors which would be the ruin of a modern printer of any pretension, if the fact were not kept in memory that these errors are, with him, blunders of skill, and not of carelessness. I have not usually thought it needful to call attention to them in the notes, except when they become liable to mislead the reader, or are of such a nature as very much to obscure the sense. Instances like “ny” for “many” (page 5, 11th line from the top), “Munday the 13. day,” for “Munday the 18. day” (page 61, 5th line from the top), &c., it has not been thought necessary to refer to in the notes, as they sufficiently explain themselves. John Bellamie’s printing-office appears to have run very low in punctuation-marks as the compositors approached the end of this book, so that Italic colons, and old English colons and periods, were not unfrequently made to do unwonted duty in plain Roman company, — all of which, so far as watchful eyes have been able to secure it, has been here faithfully duplicated; in the recollection of that suggestion of De Bury which has special force in its application to the re-

production of an ancient volume, — “*Quantum impediatur intellectus officium vel unius vocabuli semi plena notitia,*”* and in the feeling that Alcuin’s motto, in its most servile sense, is safest for a copyist, whether with pen or types :—

“Et punctos ponant ordine quosque suo.” †

This reprint has been made from a copy of the original most kindly loaned for the purpose by Mr. Charles Deane of Cambridge, to whom I am further indebted for sundry valuable hints. I have been especially aided in regard to all questions relating to the topography of Provincetown, and the extremity of Cape Cod, by the intelligent help of the Rev. Osborne Myrick, for many years the excellent pastor of the Congregational Church in that town, who has made the ancient geography and natural history of that interesting but peculiar portion of our Massachusetts territory a special study. My thanks are also due to the Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull of Hartford, Conn., for the notes which he has generously furnished upon sundry Indian names herein occurring ; thereby enriching the work with suggestions of that description, sometimes of special interest, and always of unique value, inasmuch as his *dictum*, upon a question on

* *Philobiblion*. Cap. xii. l. 3.

† *Alcuini Opera*, ii. 211.

which he is the most accomplished living authority, is necessarily final. I must not forget, also, to record my gratitude to M. le Baron W. J. C. Rammelman Elsevier, Archivist of the city of Leyden, for various items from the Leyden Ms. records, shedding new light upon some of the relationships and experiences of our Pilgrim fathers and mothers before their coming to these shores, of which I have freely availed myself.

All dates have been given in both new and old style, to facilitate the convenience of the reader.

The maps I have traced from the State map, in outline, and filled them in, by the aid of Major Graham's chart, according to my best judgment; endeavoring especially to indicate the locality of the first washing-place, and the probable route taken by each of the three exploring parties.

Dr. Young has brought out, with great clearness and conclusiveness, the evidence that Bradford and Winflow were the authors of the main portion of this volume. Cushman says it was "writ by the several actors themselves, after their plain and rude manner" (see page xxxvi); and all that we know of the Plymouth Pilgrims limits the probabilities of such authorship to Bradford and

Winflow. If one were to attempt to designate specifically the source of every portion of the volume, the result must be, I think, as follows:—

pp. xxxv—xxxviii.	Dedication to Mr. John Peirce, .	<i>Robert Cushman.</i>
pp. xxxix—xl.	To the Reader,	<i>George Morton.</i>
pp. xli—xlvii.	Certaine vfeul Advertifements, .	<i>John Robinfon.</i>
pp. 1—97.	A Relation, &c.,	<i>William Bradford.</i>
pp. 98—111.	A Journey to <i>Packanokik</i> , &c. .	<i>Edward Winflow.</i>
pp. 112—117.	A Voyage, &c., to <i>Naufet</i> , &c. .	<i>Edward Winflow.</i>
pp. 118—123.	A Journey to <i>Namaschet</i> , &c. . .	<i>Edward Winflow.</i>
pp. 124—130.	A Relation of the Voyage to the <i>Maff</i> ,	<i>Edward Winflow.</i>
pp. 131—142.	A Letter, &c.	<i>Edward Winflow.</i>
pp. 143—154.	Reafons and Considerations, &c.	<i>Robert Cushman.</i>

These Journals of the daily occurrences in the infant Colony bear the marks of having been written from day to day, on the ground; and therefore claim the highest value as testimony in regard to the facts which they narrate. They were evidently carried to England by Robert Cushman, when he returned in the *Fortune*, and were placed by him in the hands of “G. Mourt” for publication, with his own prefixed note to Mr. Peirce, and appended tract persuasive of emigration.

It would appear, from a passage in Edward Winflow’s *Good Newes from New-England*, which was published in

London in 1624, that it was not understood, when these Journals left their author's hands, that they would be printed on reaching London. Winflow says [as in Young's *Chron. Plym.*, page 355], "Myself and others, in former letters (*which came to the preſs againſt my will and knowledge*), wrote, &c., &c." I am not aware of any other publication than this to which he could thus refer; ſo that the inference ſeems unavoidable that theſe journals were ſent over to their friends in London in *Ms.*, and with the original expectation that they would remain ſo, but were published by Mourt (who ſays he "thought it not a miſſe to make them more generall"), with Cuſhman's advice and aſſiſtance; probably on requeſt of the merchant adventurers, in the feeling that ſuch publication would aid in the work of inducing new emigrants to offer themſelves to the waiting Colony, in which thoſe adventurers had ſo decided a pecuniary intereſt.

But who was "G. Mourt?" From his preface, two things are clear:—

1. He had been formerly aſſociated with the writers of theſe Journals—Bradford and Winflow—to that degree that he could ſpeak of them as "my both known and faithful friends" (ſee page xxxix).

2. He had always desired, and was now intending soon, to emigrate in person to join the company in New-Plymouth ; inasmuch as he says, " Myselfe then much desired, and shortly hope to effect, if the Lord will, the putting to of my shoulder in this hope full busyness." (See page xxxix.)

If in this case, as in each similar instance in the volume, the *initials* only had been given, and we were simply called upon to interpret " G. M.," no one probably would hesitate to read them *George Morton*, inasmuch as there was no other member of the Leyden-Plymouth Company, to all appearance, so likely as he was to have done such a work. He had joined them at least as early as 1612. He had been intrusted with public employment on their behalf. He seems to have been in London as an agent for them, while those negotiations were going on with Weston and others, which resulted in the failing of the Mayflower. He himself failed with his family for New Plymouth in the Anne, about the last of April, in the following year. He is the only G. M. of whom these things were true ; in fact, the only G. M. of any sort known as being in their company, of whom they could be true.

Unless we take the ground, then, that the difference between *Mourt* and *Morton* is sufficient to overturn these

probabilities by suggesting another of greater weight, we shall inevitably come to the conclusion which was reached by Dr. Young [*Chron. Plym.*, page 113], that "G. Mourt" was none other than George Morton. Mr. Hunter, indeed, suggests [*Founders of New-Plymouth*, page 122] that there were two Puritan families then in England whose names approached nearer in orthography to "Mourt" than Morton does; viz., *Mort* in Lancashire, and *Moult* in Derbyshire: but the fact that no person of either of these families is known to have had such intercourse with the Pilgrim fathers, and such connection with their history, as are essential to the requisitions of this case, must necessarily be fatal to any inference such as he suggests might be possible in regard to them. And it is only needful to infer some whim of the moment on his part, possibly some desire of disguise, or some unnoticed and uncorrected blunder of the printer here, such as plentifully occurs elsewhere in the volume, to account for the abbreviated form in which the name appears. So that we may safely set it down as reasonably established, that George Morton was the procurer in London of the publication of this volume, and its introducer to the English reader.

It may be asked why, if his father had this responsible

connection with this *Relation*, did not Nathaniel Morton refer to the fact in his *Memorial*? To this it may be replied, that George Morton had probably been dead more than forty years when Nathaniel Morton wrote the *Memorial*; that Nathaniel, at the time of his father's death, was a child of scarcely more than eleven years of age; that the son had even lost the memory of the day of the month of June, 1624, in which the decease of his father took place; and that, therefore, much definite reference would not be natural. I am inclined to think, however, that there may be an actual though vague allusion to G. Mourt's preface to the *Relation*, in what Nathaniel does say in the *Memorial* of his father. I put the two sentences in parallel; thus:—

Mourt.

“ Though it fared with them, as it is common to the most actions of this nature, that the first attempts proue difficult,” &c. [page xxxix.]

Morton.

“ Labouring to still the Discontents that sometimes would arise amongst some spirits, by occasion of the Difficulties of these new beginings,” &c. — [*N. E. Mem.* 48.]

I submit the theory that the author of the *Memorial* had in mind, in writing this sentence, the address of his father to the Reader, as quoted above.

I wish I knew more of George Morton: it is not for want of "journeyings often" that I do not. He arrived at Plymouth, in the *Anne*, in July, 1623, bringing with him his wife Juliana, and these five children; viz.:—

- (1.) Nathaniel, born (say) May, 1613.
- (2.) Patience, born (say) Feb. 1615.
- (3.) John, born (say) Nov. 1616.
- (4.) Sarah, born (say) May, 1618.
- (5.) Ephraim, born (say) June, 1623.

The first four are supposed to have been born in Leyden: there is a tradition that Ephraim was born on the passage over.

George Morton lived less than a year after his arrival. His son Nathaniel, in his *New-England's Memorial* [Cambridge, N. E., 1669, page 48], says of him, "Mr. *George Morton* was a pious gracious Servant of God, and very faithful in whatsoever publick Employment he was trusted withall, and an unfeigned well-willer, & according to his Sphere and Condition, a futable Promoter of the Common Good and Growth of the Plantation of *New-Plimouth*, labouring to still the Discontents that sometimes would arise amongst some spirits, by occasion of the Difficulties of these new beginnings: but it pleased

God to put a period to his dayes soon after his arrival in *New-England*, not surviving a full year after his coming ashore. With much comfort and peace he fell asleep in the Lord in the month of *June, Anno 1624.*”

Going back to England, the next earlier trace which we have of George Morton must depend upon the very question just now considered. If he were “G. Mourt,” then we find him in London in 1621-2, acting in some capacity of public service for the Leyden and Plymouth peoples.

The next earlier trace occurs in a letter of John Robinson from Leyden to John Carver in England, under date of ²⁵₄ ^{May,}_{June,} 1620, in which Mr. Robinson mentions incidentally that Mr. Weston “would come to Georg Morton and enquire news of him aboute things, as if he had scarce been some accessarie unto it.” — [Bradford’s *Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 48.] Whether this “coming” took place in London or in Leyden, the letter gives no data for surely determining; though, for the reasons that Weston’s residence was in London (though he had visited Leyden a few months before), and that Mr. Robinson prefixes his account by saying, “I *have heard* that,” &c., &c., as if that which he relates had happened further

from his own immediate observation than the city where he was then resident, I incline to the judgment that Wef-ton came to George Morton, in London, and that the latter was therefore one of those agents who were sent over to England whose names are not given [Bradford's *Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 45], and was therefore officially in England at that time.

Going back still further for the next trace, over a chasm of eight years, we strike the Dutch record of the marriage in Leyden, $\frac{15}{25}$ Dec., 1612, of Edward Pickering, "merchant from London," with "Maycken Stuws," [Mary Stowers?] and with George Morton present as a witness. Five months earlier, we reach the record of the marriage of the man himself, as follows:—

"*George Morton*, merchant from York in England, accompanied by Thomas Morton his brother, and Roger Wilfon, his acquaintance,

with

Juliana Carpenter, maid from Bath in England,* accompanied by Alexander Carpenter, her father, and

* Others of this Carpenter family are down in these same records as from "Wrenten" [Wrington?], Eng- land,—which is a little village some sixteen miles, a little south of west, from Bath,—in Somersetshire.

“Alice Carpenter her sifter, and Anna Robinson, her acquaintance.*

“The banns were published, ⁶₁₆ July, 1612.

“The marriage took place, ²³₂ July, ^{Aug.}, 1612.”

The clew here given of residence in the North of England, I have failed to follow to any comfortable certainty of origin. The indefatigable antiquary of York, Mr. William Paver, has hunted for me the records of that shire thus far in vain; writing, “I very much regret to have to inform you, that, after a long and painstaking search, I have not been able to find any thing relating to *George Morton*.” It is possible, indeed, that the suggestion which Mr. Hunter throws out [*Founders of New-Plymouth*, 124], that this George Morton may have been the George hitherto unaccounted for in the family of Anthony Morton of Bawtry,—one of the “historical families of England,”—and that from Romanist lineage he “so far departed from the spirit and principles of his family as to have fallen into the ranks of the Protestant Puritans and Separatists,” may be true. Mr. Hunter adds, “The conjecture is, perhaps, too bold and too im-

* This *Anna* does not appear to have been a member of the family of the great and good pastor of this Ley-

den flock; at least, no one with that Christian name is in the list of his household.

probable; but it is easier to say so than to inform us what became of this prominent member of a very eminent family." I trust the researches of the not distant future may settle the question, and reveal the point of contact between this Pilgrim and the lineage in the Father land.

I am able to add a few meager notes in regard to the descendants of George Morton in New England, mainly in one line of descent, which I set down here rather as hooks upon which others may, perhaps, be stimulated to hang further researches, than as aspiring, in the humblest degree, to the character of a genealogy of the family.

GEORGE MORTON,¹ merchant, York, Eng., ^{23 July,} 1612, _{3 Aug.} m. at Leyden, Holl., *Juliana*, dau. of *Alexander Carpenter* of Wrington, Somersetsshire, Eng. He d. Plymouth, N. E., June, 1623; she d. ¹⁹ Feb., 166³/₆, æt. 81. Had five children; viz.: (1) Nathaniel;² (2) Patience;³ (3) John;⁴ (4) Sarah;⁵ and (5) Ephraim.⁶

NATHANIEL,² b. 1613? (d. ^{29 June,} 1685,) m. (1) 1635; *Lydia Cooper* (d. ^{23 Sept.,} _{4 Oct.,} 1673); (2) *Ann Templar* (d. ^{26 Dec.,} _{5 Jan.,} 169⁰.) Had eight children; viz.: (1) Re-member⁷ (1637); (2) Mercy;⁸ (3) Lydia;⁹ (4) Eliza-

beth ¹⁰ (₁₃ May, 1652); (5) Joanna ¹¹ (₉ Nov., 1654); (6) Hannah, ¹² (7) Eleazer ¹³ (d. young); (8) Nathaniel ¹⁴ (d. young).

PATIENCE,³ b. 1615? m. 1633, *John Faunce*; had nine children; viz.: (1) Priscilla ¹⁵ (m. Joseph Warren); (2) Mary ¹⁶ (₁₅ July, 1658, m. William Harlow); (3) Patience ¹⁷ (₃₀ Nov., 1661, m. John Holmes); (4) Sarah ¹⁸ (₈ Feb., ₈ Mar., 1663, m. Edward Dotey); (5) Thomas ¹⁹ (b. a. 1647); (6) Elizabeth ²⁰ (b. ₂₃ March, ₂ April, 1648, d. next yr.); (7) Mercy ²¹ (6 ₂₀ Apr., 1651, ₂₉ Dec., ₈ Jan., 1667, m. Nathaniel Holmes); (8) John ²² (d. ₂₉ Nov., ₉ Dec., 1654); (9) Joseph ²³ (b. ₁₄ May, 1653, d. ₁₈ Jan., 1687).

JOHN,⁴ b. 1615? m. *Lettice* —? had nine children; viz.: (1) John ²⁴ d. young; (2) John; ²⁵ (3) Deborah; ²⁶ (4) Mary; ²⁷ (5) Martha; ²⁸ (6) Hannah; ²⁹ (7) Esther; ³⁰ (8–9) Manaffah ³¹ and Ephraim ³² (twins.)

SARAH,⁵ b. 1618? ₃₀ Dec., 1644, m. (as second wife) *George Bonham*; had probably five children; viz.: (1) Ruth ³³ (₈ Nov., ₈ Dec., 1666, m. Robert Barron); (2) Patience ³⁴ (₂₈ Dec., ₇ Jan., 1670, m. Richard Willis); (3) Sarah ³⁵ (b. ₄ Dec., 1649, d. early in 1650); (4) Sarah ³⁶ (b. ₁₂ Jan., 1651, d. prob. soon); (5) Sarah ³⁷ (b. ₁₀ Dec., 1653, d. ₂₈ Apr., ₉ May, 1704, æt. 86).

EPHRAIM,⁶ b. 1623? d. ₇ Sept., 1693, m. (1) ₁₈ Nov., 1644, *Ann Cooper* (d. ₁₀ Sept., 1691); (2) Oct., 1692, *Widow Mary Harlow*. By the first wife had

nine children; viz.: (1) Ephraim³⁸ (b. ²⁷/₆ Jan., 164⁸, d. ¹⁸/₂₉ Feb., 173¹); (2) Rebecca³⁹ (b. ¹⁵/₂₅ Mar., 1651); (3) Jofiah⁴⁰ (b. 1653); George⁴¹ [he sleeps on Burial Hill in Plymouth, with this inscription, "Here lies y^e Body of Deacon George Morton, who Dec.^d August y^e 2^d 1727 in y^e 82^d year of his Age"]; (5) Nathaniel;⁴² (6) Eleazer;⁴³ (7) Thomas;⁴⁴ (8) Patience⁴⁵ (m. John Nelson); (9) Mercy.⁴⁶

ELEAZER,⁴³ m. *Rebecca* —? (received from his father by will in *Plym. Rec.* [of date ²⁷/₆ Oct., 1693.] all his interest in the 16 shilling purchase, so called, in Middleborough, and one-third of his residual personal estate), had four children; viz.: (1) Eleazer;⁴⁷ (2) Ann;⁴⁸ (3) Nathaniel;⁴⁹ (4) Rebecca.⁵⁰

NATHANIEL,⁴⁹ m. 1720, *Rebecca Ellis*, widow of Mordecai (she m. Ellis in 1715), and daughter of Thomas Clark. They had four children; viz.: (1) Elizabeth;⁵¹ (2) Nathaniel⁵² (b. 1723); (3) Eleazer;⁵³ (4) Ichabod.⁵⁴ The father was lost at sea while still young, and his widow m. 1730, for her third husband, *Thomas Swift*, of Sandwich, by whom she had a numerous issue. [*Ichabod*⁵⁴ (m. *Deborah* —? who d. 17 Nov., 1789, *æt.* 59), lived in Middleborough, was 10th deacon of the Congregational Church there, where he d. 10 May, 1809, *æt.* 85. He had six sons; viz.: (1) Eleazer;⁵⁵ (2) Elifha;⁵⁶ (3) Ichabod;⁵⁷ John;⁵⁸ (5) Nathaniel;⁵⁹ (6) Mordecai.⁶⁰]

NATHANIEL,⁵² 1749, m. *Martha Tupper*, and had five children; viz.: (1) Rebecca;⁶¹ (2) Nathaniel;⁶² (3) Martha;⁶³ (4) Elizabeth;⁶⁴ (5) Job.⁶⁵ [He lived first in Middleborough, but removed thence to Freetown, on the neck between Long Pond and *Affawompsett* and *Quitticas*, where he accumulated a large property; leaving each of his children a farm, and still holding four or five farms at his death. His son Job⁶⁵ lived on his land, and reared a large family of boys.]

NATHANIEL,⁶² b. 1 June, 1753 (d. 18 Nov., 1832, æt. 79), 19 Mar., 1782, m. *Mary Cary* [3d child of Eleazer, of Bridgewater, — son of Jonathan, son of Jonathan, son of John, fr. Somersfethshire, Eng.], b. 11 April, 1756 (d. 9 Aug., 1835, æt. 79). They had two children; viz.: (1) Marcus;⁶⁶ (2) Mary.⁶⁷

MARCUS,⁶⁶ b. 19 Feb., 1781 (d. 6 Feb., 1864, æt. 79), 23 Dec., 1807, m. *Charlotte Hodges*, of Taunton. They had twelve children; viz.: — (1) Joanna Maria⁶⁸ (b. 28 Oct., 1808, m. William T. Hawes, New Bedford); (2) Charlotte⁶⁹ (b. 9 July, 1810, d. 15 Oct., 1814); (3) Lydia Mason⁷⁰ (b. 29 June, 1812, m. Rev. Henry Lee, D.D., now Bishop of Iowa); (4) Nathaniel⁷¹ (b. 16 Apr., 1814, d. 10 May, 1814); (5) Charlotte⁷² (b. 19 Apr., 1815, m. Samuel Watfon, Esq., Nashville, Tenn.); (6) Sarah Carey⁷³ (b. 31 Mar., 1817, m. Willard Lovering, Esq., Taunton); (7) Marcus⁷⁴ b. 8 April, 1819, m. Abby Hoppin of Providence, R. I.); (8) Nathan-

iel⁷⁵ (b. 3 Dec., 1821, m. Harriet, dau. of Hon. Francis Baylies of Taunton, d. 12 Feb., 1856); (9) James Hodges⁷⁶ (b. 21 June, 1824, m. Elizabeth, dau. of Hon. Geo. Afhmun of Springfield); (10) Sufan Tillinghaft⁷⁷ (b. 16 April, 1826, m. M. Day Kimball, Esq., Boston); 11 Frances Wood⁷⁸ (b. 17 Jan., 1828, m. Charles Henry French of Andover, Mafs.); (12) Emily Matilda⁷⁹ (b. 10 Nov., 1831, m. Daniel Dawes of Brooklyn, N. Y.)

MARY,⁶⁷ b. 28 Sept., 1785 (d. 16 Oct., 1822, *æt.* 37.)
 30 Dec., 1812, m. (as his second wife) Rev Elijah Dexter of Plympton [sixth child of Dea. Elijah, of Rochester, Mafs., who was fourth child of Dea. Seth, who was eleventh child of Benjamin, who was seventh child of William, who was almost certainly a son of "Farmer" Thomas, of Lynn and Sandwich.] They had four children; viz.: (1) Nathaniel Morton⁸⁰ (b. 28 Sept., 1814, d. 18 Sept., 1838, *æt.* 24); (2) Elijah⁸¹ (b. 31 Aug., 1816, d. 1 Sept., 1816); (3) David Brainerd⁸² (b. 18 Oct., 1817, d. same day); (4) Henry Martyn,⁸³ b. 13 Aug., 1821; 19 Nov., 1844, m. Emeline, second dau. of Simeon Palmer of Boston; has had (1) Henry Morton,⁸⁴ b. 12 July, 1846; (2) Winifred⁸⁵ (b. 1 July, 1849, d. next day); (3) Liffie Clarendon⁸⁶ (b. 20 Aug., 1851, d. 31 Dec., 1861); (4) Mary Palmer⁸⁷ (b. 21 Nov., 1856, d. 29 Oct., 1861).

Concerning not a few of those whose names are here set down, many worthy and honorable deeds in Church and State might be recorded; as also of others known to be from the same stock, but of whose point of contact with the family-tree I am not sure.

It is greatly to be desired that some competent person should enrich the genealogical histories of New England with a complete and accurate record of the descendants of "G. Mourt" on these shores.

H. M. D.

HILLSIDE, Roxbury, {
15 July, 1865. }





A
RELATION OR
Iournall of the beginning and proceedings
of the English Plantation settled at *Plimoth* in NEW
ENGLAND, by certaine English Aduenturers both
Merchants and others.

With their difficult passage, their safe ariual, their
ioyfull building of, and comfortable planting them-
selues in the now well defended Towne
of NEW PLIMOTH.

AS ALSO A RELATION OF FOVRE
feuerall discoueries since made by some of the
same English Planters there resident.

I. In a iourney to PVCKANOKICK the habitation of the Indians greatest King Massafoyt: as also their message, the answer and entertainment they had of him.

II. In a voyage made by ten of them to the Kingdome of Nawfet, to seekc a boy that had lost himselfe in the woods: with such accidents as befell them in that voyage.

III. In their iourney to the Kingdome of Namafchet, in defence of their greatest King Massafoyt, against the Narrohiggonsets, and to reuenge the supposed death of their Interpreter Tisquantum.

IIII. Their voyage to the Massachusets, and their entertainment there.

With an answer to all such objections as are in any way made
against the lawfulnessse of English plantations
in those parts.



L O N D O N,

Printed for *John Bellamie*, and are to be sold at his shop at the two
Greyhounds in Cornhill neere the Royall Exchange. 1622.



TO HIS MUCH RE-
spected Friend, Mr. I. P.^a



Good Friend: As wee cannot but account it an extraordinary blessing of God in directing our course for these parts, after we came out of our natiue countrey, for that we had the happinesse to be possessed of the comforts we receiue by the benefit of one of the most pleasant, most healthfull, and most fruitfull parts of the world: So must wee acknowledge the same blessing to bee multiplied vpon our whole company, for that we obtained the honour to receiue allowance and approbation of our free possession, and enjoying thereof vnder the authority of those thrice honoured Persons, the *President* and *Counsell* for the affaires of *New-England*, by whose bounty and grace, in that behalfe, all of vs are tied to dedicate our best seruice vnto them, as those under his Majestie, that wee owe it

^a I. P. stands for John Peirce, "Citizen and Clothworker of London," who had interested himself to assist the Leyden men in coming over, and in whose name their first Patent was taken.—[See Deane's *First Plymouth Patent*, 9.]

That the initials *R. G.*, appended by way of signature to this letter, were misprinted, seems to be made certain by the fact that there was no person then in the Plymouth colony who bore them except Richard Gardiner, who was one of the humbler

vnto: whose noble endeouours in these their [iv] actions the God of heauen and earth multiply to his glory and their owne eternall comforts.

As for this poore Relation, I pray you to accept it, as being writ by the feuerall Aÿtors themselues, after their plaine and rude manner; therefore doubt

members of the party, and who, after a brief stay, left to become a failor. — [Bradford, *Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 454.] It is to the last degree improbable that he should have been selected to introduce these Relations to the notice of the merchant adventurers.

Assuming, therefore, an error, the most probable rectification of it is found in the supposition that they should have been "R. C.," standing for Robert Cushman. In favor of such a reading and interpretation are to be considered: (a) that, as a passenger in the Fortune bearing the *Ms.* of the "Relation" to England, he would naturally have been selected to introduce it to the notice of those likely to be interested in it there, unless some special reason existed to the contrary; (b) that, from his proved position as agent of the company and from his known culture, he was entitled to speak, as he does here, in a tone of semi-criticism and deprecation of the plainness, and even rudeness, of the authors and their work. On the other hand, it may be suggested, (a) that the author identifies himself by his language somewhat more fully with the colonists, as one of them in all their experiences, than would

seem to be natural for one who had only been actually with them during the few weeks of the Fortune's stay; (b) that he dates from *Plimoth*, as if sending from thence; and (c) that his closing paragraph seems to intimate a less degree of acquaintance with Mr. Peirce than would be quite consonant with the facts in the case, if Cushman were the writer.

But it is to be considered that as Cushman had come out expressly to examine and report upon the probabilities of the success of the colony, the members of it would be most anxious for that best endorsement of it, which would consist in his own asserted identification of himself with its fortunes,— which, indeed, he himself would feel to be most essential to its success; and that, so feeling,— the more especially as he had left his son behind him there,— he would naturally be led both to write and to date as he did. While, as to the closing paragraph, I interpret it not as intimating any lack of acquaintance with Mr. Peirce, but as asserting that the main recommendation which Cushman had to the "further consideration" of the merchant adventurers for the colony which he represented, was in the

nothing of the truth thereof: if it be defectiue in any thing, it is their ignorance, that are better acquainted with planting then writing. If it fatisfie those that are well affected to the businesse, it is all I care for. Sure I

encouragement of its final success which was held out by the familiar facts recorded in these pages, now offered to the public notice.

It seems to be, therefore, as well settled as any such question can be, that Robert Cushman must have been the author of this introductory matter, as he was of the concluding "Reasons and Considerations, &c."— [See pp. 143-154.]

The first appearance of Cushman upon the histories of the time is in the Leyden records, where — described as a woolcarder from Canterbury, and as having had a former wife named Sarah — he is set down, ³ June, 1617, as marrying Mary Singleton [Chingleton ?] of Sandwich, widow of Thomas. Soon after, he was sent to England with John Carver to open negotiations toward a settlement in North America. He seems to have returned to Leyden in November of the same year, and to have gone back to London on the same mission in the following December. Failing in these efforts, the Leyden church sent him again, with Brewster, in 1619; and, having formed an association, or joint-stock company, in England, which was to furnish the money for the enterprise, those envoys went back to Leyden to arrange the preliminaries. Carver and Cushman were sent once more to England

to provide for the voyage. When the Speedwell arrived at Southampton, Cushman, with the Mayflower, was in waiting for them, and failed as "assistant governor" in her, but went back in the Speedwell, when she was finally condemned and returned, "his hart & courage" having gone before. He came over in the Fortune, with his son (see note 431, No. 9), probably as an agent of the adventurers to examine and report the condition of the colony. While here, — though not even an elder of the church, — he preached the famous sermon on "Self-Love," which has been many times reprinted; and next day failed for England again in the same little ship, leaving his son in care of Gov. Bradford; was captured by the French; released, and reached London ¹⁷ Feb., 16²¹.

He evidently carried with him the *Ms.* of these "Relations," and appended to them, when George Morton procured their publication, a dissertation, intended to persuade good men to become colonists. He never revisited this country, but acted as the agent for the Pilgrims in London until his death, which occurred not far from the beginning of 1625. His son perpetuated his name in this country. — [*Leyden Ms. Rec.*; *Cushman Genealogy*, 14-77; Bradford, *Hist Plym. Plant.*, 70-74.]


am the place we are in, and the hopes that are apparent, cannot but suffice any that will not desire more then enough, neither is there want of ought among vs but company to enjoy the blessings so plentifully bestowed upon the inhabitants that are here. While I was a writing this, I had almost forgot, that I had but the recommendation of the relation it selfe, to your further consideration, and therefore I will end without saying more, saue that I shall alwaies rest

From PLIMOTH in
New-England.

*Yours in the way of
friendship, R. G. [v]*



To the Reader.

ourteous Reader, be intreated to make a fauorable construction of my forwardnes, in publishing these insewing discourses, the desire of carrying the Gospell of Christ into those forraigne parts, amongst those people that as yet haue had no knowledge, nor tast of God, as also to procure vnto themselues and others a quiet and comfortable habytation: weare amongst other things the inducements (vnto these vndertakers of the then hopefull, and now experimentally knowne good enterprice for plantation, in New England, to set afoote and prosecute the same & though it fared with them, as it is common to the most aētions of this nature, that the first attempts proue diffecult, as the sequell more at large expresseth, yet it hath pleased God, euē beyond our expeēlation in so short a time, to giue hope of letting some of them see (though some he hath taken out of this vale of teares) some grounds of hope, of the accomplishment of both those endes by them, at first propounded.

And as myselfe then much desired, and short- [vi] by hope to effect, if the Lord will, the putting to of my shoulder in this hopefull busines, and in the meane time, these relations comming to my hand from my both known &

To the Reader.

faithful friends, on whose writings I do much rely, I thought it not a misse to make them more generall, hoping of a cheerefull proceeding, both of Aduenturers and planters, intreating that the exawple of the hon: Virginia and Bermudas Companies, incountering with so many distasters, and that for diuers yeares together, with an unwearied resolution, the good effects whereof are now eminent, may preuaile as a spurre of preparation also touching this no lesse hopefull Country though yet an infant, the extent & comodities whereof are as yet not fully known, after time wil vnfold more: such as desire to take knowledge of things, may in forme themselues by this insuing treatise, and if they please also by such as haue bin there a first and second time,^b my hartly prayer to God is that the euent of this and all other honorable and honest vndertakings, may be for the furtherance of the kingdome of Christ, the inlarging of the bounds of our Soueraigne Lord King Iames, & the good and profit of those, who either by purse, or person, or both, are agents in the same, so I take leaue and rest

Thy friend, G. MORT.^c

[vii]

^b Capt. John Smith had been there, as had Clark and Coppin, master's mates of the Mayflower, more than once; while Cushman had just returned from his voyage thither for a

first and only visit, in the Fortune.
^c The probabilities that this was the signature of George Morton have been fully discussed in the Introduction. See page xviii.



CERTAIN E VSEFVL
ADVERTISEMENTS SENT
in a Letter written by a discrete friend^d vn-
to the Planters in *New England*, at their first setting
saile from Southhampton, who earnestly desireth
the prosperitie of that their new
Plantation.

* *
*



Ouing and Christian friends, I doe heartily
and in the Lord salute you all, as being
they with whom I am present in my best af-
fection, and most earnest longings after you,
though I be constrained for a while to be
bodily absent from you,^e I say constrained, God knowing
how willingly and much rather then otherwise I would
haue haue borne my part with you in this first brunt,
were I not by strong necessitie held backe for the present.
Make account of me in the meane while, as of a man

^d This letter of John Robinson's is written in the latter part of July,
given in Bradford [*Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 1620.
pp. 64-67], and also in Morton [*N. E. Mem.*, 6-9]. It was probably
^e Bradford has a period here; Mor-
ton a colon.

A Letter of aduice

deuided in my felfe with great paine, and as (naturall bonds fet afide) hauing my better part with you. And though I doubt not but in your godly wisedomes you both forefee and refolue vpon that which concerneth your prefent [viii] ftate and condition both feuerally and ioyntly, yet haue I thought ^f but my dutie to adde fome further fpurre of prouocation vnto them who run already, if not becaufe you need it, yet becaufe I owe it in loue and dutie.

And firft, as we are daily to renew our repentance with our God, fpeciall^g for our finnes knowne, and generall for our vnknowne trespaffes; fo doth the Lord call vs in a fingular maner vpon occasions of fuch difficultie and danger as lieth vpon you, to a both more narrow fearch and carefull reformation of our^h wayes in his fight, left he calling to remembrance our finnes forgotten by vs or vnrepented of, take aduantage againft vs, and in iudgement leaue vs for the fame to be fwallowed vp in one danger or other; whereas on the contrary, fin being taken away by earnest repentance and the pardon thereof from the Lord, fealed vp vnto a mans confcience by his Spirit, great fhall be his securitie and peace in all dangers, sweete his comforts in all diftreffes, with happie deliuerance from all euill, whether in life or in death.

^f Bradford and Morton both add "efpecially."
^h "it."

^g Bradford and Morton both read "your."

to the Planters of New-England.

Now next after this heauenly peace with God and our owne consciences, we are carefully to prouide for peace with all men what in vs lieth, especially with our affociates, and for that endⁱ watchfulnes must be had, that we neither at all in our selues do giue, no nor easly take offence being giuen by others. Woe be vnto the world for offences, for though it be necessary (confidering the malice of Satan and mans corruption) that offences come, yet woe vnto the man or woman either by whom [ix] the offence cometh, faith Christ, Math. 18. 7. And if offences in the vnseasonable vse of things in themselues indifferent, be more to be seared then death it selfe, as the Apostle teacheth, 1. Cor. 9. 15. how much more in things simply euill, in which neither honour of God nor loue of man is thought worthy to be regarded.

Neither yet is it sufficient that we keep our selues by the grace of God from giuing offence, except withall we be armed against the taking of them when they are^j giuen by others.^k For how vnperfect and lame is the worke of grace in that person, who wants charitie to couer a multitude of offences, as the Scriptures speake. Neither are you to be exhorted to this grace onely vpon the common grounds of Christianitie, which are, that persons ready to take offence, either want charitie to couer offences, or wisedome duly to weigh humane frailtie; or

ⁱ Bradford and Morton both omit
"end."

^j Bradford has "be."

^k Morton has a colon here.

A Letter of advice

lastly are grosse, though close hypocrites, as Christ our Lord teacheth, Math. 7. 1, 2, 3. as indeed in mine owne experience, few or none haue beene found which sooner giue offence, then such as easly take it; neither haue they euer proued sound and profitable members in societies, which haue nourished in themselues that touchey humour.¹ But besides these there are diuers spetiall^m motiues prouoking you about others to great care and conscience this way: As first, you are many of you strangers, as to the persons, so to the infirmities one of another, and so stand in need of more watchfulnesse this way, lest when such things fall out in men and women as you suspected not, you be inordinately af- [x] fected with them; which doth require at your hands much wisdome and charitie for the couering and preuenting of incident offences that way. And lastly your intended course of ciuill communitieⁿ wil minister continuall occasion of offence, and will be as fuell for that fire, except you diligently quench it with brotherly forbearance. And if taking of offence causlesly or easly at mens doings be so carefully to be auoided, how much more heed is to be taken that we take not offence at God himselfe, which yet we certainly

¹ Bradford reads, "which have nourished this touchey humor;" Morton, "who have nourished this touchy humour."

^m Bradford and Morton both omit "spetiall."

ⁿ I cannot interpret this otherwise

than as an intimation that the Pilgrims left Holland with the full intention of establishing here a popular civil government; with the good will, if not at the prompting, of their noble pastor. And the "lastly" clause of this letter confirms this view.

to the Planters of New-England.

do so oft^o as we do murmure at his prouidence in our crosses, or beare impatiently such afflictions as wherewith he pleaseth to visit vs. Store we^p vp therefore patience against the euill day, without which we take offence at the Lord himselfe in his holy and iust works.

A fourth thing there is carefully to be prouided for, to wit, that with your common employments you ioyne common affections truly bent vpon the generall good, atoiding as a deadly plague of your both common and special comfort all retirednesse of minde for proper aduantage, and all singularly affected any maner of way; let euery man repress in himselfe and the whole bodie in each person, as so many rebels against the common good, all priuate respects of mens selues, not forting with the generall conueniencie. And as men are carefull not to haue a new house shaken with any violence before it be well settled and the parts firmly knit:^q so be you, I beseech you brethren, much more carefull, that the house of God which you are and are [xi] to be, be not shaken with vnecessary nouelties or other oppositions at the first settling thereof.

Lastly, whereas you are to^r become a body politik, vsing amongst your selues ciuill gouernment, and are not furnished with any persons of speciall eminencie aboue

^o Bradford has "oftē" (often).

^q Bradford has a comma.

^p Bradford and Morton both omit

^r Bradford omits "to."

"we."

A Letter of advice

the rest, to be chosen by you into office of government:^s Let your wisdom and godliness appear, not only in choosing such persons as do entirely love, and will diligently promote the common good, but also in yielding unto them all due honour and obedience in their lawful administrations; not beholding in them the ordinariness of their persons, but God's ordinance for your good; nor being like unto the foolish multitude,^u who more honour the gay coat, than either the virtuous mind of the man, or glorious ordinance of the Lord. But you know better things, and that the image of the Lords power and authority which the Magistrate beareth, is honorable, in how mean persons soever. And this duty you both may the more willingly, and ought the more conscientiously to performe, because you are at least for the present to have only them for your ordinary governors, which your selves shall make choice of for that worke.^v

Sundry other things of importance I could put you in mind of, and of those before mentioned in more words, but I will not so far wrong your godly minds, as to thinke you heedlesse of these things, there being also divers among you so well able to admonish both themselves and others of what concerneth them. These few things therefore, and [xii] the same in few words I do earnestly com-

^s Bradford has a comma; Morton a femicolon.

^t Bradford has a comma; Morton a colon.

^u Bradford and Morton both have it, "not being like the foolish multitude."

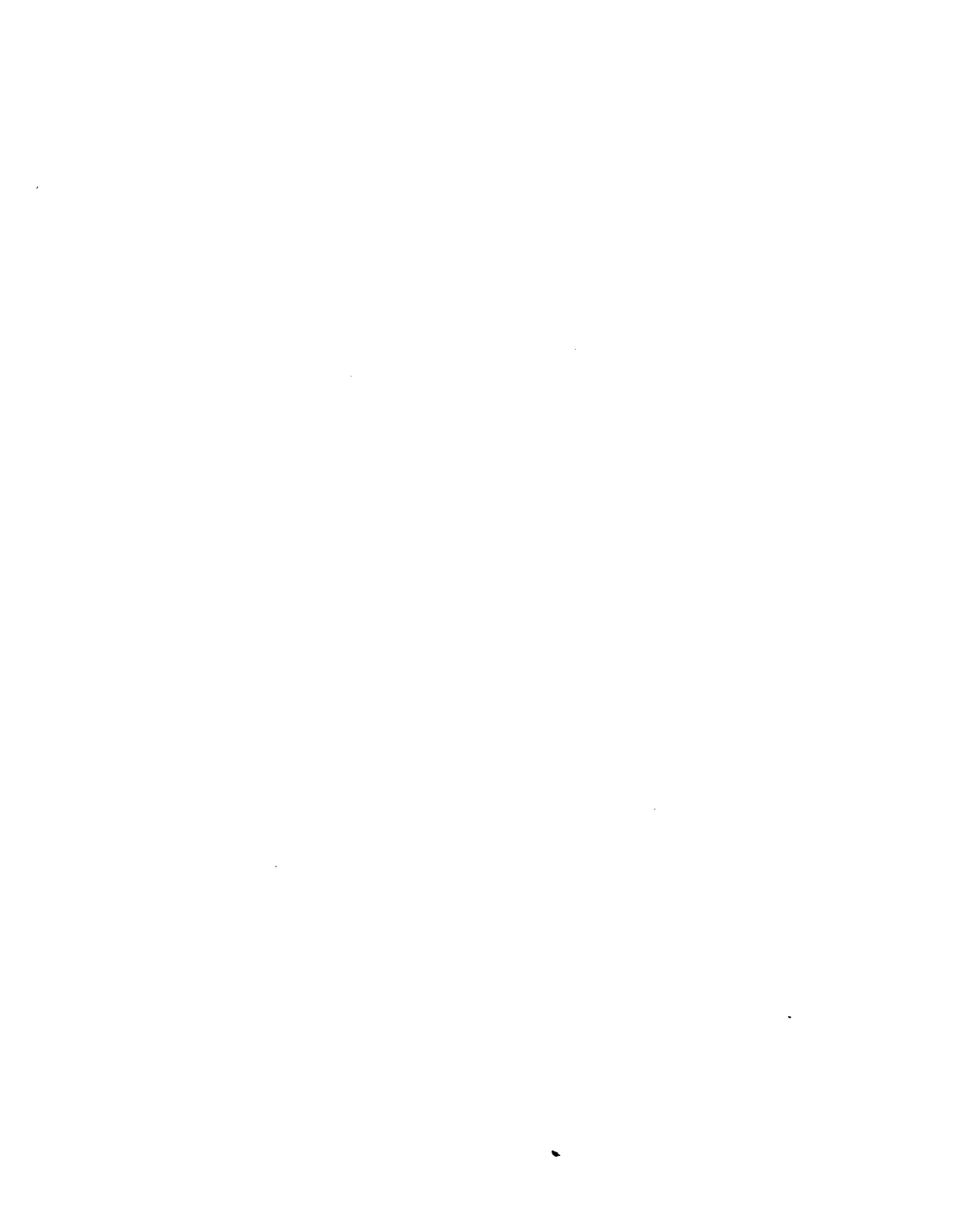
^v See note 28 *post*.

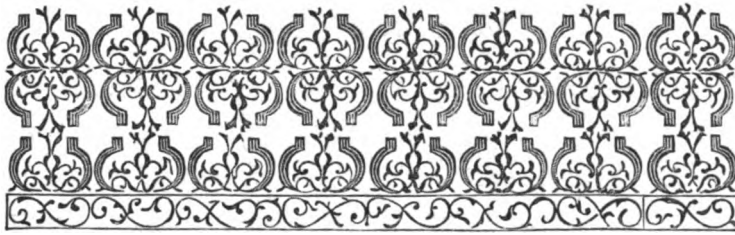
to the Planters of New-England.

mend vnto your care and conscience, ioyning therewith my daily inecessant prayers vnto the Lord, that he who hath made the heauens and the earth, the sea and all riuers of waters, and whose prouidence is ouer all his workes, especially ouer all his deare children for good, would so guide and guard you in your wayes, as inwardly by his Spirit, so outwardly by the hand of his power, as that both you and we also, for and with you, may haue after matter of praising his Name all the days of your and our liues. Fare you well in him in whom you trust, and in whom I rest

*An unfained well-willer
of your happie sucresse
in this hopefull voyage,*

I. R.





A RELATION OR
IOURNALL OF THE
PROCEEDINGS OF THE
Plantation fetled at *Plimoth* in
New ENGLAND.¹



Ednesday the sixt of *September*,
the Wind comming East North
East,² a fine small gale, we loosed
from *Plimoth*, hauing bene
kindly intertained and curteous-
ly vsed by diuers friends there
dwelling, and after many diffi-
culties in boysterous stormes, at

length by Gods prouidence vpon the ninth of *Novem-*

¹ Leaving Leyden in the latter part of July, 1620, the Pilgrims had arrived in the *Speedwell* at Southampton, Eng., and there met the *Mayflower*; sailed thence on *Saturday*, ⁵/₁₅ Aug.; put back into Dartmouth on account of the alleged leakage of the *Speedwell*, about *Sunday*, ¹³/₂₃ Aug.; failed again about *Wednesday*, ²³/₂ Aug.; but, after they were one hundred leagues from Land's End, put back once more on account of the asserted condition

of the *Speedwell*,—this time into Plymouth, where she was dismissed, a portion of the company sent back in her to London, and the remainder—102 persons—sailed in the *Mayflower* on *Wednesday*, ⁶/₁₆ Sept.

² *East north east* was the fairest possible wind for leaving Plymouth, as the direct course down the Sound to the Channel, and thence toward the open sea, would not be far from S. W. by S. and W. S. W.

*ber*³ following, by breake of the day we espied land which we deemed to be *Cape Cod*, and so afterward it proued. And the appearance of it much comforted vs, especially, seeing so goodly a Land, and woodded to the brinke of the sea,⁴ it caused vs to reioyce together, and praise God that had giuen vs once againe to see land. And thus wee made our course South South West,⁵ purposing to goe to a Riuer ten leagues [2] to the South of the Cape,⁶ but at night the winde being contrary,⁷ we put round againe

³ *Thursday*, ⁹/₁₀ Nov.

⁴ The reader who is familiar with the desolate aspect of the Cape at the present time, must throw himself back in imagination to the time when a comely if not luxuriant growth of trees and forest vegetation relieved that desolation, in order to understand the feelings here expressed.

⁵ Bradford says, "they tacked aboute and resolved to stande for y^e southward (y^e wind & weather being faire) to finde some place aboute Hudsons river for their habitation."—[*History of Plymouth Plantation*, 77.] Even with the greatest possible offing when they made land, they could hardly have steered long in a S. S. W. course, as it would have brought them directly on to the cape. An error of the prefs for south-south-east is not improbable.

⁶ Their ideas of the relative positions of most points on the New England shore were then of the vaguest.

⁷ Bradford says, "After they had failed y^e course aboute halfe y^e day, they fell amongst deangerous shoulds

and roring breakers, and they were so farr intangled ther with as they conceived them selves in great danger; & y^e wind shrinking upon them withall, they resolved to bear up againe for the Cape, and thought them selves hapy to gett out of those dangers before night overtooke them, as by God's Providence they did."—[*Hist. Plym. Plant.* 77.] Dr. Palfrey suggests [*Hist. N. E.*, i. 162] that these "shoulds" might be those of Monomoy, near Chatham, or Nantucket Shoals. Dr. Young took the same view [*Chron. of Plym.* 103]. But Mr. Amos Otis and Prof. Agassiz have made it much more probable [*N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* xviii. 42-44] that they were those around what Gosnold named *Point Care* and *Tucker's Terror* [see *Archer's Account of Gosnold's Voyage*, 3 *Majs. Hist. Col.*, viii. 74], off Eastham and Orleans; since obliterated by the action of the sea. The map of New England in Ogilby's huge folio lays down "Isle Naufet" in the precise spot assigned by Mr. Otis.

for the Bay of *Cape Cod*: and vpon the 11. of *November*,⁸ we came to an anchor in the Bay,⁹ which is a good harbour and pleafant Bay, circled round, except in the entrance, which is about foure miles ouer from land to land,¹⁰ compaffed about to the very Sea with Okes, Pines, Iuniper, Saffafras, and other sweet wood; it is a harbour wherein 1000. faile of Ships may fafely ride,¹¹ there we relieued our felues with wood and water, and refreshed our people, while our fhallow was fitted to coaft the Bay, to fearch for an habitation: there was the greateft ftore of fowle¹² that euer we faw.

And eury day we faw Whales¹³ playing hard by vs, of

⁸ *Saturday*, ¹¹ Nov.

⁹ Provincetown harbor.

¹⁰ As the inner fhore of the Cape trends away S. E. by S., the diftance acrofs the entrance varies, according to the angle at which it is taken, from 2½ miles, which is the neareft line from Long Point light to the Eaft-harbor fhore, to 5½ miles, from the fame light to the opening of Pamet River, in Truro.

¹¹ The changes of near two centuries and a half have not abridged this capacity. Freeman fays [*History of Cape Cod*, ii. 619], “the harbor is fufficiently capacious for 3000 veffels, and is a haven of the greateft importance to navigation, whether as refpects veffels doing bufinefs in the neighboring waters, or fhips from foreign voyages arriving on the coaft in thick and ftormy weather.”

¹² “Sea-fowl are plenty on the fhores and in the bay; particularly the gannet, curlew, brant, black-duck, fea-duck, old wife, dipper, fheldrake, penguin, gull, plover, coot, widgeon, and peep.”—[*1 Mafs. Hift. Col.*, iii. 199.]

¹³ Douglafs fays of the whales, “Formerly they fet in along fhore by Cape Cod” [*Summary, &c.*, i. 60]. So he elfewhere adds, “Formerly (they are paffengers according to the feafons), in New England, Cape Cod embayed them” [*Ibid.* i. 296]; and Freeman fays, “The fhores of the Cape were, within the remembrance of perfons now living, ftrewed in places with huge bones of whales, thefe remaining unwafted many years. Fifty years back, rib-bones fet for pofts in fencing was no unufual fight.”—[*Hift. Cape Cod*, ii. 623.]

which in that place, if we had instruments & meanes to take them, we might haue made a very rich returne, which to our great grieffe we wanted. Our master and his mate, and others experienced in fishing, professed, we might haue made three or foure thousand pounds worth of Oyle; they preferred it before Greenland Whale-fishing, & purpose the next winter to fish for Whale here; for Cod we assayed, but found none, there is good store no doubt in their season.¹⁴ Neither got we any fish all the time we lay there, but some few little ones on the shore. We found great Mussels,¹⁵ and very fat and full of

¹⁴ It is not likely that they fished outside of the harbor; nor would they have caught cod, even there, at that time of the year. They probably took only the small "bar-fish," as they are now called, which are caught in the east end of the harbor.

¹⁵ Dr. Freeman and Dr. Young supposed that the giant clam, or sea-hen, (*mastra solidissima*) is here referred to. But Capt. Smith—whose *Description of New England*, published in 1616, must have been in the hands of the Mayflower men, and their chief authority and guide—speaks of clams (*clampes*) as found, with lobsters, in almost all the sandy bays; so that they would most likely have known that fish by that name. Mussels (*mytilus edulis*) they were familiar with at home; and as these are found in abundance about low-water mark in Long Point, near their anchorage, while the giant clam is only found on

the bars at the east end of Provincetown, and along the Truro shore, and is accessible only at the lowest tides, and would seem, therefore, to have been so much more removed from their ready discovery, it is perhaps most probable that mussels, of a size to them unfamiliar,—probably the *mytilus modiolus*,—were what they meant. The hearty eating of these, after sixty-four days of salt provender, might produce the described effects upon their systems; indeed, under any circumstances, at certain seasons, such results might follow. "There can be no doubt of the poisonous qualities of shellfish, particularly mussels and clams, at certain seasons."—[Dr. Benj. Haskell, of Rockport, in Appendix to Muffey's *Health, its Friends and its Foes*, p. 369.] The mention of "pearls"—which are plentifully found in mussels, but not in clams—confirms this view.

Sea pearle, but we could not eat them, for they made vs all sicke that did eat, as well saylers as passengers; they caused to cast and scoure, but they were soone well againe. The bay is so round & circling, that before we could come to anchor, we went round all the points of the Compasse. We could not come neere the shore by three quarters of an English mile, because of shallow water,¹⁶ which was a great prejudice to vs, for our people going on shore were forced to wade a bow shoot or two in going a-land, which caused many to get colds and coughs, for it was ny times freezing cold weather.

This day before we came to harbour, obseruing some not well affected to vnitie and concord, but gaue some appearance of faction,¹⁷ it was thought good there should

¹⁶ "As there are flats extending some distance from the settlement, vessels usually anchor about three fourths of a mile from the shore."—[Freeman, *Hist. Cape Cod*, ii. 619.] The Provincetown shore is what is referred to. It will be seen further along that the Mayflower anchored in deep water within a furlong of Long Point.

¹⁷ Says Bradford, "I shall a litle returne backe and begine with a combination made by them before they came ashore, being ye first foundation of their govermente in this place; occasioned partly by ye discontented & mutinous speeches that some of the strangers amongst them [i. e. not Leyden men, but adventurers who joined them in England] had let fall from

them in ye ship, That when they came a shore they would use their owne libertie; for none had power to command them, the patente they had being for Virginia, and not for New-England, which belonged to an other Government, with which ye Virginia Company had nothing to doe. And partly that such an acte by them done (this their condition considered) might be as firme as any patent, and in some respects more sure."—[*Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 89.] Morton says, "It was thought meet for their more orderly carrying on of their Affairs, and accordingly by mutual consent they entred into a solemn Combination as a Body Politick, To submit to such Government and Governours, Laws

be an affociation and agreement, that we should combine together [3] in one body, and to submit to such government and governours, as we should by common consent agree to make and chose, and set our hands to this that followes word for word.

IN the name of God, Amen. We whose names are vnderwritten, the loyall Subiects of our dread soveraigne Lord King JAMES, by the grace of God of Great *Britaine, France, and Ireland* King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Having vnder-taken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian Faith, and ¹⁸ honour of our King and Countrey, a Voyage to plant the first Colony in the Northerne parts of VIRGINIA, doe by these presents solemnly & mutually in the presence of *God* and one of ¹⁹ another, covenant, and combine our selues together into a civill body politike, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof to ²⁰ enact, constitute, and frame such iust and equall Lawes, Ordinances, acts, constitutions, ²¹ offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the generall good of the Colony: vnto

and Ordinances, as should by a general Consent from time to time be made choice of, and assented unto." — [*N. E. Memorial*, 1st ed., p. 14.]

¹⁸ Morton infers "the." — [*N. E. Memorial*, p. 15.]

¹⁹ Morton leaves out "of."

²⁰ Morton has "do" instead of "to;" evidently an error of the press.

²¹ Bradford [*Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 90] and Morton both infer "and" here; but Morton misprints "officers."

which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have here-vnder²² subscribed our names, ²³ *Cape Cod* ²⁴ 11. of *November*, in the year of ²⁵ the reign of our sovereign Lord King JAMES, of *England, France, and Ireland* ²⁶ 18. and of *Scotland* 54. *Anno Domino* 1620.²⁷

²² Morton says, "hereunto."

²³ Bradford and Morton both here insert "at."

²⁴ Bradford and Morton both insert "the."

²⁵ Morton leaves out the words "the year of."

²⁶ Bradford and Morton both here insert "the," and again before "54;" and read "18th" and "54th."

²⁷ The names of the signers of this most interesting and significant document were first printed by Nathaniel Morton, in 1669, in the *New-England Memorial*. As corrected by Prince, and illustrated by Bradford in the Appendix to his History, they stand as follows, with the number represented by each, and the names of their families: viz.,—

1. John Carver (8).

Catherine, his wife.

Desire Minter.

John Howland, } men-
Roger Wilder, } servants.

William Latham, }
Jasper More, } boys.

A maid-servant.

2. William Bradford (2).

Dorothy, his wife.

3. Edward Winflow (5).

Elizabeth, his wife.

George Soule, } men-
Elias Story, } servants.
Ellen More.

4. William Brewster (6).

Mary, his wife.

Love, }
Wrestling, } sons.

Richard More, }
— More, } boys.

5. Isaac Allerton (6).

Mary, his wife.

Bartholomew, }
Remember, } children.
Mary, }

John Hooke, boy.

6. Miles Standish (2).

Rose, his wife.

7. John Alden (1).

8. Samuel Fuller (1). [His servant,
William Butten, had d. at sea.]

9. Christopher Martin (4).

—, his wife.

Solomon Prower, } men-
John Langemore, } servants.

10. William Mullins (5).

—, his wife.

Joseph, }
Priscilla, } children.

Robert Carter, servant.

The same day so soon as we could we set a-shore 15. or 16. men, well armed, with some to fetch wood, for we

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>11. William White (5).
 Sufanna, his wife.
 Resolved, son.
 William Holbeck, } men-
 Edward Thomfon, } servants.</p> <p>12. Richard Warren (1).</p> <p>13. John Howland. [Of John Carver's family above.]</p> <p>14. Stephen Hopkins (8).
 Elizabeth, his wife.
 Giles,
 Constance, } chil-
 Damaris, } dren.
 Oceanus, b. at sea. }
 Edward Doten, } men-
 Edward Leifter, } servants.</p> <p>15. Edward Tilley (4).
 Ann, his wife.
 Henry Samfon, } children in
 Humility Cooper, } their care.</p> <p>16. John Tilley (3).
 ——, his wife.
 Elizabeth, daughter.</p> <p>17. Francis Cook (2).
 John, his son.</p> <p>18. Thomas Rogers (2).
 Joseph, his son.</p> <p>19. Thomas Tinker (3).
 ——, his wife.
 ——, son.</p> <p>20. John Ridgdale (2).
 Alice, his wife.</p> <p>21. Edward Fuller (3).
 Ann, his wife.
 Samuel, son.</p> <p>22. John Turner (3).
 ——, }
 ——, } sons.</p> | <p>23. Francis Eaton (3).
 Sarah, his wife.
 Samuel, son.</p> <p>24. James Chilton (3).
 ——, his wife.
 Mary, daughter.</p> <p>25. John Crackstone (2).
 John, his son.</p> <p>26. John Billington (4).
 Ellen, his wife.
 John, }
 Francis, } sons.</p> <p>27. Moses Fletcher (1).</p> <p>28. John Goodman (1).</p> <p>29. Digory Priest (1).</p> <p>30. Thomas Williams (1).</p> <p>31. Gilbert Winflow (1).</p> <p>32. Edmond Margefon (1).</p> <p>33. Peter Brown (1).</p> <p>34. Richard Britteridge (1).</p> <p>35. George Soude. [Of Ed. Winflow's family above.]</p> <p>36. Richard Clark (1).</p> <p>37. Richard Gardiner (1).</p> <p>38. John Allerton (1).</p> <p>39. Thomas Englifh (1).</p> <p>40. Edward Doten. [Of Stephen Hopkins's family above.]</p> <p>41. Edward Leifter. [Do.]</p> |
|--|---|

This list of Morton's adds up to *forty-one* signers; who, according to Bradford's list, at this date, represented exactly *one hundred* persons. Bradford adds [*Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 450], "There were also other 2 seamen hired to stay a year here in the country, — William Trevore, and one Ely.

had none left;²⁸ as also to see what the Land was, and what Inhabitants they could meet with, they found it²⁹

But when their time was out they both returned." As they were thus to be merely temporary residents, they were not probably requested to sign the compact, which looked forward toward some permanent government here.

It will be noticed that while one of Carver's men-servants, one of Winslow's, and both of Hopkins's, affixed their names to this paper; the other servant of Carver (Roger Wilder), the other of Winslow (Elias Story), with the two of Christopher Martin (Solomon Prower and John Langemore), the two of William White (William Holbeck and Edward Thomson), and that of William Mullins (Robert Carter),—seven in all,—did not sign it. Some have conjectured that the names of all the adult male members of the company not found there should be added to Morton's list; but as keeper—in his official capacity—of the public records, from 1645 to 1685, there is a strong probability that the Secretary had in his possession, and copied from, the original compact with its actual signatures,—a document which, from the nature of the case, they would have taken pains to preserve. It is possible that such of the servants only as, on the one hand, specially deserved the honor, or, on the other, specially needed the restraint, of becoming parties to such an agreement, were invited to sign it; to the former of which classes one might fancy John Howland to belong, and to the latter, Edward

Doten and Edward Leister. It is more probable—as Bradford says [*Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 450-52] these seven all died soon—that they were ailing at this time, and so out of the way at the signing.

Counting the two hired seamen, the entire Mayflower company—as distinct from her crew—consisted thus of *one hundred and two* persons.

²⁸ Prince [*Annals*, ed. 1736, p. 73] says, referring to Bradford's authority, they on the same day "chose Mr. John Carver, a pious and well approved gentleman, their *Governor* for the first year." But Bradford [*Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 90] says, "After this they chose, or rather confirmed, Mr. John Carver, &c.," whom Morton exactly copies [*N. E. Memorial*, 16]. So that I do not find here any absolute proof that the election of Carver took place on the same day on which the compact was signed; the more especially as Bradford immediately connects his statement, just quoted, with some particulars which did not take place until after the commencement of the settlement at Plymouth. It is most reasonable to suppose, however,—in the absence of any evidence to the contrary,—that the election of some person as chief magistrate would immediately follow the formal recognition of a body corporate.

²⁹ Dr. Young endorses Dr. Freeman [*1 Mass. Hist. Coll.*, viii. 206] in the judgment that this party landed on

to be a small neck of Land; on this side where we lay is the *Bay*, and the further side the Sea; the ground or earth, sand hills, much like the Downes in *Holland*, but much better;³⁰ the crust of the earth a Spits depth, excellent blacke earth;³¹ all wooded with Okes, Pines, Saffafras, Iuniper, Birch, Holly, Vines, some Ash, Walnut;³²

Long Point, and that their explorations were mainly confined to the neck which separates Provincetown harbor from Cape Cod Bay. But it seems to me far from improbable that they landed not far from Stevens's Point, and that their explorations extended across the end of the Cape, between Race Point and Wood End, so that by the sea on "the further side" they meant the Atlantic, and not "Barnstable Bay," as Dr. Freeman considered. They started, probably, early in the day, and were gone till night, so that they had time to roam largely over that western half of Provincetown, the whole of which is only $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles in extreme length, by an average of not much over 2 in breadth; the more especially as the wooded portion was clear of underbrush, and so "fit to goe or ride in." One object they had in view was to find inhabitants; but one would think they must have been well assured, by the view which they got of Long Point in sailing round it into harbor, whether there were inhabitants there or not.

³⁰ That portion of Holland with which the Pilgrims had become familiar, skirting the North Sea, abounds

in sand *dunes* similar to those on the New-England coast; it being estimated that they have an extent there of 140,000 acres. — [Marsh's *Man and Nature*, p. 507.]

³¹ "*Spit-deep*, as deep as the table of a spade; as much ground in depth as may be dugged up at once with a spade." — [Bailey.] Where the trees and brush have not been removed, or buried under the sand which every wind blows in from the beach, this "blacke earth," a dark vegetable mold, the collection of centuries, still remains. The change, from that day of fertility to the present extensive barrenness and defolation of the Cape, is primarily due to the removal of the trees. [See an eloquent, as well as profound, discussion of the subject in Marsh's *Man and Nature*, fumbled up, pp. 214-217.]

³² That the Cape was formerly covered with large trees is proved, (1) from the fact that their stumps now occasionally appear, when the superincumbent sand is blown off by some high wind; (2) by the testimony of the most aged inhabitants, who well remember the vandalism which cut them down for the purpose of making

the wood for the most part open and without vnder-wood, fit either to goe or ride in: at night our people retur- [4] ned, but found not any person, nor habitation, and laded their Boat with Iuniper, which smelled very sweet & strong, and of which we burnt the most part of the time we lay there.

Munday the 13. of *November*,³³ we vns shipped our Shallop and drew her on land, to mend and reparaire her, having bin forced to cut her downe in bestowing her betwixt the decks, and she was much opened with the peoples

chaſcoal with which to boil down fea-water to falt; (3) by the actual preference, in the east part of the village of Provincetown, of a few surviving representatives of the old growth. Most if not all of the growths mentioned in this "Relation" are still found in Provincetown and its vicinity. Those here specified appear to be the following: viz., —

Oaks (white), *Quercus alba* (now most common).

(red), *Quercus rubra*.

(black), *Quercus tinctoria*.

Pine (pitch) *Pinus rigida*.

Sassafras, *Sassafras officinale*.

Juniper (red cedar), *Juniperus Virginiana*.

Birch (white), *Betula populifolia*.

Holly (evergreen), *Ilex opaca*.

Ash (white), *Fraxinus acuminata*.

Walnut (mockernut hickory), *Carya tomentosa*; or (pig-nut hickory), *Carya porcina*.

The vines were, probably the com-

mon wild-grape (*Vitis labrusca*), and perhaps the greenbrier (*Smilax rotundifolia*), Virginian creeper, (*Ampelopsis quinquefolia*), hairy honeysuckle (*Lonicera hirsuta*), and poison ivy (*Rhus toxicodendron*). On what is called the "Island," about a mile west of East Harbor meadow, grapevines still grow which bear a small, inferior grape, holding about the same relation to the cultivated grape that the beach-plum has to the garden plum.

Eighteen years before the Mayflower anchored here, Gosnold took on board, from this end of the Cape, for firewood, "cypress [juniper], birch, witch-hazel and beech."—[*Archer's Hist.*, in 3 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.*, viii. 74.] In 1614, Captain John Smith saw Cape Cod as "a headland of high hills of sand, overgrown with shrubby pines, hurts [whortleberry-bushes] and such trash."—[*Description of New England*, in 3 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.*, vi. 119.]

³³ Monday, ¹³/₂₃ Nov.

lying in her,³⁴ which kept vs long there, for it was 16. or 17. dayes before the Carpenter had finished her; our people went on shore to refresh themselues, and our women to wash, as they had great need;³⁵ but whilest we

³⁴ Bradford says, "They having brought a large shalop with them out of England, stowed in quarters in y^e ship, they now gott her out & fett their carpenters to worke to trime her up; but being much brused & shattered in y^e shipe wth foule weather, they saw she would be longe in mending." — [*Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 80.]

³⁵ There are no springs in Provincetown, and, from the fact, mentioned farther on, that the first exploring party drank their first draught of New-England water at the springs in Truro, it is clear that they had found no water which they esteemed drinkable in Provincetown. The fresh-water pond now nearest to the harbor is "Shank Painter," which is nearly half a mile from the present high-water mark, and which must then have been concealed from view from the deck of the Mayflower by the intervening forest. Where, then, did the women find water for their need of washing?

The changes of a peculiarly changeable region must be had in mind in giving an answer. A careful study of the topography of the locality has led to the conclusion that there was formerly a fresh-water pond of considerable size, separated from the sea by a narrow sand-beach, which pond has become wholly obliterated, — on the

lower side by the influx of the sea, and on the upper side by the encroachments of the sand. It was situated between the N. W. portion of High Hill and the present low-water mark, and must have been at least a quarter of a mile in breadth by, say, seven-eighths in length: including in its upper half a section of the town, say from Union wharf on the S. W. to Cook's wharf on the east; and in its lower half a considerable section of the present harbor, where vessels now, at full sea, come up between these wharves. The evidence in the case may be briefly stated thus: — (1) there is a strip, low down on the flats, laid bare by the daily ebb, which may be traced as presumably the foundation of the narrow beach, — the beach on which the women washed their clothes; (2) fresh-water mud, with peat, roots, and other traces of swamp growths, may still be identified under the superincumbent salt-mud and sand within the embrace of the aforesaid strip, — the mud sometimes being pressed up to the surface through the subsequent sand-layer, by the weight of vessels resting on the flats at low water; (3) in digging wells and reservoirs in that portion of the village embraced within this area, there are found (a) sand, (b) salt-water mud, (c) a few inches of sand, (d) fresh-water

lay thus still, hoping our Shallop would be ready in five or fixe dayes at the furthest, but our Carpenter made flow worke of it, so that some of our people impatient of delay, desired for our better furtherance to travaile by Land into the Countrey, which was not without appearance of danger, not having the Shallop with them, nor meanes to carry provision, but on their backes, to see whether it might be fit for vs to seate in or no, and the rather because as we fayled into the Harbour, there seemed to be a river opening it selfe into the maine land;³⁶ the willingnes of the persons was liked, but the thing it selfe, in regard of the danger was rather permitted then approved, and so with cautions, directions, and instructions, sixteene men were set out with every man his Musket, Sword, and Corflet,³⁷ vnder the conduct of Captaine *Miles Standish*,³⁸ vnto whom was adioyned for

mud, peat, &c., with occasional stumps of trees, sometimes of considerable size. That this pond—thus demonstrated—existed in 1620, and that its narrow separating beach had not been swept away in some fearful storm which let in the all-devouring ocean before that time, is rendered nearly certain by the observed progress of the sea during the last century; and various weighty circumstances, for which we can not make room here, combine to produce the decided judgment that this progress of the ocean has been within the last century and a quarter.

³⁶ Pamet River, the mouth of which is distant $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles S. E. by E. from Long Point light, and which, in 1794, was about 300 feet broad at the mouth, and wider within.—[*1 Mass. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 196.]

³⁷ The corselet was a piece of defensive armor covering the breast from the neck to the girdle; in distinction from the cuirass, which added a back piece buckled on each side to the corselet.

³⁸ *Miles Standish* is supposed to have been born at Duxbury Hall, near Chorley, in Lancashire, some twenty-three miles N. E. from Liverpool, in

counsell and advise, *William Bradford*,³⁹ *Stephen Hopkins*,⁴⁰ and *Edward Tilley*.⁴¹

1584; served as a foldier in the Low Countries; became interested in the Pilgrims, and joined them, though not one of their church; brought over only his wife Rose, who died a month after the landing; he next married Barbara —, who is supposed to have come in the Ann, in 1623. He was constantly engaged in the public service; was Assitant nineteen years; went to London for the colony in 1625, returning the following spring. About 1631 he settled on "Captain's Hill," in Duxbury, on condition, at first, of moving into Plymouth "in the winter time that they may the better repair to the worship of God;" there he died, ³/₁₃ Oct., 1656, aged 72. He named, in his will, four sons — Alexander, Miles, Josiah, and Charles — and a deceased daughter, Lora. — [Savage, *Gen. Diſ.*, iv. 162; *Plym. Col. Rec.*, xii. 6; Winsor's *Hist. Duxbury*, 320; *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, v. 335-338.]

³⁹ *William Bradford* was the son of William and Alice (Hanson) Bradford, and was born at Aufterfield, Eng., ¹⁹/₂₉ March, 15⁸⁹/₉₀. Early uniting himself with the Scrooby movement, he went to Holland with the church; ³⁰/₁₀ Nov. 1613, married, at Leyden, Dorothy May, of "Witzbutts" (Wifbeach?), Eng., who was drowned at Cape Cod, ⁷/₁₇ Dec., 1620; next married, ¹⁴/₂₄ Aug., 1623, Alice (Carpenter) Southworth; had John, William, Mercy, and Joseph; was chosen governor

after the death of John Carver, and was governor every year until his death, except five; died at Plymouth, ⁹/₁₉ May, 1657, aged 67 years, 1 month, 20 days.—[Hunter's *Founders of New Plymouth*, 99-116, 198-9; Savage, *Gen. Diſ.*, i. 231; *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, iv. 45; *Leyden Mss. Rec.*

⁴⁰ *Stephen Hopkins* had married and had two children (Giles and Constance); lost his wife, and married again Elizabeth —, and had daughter Damaris and son Oceanus (born on the voyage), before the date of this mention. His second wife lived above twenty years at Plymouth, and they had another son (Caleb) and four daughters (Deborah, Ruth, Elizabeth, —). He was Assitant, 1633-6, and died in the latter part of June or first of July, 1644.—[Savage, *Gen. Diſ.*, ii. 462; *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, iv. 281.]

⁴¹ *Edward Tilley* came with his wife Ann and two children "that were their coffens, Henery Samson and Humillity Coper." He was probably also elder brother of John, who brought over his wife, and daughter Elizabeth. All of both families died in the first mortality, except Henry Samson and Elizabeth Tilley; the former of whom married Ann Plummer, and had nine children, the latter, John Howland (Carver's servant), and had ten.—[Savage, *Gen. Diſ.*, iv. 302; Bradford's *Plym. Plant.*, 449-453; Vinton's *Giles Memorial*, 374.]

Wednesday the 15. of *November*,⁴² they were fet a shore,⁴³ and when they had ordered themfelues in the order of a fingle File, and marched about the fpace of a myle, by the Sea ⁴⁴ they efpyed fue or fixe people, with a Dogge, comming towards them, who were Savages, who when they faw them ran into the Wood and whifled the Dogge after them, &c. Firft, they fupposed them to be mafter *Jones*, the Mafter⁴⁵ and fome of his men, for they were a-fhore, and knew of their comming, but after they knew them to be *Indians* they mar- [5] ched after them into the Woods,⁴⁶ leaft other of the *Indians* fhould lie in Ambush; but when the *Indians* faw our men following

⁴² *Wednesday*, ¹⁵/₂₅ Nov.

⁴³ From the facts, that they had, clearly, already landed at the pond on the Provincetown fhore; that they more than once fpeak of having to wade three-fourths of a mile in landing, while the water feems to have been bold at Long Point; and that for exploration they would naturally wifh to fave their ftrength from vainly traversing the entire length of Long Point; it feems evident that this party were fet on fhore fomewhere near the prefent fite of the village of Provincetown, moft likely on the western end of the beach where the women wafhed their clothes, near Payne's Hill.

⁴⁴ They probably ftruck inland over Telegraph Hill, and fo back of Mill Hill along the high land fkirting the pond; when they faw the *Indians* approaching over the beach from the

eaft. The "fpace of a myle" would have brought them nearly to the creft of High Hill.

⁴⁵ Mafter Jones's firft name does not appear. Thacher [*Hift. Plym.*, 48] fays that he came over again, Aug., 1622, as mafter of the Difcovery; but Bradford—who [*Hift. Plym. Plant.*, 68] calls the captain of the *Mayflower* "Mr. Joans," and refers to him four or five times afterward—fpeaks [*Ibid.* 127] of the mafter of the *Difcovery* as "*one* Captaine Jons," without any hint that it was the fame man; fo that I doubt if it were.

⁴⁶ The land around Duck Pond was, doubtlefs, then denfely wooded. I imagine that the *Indians* made for thofe woods, and then ran out of them around the north end of Great Pond over toward Negro Head, and fo to the eaft towards Truro.

them, they ran away with might and mayne, and our men turned out of the Wood after them, for it was the way they intended to goe,⁴⁷ but they could not come neare them. They followed them that night about ten miles⁴⁸ by the trace of their footings, and saw how they had come the same way they went,⁴⁹ and at a turning perceived how they run vp an hill,⁵⁰ to see whether they followed them. At length night came vpon them, and they were constrained to take vp their lodging, so they set forth three Sentinells, and the rest, some kindled a fire, and others fetched wood, and there held our Randevous that night.⁵¹ In the morning⁵² so soone as we could see the trace, we proceeded on our iourney, & had the tracke

⁴⁷ If, on the previous Saturday, the exploring party surveyed the western half of Provincetown, — as I have suggested, — it would be natural that they should now intend to survey the eastern; which would lead them over between Dutch and Great ponds to the ocean side, as they now went, after the Indians.

⁴⁸ It is safe to judge that a man, be he Pilgrim or otherwise, who, with a heavy matchlock, sword, and corselet, runs a half mile on Cape Cod, even in its best estate, will feel as if he had run a mile, and estimate distances accordingly. This party, if they followed the Indians north between the ponds, and then east to the neighborhood of Stout's Creek, — making allowance for all their probable windings, — must have marched not far

from seven miles before they encamped for the night.

⁴⁹ That is, they inferred, from seeing the tracks which the Indians had made in coming as well as in going, that they were now returning toward their homes; whence they had probably been drawn by the infrequent sight of the ship across the bay.

⁵⁰ If my theory is correct that the party took this route, Negro Head — which is eighty-eight feet high, and which is near their "turning" around the end of Great Pond to go east — seems likeliest to have been this hill.

⁵¹ Supposed to be in the neighborhood of Stout's Creek, formerly a small branch of East Harbor, in Truro, — now extinct from the encroachments of the land.

⁵² *Thursday*, ¹⁶/₂₆ Nov.

untill we had compassed the head of a long creake,⁵³ and there they tooke into another wood,⁵⁴ and we after them, supposing to finde some of their dwellings, but we marched thorow boughes and bushes, and vnder hills and vallies, which tore our very Armour in peeces,⁵⁵ and yet could meete with none of them, nor their houses, nor finde any fresh water, which we greatly desired, and stood in need off, for we brought neither Beere nor Water with vs, and our victuals was onely Bisket and Holland cheefe, and a little Bottle of *aquavite*,⁵⁶ so as we were fore a thirft. About ten a clocke we came into a deepe Valley,⁵⁷ full of brush, wood-gaile, and long grasse,⁵⁸ through which we

⁵³ *East-Harbor Creek*, which almost cuts through to the ocean side. "At the head of East-Harbor Creek, the Atlantic is separated but by half a dozen rods of sand from the tide-waters of the Bay." — [Thoreau's *Cape Cod*, p. 166.]

⁵⁴ Clearing the end of East-Harbor Creek, they turned toward the south, which would bring them toward the woods, which seem to have covered the ridges and central portion—back from the ocean on the N. E. and the bay on the S. W.

⁵⁵ Dr. Freeman said, in 1801, "Excepting the trees and bushes, which have disappeared, this is an exact description of that part of Truro called East Harbor." — [1 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* viii. 208.]

⁵⁶ "*Aqua vitæ*, a sort of cordial Liquor formerly made of brewed Beer

strongly hopp'd, well fermented; now (1730) it is commonly understood of Spirits, Geneva, and the like." — [*Bailey*.]

⁵⁷ The valley which contains the four or five scattering houses which now represent what used to be the village of East Harbor, in Truro; perhaps one and one half miles W. N. W. from Highland Light.

⁵⁸ *Brush*.—A general name for wild rose-bushes (*Rosa lucida*), bush-whortleberry (*Vaccinium dumosum*), low blueberry (*Vaccinium Pennsylvanicum*), bearberry (*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*), brown crowberry (*Oakefia conradi*), pimpnel (*Anagallis arvensis*), beach-plum (*Prunus maritima*), beach-pea (*Lathyrus maritimus*), shad-bush (*Amelanchier ovalis*), and other coarse shrubby and weedy growths which are still found in, or

found little paths or tracts, and there we saw a Deere, and found springs of fresh water,⁵⁹ of which we were heartily glad, and sat vs downe and drunke our first *New-England* water with as much delight as euer we drunke drinke in all our liues. When we had refreshed our selues, we directed our course full South, that we might come to the shore, which within a short while after we did, and there made a fire, that they in the ship might see where wee were (as we had direction)⁶⁰ and so marched on towards this supposed River; and as we went in another valley, we found a fine cleere Pond of fresh water, being about a Musket shot broad, and twife as long;⁶¹ there grew also many small vines, [6] and Foule and Deere haunted there; there grew much Safafras:

not far from, the same localities. — [See Thoreau's *Cape Cod*, passim.]

Wood-gaile, Dr. Young thought to be the *Sweet gale* (*Myrica gale*), but I am not aware that any trace of that exists on the Cape; while a second species of the same family, the *Bay-berry* (*Myrica cerifera*), grows in that region abundantly to this day.

Long Grass.— *Beach grass* (*calamagrostis arenaria*) was undoubtedly what they meant.

⁵⁹ In 1801, Dr. Freeman stated that in this valley was a swamp, called Dyer's Swamp, around which were formerly springs of fresh water, with a few then still remaining. But the remorseless sand has now so obliterated them that for at least a genera-

tion there has been no sign of springs there, — only a hollow, overgrown with bushes.

⁶⁰ Bradford says, "Afterwards they directed their course to come to ye other shore, for they knew it was a necke of land they were to crosse over, and so at length gott to ye seaside." — [*Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 81.] A S. W. course would bring them to the shore of the bay within the distance of a mile from Dyer's Swamp; while their fire built there on the shore could not have been distant much more than four miles across the bay, very nearly due E. from the anchorage of the Mayflower.

⁶¹ This was the little lake which gives name to the Pond Village in

from thence we went on & found much plaine ground,⁶² about fiftie Acres, fit for the Plow, and some signes where the *Indians* had formerly planted their corne; after this, some thought it best for neareness of the river to goe downe and travaile on the Sea sands, by which meanes some of our men were tyred, and lagged behind, so we stayed and gathered them vp, and struck into the Land againe;⁶³ where we found a little path to certaine heapes of sand, one whereof was covered with old Matts, and had a wooden thing like a mortar whelmed on the top of it, and an earthen pot layd in a little hole at the end thereof; we musing what it might be, digged & found

Truro. Thoreau, who visited it in 1855, describes it as "a pond three-eighths of a mile long densely filled with cat-tail flags [*Typha latifolia*] seven feet high,—enough for all the coopers in New England."—[*Cape Cod*, 130.] Although "a fine cleere Pond" in 1620, the added mention of vines, &c., indicates swampy tendencies at that time. [See Dr. Fobes's account of the filling up of *Fowling Pond*, in Raynham, within a much more recent period, in 1 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 172.]

⁶² Proceeding southward toward Pamet River, of which they were in search, they would next come to a section of elevated table-land, now traceable between Pond Village and Great Hollow; perhaps three-fourths of a mile W. N. W. of the famous old Truro meeting-house, painted by

"the dark brown years," now standing no longer.

⁶³ Probably following up the Great Hollow valley from its mouth on the bay; so that the place of graves was doubtless somewhere in what is now the village of Great Hollow. Their silence in regard to the Great Swamp in Truro seems to be accounted for by this detour to the beach. They struck down to the "sea-sands" just before they would have come to it, and then going up again through Great Hollow, passed by it while they were on the shore. The swamp is about half way between Pond Village and Great Hollow, say three-fourths of a mile from each, almost due W. from the old Truro meeting-house, and is now separated from the shore of the bay by a beach of not more than two hundred feet in width.

a Bow, and, as we thought, Arrowes, but they were rotten; We supposed there were many other things, but because we deemed them graues,⁶⁴ we put in the Bow againe and made it vp as it was, and left the rest vntouched, because we thought it would be odious vnto them to ranfacke their Sepulchers. We went on further and found new stubble, of which they had gotten Corne this yeare, and many Walnut trees full of Nuts,⁶⁵ and great store of Strawberries,⁶⁶ and some Vines;⁶⁷ passing thus a

⁶⁴ Schoolcraft says the Indians "choose dry and elevated places for burial, which are completely out of the reach of floods or standing water." — [*Hist. Indian Tribes of the U. S.*, ii. 69.] And Roger Williams says, "Upon the Grave is spread the Mat that the party died on, the Dish he eat in, &c." — [*Key*, &c., in *R.-I. Hist. Coll.*, i. 161.]

⁶⁵ The mockernut hickory (*Carya tomentosa*) — which grows on a poorer soil than the shellbark (*Carya alba*) and more prevails in the eastern and southern parts of Massachusetts — ripens its fruit in October; so that, in the mild winter of 1620, the trees might be expected, in November, to be still "full of nuts."

⁶⁶ Strawberry vines (*Fragaria Virginiana*, or *vesca*). Roger Williams says, "This Berry is the wonder of all the Fruits growing naturally in those parts: it is of itselfe Excellent: so that one of the chiefest Doctors of England was wont to say, that God could have made, but God never did

make a better Berry: In some parts where the Natives have planted" [he does not mean planted strawberry-vines, but tilled the soil with corn, &c., and so invited its creepers to a richer bed] "I have many times seen as many as would fill a good ship within a few miles compasse." — [*Key*, &c., in *R.-I. Hist. Coll.*, i. 90.] "Strawberries grew there abundantly [1855] in the little hollows on the edge of the desert, standing amid the beach-grass in the sand." — [Thoreau, *Cape Cod*, 187.]

⁶⁷ Grape-vines. Thomas Morton says, "Of this kind of trees, there are that beare grapes of three colours, that is to say: white, black and red." He adds, "The Country is so apt for vines that (but for the fire at the spring of the yeare) the vines would so over spreade the land, that one should not be able to passe for them; the fruit is as bigg of some as a musket bullet, and is excellent in taste." — [*New-English Canaan*, in Force's *Tracts*, Vol. II., v. 45. See also Wood's *New-England's Prospect*, ch. v.]

field or two, which were not great, we came to another, which had also bin new gotten,⁶⁸ and there we found where an house had beene, and foure or fiue old Plankes layed together; also we found a great Kettle, which had beene some Ships kette and brought out of *Europe*;⁶⁹ there was also an heape of sand, made like the former, but it was newly done, we might see how they had padled it with their hands, which we digged vp, and in it we found a little old Basket full of faire *Indian* Corne, and digged further & found a fine great new Basket full of very faire corne of this yeare, with some 36. goodly eares of corne, some yellow, and some red, and others mixt with blew, which was a very goodly sight: the Basket⁷⁰ was round, and narrow at the top, it held about three or foure

⁶⁸ That is, another field where the stubble showed that the Indians had newly "gotten corne." In Champlain's *Voyages* there is a plate representing Indian cornfields and wigwams on Cape Cod, in 1605. Thoreau says, in 1855, "We were surprised to hear of the great crops of corn which are still raised [on the Cape] notwithstanding the real and apparent barrenness."—[*Cape Cod*, 33.]

⁶⁹ These were, most likely, the traces of the company to which Bradford refers when he says [*Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 98], that about 1617 "a French ship was cast away at *Cape-Codd*, but ye men gott ashore, & saved their lives, and much of their victuals & other goods." He adds that the In-

dians killed all but three or four, using the survivors worse than slaves; two of whom Captain Dermer redeemed.

⁷⁰ "Their Barnes are holes made in the earth, that will hold a Hoghead of corne a peece in them. In these (when their corne is out of the huske and well dried) they lay their store in greate baskets (which they make of Sparke) with matts under about the sides and on the top: and putting it into the place made for it, they cover it with earth: and in this manner it is preserved from destruction or putrefaction; to be used in case of necessity and not else."—[*New-Englisk Canaan*, in Force's *Tracts*, Vol. II., v. 30.]

Bushels, which was as much as two of vs could lift vp from the ground, and was very handfomely and cunningly made; But whilst wee were busie about these things, we set our men Sentinell in a round ring, all but two [7] or three which digged vp the corne. We were in susepce, what to doe with it, and the Kettle, and at length after much consultation, we concluded to take the Kettle, and as much of the Corne as we could carry away with vs; and when our Shallop came, if we could find any of the people, and come to parley with them, we would giue them the Kettle againe, and satisfie them for their Corne,⁷¹ so we tooke all the eares and put a good deale of the loofe Corne in the Kettle for two men to bring away on a staffe; besides, they that could put any into their Pockets filled the same; the rest wee buried againe, for we were so laden with Armour that we could carry no more. Not farre from this place we found the remainder of an old Fort, or Palizide, which as we conceiued had beene made by some Christians,⁷² this was also hard by that place which we thought had beene a river, vnto which wee went and found it so to be, deviding it selfe into two armes by an high banke,⁷³ standing right by the cut or

⁷¹ This was indicative of the spirit of fairness with which the Pilgrims of Plymouth always acted towards the aboriginal owners of the soil. [See discussion of the question, *Did the Pilgrims wrong the Indians?* in the *Congregational Quarterly*, i. 129-135.]

⁷² They seem to have now reached the neighborhood of Hopkins's Cliff, which borders Pamet River on the north. Doubtless the "old fort," and the "remains of the house" seen a little before, had one origin.

⁷³ Now called Old Tom's Hill, in Indian Neck.

mouth which came from the Sea,⁷⁴ that which was next unto vs was the leffe, the other arme was more then twife as big, and not vnlike to be an harbour for ships; but whether it be a fresh river, or onely an indraught of the Sea, we had no time to discover; for wee had Commandement to be out but two dayes. Here also we saw two Canoas,⁷⁵ the one on the one side, the other on the other side,⁷⁶ wee could not beleue it was a Canoa, till we came neare it, so we returned leauing the further disco-

⁷⁴ Bradford says, "This was near ye place of that supposed river they came to seeke; unto which they wente and found it to open it selfe into 2. armes with a high cliffe of sand in ye enterance, but more like to be crikes of salte water than any fresh, for ought they saw."—[*Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 82.] Prince [*Annals*, 74] conjectures this to be what is now Barnstable harbor. But, aside from the fact that the resemblance of Barnstable harbor to the description here given is of the vaguest possible description, his conjecture is proven erroneous by the fact that the ground gone over by the party to reach Barnstable must have been at least forty-five miles,—an incredible journey for the time, and under the circumstances; while the details agree at every point with Pamet River. The "leffe" arm, which was next to the party, is Hopkins's Creek, North Branch, or Pamet Little River; the "other arme" was Pamet River, or Pamet Creek, or Pamet harbor, which almost cuts off the Cape here, termi-

nating only within a few rods of the eastern shore.

⁷⁵ There is nothing to indicate whether these were bark canoes or "dug-outs." Both were used by the natives.

⁷⁶ It is difficult to see exactly what is here intended. Dr. Young interprets the "one side" and "other side" to refer to the bank (i. e. *Old Tom's Hill*), so that he understands them to have looked across Hopkins's Creek, and seen the two canoes lying on its further shore, but the one on the one side of the "high banke," and the other on the other. This would not enable the party, however, to "come nearer" than the width of the creek to either. If the "one side" and the "other side," on the other hand, are taken as referring to the creek itself, one canoe becomes accessible; though it might be urged that if the party came near enough to it to handle it, they might probably have said more about it, and might be tempted to try its power of ferrying.

very hereof to our Shallop, and came that night backe againe to the fresh water pond,⁷⁷ and there we made our Randevous that night, making a great fire, and a Baricado⁷⁸ to windward of vs, and kept good watch with three Sentinells all night, euery one standing when his turne came, while fiue or fixe inches of Match was burning.⁷⁹ It proved a very rainie night. In the morning⁸⁰ we tooke our Kettle and funke it in the pond, and trimmed our Muskets, for few of them would goe off because of the wett, and so coasted the wood⁸¹ againe to come home, in which we were shrewdly puf-led, and lost our way, as we wandred we came to a tree, where a yong Spritt⁸² was bowed downe over a bow, and some

⁷⁷ See note 61.

⁷⁸ "So they made them a barricado (as usually they did every night) with loggs, staks, & thike pine bowes, ye height of a man, leaving it open to leeward, partly to shelter them from ye could & wind (making their fire in ye midle & lying round aboute it), and partly to defend them from any sudden assaults of ye favags, if they should furround them." — [Bradford, *Plym. Plant.*, 84.]

⁷⁹ Most of their guns were matchlocks (though the Pilgrims then had at least one flint-lock in their possession, as will appear farther on), which would be worthless in a sudden alarm unless the match were kept constantly ignited.

⁸⁰ *Friday*, ¹⁷/₂₇ Nov.

⁸¹ The forest seems to have grown

down to the pond on the north, and thence stretched across toward the ocean; so that they "skirted it" in their endeavor to go around the head of East-Harbor Creek; but, getting confused in the dense growth, and so lost, they went too far E.

⁸² A sprout, *i. e.* a young sapling. Thomas Morton says, "The Salvages take these [deer] in trappes made of their naturall Hempe, which they place in the earth; where they fell a tree for browse, and when he rounds the tree for the browse, if hee tread on the trapp, he is horfed up by the legg, by meanes of a pole that starts up and catcheth him." — [*New-Eng. Canaan*, in Force's *Tracts*, Vol. II., v. 52.] The boys in the Old Colony catch the small game of the woods, to this day, by similar traps.

Acornes strewed vn- [8] der-neath; *Stephen Hopkins* sayd, it had beene to catch fome Deere, so, as we were looking at it, *William Bradford* being in the *Reare*, when he came looked also vpon it, and as he went about, it gaue a fodaine jerk vp, and he was immediately caught by the leg; It was a very pretie devise, made with a Rope of their owne making, and having a noose as artificially made, as any Roper⁸³ in *England* can make, and as like ours as can be, which we brought away with vs. In the end wee got out of the Wood, and were fallen about a myle too high aboue the creake,⁸⁴ where we saw three Bucks, but we had rather haue had one of them.⁸⁵ Wee also did spring three couple of Partridges; and as we came along by the creake, wee saw great flockes of wild Geese and Duckes, but they were very fearefull of vs. So we marched some while in the Woods, some while on the sands, and other while in the water vp to the knees,⁸⁶

⁸³ A ropemaker.—[*Johnson.*]

⁸⁴ This would indicate that they came out upon the eastern shore, scarcely three-fourths of a mile N.W. of the present site of the Highland Light.

⁸⁵ There is a quaint touch of humor here which indicates that the Pilgrim visage, though grim, knew how to smile.

⁸⁶ Dr. Young suggests that they went down the *west* side of East-Harbor Creek, and forded its mouth; but I see nothing in their narrative to indicate that they did so. The fact that

they marched some while "in the water up to the knees" does not prove it, because they would be very likely to do that in marching around the marshes that skirted Stout's Creek, if they returned the same way they went; while the fact that they had just been lost in the woods, when they reached the head of East-Harbor Creek, would have been likely to have urged them to go back upon their tracks, after they had found them. It is, farther, in itself, greatly improbable that they would go that way; (a) the difficulties of crossing Moon-

till at length we came neare the Ship,⁸⁷ and then we shot off our Peeces, and the long Boat came to fetch vs;

pond Run—which is situated in the inner angle where Beach Point joins the main body of the Cape—are great when the tide is out, and infurmountable when it is in; (b) if they had intended to go back by way of Beach Point,—as the curve-line of the shore, from where they were standing when they were on the hill near the Pond Village, must have been visible, so that they could see that there were no obstructions in their course that way,—one would think it much more natural that they should have followed the hypotenuse—the bay shore—back thither, than to have struggled through the brushwood, thorns, and mud of the two sides of the triangle, round by East-harbor meadow, High Head, and Moon Pond, to reach the same point; (c) it is by no means certain that the mouth of East-Harbor Creek was fordable two hundred and forty-five years ago. It seems most probable, then, that they went back by essentially the same way that they had come.

⁸⁷ Here also it seems to me that both Dr. Young and Dr. Freeman [*1 Mass. Hist. Coll.*, viii. 212] have wrongly inferred that the party waded across Mill Creek and went round to the end of Long Point before hailing the ship. This—if the configuration of Mill Creek were at all then as now—would have added at least four miles of tedious travel to what would be needful, if they returned on board

from the washing-beach, where they appear to have disembarked for this journey. They must have been too much fatigued—laden as they were with their armor and weapons and their corn—to do this needlessly. Moreover, it is stated that Jones, Carver, and a number of the company were on shore when they arrived; but they would have been more likely to have been on the main shore than on Long Point. It is obvious that, although the *Mayflower* lay at anchor not over a furlong's length from the inner shore of Long Point (as seems to be fixed by the remark made when the shallop started on its voyage to Plymouth), yet the going ashore was mostly done in the direction of Provincetown; inasmuch as it is repeatedly said that they were compelled to wade a bow-shot or two; that they could not, at low-water, get within three-fourths of a mile of the shore, &c., &c. I judge, then, that the party "shot off" their "peeces" when they came down against the ship,—perhaps in the present neighborhood of Central Wharf,—and that their friends, who were scattered, on their occasions, about the neighborhood, then came to greet them, and the long-boat soon took all on board.

I am not able, I may add here, to understand Dr. Young's statement, that the ship lay two miles from Provincetown. If she were a furlong inside of Long Point, she could

mafter *Iones*, and mafter *Caruer* being on the shore, with many of our people, came to meete vs. And thus wee came both weary and well-come home, and deliuered in our Corne into the store, to be kept for seed, for wee knew not how to come by any, and therefore were very glad, purposing so soone as we could meete with any of the Inhabitants of that place, to make them large satisfaction. This was our first Discovery, whilst our Shallop was in repairing; our people did make things as fitting as they could, and time would, in seeking out wood, and heluing of Toolles, and sawing of Tymber to build a new Shallop, but the discommodiounes of the harbour did much hinder vs, for we could neither goe, nor come from the shore, but at high water, which was much to our hinderance and hurt, for oftentimes they waded to the midle of the thigh, and oft to the knees, to goe and come from land; some did it necessarily, and some for their owne pleasure, but it brought to the most, if not to all, coughes and colds, the weather prouing sodainly cold and stormie, which afterward turned to the scurvey, whereof many dyed. [9]

When our Shallop was fit indeed, before she was fully fitted, for there was two dayes worke after bestowed on her, there was appointed some 24. men of our owne,

scarcely have been ten furlongs off Provincetown, as the shore now is ; while, as the shore then would seem to have been (see note 35), she could hardly have been more than seven or eight.

and armed, then to goe and make a more full discovery of the rivers before mentioned.⁸⁸ Master *Jones* was desirous to goe with vs, and tooke such of his saylers as he thought vfeull for vs, so as we were in all about 34. men; wee made master *Jones* our Leader, for we thought it best herein to gratifie his kindnes and forwardnes.⁸⁹ When we were set forth, it proued rough weather and croffe windes, so as we were constrained, some in the Shallop, and others in the long Boate, to row to the neereft shore the wind would suffer them to goe vnto, and then to wade out about the knees;⁹⁰ the wind was so strong as the Shallop could not keepe the water, but was forced to harbour there that night,⁹¹ but we marched fixe or seaven miles further,⁹² and appointed the Shallop to come to vs as soone as they could. It blowed and did snow all that day & night, and froze withall: some of our people that are dead tooke the originall of their death here. The next day⁹³ about 11. a clocke our Shallop came to vs, and wee

⁸⁸ That is, Pamet River and its three branches. See note 74.

⁸⁹ This proves nothing either way in regard to the charge which Secretary Morton makes [*N. E. Mem.*, 12.] of treachery against Jones in landing the company so far north; because, if that were true, it was not known to any of the company for years afterward, and of course could not now impair their feelings of confidence in, or kindnes towards, him.

⁹⁰ Probably Beach Point.

⁹¹ The shallop appears to have gone in round Beach Point into East-Harbor Creek.

⁹² How far would seem to them, under their circumstances, to have been six or seven miles must be matter of conjecture. They probably did not get farther from Beach Point than Great Hollow, where they might conveniently take the shallop next day; which would be about five miles.

⁹³ *Tuesday*, ²⁸ Nov.
⁸ Dec.

shipped our felues, and the wind being good, we sayled to the river we formerly discovered,⁹⁴ which we named, *Cold Harbour*, to which when wee came we found it not Navigable for Ships, yet we thought it might be a good harbour for Boats, for it flowes there 12. foote at high water. We landed our men betweene the two creekes,⁹⁵ and marched some foure or fiue myles by the greater of them,⁹⁶ and the Shallop followed vs; at length night grew on, and our men were tired with marching vp and downe the steepe hills, and deepe vallies, which lay halfe a foot thicke with snow: Master *Jones* wearied with marching, was desirous we should take vp our lodging, though some of vs would haue marched further, so we made there our Randevous for that night, vnder a few Pine trees, and as it fell out, wee got three fat Geefe, and six Ducks⁹⁷ to our Supper, which we eate with Souldiers stomacks, for we

⁹⁴ Pamet River. See note 74.

⁹⁵ That is, at Old Tom's Hill, on Indian Neck.

⁹⁶ The width of the Cape from the mouth of Pamet River acrofs to the Atlantic side is now scarcely three and a half miles, and, following all the windings of that crooked channel, it would be hard to double that distance; so that, in this estimate also, we must make some allowance for the influence of circumstances upon miles.

⁹⁷ "There are Geefe of three sorts vize, brant Geefe, which are pide, and white Geefe which are bigger, and gray Geefe which are as big and

bigger then the tame Geefe of England, with black legges, black bills, heads, and necks black; the flesh farre more excellent, then the Geefe of England, wild or tame, yet the purity of the aire is such, that the biggest is accompted but an indifferent meale for a couple of men. There is of them great abundance. I have had often 1000. before the mouth of my gunne, I never saw any in England for my part so fatt. . . . Ducks, there are of three kindes, pide Ducks, gray Ducks, and black Ducks in greate abundance."—[*New-Eng. Canaan*, Force, II., v. 46.]

had eaten little all that day; our resolution was next morning to goe vp to the head of this river, for we supposed it would proue fresh water,⁹⁸ but in [10] the morning⁹⁹ our resolution held not, because many liked not the hillinesse of the soyle, and badnesse of the harbour, so we turned towards the other creeke,¹⁰⁰ that wee might goe over and looke for the rest of the Corne that we left behind when we were here before; when we came to the creeke, we saw the Canow¹⁰¹ lie on the dry ground, and a focke of Geese in the river, at which one made a shot, and killed a couple of them, and we lanced the Canow & fetcht them, and when we had done, she carryed vs over by seaven or eight at once. This done, we marched to the place where we had the corne formerly, which place we called *Corne-hill*; and digged and found the rest, of which we were very glad: we also digged in a place a little further off, and found a Botle of oyle;¹⁰² wee went to another place, which we had seene before, and digged, and found more corne, *viz.* two or three Baskets full of *Indian Wheat*,¹⁰³ and a bag of Beanes, with a good many of faire

⁹⁸ They must have been then within a mile of the Atlantic side. The present isthmus between the head of Pamet River and the beach on the eastern side of the Cape can scarcely be more than forty rods in width.

⁹⁹ *Wednesday*, ²⁹ Nov. ₉ Dec.

¹⁰⁰ That is, over toward the north branch and Cornhill.

¹⁰¹ See note 75.

¹⁰² Another relic of the shipwrecked sailors? See note 69.

¹⁰³ *Corn* was a general term for those farinaceous grains which grow in ears, including wheat, barley, oats, maize, &c. By "Indian wheat" they meant maize or "Indian corn." Higginson says, "It is almost incredible what great gaine some of our English Planters have had by our Indian

Wheat-ears;¹⁰⁴ whilst some of vs were digging vp this, some others found another heape of Corne, which they digged vp also, so as we had in all about ten Bushels, which will serue vs sufficiently for feed. And sure it was Gods good providence that we found this Corne, for els wee know not how we should haue done, for we knew not how we should find, or meete with any of the *Indians*, except it be to doe vs a mischief. Also we had neuer in all likelihood seene a graine of it, if we had not made our first Iourney;¹⁰⁵ for the ground was now covered with snow, and so hard frozen, that we were faine with our Curtlaxes¹⁰⁶ and short Swords, to hew and carue the ground a foot deepe, and then wrest it vp with leavers, for we had forgot to bring other Toolles; whilst we were in this imployment, foule weather being towards,¹⁰⁷

Note.

Corne. Credible persons have assured me, and the partie him-selfe auouched the truth of it to me, that of the setting of 13 Gallons of Corne he hath had increase of it 52 Hogheads, euerie Hoghead holding seuen Bushels of *London* measure, and euerie Bushell was by him sold and trusted to the *Indians* for so much Beauer as was worth 18 shillings; and so of this 13 Gallons of Corne which was worth 6 shillings 8 pence, he made about 327 pounds of it the yeere following, as by reckoning will appeare. . . . There is not such great and beautifull eares of Corne I suppose any where else to be found but in this Countrey: being also of a variety of colours, as red, blew,

and yellow, &c." — [*New-England's Plantation*, Force, 1., xii. 6.]

¹⁰⁴ These "Wheat-ears" were ears of corn. Beans were a part of the yearly crop of the Indians, when the country was discovered. The wild *Phaseolus trilobus* was used by the Indian doctors as a cooling sedative antibilious tonic. The *Phaseolus vulgaris* was, most likely, the kind raised by the Indians. — [Dewey's *Herb. Plants of Mass.*, 63.]

¹⁰⁵ See p. 21.

¹⁰⁶ "Curtlax (q. d. *curtled* or *curt axe*) a short sword, a kind of hanger." — [Bailey.]

¹⁰⁷ "Towards (adverb), near at hand; advancing." — [Worcester.]

Maſter *Jones* was earneſt to goe abourd, but fundry of vs deſired to make further difcovery, and to find out the *Indians* habitations, ſo we ſent home with him our weak-eſt people, and ſome that were ſicke,¹⁰⁸ and all the Corne, and 18. of vs ſtayed ſtill, and lodged there¹⁰⁹ that night, and deſired that the Shallop might returne to vs next day, and bring vs ſome Mattocks and Spades with them.

[11] The next morning¹¹⁰ we followed certaine beaten pathes and traçts of the *Indians* into the Woods, ſuppoſing they would haue led vs into ſome Towne, or houſes; after wee had gone a while, we light vpon a very broad beaten path, well nigh two foote broad, then we lighted all our Matches,¹¹¹ and prepared our felues, concluding wee were neare their dwellings, but in the end we found it to be onely a path made to driue Deere in, when the *Indians* hunt, as wee ſuppoſed;¹¹² when we had marched ſiue or ſix myles into the Woods,¹¹³ and could find no ſignes of any people, we returned againe another way, and as we came into the plaine ground,¹¹⁴ wee found a place like a graue, but it was much bigger and longer then any

¹⁰⁸ Sixteen went back, as there were thirty-four in the company.

¹⁰⁹ In the neighborhood of Cornhill.

¹¹⁰ *Thursday*, ³⁰ Nov. ¹⁰ Dec.

¹¹¹ See note 79.

¹¹² This deſcription accords very imperfectly with that of a deer-path which Dr. Young quotes from Wood. It is quite poſſible that the Pilgrims

were miſtaken in their conjecture, and he in his comment.

¹¹³ The direction of their march, moſt likely, was over toward the Atlantic ſide, ſomewhere between Small's Hill and Highland Light.

¹¹⁴ That is, came back to the cleared land ſouth of the Pond, where they had found graves in their firſt expedition.

we had yet seene. It was also covered with boords, so as we mufed what it should be, and refolved to digge it vp, where we found, first a Matt, and vnder that a fayre Bow, and there another Matt, and vnder that a boord about three quarters¹¹⁵ long, finely carued and paynted, with three tynes, or broches¹¹⁶ on the top, like a Crowne; also betweene the Matts we found Boules, Traves, Dishes, and such like Trinkets; at length we came to a faire new Matt, and vnder that two Bundles, the one bigger, the other lesse, we opened the greater and found in it a great quantitie of fine and perfect red Powder, and in it the bones and skull of a man. The skull had fine yellow haire still on it, and some of the flesh vnconsumed; there was bound vp with it a knife, a pack-needle,¹¹⁷ and two or three old iron things. It was bound vp in a Saylers canvas Cafacke,¹¹⁸ and a payre of cloth breeches; the red Powder was a kind of Embaulment, and yeelded a strong, but no offensiue smell; It was as fine as any flower. We opened the lesse bundle likewise, and found of the same Powder in it, and the bones and head of a little childe, about the leggs, and other parts of it was bound strings, and bracelets of fine white Beads;¹¹⁹ there was also by it

¹¹⁵ A quarter of a yard was familiarly spoken of, in lineal measure, as a "quarter."

¹¹⁶ "Tine, the Grain [prong] of a Fork." "Broach, a spit for roasting meat on."—[Bailey.] The idea is that something like a trident was

carved on the board; connecting nautical associations with the grave.

¹¹⁷ A large, coarse needle for sewing pack-cloth with pack-thread, in doing up packages of goods.

¹¹⁸ A coarse frock, or blouse.

¹¹⁹ Wampum.

a little Bow, about three quarters long, and some other odd knackes; we brought fundry of the pretiest things away with vs, and covered the Corps vp againe. After this, we digged in fundry like places, but found no more Corne, nor any things els but [12] graues: There was varietie of opinions amongst vs about the embalmed person; some thought it was an *Indian* Lord and King: others sayd, the *Indians* haue all blacke hayre, and never any was feene with browne or yellow hayre; some thought, it was a Christian of some speciall note, which had dyed amongst them, and they thus buried him to honour him; others thought, they had killed him, and did it in triumph over him.¹²⁰ Whilest we were thus ranging and searching, two of the Saylers, which were newly come on the shore,¹²¹ by chance espied two houfes, which had beene lately dwelt in, but the people were gone. They having their peeces,

¹²⁰ From the mention of the trident carved and painted on the board found in the grave, and that of the knife, pack-needle, cawcock, and breeches, and the yellow hair found on the skull, it is made probable that this was the grave of one of the shipwrecked failors already referred to, or of some one of earlier coming. (See note 69.) What the embalming powder — as they conceived it to be — was, I can form no conjecture. Nor is it easy to explain the child's bones, and the Indian relics buried in the same grave. Although Bradford's reference to these

failors [*Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 98] shows that they were said to have been treated "worfe than slaves" by the Indians, it is possible that some one of them may have pleased his captors, and been adopted into their tribe; may have married, and been buried by them with honor, and with his child in the same grave. Or, possibly, it may have been a North-men relic.

¹²¹ The shallop had returned for the eighteen members of the party who had remained — as by request of the previous night; and some of her failors were now searching for them.

and hearing no body entred the houfes, and tooke out fome things, and durft not ftay but came againe and told vs; fo fome feaven or eight of vs went with them, and found how we had gone within a flight shot of them before. The houfes were made with long yong Sapling trees, bended and both ends ftucke into the ground;¹²² they were made round, like vnto an Arbour, and covered downe to the ground with thicke and well wrought matts, and the doore was not over a yard high, made of a matt to open;¹²³ the chimney was a wide open hole in the top, for which they had a matt to cover it clofe when they pleased; one might ftand and goe vpright in them, in the midft of them were foure little trunches¹²⁴ knockt into the ground, and fmall ftickes laid over, on which they hung their Pots, and what they had to feeth; round about the fire they lay on matts, which are their beds. The houfes were double matted, for as they were matted without, fo were they within, with newer & fairer matts.¹²⁵ In the houfes we found wooden Boules, Traves & Difhes, Earthen Pots, Hand baskets made of Crab

¹²² "Their Houfes are verie little and homely, being made with fmall Poles pricked into the ground, and fo bended and faftned at the tops, and on the fides they are matted with Boughes, and covered on the Roofe with Sedge and old Mats."—[*New-England's Plantation*, Force, I. xii. 13. See alfo, for further particulars in regard to the Indian wigwams, *R.-I.*

Hift. Coll., i. 47-51; *Force*, II., v. 19, 20; 1 *Mafs. Hift. Coll.*, i. 149; Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes*, &c., ii. 63, &c.]

¹²³ "Their doore is a hanging *Mat*, which being lift up, falls downe of itfelfe."—[Roger Williams, *R.-I. Hift. Coll.*, i. 51.]

¹²⁴ "Trunch, a ftake, a fmall poft."—[*Webfter.*]

¹²⁵ "They line them with embroyd-

shells, wrought together;¹²⁶ also an English Paile or Bucket, it wanted a bayle, but it had two Iron eares: there was also Baskets of fundry forts, bigger and some leffer, finer and some courser: some were curiously wrought with blacke and white in pretie workes,¹²⁷ and fundry other of their household stufte: we found also two or three Deeres heads, one whereof had bin newly killed, for it was still fresh; there was also a company of [13] Deeres feete, stuck vp in the houses, Harts hornes,¹²⁸ and Eagles clawes,¹²⁹ and fundry such like things there was: also two or three Baskets full of parched Acornes, peeces of fish, and a peece of a broyled Hering. We found also a little filke grasse,¹³⁰ and a little Tobacco seed,¹³¹ with

ered mats which the women make, and call them *Mannotaubana*, or *Hangings*, which amongst them make as faire a show as Hangings with us." —[Roger Williams, *R.-I. Hist. Coll.*, i. 47.]

¹²⁶ Gookin mentions various materials for Indian baskets: "Some are made of rushes; some of bents [bent-grass]; others, of maize husks; others, of a kind of silk grass; others, of a kind of wild hemp; and some, of barks of trees." —[*1 Mafs. Hist. Coll.*, i. 151.] These, of crab-shells, must have been fastened, one would think, by sinews; and must have been the result of "fancy work."

¹²⁷ "Many of them very neat and artificial, with the portraitures of birds, beasts, fishes and flowers, upon them in colours." —[*Gookin*, as above.]

¹²⁸ These must have been deer's horns. The fallow-deer (*Cervus Virginianus*) is the only species of its genus catalogued as native to Massachusetts." —[Emmons's *Quadrupeds of Mafs.*, 81.]

¹²⁹ The *Falco leucocephalus*, or possibly that named, by Audubon, the *Falco Washingtonianus*; unless the party mistook the talons of the huge fish-hawk (*Falco haliatus*) for those of an eagle.

¹³⁰ Possibly the *Stipa avenacea*, or some kindred feathery grass; but most probably the dried long feed-down of the *Ajclepias cornuti*, commonly known as milkweed, or silkweed.

¹³¹ Probably those of the *Nicotiana rustica*, with greenish yellow flowers, and not the *N. tabacum*, the flowers of which are rose-colored. The for-

some other feeds which wee knew not; without wasundry bundles of Flags, and Sedge, Bull-rushes, and other stufte to make matts;¹³² there was thrust into an hollow tree, two or three peeces of Venifon, but we thought it fitter for the Dogs then for vs: some of the best things we tooke away with vs, and left the houses standing still as they were, so it growing towards night, and the tyde almost spent, we hasted with our things downe to the Shallop, and got about that night,¹³³ intending to haue brought some Beades, and other things to haue left in the houses, in signe of Peace, and that we meant to truk with them, but it was not done, by meanes of our hastie comming away from Cape Cod,¹³⁴ but so soone as we can

mer is considered inferior to the latter, and now grows wild in old fields in some parts of the north, a relic of cultivation by the Indians. Roger Williams says, "They take their *Wuttamanog* (that is, a weake Tobacco) which the men plant themselves, very frequently; yet I never see any take so excessively, as I have seene Men in Europe. . . . They say they take Tobacco for two causes; first against the rheume which causeth the tooth-ake, which they are impatient of: secondly to revive and refresh them, they drinking nothing but water." — [*R.-I. Hist. Coll.*, i. 35, 55.]

¹³² The flags, most likely, were the *Acorus calamus* and *Iris versicolor*; the sedge, the larger varieties of the *Carex* family; and the bulrushes, the *Typha latifolia*.

¹³³ Prince says [*New-Eng. Chron.*, i. 75], "They get aboard at night; and the next Day, *Dec. 1.* Return to the Ship;" and cites this "Relation" in proof. But I submit that, although it was "growing towards night" when they started for the shallop, it is yet more reasonable to suppose, as they had scarcely more than five miles to go, that they reached the Mayflower that evening, than that they spent the night in the cold in the shallop, almost, or quite, within sight of the top of her masts. I interpret, then, the expression "got about that night" as referring to the Mayflower. And this explains the absence of all reference to a return on the next day.

¹³⁴ The meaning is, that they intended, after reaching the ship, to make another expedition to these

meete conveniently with them, we will giue them full satisfaction.¹³⁵ Thus much of our second Discovery.

Having thus discovered this place, it was controversall amongst vs, what to doe touching our aboad and setling there; some thought it best for many reasons to abide there.¹³⁶

As first, that there was a convenient harbour for Boates, though not for Ships.

Secondly, Good Corne ground readie to our hands, as we saw by experience in the goodly corne it yeilded, which would againe agree with the ground, and be naturall feed for the same.

Thirdly, Cape Cod was like to be a place of good fishing, for we saw daily great Whales of the best kind for oyle and bone, come close aboard our Ship, and in fayre weather swim and play about vs;¹³⁷ there was once one when the Sun shone warme, came and lay about water, as if she had beene dead, for a good while together, within halfe a Musket shot of the Ship, at which two were prepared to shoote, to see whether she would stir or no, he that gaue fire first, his Musket flew in peeces, both stocke and barrell, yet thankes be to [14] God, neither he nor

wigwams with beads, &c.; but were prevented by starting so soon for Plymouth, and by the sudden removal of the Mayflower thither after they had decided to settle there.

¹³⁵ "As about some 6. months after-

ward they did, to their good contente." —[Bradford, *Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 83.]

¹³⁶ That is, on the cleared land around Cornhill, and bordering Pamet River.

¹³⁷ See note 13.

any man els was hurt with it, though many were there about, but when the Whale saw her time she gaue a snuffe and away.

Fourthly, the place was likely to be healthfull, secure, and defensible.

But the last and especial reason was, that now the heart of Winter and vnseasonable weather was come vpon vs, so that we could not goe vpon coasting and discovery, without danger of loosing men and Boat, vpon which would follow the overthrow of all, especially considering what variable windes and sodaine storms doe there arise. Also cold and wett lodging had so taynted our people, for scarce any of vs were free from vehement coughs, as if they should continue long in that estate, it would endanger the liues of many, and breed diseases and infection amongst vs. Againe, we had yet some Beere, Butter, Flesh, and other such victuals left, which would quickly be all gone, and then we should haue nothing to comfort vs in the great labour and toyle we were like to vnder-goe at the first; It was also conceived, whilst we had competent victuals, that the Ship would stay with vs, but when that grew low, they would be gone, and let vs shift as we could.¹³⁸

Others againe, vrged greatly the going to *Anguam* or *Angoum*,¹³⁹ a place twentie leagues off to the North-

¹³⁸ This is another proof that the Pilgrims felt that they had reason to distrust Capt. Jones and his company.

¹³⁹ I take it that all their impressions of this place—except as they might have been gathered from the

wards, which they had heard to be an excellent harbour for ships; better ground and better fishing. Secondly, for any thing we knew, there might be hard by vs a farre better feate, and it should be a great hindrance to feate where wee should remoue againe.¹⁴⁰ Thirdly, The water was but in ponds, and it was thought there would be none in Summer, or very little. Fourthly, the water

floating rumors of the sea — they had derived from Captain John Smith's *Description of New England*, with a rude map, which had been published at London in 1616, and was subsequently incorporated with his *Generall Historie*, published there in 1624. Describing the Massachusetts shore as it revealed itself to one coasting southward, he says, "*Augoan* is the next: this place might content a right curious iudgement, but there are many sands at the entrance of the Harbour, and the worst is, it is imbayed too farre from the deepe Sea; here are many rising hills, and on their tops and descents are many corne fields and delightful groues: On the East is an Ile of two or three leagues in length, the one halfe plaine marish ground, fit for pasture or salt Ponds, with many faire high groues of Mulbery trees and Gardens; there is also Okes, Pines, Walnuts, and other wood to make this place an excellent habitation, being a good and safe Harbour." — [*Generall Historie*, 214.] The map indicates — were there any doubt — that the place which Smith had in mind was *Agawam*, now known

as Ipswich, the entrance to whose harbor (the goodness of which they would have found to be greatly exaggerated) opens directly at the southern extremity of Plum Island; and upon Smith's map, by his scale of leagues, is put down at as nearly "twentie leagues off to the Northwards" from the *Mayflower* as she lay at anchor, as can be measured; which indeed is not far from the true distance.

The name (*Auguam*, *Augoam*, *Anguum*, *Angoum*, *Angawoam*, *Agowamin*, *Agawom*, *Agawam*, *Agawamme*, &c.) is impregnated with the general sense of the word *agwe*, below; and was sometimes applied to a place absolutely low, — as to flat meadows where there was no comparative reference to high lands adjacent; sometimes to a place relatively low, in contrast with near elevations; and sometimes to a place below another, as being nearer the mouth of the river on which both were situated.

¹⁴⁰ That is, where they should be dissatisfied, and whence they should be therefore compelled to remove again.

there¹⁴¹ muſt be fetched vp a ſteepe hill: but to omit many reaſons and replies vſed heere abouts; It was in the ende concluded, to make ſome diſcovery within the Bay, but in no caſe ſo farre as *Angoum*: beſides, *Robert Coppin* our Pilot,¹⁴² made relation of a great Navigable River¹⁴³ and good harbour in the other head-land of this Bay,¹⁴⁴ almoſt right over againſt *Cape Cod*, being a right [15] line, not much aboue eight leagues diſtant,¹⁴⁵ in which hee had beene once: and becauſe that one of the

¹⁴¹ At Cornhill, or on old Tom's Hill. See note 73.

¹⁴² *Robert Coppin* was one of the maſter's mates of the *Mayflower*, and a pilot. He was pilot of the *Plymouth* expedition; but he is alſo called "our pilot" in this place, in a way to intimate that he was a pilot of the *Mayflower*, as well. The word ſeems to have been then uſed in a larger ſenſe than now—as intending not a mere local and temporary channel-guide, but a permanent officer of the ſhip; and, for adventurers to a comparatively unknown land, a perſon who had made the pilgrimage himſelf, and ſo could hold out the hope of benefit from his experience. Capt. John Smith puts down a pilot among the needful functionaries of a ſhip, in his "Sea Grammer" (1627); and had one himſelf (Thomas Digby) in his attempt to reach New-England in 1615.

It is my impreſſion that *Coppin* was originally hired to go in the *Speedwell*; that he was the "pilot" whoſe "coming" was a "great encourage-

ment" to the *Leyden* expectants in the laſt of May or firſt of June, 1620; that he failed with them in the *Speedwell*, but, on her final putting back, was transferred to the *Mayflower*, where *Clarke* (ſee note 159) already was;—*Robert Cushman* having written to *Leyden* 21 June, "We have another pilote here, one Mr *Clarke*, who went laſt year to Virginia with a ſhip of kine."—[3 *Maſs. Hiſt. Coll.*, vi. 134; *Bradford, Plym. Plant.*, 49, 55.]

¹⁴³ It is difficult to gueſs what ſuggeſted the idea of this "great navigable river;" and, from what is ſaid, ſubſequentially, it is doubtful if *Coppin* had ever been in *Plymouth* harbor.

¹⁴⁴ The hights of *Manomet*, lying directly ſouth of the entrance to *Plymouth* harbor.

¹⁴⁵ It would be a little leſs than 25 miles in an air line—one point fourth of due weſt—from the anchorage of the *Mayflower* in *Provincetown* harbor, to her anchorage in *Plymouth* harbor.

wild men with whom they had some trucking, stole a harping Iron ¹⁴⁶ from them, they called it theeuish harbour. And beyond that place they were enjoined not to goe, whereupon, a Company was chosen to goe out vpon a third discovery: whilest some were employed in this discovery,¹⁴⁷ it pleased God that Mistris *White* was brought a bed of a Sonne, which was called *Peregrine*.¹⁴⁸

The fift day, we through Gods mercy escaped a great danger by the foolishnes of a Boy, one of *Francis Bil-*

¹⁴⁶ "*Harping-irons*, a sort of Darts or Spears fastened to Lines, wherewith they strike and catch Whales and other large Fish."—[*Bailey*.]

¹⁴⁷ The sense here, beyond doubt, requires that the colon after "a third discovery" should be a period, and the words "whilest some" begin a new paragraph; so as to enable what follows to revert naturally back to the time taken by this second expedition to Cornhill, just closed, and not to that occupied by the "third discovery" (of Plymouth), as it seems to do under the existing punctuation. The meaning is, that while this party were absent—between *Monday*, ^{27 Nov.}_{7 Dec.}, and *Thursday*, ^{30 Nov.}_{10 Dec.},—this little stranger had been added to their company.

¹⁴⁸ *Peregrine White*—the first child of New England, so far as the English colonists were concerned—was youngest child of William, "wool-carder from England," and Sufanna (Fuller); who had been married ¹₁₁ Feb., 16¹²₁₃, in Leyden, and who embarked, with their son Resolved and

two men-servants, in the *Mayflower* (see note 27); was born (as above) between ^{27 Nov.}_{7 Dec.} and ^{30 Nov.}_{10 Dec.}; was brought up by Edward Winflow, who married his mother Sufanna, ¹²₂₂ May, 1621 (his father having died ^{21 Feb.}_{3 March}, 16²⁰₂₁); went to Marshfield with Gov. Winflow's family, after 1632; 1642, was ensign of Standish's militia (lieutenant some years later, and captain 1673); 1648, married Sarah Bassett; settled on an estate given him by his father-in-law, William Bassett, between North and South rivers, in Marshfield; 1660 and 1673, was representative to the General Court, and, 1673, was of the Council of War; had six children,—Sarah, Daniel, Jonathan, Peregrine, Silvanus, and Mercy; died "of a fever" ²⁰₃₁ July, 1704, aged nearly 84, "vigorous and of a comely aspect to the last." His homestead is now owned by John A. White,—a descendant of the sixth generation,—and is situated a half mile east of Telegraph Hill, in the northern angle made by South River with the shore,

*lingtons*¹⁴⁹ Sonnes, who in his Fathers absence, had got Gun-powder, and had shot off a peice or two, and made squibs, and there being a fowling peice charged in his fathers Cabbin, shot her off in the Cabbin, there being a little barrell of powder halfe full, scattered in and about the Cabbin, the fire being within foure foote of the bed betweene the Deckes, and many flints and Iron things about the Cabbin, and many people about the fire, and yet by Gods mercy no harme done.

Wednesfday, the sixt of December,¹⁵⁰ it was resolved our discoverers should set forth, for the day before was too fowle weather, and so they did, though it was well ore the day ere all things could be readie: So ten of our men were appointed who were of themselues willing to vndertake it, to wit, Captaine *Standish*, Maister *Carver*,¹⁵¹

and two and a half miles due N. of the late residence of Hon. Daniel Webster.—[Savage's *Gen. Diſt.*, iv. 513-515; Thomas's *Memorials of Marshfield*, 33, 34.]

¹⁴⁹ "One of Francis Billington's Sonnes" should evidently be "Francis, one of John Billington's sons." By reference to the list of passengers (note 27), it will be seen that the father's name was John, and that he had sons John and Francis, the latter of whom is doubtless here referred to. The father was not a fit member of the company (having joined them somewhere in England), and was hanged in 1630 for the murder of John Newcomen. Francis married,

1634, Christian, widow of Francis Eaton; removed to Yarmouth before 1648, and had eight children.—[Savage, *Gen. Diſt.*, i. 179.]

¹⁵⁰ *Wednesday*, ⁶/₁₆ Dec.

¹⁵¹ *John Carver* first appears at Leyden, ¹³/₂₃ May, 1616, as witness at the marriage of Hendrik Wilson (although his wife had been a witness at the marriage of Roger Chandler there, ²²/₁ ^{May}/_{June}, of the previous year); ⁹/₁₉ Dec., 1616, he was witness at the marriage of John Spooner; ²³/₂ ^{March}/_{April}, 1617, he was witness at the marriage of John Jennings; in the autumn of the same year he was sent as one of the two agents to England to endeavor to secure permission to found a colony;

William Bradford, Edward Winsloe,¹⁵² John Tilley,¹⁵³ Edward Tilley, John Houland,¹⁵⁴ and three of London, Richard Warren,¹⁵⁵ Steeuen Hopkins, and Edward

went again on the same business in December following, when he was styled "Deacon"; 1620, went to Southampton to make arrangements for the voyage of the Mayflower hither; there received a parting letter from John Robinson, of date 27 July; was chosen governor when one was chosen for that year (see note 28), and re-elected in March following; died soon after ⁵ April, 1621, when he was suddenly taken ill in the field. His wife's name was Catherine, and they left (probably had) no children. — [Bradford, *Plym. Plant.*, 30-32, 59, 100, 447; *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, iv. 105-109; *Leyden Mss. Rec.*]

¹⁵² *Edward Winslow* was born at Droitwich, Eng., ¹⁸ Oct., 1594; fell into the Leyden Company on a tour in Holland about 1617; ¹⁶ May, 1618, married there Elizabeth Barker of Chatfurn (?); probably acted as a printer with Brewster there; was one of four signers of a letter of date ¹ June, 1620, to Carver and Cushman; ¹² May, 1621, married Susanna, widow of William White, and mother of Peregrine; was variously very useful in the colony, and governor, 1633; was sent to England many times; was one of Cromwell's commissioners controlling the naval expedition to Hispaniola, and died ⁸ May, 1654, and was buried at sea. He had Edward and John, who died young; 1629, Josias (gover-

nor of Plymouth Colony, 1673-1680); and Elizabeth. He lived at Carewell, near the estate of the late Hon. Daniel Webster, in Marshfield. — [*N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, xvii. 159; *Leyden Mss. Rec.*]

¹⁵³ *John Tilley* (see note 41). I find on the *Leyden Mss. Records* this, "¹³ Feb., 1615, John Telley, silk worker of Leyden, married Bridget Van der Velde"; which may be the hint of this man's occupation and affiliation. Bradford does not give his wife's Christian name.

¹⁵⁴ *John Howland* came over as one of John Carver's men-servants, and had the narrowest escape from drowning on the passage; married Elizabeth Tilley (see note 41) probably in 1621; 1633-5, was Assistant; often a Representative; 1634, was in command of the Plymouth interest on the Kennebec, when Hocking was killed; died ²³ Feb., ⁵ Mar., 1674. He had ten children. — [*Savage's Gen. Dict.*, ii. 479; *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, ix. 80.]

¹⁵⁵ *Richard Warren* came in the Mayflower; his wife Elizabeth and five daughters followed him in 1623, two sons, Nathaniel and Joseph, having come earlier. He was "an useful Instrument, and during his life bare a deep share in the Difficulties and Troubles of the first Settlement of the Plantation," and died in 1628. —

Dotte,¹⁵⁶ and two of our Sea-men, *John Alderton*¹⁵⁷ and *Thomas English*,¹⁵⁸ of the Ships Company there went two of the Masters Mates, Master *Clarke*¹⁵⁹ and Master *Copin*, the Master Gunner, and three Saylers. The narration of which Discovery, followes, penned by one of the Company.¹⁶⁰

Wednesday the sixt of December wee fet out, being very cold and hard weather, wee were a long while after we launched from the ship, before we could get cleare of a sandie poynt, which lay within lesse then a furlong of the fame.¹⁶¹ In which time, two were very sicke, and *Edward*

[*Savage's Gen. Diſt.*, iv, 427; Morton's *Memorial*, 68.]

¹⁵⁶ *Edward Dote* came as a fervant of Stephen Hopkins; ¹⁸ June, 1621, was party to the first duel fought in New England; ⁶ Jan., 1635, married, for second wife, Faith, daughter of Triftram Clark; 1652, was one of the purchasers of Dartmouth, but removed to Yarmouth, and died, ^{23 Aug.} ^{3 Sept.} 1655. Bradford says he had seven children by his second wife living in 1650; but his will mentions only wife and one son. — [*Savage's Gen. Diſt.*, ii. 61; Bradford, *Plym. Plant.*, 455.]

¹⁵⁷ *John Allerton* was hired by the company to come over as a failor, and was "to go back for the help of others behind," but "dyed here in the generall sicknes." — [Bradford, *Plymouth Plant.*, 449, 454]

¹⁵⁸ *Thomas English* had been hired also to come over to "goe master of the shalop," but died as did Allerton.

¹⁵⁹ *Master Clarke*. All that is known of this man is that he was a master's mate, and pilot, of the *Mayflower*; who had been to Virginia the year before. There is a tradition, mentioned by Morton [*Memorial*, 21], which is very likely true, that he landed first on Clarke's Island, in Plymouth harbor, which was named after him; there is another, less probable, that his name was Thomas; and one, almost surely false, that he settled here, and died in 1697, aged 98. — [*Savage's Gen. Diſt.*, i. 400; Bradford, *Plym. Plant.*, 55.]

¹⁶⁰ "One of the company," — either Bradford or Winflow; Dr. Young thinks the former, and from various verbal correspondencies between this narrative and Bradford's (now recovered) history, I have no doubt he was right.

¹⁶¹ The "sandie poynt" was necessarily Long Point, just inside of which

Tilley had like [16] to haue founded¹⁶² with cold; the Gunner was also sicke vnto Death, (but hope of trucking made him to goe) and so remained all that day, and the next night; at length we got cleare of the sandy poynt, and got vp our sayles, and within an houre or two we got vnder the weather shore,¹⁶³ and then had smother water and better sayling, but it was very cold, for the water frose on our clothes, and made them many times like coats of Iron: wee sayled fixe or seaven leagues by the shore, but saw neither river nor creeke, at length wee mett with a tongue of Land,¹⁶⁴ being flat off from the shore, with a sandy poynt, we bore vp to gaine the poynt, & found there a fayre income or rode, of a Bay, being a league over at the narrowest, and some two or three in length, but wee made right over to the land before vs,¹⁶⁵ and left the discovery of this *Income* till the next day: as we drew neare to the shore, wee espied some ten or twelue

they lay at anchor. A north-easter was evidently blowing, and they could not lie close enough into the wind to clear this point with sails, and probably the wind and incoming tide together, made it hard for them to row their clumsy shallop out around it.

¹⁶² Swooned.

¹⁶³ Striking across toward Truro, as they came near the land they would gain some protection from the roughness both of the wind and sea.

¹⁶⁴ The intense discomfort which they experienced doubtless had its effect upon their estimate of distance.

It is about seventeen to twenty miles from their anchorage to Billingsgate Point,—now cut off from the main into an island,—which must have been the “sandy poynt” now made by them.

¹⁶⁵ This “income,” or bay, was the *cul de sac* of Wellfleet Bay. “The land before us” was the eastern shore, and they probably landed and passed the night in what is now Eastham, a little north of Great Pond, and very near to the well-known Methodist Camp-meeting ground, about three miles due W. from Naufet Light.—[Pratt's *History of Eastham*, 6.]

Indians, very bufie about a blacke thing, what it was we could not tell, till afterwards they faw vs, and ran to and fro, as if they had beene carrying fome thing away, wee landed a league or two from them, and had much adoe to put a fhore any where, it lay fo full of flat fands,¹⁶⁶ when we came to fhore, we made vs a Baricado,¹⁶⁷ and got fire wood, and fet out our Sentinells, and betooke vs to our lodging, fuch as it was; we faw the fmoke of the fire which the Savages made that night, about foure or five myles from vs, in the morning¹⁶⁸ we devided our company, fome eight in the Shallop, and the reft on the fhore went to difcouer this place,¹⁶⁹ but we found it onely to be a Bay, without either river or creeke comming into it, yet we deemed it to be as good an harbour as Cape Cod, for they that founded it, found a fhip might ride in five fathom water, wee on the land found it to be a levill foyle, but none of the fruitfulleft; wee faw two beckes of fresh water,¹⁷⁰ which were the firft running ftreames that

¹⁶⁶ "On the weft fhore is a fandy flat reaching from Suet to the bounds of Wellfleet; it is about one mile wide, is bare, or nearly fo, at low water, and then, for about three hours, may be traverfed by carriages."— [Freeman's *Cape Cod*, ii. 353.]

¹⁶⁷ See note 78.

¹⁶⁸ *Thursday*, ⁷/₁₇ Dec.

¹⁶⁹ That is, the "income" which had attracted their intereft the night before, or Wellfleet Bay. Dr. Young thought they moved fouth for fome

time, and then turned north toward Wellfleet; but that theory does not fo well comport with the probability as to their firft starting, nor does it leave them where they evidently were at night.

¹⁷⁰ "*Beck*, a fmall river, a brook." — [Bailey.] Thefe two brooks were found, apparently, as they were moving northward from their camping-ground to investigate the fuitablenefs of Wellfleet as a place of fettlement. In which cafe, the firft would feem to

we saw in the Country, but one might stride over them: we found also a great fish, called a *Grampus* dead on the sands, ¹⁷¹ they in the Shallop found two of them also in the bottome of the bay, dead in like sort, they were cast vp at high water, and could not get off for the frost and ice; they were some [17] five or sixe paces long, and about two inches thicke of fat, and fleshed like a Swine, they would haue yeilded a great deale of oyle, if there had beene time and meanes to haue taken it, so we finding nothing for our turne, both we and our Shallop returned. We then directed our course along the Sea-sands, to the place where we first saw the *Indians*, when we were there, we saw it was also a *Grampus* which they were cutting vp, they cut it into long rands ¹⁷² or peeces, about an ell ¹⁷³ long, and two handfull broad, wee found here and there a peece scattered by the way, as it seemed, for haft: this place the most were minded we should call, the *Grampus Bay*, because we found so many of them there: wee followed the tract of the *Indians* bare feete a good way on the sands, at length we saw where they

have been Indian Brook (or Hatch's Creek), now the boundary-line between Eastham and Wellfleet; and the second seems more likely to have been the next brook north of it, running in at Fresh-Brook Village, than any south of it, as Dr. Young supposed. — [*Chron. of Plym.*, 152.]

¹⁷¹ Dr. Young says, "Individuals of

this species [*Delphinus grampus*] are sometimes thrown ashore on the Cape, twenty feet long, and having four inches of blubber." — [*Chron. of Plym.*, 152.]

¹⁷² "Rand (of beef), a long fleshy Piece cut from between the Flank and the Buttock." — [*Bailey.*]

¹⁷³ Forty-five inches.

strucke into the Woods by the side of a Pond,¹⁷⁴ as wee went to view the place, one sayd, hee thought hee saw an *Indian*-house among the trees, so went vp to see: and here we and the Shallop lost sight one of another till night, it being now about nine or ten a clocke, so we light on a path, but saw no house, and followed a great way into the woods,¹⁷⁵ at length wee found where Corne had beene set, but not that yeare, anone we found a great burying place, one part whereof was inccompassed with a large Palazado, like a Church-yard, with yong spires¹⁷⁶ foure or fiew yards long, set as close one by another as they could two or three foot in the ground, within it was full of Graues, some bigger, and some lesse, some were also paled about, & others had like an *Indian*-house made over them, but not matted: those Graues were more sumptuous then those at *Corne-hill*, yet we digged none of them vp, but onely viewed them, and went our way; without the Palazado were graues also, but not so costly: from this place we went and found more Corne ground, but not of this yeare. As we ranged we light on foure or fiew *Indian*-houses, which had beene lately dwelt in, but they were vncovered, and had no matts about them, els they were like those we found at *Corne-hill*, but had not beene so lately dwelt in,

¹⁷⁴ Probably the party, having explored Wellfleet to their satisfaction, had made their way back along the shore until they were near Great Pond;

just north of which they had slept.

¹⁷⁵ Most likely in the direction of Enoch's Rock and Naufet light.

¹⁷⁶ Shoots, or young saplings.

there was nothing left but two or three peeces of old matts, a little fedge, also a little further we [18] found two Baskets full of parched Acorns hid in the ground,¹⁷⁷ which we supposed had bene Corne when we beganne to dig the same, we cast earth thereon againe & went our way. All this while we saw no people, wee went ranging vp and downe till the Sunne began to draw low, and then we hasted out of the woods, that we might come to our Shallop, which when we were out of the woods, we espied a great way off, and call'd them to come vnto vs, the which they did as soone as they could, for it was not yet high water,¹⁷⁸ they were exceeding glad to see vs, (for they feared because they had not seene vs in so long a time) thinking we would haue kept by the shoreside, so being both weary and faint, for we had eaten nothing all that day, we fell to make our Randevous¹⁷⁹ and get fire

¹⁷⁷ "Akornes also they drie, and in case of want of Corne, by much boyl- ing they make a good dish of them: yea sometimes in plentie of Corne doe they eate these Acornes for a novelty." — [Roger Williams, *R.-I. Hist. Coll.*, i. 90.]

¹⁷⁸ Bradford says, "When y^e sunne grue low, they hasted out of y^e woods to meete with their shallop, to whom they made signes to come to them into a *creeke* hardby, the which they did at highwater; of which they were very glad, for they had not seen each other all y^t day, since y^e morning." — [*Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 84.]

¹⁷⁹ Bradford's reference (just quoted) to a certain "creeke" gives the clue to the position of their rendezvous this night. Morton [*Memorial*, 19, marginal note] suggests Namskeket as the creek referred to. But Namskeket (which divides Orleans from Brewster) seems too far off; while to reach it they would have been obliged to ford or go round three intervening creeks, some allusion to which would have been almost sure to have left itself upon the record. The probability is very strong, then, that Morton was mistaken, and that the first creek which they would come to in their

wood, which always cost vs a great deale of labour,¹⁸⁰ by that time we had done, & our Shallop come to vs, it was within night, and we fed vpon such victualls as we had, and betooke vs to our rest, after we had set out our watch. About midnight we heard a great and hideous cry, and our Sentinell called, *Arme, Arme*. So we bestirred our felues and shot off a couple of Muskets, and noyse ceafed; we concluded, that it was a company of Wolues or Foxes, for one¹⁸¹ told vs, hee had heard such a noyse in *New-found-land*. About fiue a clocke in the morning¹⁸² wee began to be stirring, and two or three which doubted whether their Peeces would goe off or no made tryall of them, and shot them off, but thought nothing at all, after Prayer we prepared our felues for brek-fast, and for a journey, and it being now the twilight in the morning, it was thought meet to carry the things downe to the Shallop: some sayd, it was not best to carry the Armour downe, others sayd, they would be readier, two or three sayd, they would not carry theirs, till they went them-

coasting south-westwardly is that here referred to, viz., Great-Meadow Creek (or Herring River) in Eastham, one mile N. N. E. of Rock Harbor.

¹⁸⁰ The trees were lofty, and the undergrowth was annually burned by the Indians, so that they doubtless found it difficult to gather wood suitable for their fire without felling large timber; which, with their tools, would be a slow and difficult task.

¹⁸¹ Dr. Young suggests either Clark or Coppin as this informant, as both had been on the coast before. But Bradford says, "*One of ye sea men* told them he had often heard such a noyse in New-found land;" by which he doubtless referred to one of the "three saylers who accompanied the party." (See p. 45). — [*Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 84.]

¹⁸² *Friday*, ⁸/₁₈ Dec.

felues, but mistrusting nothing at all: as it fell out, the water not being high enough, they layd the things downe vpon the shore, & came vp to brek-fast. Anone, all vpon a sudder, we heard a great & strange cry, which we knew to be the same voyces, though they varied their notes,¹⁸³ one of our company being abroad came running in, and cryed, *They are men, Indians, Indians*; [19] and withall, their arrowes came flying amongst vs, our men ran out with all speed to recover their armes, as by the good Providence of God they did. In the meane time,

Our first
Combat
with the
Indians. Capitaine *Miles Standish*, having a snaphance¹⁸⁴ ready, made a shot, and after him another, after they two had shot, other two of vs were ready,¹⁸⁵ but he wisht vs not to shoot, till we could take ayme, for we knew not what need we should haue, & there were foure only of vs, which had their armes there readie, and stood before the open side of our Baricado, which was first assaulted, they thought it best to defend it, leaft the enemie should take it and our stuffe, and so haue the more vantage against vs, our care

¹⁸³ Bradford says, "A great & strange crie, which they knew to be the same voyces they heard in ye night, though they varied their notes;" a verbal identity indicating his authorship of this portion of this "Relation." — [*Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 85.]

¹⁸⁴ A *snaphance* [Dutch, *snaphaan*, "a snap-lock"] appears to have been the result of the first rude contrivance to fire a gun without "touch-

ing it off," like a cannon, with a match; preceding by some years the "flint-lock." It was invented by the Dutch, and struck fire with a flint, but in a different, clumsier, and more uncertain way than the flint-lock, which was not introduced until Queen Elizabeth's time.

¹⁸⁵ That is, had lighted their gun-match from the fire, and so made ready for a discharge.

was no leffe for the Shallop, but we hoped all the rest would defend it; we called vnto them to know how it was with them, and they answered, Well, Well, every one, and be of good courage: wee heard three of their Peeeces goe off, and the rest called for a fire-brand to light their matches, one ¹⁸⁶ tooke a log out of the fire on his shoulder and went and carried it vnto them, which was thought did not a little discourage our enemies. The cry of our enemies was dreadfull, especially, when our men ran out to recover their Armes, their note was after this manner, *Woath woach ha ha hach woach*:¹⁸⁷ our men were no sooner come to their Armes, but the enemy was ready to assault them.

There was a lustie man and no whit leffe valiant, who was thought to bee their Captaine, stood behind a tree within halfe a musket shot of vs, and there let his arrowes fly at vs; hee was seene to shoote three arrowes, which were all avoyded, for he at whom the first arrow was ayimed, saw it, and stooped downe and it flew over him, the rest were avoyded also: he stood three shots of a Musket, at length one tooke as he sayd full ayme at him, after which he gaue an extraordinary cry and away they went all,¹⁸⁸ wee followed them about a quarter of a

¹⁸⁶ One of the four who were at the barricado.

¹⁸⁷ Of this Mr. Trumbull says, "This is probably as nearly like what the Indians actually said, or shouted, as a badly-frightened man would be likely

to write from memory; but not near enough to warrant a plausible guess at the meaning. As it stands, there is no respectable Indian to be got out of it." — [*Ms. letter.*]

¹⁸⁸ Johnson, in his *Wonder-work-*

mile, but wee left fixe to keepe our Shallop, for we were carefull of our bufineffe: then wee shouted all together two severall times, and shot off a couple of muskets and so returned: this wee did that they might see wee were not afrayd of them nor discouraged. Thus it pleased [20] God to vanquish our Enemies¹⁸⁹ and giue vs deliverance, by their noyse we could not guesse that they were lesse then thirty or forty, though some thought that they were many more yet in the darke of the morning,

ing Providence, gives the following account of this tranfaction. He says, "Now the Indians, whose dwellings are most neer the water-side, appeared with their Bowes bent and Arrowes one the string, let fly their long shafts among this little company, whom they might soon have inclosed, but the Lord otherwise disposed of it, for one Captaine Miles Standish having his fowling-peece in a reddinesse, presented full at them, his shot being directed by the provident Hand of the most high God, strook the stoutest Sachem among them one the right arme, it being bent over his shoulder to reach an Arrow forth his Quiver, as their manner is to draw them forth in fight, at this stroke they all fled with great swiftnesse through the Woods and Thickets, then the English, who more thirsted after their conversion than destruction, returned to their Bote without receiving any damage." He gives no clue to his authority for this statement, except to hint his obliga-

tion (possibly) to this very "Relation," saying, he "purposes not to speake particularly, being prevented by the honoured Mr. Winflow, who was an eye-witnesse of the worke, &c." I think he got the fact of Standish's promptness in firing from this narrative, and added some vague tradition which had reached him as to its effect — which I discredit. The extreme particularity of the narration here is manifest (and Bradford is even more particular [*Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 86], yet does not mention this); and so important a circumstance as Johnson relates, if it had actually taken place, could hardly have failed to have thrust itself into the record. — [See Johnson, 2 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.*, ii. 67.]

¹⁸⁹ Samofet afterwards informed the Pilgrims that these were *Nauset* Indians, and that their hostility was occasioned by the fact that "one Hunt" had previously deceived them, and stolen some of their tribe and sold them for slaves.

wee could not so well discern them among the trees, as they could see vs by our fire side, we took vp 18. of their arrowes which we haue sent to *England* by Master *Jones*, some whereof were headed with brasse, others with Harts horne, & others with Eagles clawes¹⁹⁰ many more no doubt were shot, for these we found, were almost covered with leaues:¹⁹¹ yet by the especiall providence of God, none of them either hit or hurt vs, though many came close by vs, and on every side of vs, and some coates which hung vp in our Baricado, were shot through and through. So after wee had given God thanks for our deliverance, wee tooke our Shallop and went on our Journey, and called this place, *The first Encounter*, from hence we intended to haue sayled to the aforefayd theeuish Harbour,¹⁹² if wee found no convenient Harbour by the

¹⁹⁰ No mention is here made of what seem to have been the commonest arrow-heads of the Indians, viz., flint; doubtless because the Indians on the Cape were not favorably situated for procuring them. It was a great art to make them.—[See Schoolcraft's *Hist. Indian Tribes*, iii. 467.] Hutchinson says, "After the arrival of the English, they made the heads of their arrows of brasse, fastened them to a small stick six or eight inches long, formed to fix into the end of the pithy elder, which they bound round to strengthen it."—[*Hist. Mass.*, i. 411.]

¹⁹¹ The only sense which I can affix

to these words is to suppose that they found the arrows which they picked up had transixed and strung many leaves upon themselves in their flight through the thick trees, where the dried leaves still clung to the branches; and hence inferred that many more arrows had been shot, which the dense thicket had wholly intercepted. As they had found the snow half a foot deep upon the ground ten days before (see p. 29), and there had been no weather to remove it, there must have been snow on the ground now, so that the arrows could not have bedded themselves in leaves as they fell.

¹⁹² Plymouth. See p. 42.

way, having the wind good, we sayled all that day along the Coast about 15. leagues,¹⁹³ but saw neither River nor Creeke to put into, after we had sayled an houre or two, it began to snow and raine, and to be bad weather; ¹⁹⁴ about the midst of the afternoone, the winde increased and the Seas began to be very rough, and the hinges of the rudder broke, so that we could steere no longer with it, but two men with much adoe were faine to serue with a couple of Oares, the Seas were growne so great, that we were much troubled and in great danger, and night grew on: Anon Master *Coppin* bad vs be of good cheere he saw the Harbour,¹⁹⁵ as we drew neare, the gale being stiffe, and we bearing great sayle to get in, split our Mast in 3. peices, and were like to haue cast away our Shallop, yet by Gods mercy recovering our selues, wee had the floud with vs, and struck into the Harbour.

Now he that thought that had beene the place was deceived, it being a place where not any of vs had beene before, and comming into the Harbour, he that was our

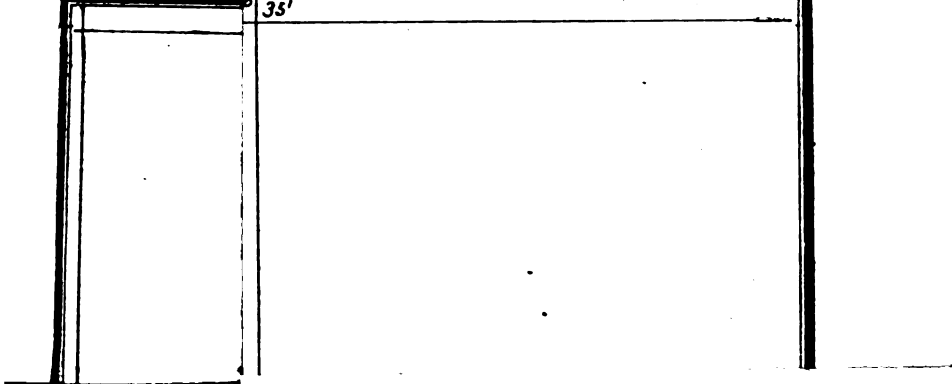
¹⁹³ They coasted along within sight of the shore all the way, so as to discover, if possible, some harbor, into which they might go. Thus coasting, from the place of their "first encounter" in Eastham, to Manomet Bluff, which marks the southern side of Plymouth Bay, would be fifteen leagues, good measure.

¹⁹⁴ This thick weather came on before they were off Barnstable, and they

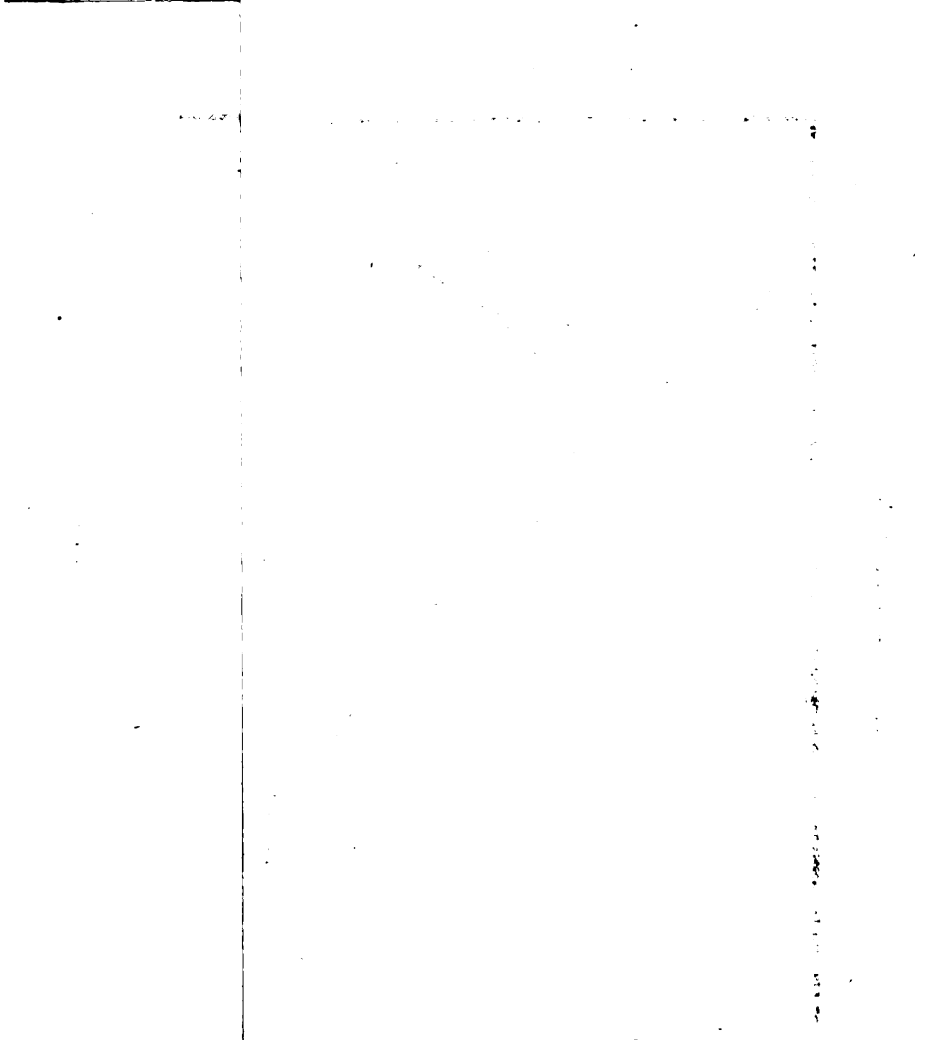
went by that inlet without seeing it; making the snow-storm, which was not then "joyous but grievous," still a blessing, in preventing them from settling (as they might have done had they gone in there) in a much less favorable place than Plymouth.

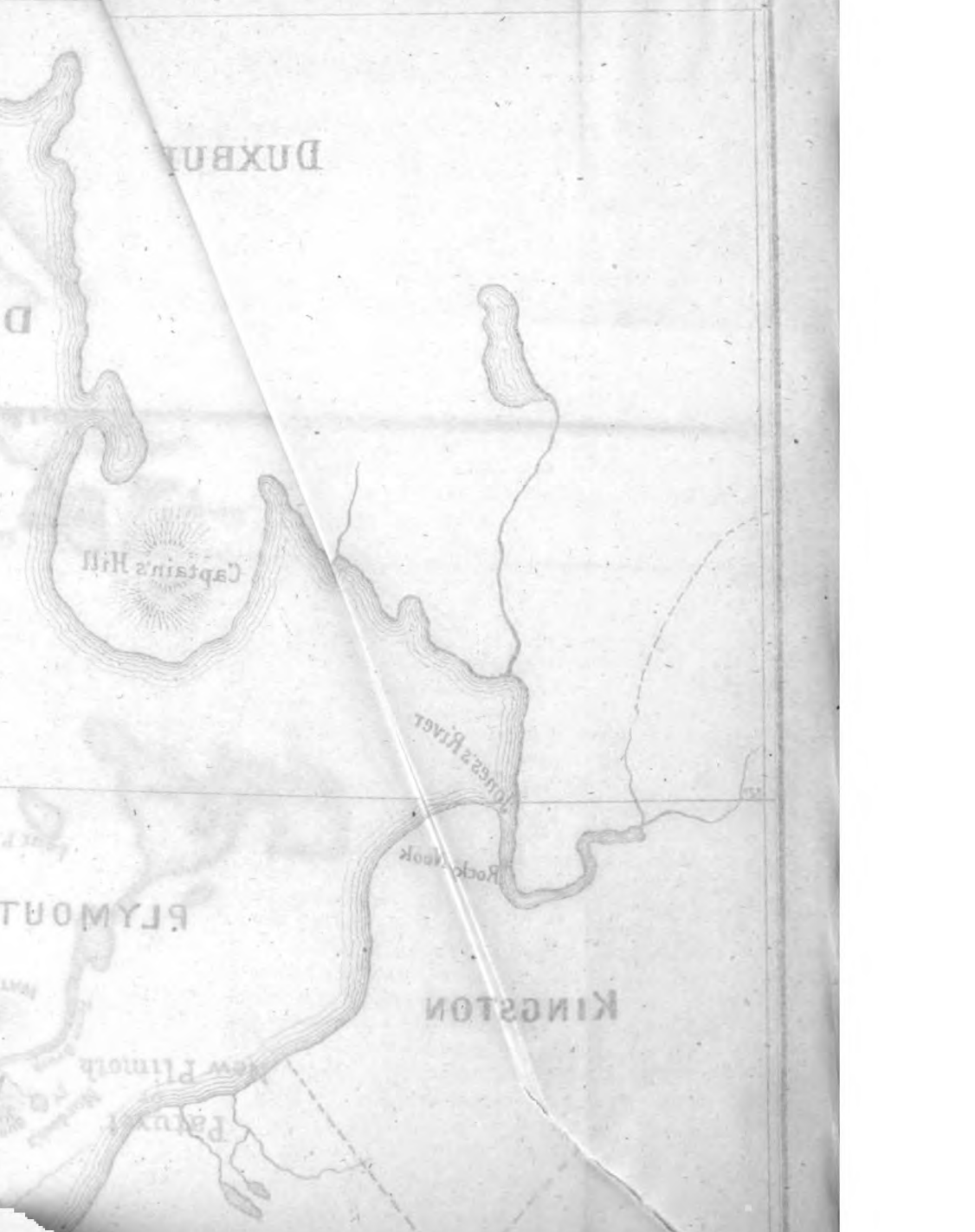
¹⁹⁵ He probably recognized Manomet looming through the storm, and after passing Manomet Point steered N. W. by Elisha's Point to shoot in.

33'



1000 200





DUXBURY

D

Captain's Hill

Jones River

Rock Brook

KINGSTON

PLYMOUTH

New Plymouth

Plymouth

Pilot did beare vp Northward,¹⁹⁶ which if we had continued wee had [21] beene cast away, yet still the Lord kept vs, and we bare vp for an Iland before vs, and

¹⁹⁶ Bradford says that Coppin and the first mate (Clark) "would have run her ashore, in a cove full of breakers, before y^e wind. But a lusty seaman which steered, bad those which rowed, if they were men, about with her, or ells they were all cast away; the which they did with speed. So he bid them be of good cheere & row lustly, for ther was a faire sound before them, & he doubted not but they should find one place or other wher they might ride in fastie. And though it was *very darke*, and rained sore, yet in y^e end they gott under y^e lee of a smalle iland, and remained there all y^t night in fastie. But they knew not this to be an iland till morning, but were devided in their minds; some would keepe y^e boate for fear they might be amongst y^e Indians; others were so weake and could, they could not endure, but got a shore, & with much adoe got fire (all things being fo wett) and y^e rest were glad to come to them; for after midnight y^e wind shifted to the North-west, & it frose hard." — [*Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 87.]

It has always been considered, on the authority of Morton [*N. E. Mem.*, 21], that this "cove full of breakers" was the cove still existing between Saquish Point and Gurnet Head. But as Morton was mistaken as to Namskaket he may have been in this; and (with diffidence) I venture another

theory. My objections to this cove are: (a) that approaching from the Sandwich shore, after rounding Manomet Point, they would have been most likely (especially with the wind at the N. E., where it unquestionably was) to have steered in by Eliha's Point, W. N. W., almost straight for the end of the beach — which would have carried them a mile and a half S. W. from the cove referred to; (b) that the flood-tide (which they say they had with them), with the gale, would have swept them almost inevitably over toward the other side of the channel; (c) that if they were running "before y^e winde" into the cove, as Bradford says, it must have been a cove on the S. W. and not on the N. E. side of the harbor-entrance; (d) that, when they came about, "ther was a faire sound before them," which would be exactly true if the cove were on the beach, and they came about with their head toward Clark's Island, but which would not be true (unless Brown's Island were then an island and not a shoal, which is a mooted point) if the cove were east of Saquish; (e) that the supposition that they were over in a cove near the extremity of the beach, and then bore up northward, exactly makes natural their statement of bearing up "for an Iland before vs" (Saquish Point), and "recovering of that Iland," *i. e.*, getting

recovering of that Iland,¹⁹⁷ being compassed about with many Rocks, and darke night growing upon vs, it pleased the Divine providence that we fell vpon a place of fandy ground, where our Shallop did ride safe and secure all that night, and comming vpon a strange Iland¹⁹⁸ kept our watch all night in the raine vpon that Iland: and in the

by Saquish (a now obsolete sense of the word "recover," see *Webster*); they "fell upon a place of fandy ground," &c., *i. e.*, they ran along the fandy flat skirting Clark's Island on the W. and S.

If Morton had himself been present, or had received the statement from one who was present, his authority could only be impaired by the suggestion that even persons who are familiar with such localities are liable to make mistakes in regard to them in the dense darkness and driving rain of a winter's storm,—as many a sad shipwreck has testified. But he was not there, nor is it sure that he had his information from any one who was. It is quite as likely that—from this statement above, that the pilot "did beare vp north-ward,"—he, from his knowledge of the bay, judged that that course would land them between the Gurnet and Saquish, and so set it down; without consideration of wind, tide, or other modifying circumstances. If this "Relation" is not mistaken in this statement of the course which the pilot steered, my theory may indeed be shaken; but I hold it to be by no means impossible that Morton hastily

judged, and that the course steered here was misapprehended in the darkness and confusion; so that I venture to think it possible that the cove was some indentation then existing on the seaward side of the beach, near its terminus.

¹⁹⁷ The extremity of Saquish, which would look like an island to them; which may indeed have been an island at that time by the wash of the sea across its low connecting beach.

¹⁹⁸ Clark's Island, named, Morton says [*N. E. Mem.*, 21], after the first mate of the *Mayflower*, because he first stepped ashore thereon. It contained, in 1687, 86½ acres and 3 rods, and was anciently covered with red cedar, years ago sold in Boston for gate-posts. Five or six of these ancient trees—the largest perhaps 6 feet in circumference, and 20 feet in height—still stand, in a gnarled and stunted condition. There is a huge old rock on the island, called, for some local reason, "Election Rock." The island is still owned by the Watson Family, who have been in possession for many years.—[*Thatcher's Hist. Plym.*, 331; *Gale's Pilgrims' First Year in N. E.*, 100.]

morning we marched about it, & found no Inhabitants at all, and here wee made our Randevous all that day, being Saturday,¹⁹⁹ 10. of December, on the Sabbath day²⁰⁰ wee rested,²⁰¹ and on Munday²⁰² we founded the Harbour, and found it a uery good Harbour for our shipping, we marched also into the Land, and found divers corne fields, and little running brookes,²⁰³ a place very good for fcituation,²⁰⁴ fo we returned to our Ship againe with good newes to the rest of our people, which did much comfort their hearts.²⁰⁵

¹⁹⁹ *Saturday*, ⁹/₁₉ Dec. The English printers, among their many errors in printing the Mfs. of this "Relation," changed the full stop which must have been after Saturday here, to a comma; thus making an apparent error in date. It should read, "being Saturday. 10. of December, on the Sabbath day, wee rested," &c.; making the 10th qualify Sunday rather than Saturday.

²⁰⁰ *Sunday*, ¹⁰/₂₀ Dec.

²⁰¹ The artists have, so far, overlooked this noble theme for a picture, — this Sabbath's rest of such a company, in such a place, with so many motives for haste.

²⁰² *Monday*, ¹¹/₂₁ Dec. FOREFATHERS' DAY.

²⁰³ There were at least eight brooks running into the harbor which a reconnoissance of five or six miles along the shore would have revealed to them; viz., Eel River, running in in the inner angle made by the beach;

Wellingsly; Town Brook, the copious outlet of Billington Sea; and five nameless rivulets N. W. of this, toward Jones River. The Pilgrims seem to have had no idea of digging wells to supply themselves with water, but depended upon running streams.

²⁰⁴ Bradford says it was "a place (as they supposed) fitt for situation; at leest it was y^e best they could find, and y^e season, & their present necessitie, made them glad to accepte of it." — [*Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 88.] This was written at least ten years after this date of landing, and is modified by Bradford's later experience, which compelled a somewhat less cheerful view of the capabilities of the spot than they seem to have taken at the first.

²⁰⁵ No one specifies the exact date of their return. As they must, however, have spent the best part of Monday in their explorations, and would not be likely to start at night, it seems

On the fifteenth day,²⁰⁶ we waighed Anchor, to goe to the place we had discovered, and comming within two leagues of the Land, we could not fetch the Harbour, but were faine to put roome²⁰⁷ againe towards *Cape Cod*, our course lying West; and the wind was at North west, but it pleased God that the next day being Saturday the 16. day, the winde came faire, and wee put to Sea againe, and came safely into a safe Harbour; and within halfe an houre the winde changed, so as if we had beene letted²⁰⁸ but a little, we had gone backe to *Cape Cod*. This Harbour is a Bay greater then *Cape Cod*, compassed with a goodly Land, and in the Bay, 2. fine Ilands uninhabited,²⁰⁹ wherein are nothing but wood, Okes, Pines, Walnut, Beech, Sasifras, Vines, and other trees which wee know not; This Bay is a most hopefull place, innumerable store of fowle, and excellent good, and cannot but bee of fish in their seasons: Skote,²¹⁰ Cod, Turbot,²¹¹ and Her-

probable that they failed on the morning of *Tuesday* ¹²/₂₂ Dec., and as they appear to have gone straight across the bay, — a distance of not more than twenty-six miles, — they probably reached the *Mayflower* before night of that day. They found that, while they had been exploring the Indian graves at Eastham, on the Thursday previous, Mrs. Dorothy Bradford, the wife of the historian of the party, had found a watery grave by falling over the ship's side. — [*Prince*, 76.]

²⁰⁶ *Friday*, ¹⁵/₂₅ Dec.

²⁰⁷ Bradford probably wrote either "to put round," or "to get roome againe towards *Cape Cod*;" which the printers marred as it stands.

²⁰⁸ "Let, to hinder." — [*Bailey*.]

²⁰⁹ Clark's Island and Saquish, — if the sea then flowed across the neck connecting it with Gurnet Head, as is not improbable. — [See note 197.]

²¹⁰ This is, of course, a misprint for *skate*, — the *Raia batis*, — which is edible, and which is still caught off Plymouth.

²¹¹ The fish known as turbot (*Rhombus maximus*) in England, is not found

ring,²¹² wee haue tasted of, abundance of Musles the greatest & best that ever we saw; Crabs and Lobsters, in their time infinite, It is in fashion like a Cikle or Fish-hooke.²¹³

Munday the 13. day, we went a land, manned with the Maister of the Ship, and 3. or 4. of the Saylers, we marched [22] along the coast in the woods, some 7. or 8. mile,²¹⁴ but saw not an *Indian* nor an *Indian* house, only we found where formerly, had beene some Inhabitants, and where they had planted their corne: we found not any Navigable River, but 4. or 5. small running brookes

in our waters. The flounder (*Platessa plana*) somewhat resembles the turbot in general appearance, and, being a harbor fish, it seems likeliest to have been that here referred to, and not the halibut (*Hippoglossus vulgaris*), which is only caught in deep water outside, where the Pilgrims would have been less likely to fish, so long as they found an abundance nearer shore. The *New English Canaan* does indeed say, "there is a large sized fish called Hallibut, or *Turbut*: some are taken so bigg that two men have much a doe to hale them into the boate, &c.;" but it still seems to me more probable that our fathers, at their first landing, should have called the flounder by this name. — [*Force*, II., v. 61.]

²¹² The *Clupea elongata*, and *Alosa vernalis*, or alewife. Of the latter, 800 barrels used to be taken in a single

year from Town Brook in Plymouth, as they were on their way up to Billington Sea, to spawn. — [Thacher's *Hist. Plym.*, 321.]

²¹³ If the whole sweep of the bay, including the stretch of the beach on one side, and of the Gurnet on the other, is taken into the account, it is more like *two* fiddles, or fish-hooks.

²¹⁴ I conceive that they landed at the rock, and went toward Kingston, although they could not have travelled more than five or six miles, even with all their irregularity of progress, — back from the shore and down again, — without coming to Jones's River. They would have been less likely, it seems to me, to go the other way — toward Manomet; because they could easily see that the harbor came to a speedy end on that side, while the shore of it stretched out of sight in the opposite direction.

of very sweet fresh water, that all run into the Sea: The Land for the crust of the earth is a spits depth, excellent blacke mold and fat in some places, 2. or 3. great Oakes but not very thicke, Pines, Wal-nuts Beech ²¹⁵ Ash, Birch, Hafell,²¹⁶ Holley, Asp,²¹⁷ Safiras, in abundance, & Vines euery where, Cherry trees,²¹⁸ Plum-trees,²¹⁹ and many other which we know not; many kinds of hearbes, we found heere in Winter, as Strawberry leaues innumerable, Sorrell,²²⁰ Yarow,²²¹ Caruell,²²² Brook-lime,²²³ Liver-wort,²²⁴ Water-creffes,²²⁵ great store of Leekes, and Onyons,²²⁶ and an excellent strong kind of Flaxe, and Hempe; ²²⁷ here is sand, gravell, and excellent clay no better in the Worlde,²²⁸ excellent for pots, and will wash like sope, and great store of stone, though somewhat soft, and the best water that

²¹⁵ *Beech*, the *Fagus Sylvatica*, a clean, beautiful tree, though scarcely so long lived as many of its forest companions. It is said that it is never struck by lightning.

²¹⁶ *Corylus Americana*.

²¹⁷ Probably the American aspen (*Populus tremuliformis*).

²¹⁸ Perhaps the northern red cherry (*Cerasus Pennsylvanica*) may have grown there; the black cherry (*Cerasus serotina*) and choke-cherry (*Cerasus Virginiana*) certainly did.

²¹⁹ *Prunus maritima*, and possibly also *Prunus Americana*.

²²⁰ *Rumex acetosella*.—[*Coll. Amer. Antiq. Soc.*, iv. 172.]

²²¹ *Achillea millefolium*.

²²² Chervil (*Charophyllum fati-*

vum)? Prof. Tuckerman intimates [*Coll. Amer. Antiq. Soc.*, iv. 121] that the author is mistaken in including "carvel" here.

²²³ *Veronica beccabunga*.

²²⁴ *Hepatica triloba*.

²²⁵ *Nasturtium palustre*, or *Caramine hirsuta*.—[*Coll. Amer. Antiq. Soc.* iv. 172.]

²²⁶ *Allium tricoccum*, and *Allium Canadense*.

²²⁷ *Linum Virginianum*, and perhaps *Apocynum cannabinum*.

²²⁸ "There is in the center of the farm [that of I. L. Hedge, Esq., in Plymouth] an immense mass of clay, for the manufacture of brick, which is conducted on a large scale."—[Thacher's *Hist. Plym.* 313.]

ever we drunke, and the Brookes now begin to be full of fish; that night many being weary with marching, wee went abourd againe.

The next morning being Tuesday the 19. of December, wee went againe to discover further; some went on Land, and some in the Shallop, the Land we found as the former day we did, and we found a Creeke, and went vp three English myles, a very pleasant river²²⁹ at full Sea, a Barke of thirty tunne may goe vp, but at low water scarce our Shallop could passe: this place²³⁰ we had a great liking to plant in, but that it was so farre from our fishing our principall profit, and so incompassed with woods, that we should bee in much danger of the Salvages, and our number being so little, and so much ground to cleare, so as we thought good to quit and cleare²³¹ that place, till we were of more strength; some of vs hauing a good minde for safety to plant in the greater Ile,²³² wee crossed the Bay which there is fise or fixe myles ouer,²³³

²²⁹ Going over the same ground they had travelled the day before, in part, they came to Jones's River, which they could go up just about "three myles," including all its windings; though at the end of the three miles they would be scarcely half that distance, in a straight line, from its mouth.

²³⁰ The village of Kingston occupies this territory.

²³¹ Dr. Young suggested that the word "not" was here omitted, making the true text, "so as we thought

good to quit and *not* cleare that place," &c. It seems to me more probable that they used the verb "cleare" here in the not unknown sense of "leaving," or "passing over, or away from;" as where Camillo says,—

"Your followers I will whisper to the business;
And will, by twos and threes, at several posterns,
Clear them o' the city," &c.

Winter's Tale, Act. I. Sc. 2.

²³² Clark's Island.

²³³ It is just five miles across the bay from the mouth of Jones's River

and found the Ile about a myle and a halfe, or two myles about, all wooded, and no fresh water but 2. or 3. pits, that we doubted of fresh water in Summer, and so full of wood, [23] as we could hardly cleare so much as to serue vs for Corne, besides wee iudged it colde for our Corne, and some part very rockie, yet diuers thought of it as a place defensible, and of great securitie.

That night we returned againe a ship boord, with resolution the next morning to settle on some of those places, so in the morning,²³⁴ after we had called on God for direction, we came to this resolution, to goe presently ashore againe, and to take a better view of two places, which wee thought most fitting for vs, for we could not now take time for further search or consideration, our victuals being much spent, especially, our Beere, and it being now the 19. of *December*. After our landing and viewing of the places, so well as we could we came to a conclusion, by most voyces, to set on the maine Land, on the first place, on an high ground, where there is a great deal of Land cleared, and hath beene planted with Corne three or four yeares agoe, and there is a very sweet brooke runnes vnder the hill side,²³⁵ and many delicate springs of as good water as can be drunke, and where we may harbour our Shallops and Boates exceeding well, and in this

to the inner shore of the Gurnet opposite to it ; but it is scarcely three and three-quarters miles to Clark's Island.

²³⁴ *Wednesday*, ²⁰/₃₀ Dec.

²³⁵ This description indicates that they pitched upon the high land below Burial Hill, and just N. W. of Town Brook.

brooke much good fish in their seasons: on the further side of the river also much Corne ground cleared, in one field is a great hill,²³⁶ on which wee poynt to make a plat-forme, and plant our Ordinance, which will command all round about, from thence we may see into the *Bay*, and farre into the Sea, and we may see thence *Cape Cod*:²³⁷ our greatest labour will be fetching of our wood, which is halfe a quarter of an English myle, but there is enough so farre off; what people inhabite here we yet know not, for as yet we haue seene none, so there we made our Randevous, and a place for some of our people about twentie, resolving in the morning to come all ashore, and to build houses, but the next morning being Thursday the 21. of *December*, it was stormie and wett, that we could not goe ashore, and those that remained there all night could doe nothing, but were wet, not having dai-light enough to make them a sufficient court of gard,²³⁸ to keepe them dry. All that night it blew and rayned extremely; [24] it was so tempestuous, that the Shallop could not goe on land so soone as was meet, for they had no victuals on land. About 11. a Clocke the Shallop went off with much adoe with provision, but could not

²³⁶ Burial Hill, 165 feet above the sea level, and including about eight acres. A rude fort was early built on the S. W. summit, and in 1675, in Philip's War, a strong stockade was erected there. It commands a most charming view of the town, the har-

bor, and the neighborhood.—[Thacher's *Hist. Plym.*, 324.]

²³⁷ This is a common experience in a clear day.

²³⁸ *Cour de garde*, a guard-house; conveying the double idea of shelter and security.

returne it blew so strong, and was such foule weather, that we were forced to let fall our Anchor, and ride with three Anchors an head.²³⁹

Friday the 22. the storme still continued, that we could not get a-land, nor they come to vs aboard: this morning Good wife *Alderton*²⁴⁰ was delivered of a sonne, but dead borne.

Saturday the 23. so many of vs as could, went on shore, felled and carried tyMBER, to provide themselues stuffe for building.

Sunday the 24. our people on shore heard a cry of some Savages (as they thought) which caused an Alarm, and to stand on their gard, expecting an assault, but all was quiet.²⁴¹

Munday the 25. day, we went on shore, some to fell tyMBER, some to saw, some to riue, and some to carry, so no man rested all that day,²⁴² but towards night some as they were at worke, heard a noyse of some *Indians*, which

²³⁹ To add to the gloom of the storm, on this day dies Richard Britteridge (see note 27, No. 34), the first of the company whom they bury at Plymouth. — [Prince (on authority of Bradford's pocket-book), *Annals*, pt. i. 80.]

²⁴⁰ Mary, wife of Isaac Allerton. (See note 27, No. 5.)

²⁴¹ Prince says, "This day (Lord's day, ²⁴ Dec. ₃ Jan.) dies *Solomon Martin*, the sixth and last who dies this month."

The man intended is obviously Solomon *Prower* (see note 27, No. 9), servant of Mr. Christopher *Martin*, whom Bradford, in his pocket-book note, on which Prince relied, by an inadvertence easy under the circumstances, called by his master's name. — [Prince, *Annals*, i. 80.]

²⁴² "And ye 25. day begane to erecte ye first house for common use to receive them and their goods." — [Bradford, *Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 88.]

caused vs all to goe to our Muskets, but we heard no further, so we came aboard againe, and left some twentie to keepe the court of gard; that night we had a fore storme of winde and rayne.

Munday the 25. being Christmas day, we began to drinke water aboard, but at night the Master caused vs to haue some Beere,²⁴³ and so on boord we had diuerse times now and then some Beere, but on shore none at all.

Tuesday the 26. it was foule weather, that we could not goe ashore.

Wednesday the 27. we went to worke againe.

Thursday the 28. of *December*, so many as could went to worke on the hill, where we purposed to build our platforme for our Ordinance, and which doth command all the plaine, and the *Bay*, and from whence we may see farre into the sea, and might be easier impayled, having two rowes of houfes and a faire streete.²⁴⁴ So in the afternoone we went to measure out the grounds, and first, we

²⁴³ The stock was getting low, and necessitating scant allowance.

²⁴⁴ Dr. Young thought something was omitted here. But he took their language as implying that they now commenced to build their stockade on the summit of Burial Hill, and so could not connect the "two rowes of houfes and a faire streete" with that. It seems to me, however, that their language only implies that they commenced work on the slope of the hill,

on the summit of which they intended by and by to build their "platforme for ordinance," and that they proceeded to lay out on that slope the first street, and the first lots, and to assign them to families and groups; this need being more pressing than the other. The common house was now (rudely) complete, as their temporary shelter (with the ship) while building their several dwellings, and the time had come for the latter work.

tooke notice how many [25] Families they were, willing all fingle men that had no wiues to ioyne with some Familie, as they thought fit, that so we might build fewer houfes, which was done, and we reduced them to 19. Families;²⁴⁵ to greater Families we allotted larger plots, to every perfon halfe a pole in breadth, and three in length,²⁴⁶ and fo Lots were cast where euery man should lie, which was done, and staked out; we thought this proportion was large enough at the first, for houfes and gardens, to impale them round,²⁴⁷ confidering the weaknes of our people, many of them growing ill with coldes, for our former Discoveries in frost and stormes, and the wading at Cape *Cod* had brought much weakenes amongst vs, which increased so every day more and more, and after was the cause of many of their deaths.

Fryday and Saturday,²⁴⁸ we fitted our felues for our labour, but our people on shore were much troubled and discouraged with rayne and wett that day, being very stormie and cold; we saw great smokes of fire²⁴⁹ made by

²⁴⁵ When they reached Cape Cod, there were eighteen husbands and wives in the company—besides four fathers, each with one or more sons; as the basis of this classification into families.

²⁴⁶ This would give to such a family as Carver's (numbering eight) a plot of 66 feet front, by $49\frac{1}{2}$ feet in depth. Each person was to have ($8\frac{1}{2}$ feet by $49\frac{1}{2}$ feet) $408\frac{37}{100}$ square feet.

²⁴⁷ These grounds were measured out on the north and south sides of what is now Leyden Street. The first volume of the Plymouth Records of Deeds contains, in Gov. Bradford's handwriting, a rude plot of this street, with the names of seven of those whose lots fell on the south side.

²⁴⁸ Friday, ²⁹ Dec. ⁸ Jan., Saturday, ³⁰ Dec. ⁹ Jan., 16²⁹₂₁.

²⁴⁹ In the direction of Duxbury, on

the *Indians* about six or seven myles from vs as we conjectured.²⁵⁰

Munday the first of *January*, we went betimes to worke, we were much hindered in lying so farre off from the Land, and faine to goe as the tyde served, that we lost much time, for our Ship drew so much water,²⁵¹ that she lay a myle and almost a halfe off, though a ship of seventie or eightie tun at high water may come to the shore.²⁵²

the north, or of Telegraph Hill, on the south, as they could scarcely see that distance directly inland. As the Indians finally approached from the south, it is perhaps more probable that they were now lurking in that direction.

²⁵⁰ Baylies says [*Memoir of Plym. Col.*, i. 61] that on the next day (*Sabbath*, ^{31 Dec.}_{10 Jan.} 16²⁰₂₁) "they named their settlement PLYMOUTH, because this place had been so called by Capt. Smith, who had previously surveyed the harbor; and they remembered the kindness which they had experienced from the people of Plymouth in England." But he gives no authority for this statement. Mr. Palfrey [*Hist. New Eng.*, i. 172] discusses, at some length, the date of the assignment of this name, and evidently feels that it is wholly a matter of conjecture.

²⁵¹ The *Mayflower* was of 180 tons. Bradford says, "Of burden about 9 score." — [*Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 58.] If the harbor were then at all as now, or as it has been for the last hundred

years, she probably lay at anchor in the channel just inside the end of the beach. Dr. Young, in suggesting that she lay in the "Cow Yard," disregarded this fact of her distance from the landing; his supposition would nearly or quite double the "myle and almost a halfe" of which they speak — if we suppose them to take the landing-rock as their point of departure.

²⁵² Prince says [*N. E. Chron.* pt. ii. 96], "The year begins with the death of *Degory Priest*." (See note 27, No. 29.) Priest is set down in the Leyden Records as "from London," and had been many years a member of the Leyden company. It is on record, that, ⁴₁₄ Nov., 1611, he married Sarah (Allerton) Vincent, widow of John Vincent; ¹⁶₂₆ Nov., 1615, he was admitted a citizen of Leyden; and, in April, 1619, he (calling himself "a hatter") deposes that he is forty years of age, and knows one Nicolas Claverly. This would make him from forty-one to forty-two when he died. — [*Leyden Mss. Records.*]

Wednesfday the third of *January*, some of our people being abroad, to get and gather thatch, they saw great fires of the *Indians*, and were at their Corne fields, yet saw none of the Savages, nor had seene any of them since wee came to this Bay.

Thursfday the fourth of *January*, Captaine *Miles Standish* with foure or five more, went to see if they could meet with any of the Savages in that place where the fires were made, they went to some of their houses, but not lately inhabited, yet could they not meete with any; as they came home, they shot at an Eagle and killed her, which was excellent meat; It was hardly to be discerned from Mutton.²⁵³ [26]

Fryday the fifth of *January*, one of the Saylers found alie vpon the shore an Hering, which the Master had to his supper, which put vs in hope of fish, but as yet we had got but one Cod; we wanted small hookes.²⁵⁴

Saturday the sixt of *January*, Master *Marten*²⁵⁵ was very sicke, and to our iudgement, no hope of life, so Master *Carver* was sent for to come abourd to speake with him about his accompts, who came the next morning.

²⁵³ It was some time since these poor men had tasted mutton!

²⁵⁴ To this single circumstance much of their discomfort in regard to food was due.

²⁵⁵ *Christopher Martin* (see note 27, No. 9) was from Billericay, in Essex, joining the company in England. He

had been selected with Carver and Cushman "to make ye provisions for ye vantage," being chosen to represent the new English members of the company, "not so much for any great need of their help, as to avoyd all suspition or jealousie of any partiallitie." Hence his desire to confer with Carver in

Munday the eight day of *January*, was a very fayre day, and we went betimes to worke, mafter *Jones* sent the Shallop as he had formerly done, to see where fish could be got, they had a greate storme at Sea, and were in some danger, at night they returned with three greate Seales,²⁵⁶ and an excellent good Cod, which did assure vs that we should haue plentie of fish shortly.

This day, *Francis Billington*, having the weeke before seene from the top of a tree on an hie hill, a great sea as he thought, went with one of the Masters mates to see it, they went three myles, and then came to a great water, devided into two great Lakes, the bigger of them five or sixe myles in circuit, and in it an Ile of a Cable length square, the other three miles in compasse;²⁵⁷ in their estimation they are fine fresh water, full of fish, and soule; a brooke²⁵⁸ issues from it, it will be an excellent helpe for vs in time. They found seaven or eight *Indian* houses, but not lately inhabited, when they saw the houses they were in some feare, for they were but two persons and one peece.

Tuesday the 9. *January*, was a reasonable faire day,

reference to "his accompts." He died on the Monday following, 8 Jan., 1620. — [Bradford, *Plym. Plant.*, 56; Prince, *N. E. Chron.*, pt. ii. 96.]

²⁵⁶ A seal is not an uncommon sight at this day along the Old Colony shores.

²⁵⁷ *Billington Sea* answers to this

description in every particular but that of distance; but its discoverers doubtless traveled three miles through the forest before they reached it. It is scarcely two miles S. W. from the town.

²⁵⁸ *Town Brook*, on whose northern bank they were settling.

and wee went to labour that day in the building of our Towne, in two rowes of houfes for more safety: we devided by lott the plot of ground whereon to build our Towne: After the proportion formerly allotted,²⁵⁹ wee agreed that every man should build his owne house, thinking by that course, men would make more haft then working in common: the common house, in which for the first, we made our Rendevous,²⁶⁰ being neere finished wanted onely couering, it being about 20. foote square, some should make mortar, and [27] some gather thatch, so that in foure days halfe of it was thatched, frost and foule weather hindred vs much, this time of the yeare feldome could wee worke halfe the weeke.²⁶¹

Thursday the eleuenth, *William Bradford*²⁶² being at worke, (for it was a faire day) was vehemently taken with a grieffe and paine, and so shot to his huckle-bone;²⁶³ It was doubted that he would haue instantly dyed, hee got

²⁵⁹ See note 246.

²⁶⁰ This stood partly on the lot of late years occupied by the house of Capt. Samuel D. Holmes, on the south side of Leyden Street, near the declivity of the hill toward the water side. — [Ruffell's *Pilgrim Memorials*, 55.]

²⁶¹ Gov. Dudley, in his letter to the Countess of Lincoln (of date ¹²/₂₂ March, 1630), says the Plymouth settlers had “the favour of a calme winter such as was never seen here since.” — [*Force*, II, iv. 7.] Although they had many

rainy days, the winter was doubtless more favorable than the average to their work. A passage in Winflow's letter (near the close of this volume — p. 62 of the original paging) corroborates that theory.

²⁶² The absence of the preliminary “Mr.” from this name here (a title which they were scrupulous to bestow upon those who were entitled to it, by their custom) is a strong hint that Bradford was himself the modest penman of this part of this narrative.

²⁶³ Hip-bone.

colde in the former discoveries, especially the last, and felt some paine in his anckles by times, but he grew a little better towards night and in time through Gods mercie in the vse of meanes recovered.

Friday the 12. we went to worke, but about noone, it began to raine, that it forced vs to giue over worke.

This day, two of our people put vs in great forrow and care, there was 4. sent to gather and cut thatch in the morning, and two of them, *John Goodman*²⁶⁴ and *Peter Browne*,²⁶⁵ having cut thatch²⁶⁶ all the fore-noone, went to

²⁶⁴ *John Goodman* (note 27, No. 28) had a share in the first division of land, and had the first lot east of Elder Brewster, but died "in the general sickness," before the end of March. — [*Plym. Col. Rec.*, xii. 3; Prince, *N. E. Chron.*, pt. ii. 86; Bradford, *Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 454.]

²⁶⁵ *Peter Browne* (note 27, No. 33) was brother of John, of Duxbury, and himself settled there. He married twice. His first wife's name appears to have been Martha; his second's certainly was Mary. He was "amerced in 3s. fine" for not appearing at court ¹/₁₁ Jan., 163², and the same sum next day for the same offence; Jan. ⁷/₁₇, 163², a dispute between him and Dr. Fuller, in their accounts, was referred to the arbitration of Robert Hicks and Francis Cooke; 25 March, 1633, he was taxed 18s.,—the highest tax being that of Isaac Allerton, £3 11s., and the lowest 9s. He died in October, 1633, leaving an estate of £100. His

widow Mary administered, and was ordered by the court to pay over, in trust, for the use of Mary and Priscilla, his first wife's children, £15 each; they being bound out, the one to Mr. John Done for nine years, the other to Mr. Will. Gilson for twelve years. There were two children by the second wife. William Brewster became the widow's surety. It is my impression that Mary married Eph. Tinkham of Middleborough; and Priscilla, William Allin of Sandwich. — [*Plym. Col. Rec.*, i. 5, 7, 8, 10, 18; xii. 146, 186.]

²⁶⁶ "Thatch, Straw, Reeds, &c. for covering Houses." — [*Bailey.*] The coarse grafs and flags which they could reap with their sickles by the sides of the brooks, and on the meadows bordering the ponds, were what they seem now to have been in pursuit of, for roofing their new houses after the fashion still existing in the rude English cottages.

a further place, and willed the other two, to binde vp that which was cut and to follow them; so they did, being about a myle and a halfe from our Plantation: but when the two came after, they could not finde them, nor heare any thing of them at all, though they hallowed and shouted as loud as they could, so they returned to the Company and told them of it: whereupon Master *Leaver*²⁶⁷ & three or foure more went to seeke them, but could heare nothing of them, so they returning, sent more, but that night they could heare nothing at all of them: the next day they armed 10. or 12. men out, verily thinking the *Indians* had surprised them, they went seeking 7. or 8. myles, but could neither see nor heare any thing at all, so they returned with much difcomfort to vs all. These two that were missed, at dinner time tooke their meate in their hands, and would goe walke and refresh themselues, so going a litle off they finde a lake of water,²⁶⁸ and having a great Mastiffe bitch with them and a Spannell; by the water side they found a great Deere,

²⁶⁷ An obvious misprint for "Carver;" though Prince indorfes it as it stands. — [*N. E. Chron.*, pt. ii. 97.]

²⁶⁸ Dr. Young supposed this to be Murdock's Pond. But Murdock's Pond could not have been more than one hundred rods W. of their common house; while the two men were "about a myle and a halfe from the Plantation" before they began to wander further; so that Dr. Young's supposition is necessarily inadmissible.

Lout Pond, which is a small lake perhaps a quarter of a mile in length, a little E. of Billington Sea, seems to me best to fulfill the conditions of the narrative here. If they had been following up Town Brook a mile and a half, cutting thatch along its banks, they would be not more than half a mile from this pond, and might very naturally stroll over through the open woods towards it, as suggested, while eating their dinners.

the Dogs chased him, and they followed so farre as they lost themselves, and could not finde the way backe, they wandred [28] all that after-noone being wett, and at night it did freeze and snow, they were slenderly apparelled and had no weapons but each one his Cicle,²⁶⁹ nor any victuals, they ranged vp and downe and could finde none of the Salvages habitations; when it drew to night they were much perplexed, for they could finde neither harbour nor meate, but in frost and snow, were forced to make the earth their bed, and the Element their covering, and another thing did very much terrifie them, they heard as they thought two Lyons²⁷⁰ roaring exceedingly for a long time together, and a third, that they thought was very nere them, so not knowing what to do, they resolved to climbe vp into a tree as their safest refuge, though that would proue an intollerable colde lodging; so they stoode at the trees roote, that when the Lyons came they might take their opportunitie of climbing vp, the bitch they were faine to hold by the necke, for shee would haue beene gone to the Lyon; but it pleased God so to dispose, that the wilde Beastes came not: so they walked vp and downe vnder the Tree all night, it was an extreame colde night, so soone as it was light²⁷¹ they trauailed againe, passing by many lakes and brookes and

²⁶⁹ With which to cut thatch.

²⁷⁰ Beyond doubt these were wolves, which then haunted the Old-Colony woods, and whose howling was as

novel a sound to these old-country fettle's ears as the roaring of lions would have been.

²⁷¹ *Saturday*, ¹³ Jan., 16²⁰₂₁.

woods, and in one place where the Salvages had burnt the space of 5. myles in length, which is a fine Champion Countrey, and even.²⁷² In the after-noone, it pleased God from an high Hill ²⁷³ they discovered the two Iles in the Bay,²⁷⁴ and so that night got to the Plantation, being ready to faint with travaile and want of victuals, and almost famished with colde, *John Goodman* was faine to haue his shooes cut off his feete they were so swelled with colde, and it was a long while after ere he was able to goe; those on the shore were much comforted at their returne, but they on ship-boord were grieved as deeming them lost; but the next day being the 14. of Ianuary,²⁷⁵ in the morning about fixe of the clocke the winde being very great, they on ship-boord spied their great new Randeuous on fire, which was to them a new discomfort, fearing because of the supposed losse of the men, that the Salvages had fiered them, neither could they presently goe to them for want of water, but af- [29] ter 3. quarters of an houre they went, as they had purposed the day before to keepe the Sabbath on shore, because now there was the greater number of people. At their landing they heard good tidings of the returne of the 2. men, and that

²⁷² This very accurately describes the characteristics of the country for several miles around Great South Pond as a center, four or five miles S. of Plymouth Rock.

²⁷³ Pinnacle Hill, just W. of South Pond?

²⁷⁴ See note 209.

²⁷⁵ They had intended this to be the date of their first service on shore; but the alarm of this fire, and the fear on board ship that it was due to the savages, prevented, and postponed it until the next Sabbath.

the house was fiered occasionally²⁷⁶ by a sparke that flew into the thatch, which instantly burnt it all vp, but the rooffe stood and little hurt; ²⁷⁷ the most losse was Maister *Carvers* and *William Bradfords*, who then lay sicke in bed, and if they had not risen with good speede, had been blowne vp with powder: but through Gods mēcy they had no harme, the house was as full of beds as they could lie one by another, and their Muskets charged, but blessed be God there was no harme done.

Munday the 15. day, it rayned much all day, that they on ship-boord could not goe on shore, nor they on shore doe any labour but were all wet.

Tuesday, wednesday, thursday, were very faire Sunshinie dayes, as if it had beene in Aprill, and our people so many as were in health wrought chearefully.

The 19. day,²⁷⁸ we resolved to make a Shed, to put our common provision in, of which some were alreadie set on shore, but at noone it rayned, that we could not worke. This day in the evening, *John Goodman* went abroad to vse his lame feete, that were pittifully ill with the cold he had got, having a little Spannell with him, a little way from the Plantation, two great Wolues ran after the Dog, the Dog ran to him and betwixt his leggs for succour, he had nothing in his hand but tooke vp a sticke, and threw at one of them and hit him, and they presently ran both

²⁷⁶ "Casually, accidentally."—[*Bailley*.] work of the roof, supporting the thatch.

²⁷⁷ That is, the rafters and frame- ²⁷⁸ *Friday*, 19 Jan., 1621.

away, but came againe, he got a paile bord²⁷⁹ in his hand, and they fat both on their tayles, grinning at him, a good while, and went their way, and left him.

Saturday 20. we made vp our Shed for our common goods.

Sunday the 21. we kept our meeting on Land.²⁸⁰

Munday the 22. was a faire day, we wrought on our houfes, and in the after-noone carried vp our hogsheds of meale to our common store-houfe [30].

The rest of the weeke we followed our businesse likewise.

Munday the 29.²⁸¹ in the morning cold frost and fleete, but after reasonable fayre; both the long Boate and the Shallop brought our common goods on shore.

Tuesday and wednesday 30. and 31. of *January*, cold frosty weather and fleete, that we could not worke: in the morning the Master and others saw two Savages, that had beene on the Iland nere our Ship, what they came for wee could not tell, they were going so farre backe againe before they were defcried, that we could not speake with them.

²⁷⁹ "Pale-board, — set up for partitions in gardens, grounds &c., a pile or stake, &c." — [*Bailey*.]

²⁸⁰ *Sabbath*, ²¹/₃₁ Jan., 16²⁰/₂₁; the date of the first Sabbath-keeping in the common house on shore. All that Prince implies by his statement [*N. E. Chron.*, pt. i. 80] is, that on Sabbath, ³¹/₁₀ Dec., those who were on shore

kept Sabbath there, without joining the majority in their service in the ship. Now, as the majority were on shore, Elder Brewster undoubtedly held their service there for the first time.

²⁸¹ ²⁹/₈ Jan., dies Rose, the wife of Captain Standish. — [*Prince*, *N. E. Chron.*, pt. ii. 97.]

Sunday the 4. of *February*, was very wett and rainie, with the greateft gusts of winde that ever we had since wee came forth, that though we rid in a very good harbour, yet we were in danger, because our Ship was light, the goods taken out, and she vnballed; and it caused much daubing of our houfes to fall downe.²⁸²

Fryday the 9. still the cold weather continued, that wee could doe little worke. That after-noone our little house for our sicke people²⁸³ was fet on fire by a sparke that kindled in the rooffe, but no great harme was done. That evening the master²⁸⁴ going ashore, killed five Geefe, which he friendly distributed among the sicke people; he found also a good Deere killed, the Savages had cut off the hornes, and a Wolfe was eating of him, how he came there we could not conceiue.

Friday the 16. day, was a faire day, but the northerly wind continued, which continued the frost, this day after-noone one of our people being a fouling, and having taken a stand by a creeke side in the Reeds, about a myle and an halfe from our Plantation, there came by him twelue *Indians*, marching towards our Plantation, & in the woods he heard the noyse of many more, he lay close till they were passed, and then with what speed he

²⁸² The cracks between the logs of their houfes were "daubed" with clay mortar, which the driving storm softened and dislodged.

²⁸³ As soon as the common house

had been finished, they had commenced work on other shelters, of which one, it seems, had been appropriated as a hospital.

²⁸⁴ Capt. Jones, of the *Mayflower*.

could he went home & gaue the Alarm, fo the people abroad in the woods returned & armed themfelues, but faw none of them, onely toward the euening they made a great fire, about the place where they were firft difcovered: Captaine *Miles Standifh*, and *Francis Cooke*,²⁸⁵ being at worke in the Woods, comming home, left their [31] tooles behind them, but before they returned, their tooles were taken away by the Savages. This comming of the Savages gaue vs occafion to keepe more ftrict watch, and to make our peeces and furniture readie, which by the moyfture and rayne were out of temper.

Saturday the 17 day, in the morning we called a meeting for the eftablifhing of military Orders amongft our felues, and we chofe *Miles Standifh* our Captaine, and gaue him authoritie of command in affayres: and as we

²⁸⁵ *Francis Cooke* (note 27, No. 17) brought with him only his fon John. His wife Esther, and children Jacob, Jane, and Esther, followed in the Ann, in 1623; in 1626, he had Mary. Winflow, in his *Hypocrifie Unmasked* [96], fays that "the wife of Francis Cooke, being a Walloone, holds communion with the church at Plymouth as she came from the French to this day, by vertue of communion of churches." He was taxed 18s., ⁵ March, 1633; ⁴ April, 1633; only 9s. the following year; ¹ Oct., 1634, was appointed one of the layers-out of highways for Plymouth; is in the lift of freemen, ⁷ March, 163⁶; ¹² May, 1627, was one of a jury "to fet

forth the heigh wayes;" ² Jan., 163⁷, was on a jury for trial of Edward Shaw and Mark Mendloue for "felony" of 15s. from William Corvannell; often ferved on juries, committees, and the "Grand Inqueft;" was called by Bradford, in 1650, "a very olde man, and hath feene his childrens children have children;" was one of the firft purchafers of Dartmouth, 1652, and Middleborough, 1662; died ⁷ April, 1663. His wife furvived him. — [Savage's *Gen. Diſt.*, i. 445; *Plym. Col. Rec.*, i. 3, 8, 10, 28, 31, 46, &c.; ii. 7, 34, 40, 53, &c.; *N. E. Hiſt. and Gen. Reg.*, iii. 334; Bradford, *Hiſt. Plym. Plant.*, 453.]

were in consultation hereabouts, two Savages presented themselves upon the top of an hill,²⁸⁶ over against our Plantation, about a quarter of a myle and leffe, and made signes unto vs to come unto them; we likewise made signes unto them to come to vs, whereupon we armed our selves, and stood readie, and sent two over the brooke²⁸⁷ towards them, to wit, Captaine *Standish* and *Steven Hopkins*, who went towards them, onely one of them had a Musket, which they layd downe on the ground in their fight, in signe of peace, and to parley with them, but the Savages would not tarry their comming: a noyse of a great many more was heard behind the hill, but no more came in fight. This caused vs to plant our great Ordinances in places most convenient.

Wednesday the 21. of *February*, the master came on shore with many of his Saylers, and brought with him one of the great Peeces, called a *Minion*,²⁸⁸ and helped vs to draw it vp the hill, with another Peece that lay on shore, and mounted them, and a faller²⁸⁹ and two

²⁸⁶ By uniform tradition, this was Watson's Hill, or Strawberry Hill, about one hundred rods a little W. of S. of their plantation. The Indian name is said to have been *Cantaugcanteeft*. — [2 *Mas. Hist. Coll.*, iii. 177.]

²⁸⁷ Town Brook, which skirted their settlement on the south, and the mouth of which harbored their shallop.

²⁸⁸ There were two sizes of *minions*, — one of 3½-inch bore and 8 feet in

length, carrying a ball weighing 3 lbs. 12 oz.; the smaller, of 3-inch bore, and 7 feet long. The first weighed about 1.000 lbs., and the second about 800 lbs. — [*Bailey*.]

²⁸⁹ *Saker*, a sort of great gun, of which there are three sizes; (1) 4-inch bore, and 10 feet long; (2) 3-inch bore, and 9 feet long; (3) 3½-inch bore, and 8 feet long. — [*Bailey*.] *Saller* is obviously a misprint.

bafes;²⁹⁰ he brought with him a very fat Goose to eate with vs, and we had a fat Crane, and a Mallerd, and a dry'd neats-tongue, and fo wee were kindly and friendly together.²⁹¹

Saturday the third of *March*, the winde was South, the morning miftie, but towards noone warme and fayre weather; the Birds fang in the Woods moft pleasantly; at one of the Clocke it thundred, which was the firft wee heard in that Countrey, it was ftrong and great claps, but fhort, but after an houre it rayned very fadly till midnight.

Wednefday the feaventh of *March*, the wind was full Eaft, [32] cold, but faire, that day Mafter *Carver* with five other went to the great Ponds,²⁹² which feeme to be excellent fifhing-places; all the way they went they found it exceedingly beaten and haunted with Deere, but they faw none; amongft other foule, they faw one a milke white foule, with a very blacke head:²⁹³ this day fome garden feeds were fowen.

Fryday, the 16. a fayre warme day towards;²⁹⁴ this morn-

²⁹⁰ "*Base* (with gunners), the fmalleft piece of ordnance, 4 Foot and a half long, the Diameter at the bore 1 Inch 1 Quarter; it weighs 200 Pounds, carries a ball 1 Inch 1-8th Diameter, and 5 or 6 Ounces Weight."—[*Bailey*.]

²⁹¹ "Feb. 21. Die Mr. *William White*, Mr. *William Mullins*, with 2 more. And the 25th Dies *Mary*, the wife of Mr. *Ijaac Allerton*."—[*Prince*, *N. E. Chron.*, pt. ii. 98.]

²⁹² Billington Sea, or, poffibly, Great South Pond and its fisterhood of lakes.

²⁹³ A fpecies of goofe answers well to this defcription.

²⁹⁴ A comparifon with the fimilar phrafe, thirteen lines above, renders probable here the omiffion of the word "noone;" though "towards" has an old fenfe of "nearly," "a little lefs than," which might make fenfe if no ellipfis is inferred.

ing we determined to conclude of the military Orders, which we had began to consider of before, but were interrupted by the Savages, as we mentioned formerly; and whilst we were busied here about, we were interrupted againe, for there presented himself a *Savage*,²⁹⁵ which caused an Alarm, he very boldly came all alone and along the houses straight to the Randevous, where we intercepted him, not suffering him to goe in, as vndoubtedly he would, out of his boldnesse, hee saluted vs in English, and bad vs well-come, for he had learned some broken English amongst the English men that came to fish at *Monchiggon*,²⁹⁶ and knew by name the most of the Captaines, Commanders, & Masters, that vsually come,

²⁹⁵ *Samofet* (*Samefet*, *Summusfet*, *Sommerfet*, *Summerfant*) was a native of Pemaquid, and chief and original proprietor of what is now the town of Bristol, Me. He seems to have gone on board of Capt. Dermer's ship at Monhegan, when he was on his way to those shores, with Squanto, on his pacific mission, 16¹⁹/₂₀; and to have been landed by Dermer on Cape Cod, when he redeemed there the shipwrecked Frenchmen from their savage captors (see note 69). This was only six months before the Mayflower arrived; and the Pemaquid chief still lingered among his new friends, — delayed by that overruling Providence which needed him for the use of interpreter, to which he was now put. He was at "Capmanwagen" (Southport, Me.) when Levett

was there, two years later; ¹⁵/₂₅ July, 1625, with Unnongoit, he executed the first deed ever made by an Indian to a white man, to John Brown of New Harbor; July, 1653, he sold other land to William Parnall, Thomas Way, and William England, affixing (in a hand tremulous with age) his mark, in the form of a bow and arrow. He was dead before Philip's War. — [Thornton's "Ancient Pemaquid," *Me. Hist. Coll.*; v. 186–193; Sewall's *Ancient Dominions of Me.*, 102.]

²⁹⁶ *Monhegan* Island (*Monchiggon*, *Monhiggon*, and *Morattiggon* were, clearly, forms of the same name) lies nine miles southerly of George's Islands, five leagues east south-easterly of Townsend, and three leagues westwardly of Metinic, on the coast of

he was a man free in speech, so farre as he could expresse his minde, and of a seemely carriage, we questioned him of many things, he was the first *Savage* we could meete withall; he sayd he was not of these parts, but of *Morat-tiggon*, and one of the *Sagamores* or *Lords* thereof, and had bene 8. moneths in these parts, it lying hence a dayes sayle with a great wind, and fieve dayes by land; he discourfed of the whole Country, and of every Province, and of their *Sagamores*, and their number of men, and strength; the wind beginning to rife a little, we cast a horsemans coat about him, for he was starke naked, onely a leather about his waft, with a fringe about a span long, or little more; he had a bow & 2 arrowes, the one headed, and the other vnheaded; he was a tall straight man, the haire of his head blacke, long behind, onely short before, none on his face at all; he asked some beere, but we gaue him strong water, and bisket, and butter, and cheefe, & pudding, and a peece of a mallerd, all which he liked well, and had bin acquainted with such amongst the English; he told vs the [33] place where we now liue, is called, *Patuxet*,²⁹⁷ and that about foure

Maine. It contains more than one thousand acres of good land, with a bold shore.—[Williamson's *Hist. Me.*, i. 61.]

²⁹⁷ *Patuxet* (elsewhere as *Savage* [Appendix to *Winthrop*, ii. 478] gives it, *Patackofi* [*Patackofet* ?]) is probably of different composition from

Pawtucket, *i. e.* "at the little falls." *Petuhqui*, or *Puttukque*, signifying "round," is a common element in Indian names, as a preface of "rock," "hill," "lake," &c. Probably *Patuxet* should be resolved into *Puttukq-something*,—it is difficult to say what John Smith (1616) gives *Accomack* as

yeares agoe, all the Inhabitants dyed of an extraordinary plague,²⁹⁸ and there is neither man, woman, nor childe remaining, as indeed we haue found none, so as there is none to hinder our possession, or to lay claime vnto it; all the after-noone we spent in communication with him, we would gladly haue beene rid of him at night, but he was not willing to goe this night, then we thought to carry him on ship-board, wherewith he was well content, and went into the Shallop, but the winde was high and water scant, that it could not returne backe: we lodged him that night at *Steven Hopkins* house,²⁹⁹ and watched him; the next day he went away backe to the *Massafoits*,³⁰⁰ from whence he fayd he came, who are our next bordering neighbours: they are fixtie strong, as he fayth:

the Indian name of Plymouth [3 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.*, vi. 119]. This name was probably given to it by the Massachusets, or other northern tribes, to whom Plymouth and the Cape would be "land beyond," or "on the other side of the bay." Cotton, who learned what little Indian he knew, at Plymouth, gives *Ompaam* as the Indian name [3 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.*, ii. 232]. This was, most likely, of later origin, —given to the place as the capital, or seat of government, of the colony; signifying, probably, "the place of tribute," or "of acknowledging sovereignty."

²⁹⁸ See Capt. Dermer's statement, in *Purchas* [iv. 1778]; Capt. Smith's statement [*Advertisements for the*

unexperienced, &c., 9]; Higginson's *New-Englands Plantation* [*Force*, I., xii. 12]; Morton's *New English Canaan* [*Force*, II., v. 18]; Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence* [2 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.*, ii. 66]; Gookin's *Historical Collections* [1 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.*, i. 122, 148]; the Great Patent of New England [Brigham's *Compad.*, &c., 3], and *Hutchinson* [i. 38].

²⁹⁹ This makes it probable that they had already completed some of their cottages, and that families had moved into them.

³⁰⁰ This name was here naturally given to the *Wampanoags*, as being *Massafoit's* men, unless, as Dr. Young supposes, the English did not quite comprehend *Samofet's* broken English.

the *Naufites*³⁰¹ are as neere South-east of them, and are a hundred strong, and those were they of whom our people were encountred, as we before related. They are much incensed and provoked against the English, and about eyght moneths agoe slew three English men, and two more hardly escaped by flight to *Monhiggon*; they were Sir *Ferdinando Gorge* his men,³⁰² as this Savage told vs, as he did likewise of the *Huggerie*, that is, *Fight*,³⁰³ that our discoverers had with the *Naufites*, & of our tooles that were taken out of the woods,³⁰⁴ which we willed him should be brought againe, otherwise, we would right our felues. These people are ill affected towards the English, by reason of one *Hunt*,³⁰⁵ a master of a ship, who deceived the people, and got them vnder colour of trucking with

³⁰¹ Those centering about *Naufet*, or Eastham; the Cape Indians.

³⁰² See Belknap's *American Biography* [i. 346-393]; Gorge's *Brief Narration* [3 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.*, vi. 45-93], and Prince, *N. E. Chron.* [pt. 1. 67], for accounts of this fight of the Indians with Capt. Dermer and his men.

³⁰³ *To hugger* (Provincial English), to lie in ambush, &c. — [*Webster*]. The reference is to "the first encounter" [p. 52].

³⁰⁴ See p. 80.

³⁰⁵ *Thomas Hunt* was master of the ship in Capt. Smith's company, in 1614, that "stayed to fit her selfe for Spaine with the dry fish which was sold at *Maligo* at forty Rialls the Quin-

tall;" but, as Smith says, to prevent a plantation here, and keep "this abounding Countrey" for himself and some few merchants, he "betraied foure and twenty of those poore Saluages aboard his ship, and most dishon-estly and inhumanely for their kind vsage of me [Smith] and all our men, caried them with him to *Maligo*, and there for a little priuate gaine sold those silly Saluages for Rials of eight; but this vilde act kept him ever after from any more imploiment to those parts." — [*Generall Historie*, 204.] The *Brief Relation* of the President and Council for New England, states that the friars, when it was found whence these slaves were come, took some of them, and instructed them in

them, twentie out of this very place where we inhabite, and seaven men from the *Naufites*, and carried them away, and sold them for slaues, like a wretched man (for 20. pound a man) that cares not what mischiefe he doth for his profit.

Saturday in the morning we difmissed the Salvage, and gaue him a knife, a bracelet, and a ring; he promised within a night or two to come againe, and to bring with him some of the *Massafoyts* our neighbours, with such Beuers skins as they had to trucke with vs. [34]

Saturday and Sunday³⁰⁶ reasonable fayre dayes. On this day³⁰⁷ came againe the Savage, and brought with him fiae other tall proper men, they had every man a Deeres skin on him, and the principall of them had a wild Cats skin, or such like on the one arme; they had most of them long hofen vp to their groynes, clofe made; and aboute their groynes to their waft another leather, they were altogether like the *Irish*-troufes;³⁰⁸ they are of

the Christian faith. Some got over to England, and proved of great service to Gorges and others. — [*Mafs. Hist. Coll.*, xix. 6; xxvi. 58, 61, 132.]

³⁰⁶ Saturday, ¹⁷, Sunday, ¹⁸ March, 1621.

³⁰⁷ That is, as the narrative shows, on Sunday.

³⁰⁸ "They make shooes of Deeres skinnes, very handfomly and commodious, and of such deeres skinnes as they drefs bare, they make stockinges,

that comes within their shooes, like a stirrop stockinge, and is fastned above at their belt, which is about their middell. . . . Those garments they allwayes put on when they goe a huntinge to keepe their skinnes from the brush of the Shrubbs, and when they have their Apparrell one, they look like Irish in their troufes, the Stockings join so to their breeches." — [Morton's *New English Canaan*, Force, 11., v. 22.]

complexion like our English Gipseys, no haire or very little on their faces, on their heads long haire to their shoulders, onely cut before some trussed vp before with a feather, broad wise, like a fanne, another a fox taylor hanging out: these left (according to our charge giuen him before) their Bowes and Arrowes a quarter of a myle from our Towne, we gaue them entertaynement as we thought was fitting them, they did eate liberally of our English victuals, they made semblance vnto vs of friendship and amitie; they song & danced after their maner like Anticks;³⁰⁹ they brought with them in a thing like a Bow-cake (which the principall of them had about his waist) a little of their Corne powdered to Powder, which put to a little water they eate;³¹⁰ he had a little Tobacco in a bag, but none of them drunke³¹¹ but when he list, some of them had their faces paynted black, from the forehead to the chin, foure or fiew fingers broad; others after other fashions, as they liked; they brought three or

³⁰⁹ "Antick, a Buffoon."—[Bailey.]

³¹⁰ "Nókehick, parch'd meal, which is a readie very wholefome food, which they eate with a little water, hot or cold; I have travelled with neere 200 of them at once, neere 100 miles through the woods, every man carrying a little Basket of this at his back, and sometimes in a hollow Leather Girdle about his middle, sufficient for a man for three or four daies. With this readie provision, and their Bow and Arrowes, are they readie for War

and travell at an houres warning. With a spoonfull of this meale, and a spoonfull of water from the Brooke, have I made many a good dinner and supper."—[Roger Williams, *R.-I. Hist. Coll.*, i. 33.]

³¹¹ "Anthony Thacher and George Sole were chosen a comittee to draw vp an order concerning disorderly drinking of tobacco."—[*Plym. Col. Rec.*, ii. 108.] "Drinking" tobacco was then the common term for smoking it.

four skins, but we would not trucke with them at all that day, but wished them to bring more, and we would trucke for all, which they promised within a night or two, and would leaue these behind them, though we were not willing they should, and they brought vs all our tooles againe which were taken in the Woods, in our mens absence, so because of the day we dismissed them so soone as we could. But *Samofet* our first acquaintance, eyther was sicke, or fayned himselfe so, and would not goe with them, and stayed with vs till Wednesday morning:³¹² Then we sent him to them, to know the reason they came not according to their words, and we gaue him an hat, a payre of stockings and shooes, a shirt, and a peece of cloth to tie about his waist. [35]

The Sabbath day, when we sent them from vs, we gaue every one of them some trifles, especially, the principall of them, we carried them along with our Armes to the place where they left their Bowes and Arrowes, whereat they were amazed, and two of them began to flinke away, but that the other called them, when they tooke their Arrowes, we bad them farewell, and they were glad, and so with many thankes giuen vs they departed, with promise they would come againe.

Munday and tuesday proved fayre dayes, we digged our grounds, and sowed our garden feeds.

Wednesday a fine warme day, we sent away *Samofet*.

³¹² *Wednesday*, ²¹/₃₁ March, 1621.

That day we had againe a meeting, to conclude of lawes and orders for our selues, and to confirme those Military Orders that were formerly propounded, and twife broken off by the Savages comming, but fo we were againe the third time, for after we had beene an houre together, on the top of the hill over against vs³¹³ two or three Savages prefented themfelues, that made femblance of daring vs, as we thought, fo Captaine *Standish* with another, with their Muskets went over to them, with two of the masters mates that follows them without Armes, having two Muskets with them, they whetted and rubbed their Arrowes and Strings, and made shew of defiance, but when our men drew nere them, they ranne away. Thus we were againe interrupted by them; this day with much adoe we got our Carpenter that had beene long sicke of the scurvey, to fit our Shallop, to fetch all from aboard.³¹⁴

Thurfday the 22. of *March*, was a very fayre warme day. About noone we met againe about our publique bufineffe, but we had scarce beene an houre together, but *Samofet* came againe, and *Squanto*,³¹⁵ the onely natieue of

³¹³ See note 285.

³¹⁴ This indicates the time when the whole company was transferred from the ship to the shore, and their colonizing became complete.

³¹⁵ *Squanto* (*Squantum*, *Tisquantum*, *Tasquantum*, &c.) was clearly one of five Indians who had been car-

ried to England by Capt. George Weymouth in 1605. Whether he came back and was taken off again by Hunt, or whether there is some confusion in the narrative, is not certain. He was of great service to the colony, though ambitious and meddlesome. He died in November, 1622; his last request

Patuxat, where we now inhabite, who was one of the twentie Captiues that by *Hunt* were carried away, and had beene in *England* & dwelt in *Cornehill* with master *John Slanie*³¹⁶ a Marchant, and could speake a little English, with three others, and they brought with them some few skinnes to trucke, and some red Her- [36] rings newly taken and dried, but not falted, and signified vnto vs, that their great Sagamore *Massafoyt*³¹⁷ was hard by, with *Quadequina* his brother, and all their men. They could not well expresse in English what they would, but after an houre the King came to the top of an hill over against vs, and had in his trayne sixtie men, that wee could well behold them, and they vs: we were not willing to

being that Gov. Bradford would pray that he might go to the Englishman's God in heaven. *Squantam* (contracted from *musquantam*, "he is angry," "he is bloody-minded") was the name of an Indian god.—[Drake's *Ind. Biog.* 69, 78, 79; Trumbull, *Ms. letter.*]

³¹⁶ "The worshippeful John Slany, of London, merchant," was Treasurer of the Newfoundland Company.—[*Purchas*, iv. 1876.]

³¹⁷ *Massafoit* (*Messafoyt*, *Massafoyet*, *Woofamequin*, *Uffamequin*, *Afkumequin*, *Ofamekin*, &c., &c.) was sachem of the *Wampanoags*, and had his principal residence at *Sowams* (now Warren, R. I.), in *Pokanoket*. We know nothing of him previous to this date, unless he were one of the "two kings" mentioned by Capt. Dermer,

in *Purchas*. In 1623 he was very sick; and Winflow visited him and prescribed for him, and he recovered, and attributed his life to this attention. He sold much land to the English at various times, and always scrupulously, and most honorably, kept his treaty engagements with them. He seems to have died in the latter part of 1661, or the former part of 1662. He left two sons,—Alexander, whose reign was but of a few months; and Philip, famous in the bloody history of 1675–6. He had two brothers,—*Akkompoin* (*Unkompoen*), whom "some brisk Bridgwater Lads" killed in 1676; and a younger one, *Quadequina*, who accompanied *Massafoit* at this time to Plymouth.—[Drake's *Book of Indians*, 81–92; Church's *Entertaining Passages*, 38, &c.]

send our governour to them, and they vnwilling to come to vs, so *Squanto* went againe vnto him, who brought word that wee should send one to parley with him, which we did, which was *Edward Winsloe*, to know his mind, and to signifie the mind and will of our governour, which was to haue trading and peace with him. We sent to the King a payre of Kniues, and a Copper Chayne, with a Iewell at it. To *Quadequina* we sent likewise a Knife and a Iewell to hang in his eare, and withall a Pot of strong water, a good quantitie of Bisket, and some butter, which were all willingly accepted: our Messenger made a speech vnto him, that King IAMES saluted him with words of loue and Peace, and did accept of him as his Friend and Alie, and that our Governour desired to see him and to trucke with him, and to confirme a Peace with him, as his next neighbour: he liked well of the speech and heard it attentiuely, though the Interpreters did not well expresse it; after he had eaten and drunke himselfe, and giuen the rest to his company, he looked vpon our messengers sword and armour which he had on, with intimation of his desire to buy it, but on the other side, our messenger shewed his vnwillingnes to part with it: In the end he left him in the custodie of *Quadequina* his brother, and came over the brooke, and some twentie men following him, leaving all their Bowes and Arrowes behind them. We kept six or seaven as hostages for our messenger; Captaine *Standish* and master *William-*

*son*³¹⁸ met the King at the brooke, with halfe a dozen Muskietiers, they faluted him and he them, fo one going over, the one on the one fide, and the other on the other, conducted him to an houfe then in building, where we placed a greene Rugge, and three or foure Cufhions, then instantly came our [37] Governour with Drumme and Trumpet after him, and fome few Muskietiers. After falutations, our Governour kiffing his hand, the King kiffed him, and fo they fat downe. The Governour called for fome ftrong water, and drunke to him, and he drunke a great draught that made him sweate all the while after, he called for a little fresh meate, which the King did eate willingly, and did giue his followers. Then they treated of Peace, which was;

1. That neyther he nor any of his should iniure or doe hurt to any of our people.

2. And if any of his did hurt to any of ours, he should fend the offender, that we might punish him.

3. That if any of our Tooles were taken away when our people were at worke, he should caufe them to be reftored, and if ours did any harme to any of his, wee would doe the like to them.

³¹⁸ No man of this name was of the party. There was, indeed, a Thomas Williams (note 27, No. 30), but he died early in the general sickness [Bradford, *His. Plym. Plant.*, 454]; and he would not have been honored

with the title here given, had he been now able to go on such service (which is very doubtful). It is more likely, as Dr. Young suggests, that the *Ms.* read "Master Allerton," and was misapprehended and misprinted into this.

The agree-
ments of
peace be-
twene vs
and Maffa-
foyt.

4. If any did vniustly warre against him, we would ayde him; If any did warre against vs, he should ayde vs.

5. He should fend to his neighbour Confederates, to certifie them of this, that they might not wrong vs, but might be likewise comprised in the conditions of Peace.

6. That when their men came to vs, they should leaue their Bowes and Arrowes behind them, as wee should doe our Peeces when we came to them.

Lastly, that doing thus, King JAMES would esteeme of him as his friend and Alie:³¹⁹ all which the King seemed to like well, and it was applauded of his followers, all the while he sat by the Governour he trembled for feare: In his person he is a very lustie man, in his best yeares, an able body, graue of countenance, and spare of speech: In his Attire little or nothing differing from the rest of his followers, only in a great Chaine of white bone Beades about his necke, and at it behinde his necke, hangs a little bagg of Tobacco, which he dranke and gaue vs to drinke;³²⁰ his face was paynted with a fad red like murry,³²¹ and oyled both head and face, that hee looked greasily: All his followers likewise, were in their faces, in part or in whole painted, some blacke, some [38] red,

³¹⁹ This "auncient league & confederacy" was formally ratified and renewed, on application of Massasoit and his oldest son, by the Plymouth court, ²⁵ Sept., ⁵ Oct., 1639.—[Morton's *N. E. Memorial*, 112; *Plym. Col. Rec.*, i. 133.]

³²⁰ See note 310.

³²¹ A "sad" red was a *deep* red ("of a deep color." [Bailey]). "*Murrey*, is in Latin called *color sanguineus*, is accounted a princely color." [Bailey.] "A dark red color, from *Lat. morum*, mulberry."—[Webster.]

some yellow, and some white, some with crosses, and other Antick³²² workes, some had skins on them, and some naked, all strong, tall, all men in appearance: so after all was done, the Governour conducted him to the Brooke, and there they embraced each other and he departed: we diligently keeping our hostages, we expected our messengers coming, but anon word was brought vs, that *Quad-dequina* was coming, and our messenger was stayed till his returne, who presently came and a troupe with him, so likewise we entertained him, and conveyed him to the place prepared; he was very fearefull of our peeces, and made signes of dislike, that they should be carried away, whereupon Commandement was given, they should be layd away. He was a very proper tall young man, of a very modest and seemely countenance, and he did kindly like of our entertainment, so we conveyed him likewise as we did the King, but diuers of their people stayed still, when hee was returned, then they dismissed our messenger. Two of his people would haue stayed all night, but we would not suffer it: one thing I forgot, the King had in his bosome hanging in a string, a great long knife; hee marveled much at our Trumpet, and some of his men would sound it as well as they could, *Samoset* and *Squanto*, they stayed all night with vs, and the King and all his men lay all night in the woods, not aboue halfe an English myle from vs, and all their wiues and women

³²² See note 308.

with them, they fayd that within 8. or 9. dayes, they would come and fet corne on the other fide of the Brooke, and dwell there all Summer, which is hard by vs: That night we kept good watch, but there was no appearance of danger; the next morning³²³ divers of their people came over to vs, hoping to get fome victuales as wee imagined, fom of them told vs the King would haue fome of vs come see him; Captaine *Standish* and *Isaac Alderton*³²⁴ went venterously, who were welcommed of him after their manner: he gaue them three or foure ground Nuts,³²⁵ and fome Tobacco. Wee cannot yet conceiue, but that he is willing to haue peace with vs, for they haue seene our people sometimes alone two or three in [39] the woods at worke and fowling, when as they offered them no harme as they might easly haue done, and especially because hee hath a potent Adversary the *Narowhiganseis*,³²⁶ that are at warre with him, against

³²³ *Friday* ²³ March.
² April.

³²⁴ *Isaac Allerton* (note 27, No. 5) "of London," ⁴ Nov., 1611, married, in Leyden, Mary Norris of Newbury; ⁷ Feb., 16¹⁴₁₅, was admitted to citizenship in Leyden; ¹⁶ Nov., 1615, guaranteed Digory Priest on his admission to the same privilege; ¹⁶ May, 1618, was witness at the first marriage of Edward Winslow, to Elizabeth Barker; ⁵ Oct., 1619, was witness at the marriage of Roger Wilkin to Eliz. Barrow? was one of the four signers of the letter from Leyden to Carver and Cushman, ¹ June, 1620; was at

one time the richest man of the colony; was Assistant, 1621, and sole officer for three years under the government: his wife dying soon after landing, he married Fear Brewster, daughter of Elder William; she dying, 1633, he married again, Joanna —? He passed his later years at New Haven, and died there, 1659, insolvent. — [Savage's *Gen. Di.*, i. 38; *Leyden Mss. Rec.*]

³²⁵ *Apios tuberosa*? — [Coll. Amer. Antiq. Soc., iv. 180.]

³²⁶ *Narragansetts*, as they were commonly styled.

whom hee thinks wee may be some strength to him, for our peeces are terrible vnto them; this morning, they staid till ten or eleuen of the Clocke, and our Governour bid them fend the Kings kettle, and filled it full of peafe, which pleased them well, and so they went their way.

Fryday was a very faire day, *Samofet* and *Squanto* still remained with vs, *Squanto* went at noone to fish for Eeles,³²⁷ at night he came home with as many as he could well lift in one hand, which our people were glad of, they were fat & sweet, he trod them out with his feete, and so caught them with his hands without any other Instrument,

This day we proceeded on with our common businesse, from which we had been so often hindred by the Salvages comming, and concluded both of Military orders, and of some Lawes and Orders as wee thought behoofefull for our present estate, and condition, and did likewise choofe our Governour for this yeare, which was Master *Iohn Carver*³²⁸ a man well approved amongst vs. [40]

³²⁷ Doubtless at Eel River, of which Thacher says "it is appropriately called Eel River, from the abundance of Eels which it yields to the support of the indutrious poor. Perhaps it

will not be extravagant to say that about 150 barrells are annually taken there."—[*Hist. Plym.*, 322.]

³²⁸ See notes 27 (No. 1), 28, and 151; also Prince [*N. E. Chron.*, pt. ii. 103.]



A

IOVRNEY TO *PACKANOKIK,*

The Habitation of the Great King

M A S S A S O Y T.

As also our Message, the

*Answere and intertaine-
ment wee had of*

H I M.



IT seemed good to the Company for many considerations to send some amongst them to *Massasoyt*, the greatest Commander amongst the Savages, bordering about vs; partly to know where to find them, if occasion served, as also to see their strength, discover the Country, prevent abuses in their disorderly comming vnto vs, make satisfaction for some conceived iniuries to be done on our parts, and to continue the league of Peace and Friendship betweene them and vs. For these, and the like ends, it pleased the Governour to make choice of *Steven Hopkins*, & *Edward Winsloe*³²⁹ to goe vnto him, and having a fit opportunitie, by reason of a Savage, called *Tisquantum*³³⁰ (that could speake English) comming

³²⁹ Edward Winslow was almost necessarily the author of this part of the *Relation*, as it was written by a participant in the journey. There are

several verbal correspondences with his avowed works, which indorse the supposition.

³³⁰ See note 315.

vnto vs; with all expedition provided a Horfe-mans coat, of red Cotton, and laced with a flight lace for a present, that both they and their message might be the more acceptable amongst them. The Message was as followeth; That forasmuch as his subiects came often and without feare, vpon all occasions amongst vs, so wee were now come vnto him, and in witnesse of the loue and good will the English beare vnto him, the Governour hath sent him a coat, desiring that the Peace and Amitie that was [41] betweene them and vs might be continued, not that we feared them, but because we intended not to iniure any, desiring to liue peaceably: and as with all men, so especially with them our neereft neighbours. But whereas his people came very often, and very many together vnto vs, bringing for the most part their wiues and children with them, they were well come; yet we being but strangers as yet at *Patuxet*,³³¹ *alias New Plimmoth*, and not knowing how our Corne might prosper, we could no longer giue them such entertainment as we had done, and as we desired still to doe: yet if he would be pleased to come himselfe, or any speciall friend of his desired to see vs, comming from him they should be wellcome; and to the end wee might know them from others, our Governour had sent him a copper Chayne, desiring if any Messenger should come from him to vs, we might know him by bringing it with him, and hearken and giue

³³¹ See note 296.

credite to his Message accordingly. Also requesting him that such as haue skins,³³² should bring them to vs, and that he would hinder the multitude from oppressing vs with them. And whereas at our first arrivall at *Pamomet*³³³ (called by vs *Cape Cod*) we found there Corne buried in the ground, and finding no inhabitants but some graues of dead new buried, tooke the Corne, resolving if ever we could heare of any that had right thereunto, to make satisfaction to the full for it, yet since we vnderstand the owners thereof were fled for feare of vs, our desire was either to pay them with the like quantitie of corne, English meale, or any other Commodities we had to pleasure them withall; requesting him that some one of his men might signifie so much vnto them, and wee would content him for his paines. And last of all, our Gouvernour requested one favour of him, which was, that he would exchange some of their Corne³³⁴ for feede with us, that we might make tryall which best agreed with the foyle where we liue.

With these presents and message we set forward the tenth Iune,³³⁵ about 9. a clocke in the Morning, our guide

³³² Beaver and other skins for the furriers. Smith says that, in 1614, ranging the coast in a small boat, he "got, for trifles, eleven hundred Beaver skins, beside Otters and Martins." — [*Advertisements*, 12.]

³³³ Pamet. See note 74.

³³⁴ Probably what is now called Rhode-Island corn, which is a differ-

ent species from that usually raised in Massachusetts, yielding a more delicate and whiter meal.

³³⁵ ¹⁰/₂₀ June, 1621, was the Sabbath, so that there must be some mistake in this date, as the Pilgrims would never have commenced such a journey on that day. Bradford [*Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 102] says this expedition start-

resolving that night to rest at *Namaschet*,³³⁶ a Towne vnder *Massafoyt*, and conceived by vs to bee very neere, because the [42] Inhabitants flocked so thicke vpon every flight occasion amongst vs: but wee found it to bee some fiftene English myles. On the way we found some ten or twelue men women and children, which had pestered vs, till wee were wearie of them, perceiving that (as the manner of them all is) where victuall is easilieft to be got, there they liue, especially in the Summer: by reason whereof our Bay affording many Lobsters, they resort every spring tide thither: & now returned with vs to *Namaschet*. Thither we came about 3. a clock after noone, the Inhabitants entertaining vs with ioy, in the best manner they could, giving vs a kinde of bread called by them *Maizium*,³³⁷ and the spawne of Shads, which then they got in abundance, in so much as they gaue vs spoones to eat them, with these they boyled mustie Acorns,³³⁸ but of the Shads we eate heartily. After this

ed on ²/₁₂ July (*Monday*, an inherently probable day). Prince [*N. E. Chron.*, pt. ii. 105] adopts Bradford's date, as also does Morton [*N. E. Memorial*, 31], which is doubtless the true one; the date in the text being probably due to the blundering compositors, and careless proof-reading, which disfigure the volume.

³³⁶ *Nemasket* (*Namassket*, *Namafaket*, *Nemascut*, &c.) is from *Namas*, "fish;" so that *Namas-ohke-ut* is "at-

the-fish-place." The spot so designated here is in what is now Middleborough, on the Nemasket River, about thirty rods above the bridge passed in going from the Green to the Four Corners, on the Middleborough and Plymouth road; being the rapids near the Lower Factory, which is now called the Star Mills.

³³⁷ Bread rudely made from their maize, or Indian corn.

³³⁸ See note 177.

they desired one of our men to shoote at a Crow, complaining what damage they sustained in their Corne by them, who shooting some fourescore off³³⁹ and killing, they much admired it, as other shots on other occasions. After this *Tisquantum* told vs we should hardly in one day reach *Pakanokick*,³⁴⁰ moving vs to goe some 8. myles further, where we should finde more store and better victuals then there: Being willing to hasten our Journey we went, and came thither at Sunne setting, where we found many of the *Namafcheucks* (they so calling the men of *Namafchet*) fishing vppon a Ware which they had made on a River which belonged to them, where they caught abundance of Basse.³⁴¹ These welcommed vs also, gaue vs of their fish, and we them of our victuals, not doubting but we should haue enough where ere we came. There we lodged in the open fieldes: for houfes they had

³³⁹ Probably *paces*, possibly *feet*.

³⁴⁰ *Pokanoket* (*Pakonokick*, *Paw-kunnawkutt*, &c., &c.), unless greatly corrupted, can be derived only from *pohkenai*, or *pogkeni*, "dark," and *ohke*, "land," or "place." This is directly opposed, in its literal or primary signification, to *wampan-ohke*. (Eliot has, for "brightness, but . . . in darkness" [*Isa. lix. 9*] *wompag, gut* . . . *pohkenáhtu*.) The origin of the name is open to conjecture. *Wampan*, signifying, primarily, "white" or "bright," was used figuratively for the dawn, and the region of light, *the east*. *Pohkenai*, "dark," may have

been, and very probably was, similarly used for the place of sunset, "the west;" though it is not found in that sense in Eliot or in Roger Williams. If so, *Pokanoket* would be "the west country" to the Plymouth tribes, as the "east country" of the Narragansetts. Or the name may have had some local origin,—from the color of the soil, the obscurity of a forest, or other (now extinct) suggestion of darkness.

³⁴¹ Probably at the Old Indian Wear, so called, near *Titicut*, in the N. W. part of Middleborough; two or three miles S. W. of the junction of the Nemaquett with the Taunton river.

none, though they spent the most of the Summer there. The head of this River is reported to bee not farre from the place of our abode,³⁴² vpon it are, and haue beene many Townes, it being a good length. The ground is very good on both sides, it being for the most part cleered: Thoufands of men have lived there, which dyed in a great plague not long since: and pittie it was and is to see, so many goodly fieldes, & so well seated, with- [43] out men to dresse and manure the same. Vppon this River dwelleth *Maffasoyt*: It cometh into the Sea at the *Narrohiganfet* Bay,³⁴³ where the French men so much vse. A shipp may goe many myles vp it, as the Salvages report, and a shallop to the head of it: but so farre as wee saw, wee are sure a Shallop may.

But to returne to our Iourney: The next morning³⁴⁴ wee brake our fast, tooke our leaue and departed, being then accompanied with some fixe Salvages, having gone about fixe myles by the River side, at a knowne shole place,³⁴⁵ it beeing low water, they spake to vs to put off our breeches, for wee must wade thorow. Heere let me not forget the vallour and courage of some of the Salvages, on the opposite side of the river, for there were remaining aliue only 2. men, both aged, especially the

³⁴² The *Winetuxet* (*Winne-tuk-et*, "on-the-small-pretty-river") branch of Ticut River rises in Plympton and Carver, within 6 miles of Plymouth.

³⁴³ Narraganfet Bay.

³⁴⁴ Tuesday, ³/₁₃ July, 1621.

³⁴⁵ There seems to be no doubt that this crossing-place was at what is now known as *Squabetty*, 3½ m. E. by S. of Taunton Green.

one being aboute threescore; These two espying a company of men entring the River, ran very swiftly & low in the grasse to meete vs at the banck, where with shrill voyces and great courage standing charged vpon vs with their bowes, they demaunded what we were, supposing vs to be enemies, and thinking to take advantage on vs in the water: but seeing we were friends, they welcommed vs with such foode as they had, and we bestowed a small bracelet of Beades on them. Thus farre wee are sure the Tide ebs and flowes.

Having here againe refreshed our selves, we proceeded in our Iourney, the weather being very hote for travell, yet the Country so well watered that a man could scarce be drie, but he should haue a spring at hand to coole his thirst, beside smal Rivers in abundance: but the Salvages will not willingly drinke, but at a spring head. When wee came to any small Brooke where no bridge was, two of them desired to carry vs through of their owne accords, also fearing wee were or would be weary, offered to carry our peeces, also if we would lay off any of our clothes, we should haue them carried: and as the one of them had found more speciall kindnesse from one of the Messengers, and the other Salvage from the other so they shewed their thankfulnesse accordingly in affor- [44] ding vs all helpe, and furtherance in the Iourney.

As we passed along, we observed that there were few places by the River, but had beene inhabited, by reason

whereof, much ground was cleare, faue of weedes which grewe higher then our heads. There is much good Timber both Oake, Walnut-tree, Firre, Beech, and exceeding great Cheffnut-trees. The Country in respect of the lying of it, is both Champanie and hilly, like many places in England. In some places its very rockie both about ground and in it: And though the Countrey bee wilde and over-growne with woods, yet the trees stand not thicke, but a man may well ride a horse amongst them.³⁴⁶

Passing on at length, one of the Company an *Indian* espied a man, and told the rest of it, we asked them if they feared any, they told vs that if they were *Narragganset*, men they would not trust them,³⁴⁷ whereat, we called for our peeces and bid them not to feare; for though they were twenty, we two alone would not care for them: but they hayling him, hee proved a friend, and had onely two women with him: their baskets were empty, but they fetched water in their bottels, so that we dranke with them and departed. After we met another man with other two women, which had beene at Randevow by the salt water, and their baskets were full of roasted Crab fishes, and other dried shell fish, of which they gaue vs, and wee eate and dranke with them: and gaue each of the women a string of Beades, and departed.

³⁴⁶ Owing to the yearly burning of the brush and undergrowth by the Indians. See note 180.

³⁴⁷ It has already been stated (see p. 96) that Massasoit and the Narragansetts were at war.

After wee came to a Towne of *Massafoyts*,³⁴⁸ where we eat Oysters and other fish. From thence we went to *Packanokick*,³⁴⁹ but *Massafoyt* was not at home, there we stayed, he being sent for: when newes was brought of his comming, our guide *Tisquantum* requested that at our meeting, wee would discharge our peeces, but one of vs going about to charge his peece, the women and children through feare to see him take vpp his peece, ran away, and could not bee pacified, till hee layd it downe againe, who afterward were better informed by our Interpreter.

Massafoyt being come, wee discharged our Peeces, and [45] saluted him, who after their manner kindly well commed vs, and tooke vs into his house, and set vs downe by him, where having delivered our foresayd Message, and Presents, and having put the Coat on his backe, and the Chayne about his necke, he was not a little proud to behold himselfe, and his men also to see their King so brauely attyred.

For answere to our Message, he told vs we were welcome, and he would gladly continue that Peace and Friendship which was betweene him & vs: and for his

³⁴⁸ This was probably at *Mata-puyst* (or *Mattapoiset*), now known as Gardner's Neck, in Swansey. — [See Winflow's *Good Newes from New England*, in Young's *Chron. of Plym.*, 317.]

³⁴⁹ Gen. G. M. Fessenden (in his *History of Warren, R. I.*) has conclu-

sively shown that while *Packanokik* was a general name for the *Wampanoag* territory, in the neighborhood of what are now Warren, Bristol, &c., R. I., the Indian village here intended was *Sowams*, built around the spring called *Massafoit's Spring*, near Baker's Wharf, in Warren. — [Pp. 27-30.]

men they should no more pester vs as they had done : Also, that he would fend to *Paomet*, and would helpe vs with Corne for feed, according to our request.

This being done, his men gathered neere to him, to whom he turned himselfe, and made a great Speech ; they fometime interposing, and as it were, confirming and applauding him in that he sayd. The meaning whereof was (as farre as we could learne) thus ; Was not he *Massafoyt* Commander of the Countrey about them ? Was not such a Towne his and the people of it ? and should they not bring their skins vnto vs ? To which they answered, they were his & would be at peace with vs, and bring their skins to vs. After this manner, he named at least thirtie places, and their answere was as afore sayd to every one : so that as it was delightfull, it was tedious vnto vs.

This being ended, he lighted Tobacco for vs, and fell to discourfing of *England*, & of the Kings Maieftie, marvayling that he would liue without a wife.³⁵⁰ Also he talked of the French-men, bidding vs not to suffer them to come to *Narrohiganfet*, for it was King IAMES his Countrey, and he also was King IAMES his man. Late it grew, but victualls he offered none ; for indeed he had not any, being he came so newly home. So we desired to goe to rest : he layd vs on the bed with himselfe and his wife, they at the one end and we at the other, it being

³⁵⁰ James I. of England had become a widower more than a year before.

onely plancks layd a foot from the ground, and a thin Mat vpon them.³⁵¹ Two more of his chiefe men for want of roome pressed by and vpon vs; so that we were worfe weary of our lodging then of our iourney. [46]

The next day being Thurfday,³⁵² many of their Sachmis, or petty Governours came to see vs, and many of their men also. There they went to their manner of Games for skins and kniues.³⁵³ There we challenged them to shoote with them for skins: but they durst not: onely they desired to see one of vs shoote at a marke, who shooting with Haile-shot, they wondred to see the marke so full of holes. About one a clocke, *Massasoyt* brought two fishes that he had shot, they were like Breame but three times so bigge, and better meate.³⁵⁴ These being boyled there were at left fortie looked for share in them, the most eate of them: This meale onely we had in two

³⁵¹ "Their lodging is made in three places of the house about the fire they lye upon planks commonly about a foote or 18. inches above the ground raised upon railes that are borne up upon forks they lay mats under them, and Coates of Deares skinnes otters beavers Racownes and of Beares hides, all which they have dressed and converted into good leather with the haire on for their coverings and in this manner they lye as warme as they desire."—[*New English Canaan*, Force, II. v. 20.] See also Gookin and Roger Williams.—[1 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* i. 150; *R.-I. Hist. Coll.*, i. 40.]

³⁵² *Thursday*, $\frac{5}{15}$ July, 1621.

³⁵³ "A game like unto the English Cards, yet, instead of Cards, they play with strong Rushes. Secondly, they have a kinde of Dice which are Plumb stones painted, which they cast in a Tray with a mighty noyse and sweating."—[Roger Williams, *Key*, &c., *R.-I. Hist. Coll.*, i. 145.]

³⁵⁴ "Probably Bass, as those fish swim near the surface."—[Fessenden's *Hist. Warren*, *R. I.*, 16.] Roger Williams says, "They kill Bass (at the fall of the water) with their arrows, or sharp sticks, especially if headed with iron, &c."—[*R.-I. Hist. Coll.*, i. 102.]

nights and a day, and had not one of vs bought³⁵⁵ a Partridge, we had taken our Iourney fasting: Very importunate he was to haue vs stay with them longer: But wee desired to keepe the Sabbath at home: and feared we should either be light-headed for want of sleepe, for what with bad lodging, the Savages barbarous finging, (for they vse to fing themselues asleepe) lice and fleas within doores, and Muskeetoes without, wee could hardly sleepe all the time of our being there; we much fearing, that if wee should stay any longer, we should not be able to recover home for want of strength. So that on the Fry-day morning before Sun-rising,³⁵⁶ we tooke our leaue and departed, *Massasoyt* being both grieved and ashamed, that he could no better entertaine vs: and retaining *Tisquantum* to fend from place to place to procure trucke for vs: and appointing another, called *Tokamahamon* in his place, whom we had found faithfull before and after vpon all occasions.

At this towne of *Massasoyts*, where we before eate,³⁵⁷ wee were againe refreshed with a little fish; and bought about a handfull of Meale of their parched Corne, which was very precious at that time of the yeere, and a small string of dried shell-fish, as big as Oyfters.³⁵⁸ The latter we gaue to the fixe Savages that accompanied vs, keeping the Meale for our selues, when we dranke we eate each a spoonefull of it with a Pipe of Tobacco, in stead

³⁵⁵ Brought ?

³⁵⁶ *Friday*, ⁶/₁₆ July.

³⁵⁷ See note 348.

³⁵⁸ Clams ?

of other victuals; and of this also we could not but giue them, so long as it lasted. Fiue myles [47] they led vs to a house out of the way in hope of victualls: but we found no body there, and so were but worse able to returne home. That night we reached to the wire where we lay before,³⁵⁹ but the *Namascheucks* were returned: so that we had no hope of any thing there. One of the Savages had shot a Shad in the water, and a small Squirrill as big as a Rat, called a *Neuxis*,³⁶⁰ the one halfe of either he gaue vs, and after went to the wire to fish. From hence we wrote to *Plimouth*, and sent *Tokamahamon* before to *Namasket*, willing him from thence to send another, that he might meet vs with food at *Namasket*. Two men now onely remained with vs, and it pleased God to giue them good store of fish, so that we were well refreshed. After supper we went to rest, and they to fishing againe: more they gat and fell to eating a-fresh, and retayned sufficient readie rost for all our break-fasts. About two a Clocke in the morning,³⁶¹ arose a great storme of wind, raine, lightning, and thunder, in such violent manner, that we could not keepe in our fire; and had the Savages not roasted fish when we were asleepe, we had set forward fasting: for the raine still continued with

³⁵⁹ See note 341.

³⁶⁰ *Neuxis* seems to be mentioned as the Indian name of the animal referred to. *Anéquanéquanussuck* is the name which Roger Williams attaches

to the "little coloured squirril."—[*R.-I. Hist. Coll.*, i. 95.] Probably the *Sciurus leucotis*, or *Sciurus striatus*, is intended.

³⁶¹ *Saturday*, ⁷/₁₇ July.

great violence, even the whole day thorow, till wee came within two myles of home.

Being wett and weary, at length we came to *Namafchet*, there we refreshed our felues, giuing gifts to all such as had shewed vs any kindnesse. Amongst others one of the fixe that came with vs from *Packanokik* having before this on the way vnkindly forsaken vs, marvayled we gaue him nothing, and told vs what he had done for vs; we also told him of some discourtesies he offered vs, whereby he deserved nothing, yet we gaue him a small trifle: wherevpon he offered vs Tobacco: but the house being full of people, we told them hee stole some by the way, and if it were of that we would not take it: For we would not receiue that which was stolne vpon any termes; if we did, our God would be angry with vs, and destroy vs. This abashed him, and gaue the rest great content: but at our departure he would needs carry him on his backe thorow a River, whom he had formerly in some [48] fort abused. Faine they would haue had vs to lodge there all night: and wondered we would fet forth againe in such Weather: but GOD be prayfed, wee came safe home that night, though wett, weary, and furbated.³⁶² [49]

³⁶² "*Surbate* is when the Sole of a Horfe's foot is worn, bruised, or spoiled, by travelling without Shoes &c." — [Bailey.] Webster derives it from *solbattre*, from *sole* (Lat. *solea*) "a sole," and *battre*, "to beat," hence "to batter the feet by travel;" hence "to harass," "to fatigue."



A
 VOYAGE MADE BY TEN
 of our Men to the Kingdome of
 NAVSET,³⁶³ to seeke a Boy³⁶⁴ that had
loſt himſelfe in the Woods;
 With ſuch Accidents as
 befell vs in that
 VOYAGE.



He 11th of *June*³⁶⁵ we ſet forth, the weather being very faire: but ere we had bin long at Sea, there aroſe a ſtorme of wind and raine, with much lightning and thunder, in ſo much that a ſpout aroſe not far from vs: but God be prayed, it dured not long, and we put in that night for Harbour at a place, called *Cummaquid*,³⁶⁶

³⁶³ The Indian name of Eaſtham.

³⁶⁴ Prince [*N. E. Chron.*, pt. ii. 107] ſays the boy was John Billington, — the elder brother of the ſcapegrace who had nearly blown up the Mayflower in Cape-Cod harbor, ⁵/₁₅ Dec. previous. [See page 43.]

³⁶⁵ *Monday*, ¹¹/₂₁ June, 1621. “But this date being inconſiſtent with ſeveral hints in the foregoing and following ſto-ries, I keep to Gov. Bradford’s original Ms., and place it between the end of July and the 13th of Aug.” — [Prince, *N. E. Chron.*, pt. ii. 107.]

Bradford ſays, “Aboute ye *later end of this month* [July], one John Billington loſt him ſelfe in ye woods, & wandered up & downe ſome 5 days, living on berries & what he could find. At length he light on an Indean plantation 20. mils ſouth of this place, called *Manamet*, they conveid him funder of, to *Nawſett*, among thoſe peopl that had before ſet upon ye Engliſh, &c.” — [*Hiſt. Plym. Plant.* 102.]

³⁶⁶ *Cummaquid* (*Chumaquid*) was the name of Barnſtable Harbor. — [Freeman’s *Cape Cod*, ii. 249.]

where wee had some hope to finde the Boy. Two Savages were in the Boat with vs, the one was *Tisquantum* our Interpreter, the other *Tokamahamon*,³⁶⁷ a speciall friend. It being night before we came in, we Anchored in the middest of the Bay, where we were drie at a low water. In the morning we espied Savages seeking Lobsters, and sent our two Interpreters to speake with them, the channell being betweene them; where they told them what we were, and for what we were come, willing them not at all to feare vs, for we would not hurt them. Their answer was, that the Boy was well, but he was at *Nauset*; yet since wee were there they desired vs to come ashore & eate with them: which as soone as our Boat floated we did: and went fixe ashore, having foure pledges for them in the Boate. They brought vs to their Sachim or Gouvernour, whom they call [50] *Iyanough*,³⁶⁸ a man not exceeding twentie-fix yeeres of age, but very perfonable, gentle, courteous, and fayre conditioned, indeed not like a Savage, faue for his attyre; his entertainment was answerable to his parts, and his cheare plentifull and various.

One thing was very grieuous vnto vs at this place;

³⁶⁷ See page 109.

³⁶⁸ *Iyanough's* fate was a sad one. In 1623, a conspiracy was formed among the Indians to put the English to death, which was revealed by *Maf-sajoyt*, and which was frustrated by the sudden and sharp measures of

Standish and his men. *Iyanough* was concerned in it; and, being terrified by the fate of *Wittuwamet* and *Pek-suot*, he fled into the swamps, where he died, either of starvation or of disease. — [Drake's *Book of Indians*, 78; Pratt's *History of Eastham*, 8.]

There was an old woman, whom we iudged to be no leffe then an hundred yeeres old, which came to see vs be-
 cause shee neuer saw English, yet could not behold vs
 without breaking forth into great passion, weeping and
 crying excesssiuely. We demaunding the reason of it,
 they told vs, she had three sons, who when master *Hunt*
 was in these parts went aboard his Ship to trade with him,
 and he carried them Captiues into Spaine ³⁶⁹ (for *Tisquan-*
tum at that time was carried away also) by which meanes
 shee was depriued of the comfort of her children in her
 old age. We told them we were sorry that any English
 man should giue them that offence, that *Hunt* was a bad
 man, and that all the English that heard of it condemned
 him for the same: but for vs we would not offer them
 any such iniury, though it would gaine vs all the skins in
 the Countrey. So we gaue her some small trifles, which
 fomewhat appeased her.

After dinner we tooke Boat for *Nauset*, *Iyanough* and
 two of his men accompanying vs. Ere we came to *Nau-*
set, the day and tyde were almost spent, in so much as we
 could not goe in with our Shallop: but the Sachim or
 Governour of *Commaquid* went a shore and his men with
 him, we also sent *Tisquantum* to tell *Aspinet* the Sachim
 of *Nauset*³⁷⁰ wherefore we came. The Sauages here
 came very thicke amongst vs, and were earnest with vs to

³⁶⁹ See note 305.

that *Aspinet* perished miserably, as

³⁷⁰ The meagre record indicates *Iyanough* did.

bring in our Boate. But we neither well could, nor yet desired to doe it, because we had left cause to trust them, being they onely had formerly made an Assault vpon vs in the same place, in time of our Winter Discouery for Habitation. And indeed it was no maruayle they did so, for howfoeuer through snow or otherwise wee saw no houses, yet wee were in the middest of them. [51]

When our boat was a ground they came very thicke, but wee stood therein vpon our guard, not suffering any to enter except two: the one being of *Maramoick*,³⁷¹ and one of those, whose Corne we had formerly found, we promised him restitution, & desired him either to come to *Patuxet* for satisfaction, or else we would bring them so much corne againe, hee promised to come, wee vsed him very kindly for the present. Some few skins we gate there but not many.

After Sun-set, *Aspinet* came with a great traine, & brought the boy with him, one bearing him through the water: hee had not lesse then an hundred with him, the halfe whereof came to the Shallop side vnarmed with him, the other stood aloofe with their bow and arrowes. There he delivered vs the boy, behung with beades, and made peace with vs, wee bestowing a knife on him, and likewise on another that first entertained the Boy and brought him thither. So they departed from vs.

³⁷¹ Probably *Monomoyick* (*Manamoyik*, *Monamoy*, &c.), the original Indian appellation of Chatham, is intended. — [Freeman's *Hist. Cape Cod.* ii. 579. See also Gookin's *Hist. Coll.* in 1 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* 1: 197.]

Here we vnderstood, that the *Narrohigansets* had spoyled some of *Maffasoyts* men, and taken him. This strucke some feare in vs, because the Colony was so weakely guarded, the strength thereof being abroad:³⁷² But we set forth with resolution to make the best hast home wee could; yet the winde being contrary, having scarce any fresh water leaft, and at least, 16. leagues home,³⁷³ we put in againe for the shore. There we met againe with *Iyanough* the *Sachim* of *Cūmaquid*, and the most of his Towne, both men women & children with him. Hee being still willing to gratifie vs, tooke a runlet³⁷⁴ and led our men in the darke a great way for water, but could finde none good: yet brought such as there was on his necke with them. In the meane time the women ioyned hand in hand, singing and dancing before the Shallop, the men also shewing all the kindnes they could, *Iyanough* himselfe taking a bracelet from about his necke, and hanging it vpon one of vs.

Againe we set out but to small purpose: for wee gat but little homeward; Our water also was very brackish, and not to be drunke. [52]

The next morning, *Iyanough* espied vs againe and ran

³⁷² Dr. Young thinks that, in the absence of this party, but seven able-bodied men were left at Plymouth at this time.

³⁷³ This estimate of distance seems now a little large, though its exact-

ness would depend much upon the closeness with which they hugged the shore in all its irregularities.

³⁷⁴ "*Rundlet*, a close Cask for Liquors, containing from 3 to 20 Gallons."—[*Bailey*.]

after vs; we being refolved to goe to *Cummaquid* againe to water, tooke him into the Shallop, whose entertainment was not inferiour vnto the former.

The foyle at *Naufet* and here is alike, even and fandy, not fo good for corne as where wee are; Shipps may safely ride in eyther harbour. In the Summer, they abound with fish. Being now watered, we put forth againe, and by Gods providence, came safely home that night. [53.]

(* * *)



A

IOVRNEY TO THE

Kingdome of *NAMASCHE*³⁷⁵

in defence of the Great King

MASSASOYT against the Nar-

rohiggansets, and to revenge

the supposed Death

of our Interpreter

Tisquantum.



Our returne from *Nauset*, we found it true, that *Massasoyt* was put from his Countrey by the *Narrohiggansets*.³⁷⁶ Word also was brought vnto vs, that one *Coubatant* a petty Sachim or Governour vnder *Massasoyt* (whom they euer feared to be too conversant with the *Narrohiggansets*) was at *Namashet*, who sought to draw the hearts of *Massa-*

³⁷⁵ See note 336.

³⁷⁶ Bradford says, "He [*Hobamack*] & Squanto being gone upon buffines amonge y^e Indeans, at their returne (whether it was out of envie to them or malice to the English) ther was a Sachem called Corbitant, aylyed to *Massasoyte*, but never any good friend to y^e English to this day, mett with

them at an Indean towne called *Namassakett* 14. miles to y^e west of this place, and began to quarell wth them, and offered to stabe *Hobamack*; but being a lusty man, he cleared him selfe of him, and came ruining away all sweating and tould y^e Gov^r what had befallne him, and he feared they had killed *Squanto*, for they threat-

Soyts subjects from him, speaking also disdainfully of vs, storming at the Peace between *Nauset*, *Cummaquid*, and vs, and at *Tisquantum* the worker of it; also at *Tokamahamon*, and one *Hobbamock*³⁷⁷ (two Indians or Lemes,³⁷⁸ one of which he would treacherously haue murdered a

ened them both, and for no other cause but because they were freinds to y^e English, and servifable unto them. Upon this y^e Gover taking counsell, it was conceivd not fitt to be borne; for if they should suffer their freinds & messengers thus to be wronged, they should have none would cleave unto them, or give them any intelligence, or doe them servifs afterwards; but nexte they would fall upon them selues. Whereupon it was resolved to fend y^e Captaine & 14. men well armed, and to goe & fall upon them in y^e night; and if they found that Squanto was kild, to cut off Corbitants head, but not to hurt any but those that had a hand in it. Hobamack was asked if he would goe & be their guid, & bring them ther before day. He said he would & bring them to y^e house wher the man lay, and show them which was he. So they fet forth y^e 14. of *August*, and beset y^e house round; the Captin giving charg to let none pass out, entred y^e house to search for him. But he was goone away that day, so they mist him; but understood y^t Squanto was alive, & that he had only threatened to kill him, & made an offer to stabbe him, but did not. So they witheld and did no more hurte &

y^e people came trembling, & brought them the best provissions they had, after they were acquainted by Hobamack what was only intended. Ther was 3. fore wounded which broak out of y^e house, and afraid to pass through y^e garde. These they brought home with them, & they had their wounds drest & cured, and sente home. After this they had many gratulations from diverce sachims, and much firmer peece; yea, those of y^e Iles of Capawack sent to make frendship; and this Corbitant him selfe used y^e mediation of Massafloyte to make his peace, but was shie to come neare them a longe while after." — [*Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 103.]

³⁷⁷ *Hobomok* was a war-captain among the *Wamponoags*, much beloved of *Massasoit*, and influential in preserving peace. He received a lot in the division of lands in Plymouth, on which he resided, and where he died (as a professed Christian) before 1642. — [*Drake's Book of Indians*, 104.]

³⁷⁸ This is the most puzzling passage in the volume. Dr. Young supposed it should read "our allies." Mr. Trumbull says, "'Or Lemes' has no *Indian* sense that I can discover. Young's reading, 'our allies,' has

little before, being a speciall and trusty man of *Massasoys*) *Tokamahamon* went to him, but the other two would not; yet put their liues in their hands, priuately went to see if they could heare of their King, and lodging at *Namaschet* were discouered to *Coubatant*,³⁷⁹ who set a guard to befet the house and tooke *Tisquantum* (for he had sayd, if he were dead, the English had lost their tongue) *Hobbamock* seeing that *Tisquantum* was taken and *Coubatant* held a knife at his breast, being a strong and stout man, brake from them and came to *New-Plimouth*, full of feare and sorrow for *Tisquantum*, whom he thought to be slaine. [54]

Vpon this Newes the Company affembled together, and resolued on the morrow to send ten men armed to *Namaschet* and *Hobbamock*, for their guide, to reuenge the supposed death of *Tisquantum* on *Coubatant* our bitter Enemy, and to retaine *Nepeof*, another Sachim or Governour, who was of this confederacy, till we heard, what was become of our friend *Massasoit*.

On the morrow³⁸⁰ we set out ten men Armed, who tooke their iourney as aforesayd, but the day proved very wett. When wee supposed we were within three or foure

never satisfied me exactly; yet I can suggest nothing better, and am disposed to let it go at that." In which I concur. — [*Ms. letter.*]

³⁷⁹ *Coubatant* (*Corbitant*, *Caunbatant*) seems to have had his head-

quarters near Gardner's Neck, in Swansey. He signed a treaty of peace with the Plymouth men, with other sachems, ¹³ Sept., 1621. — [*Drake's Book of Indians*, 94.]

³⁸⁰ *Tuesday*, ¹⁴ August, 1621.

myles of *Namafchet*,³⁸¹ we went out of the way and stayed there till night, because we would not be discovered. There we consulted what to doe, and thinking best to beset the house at mid-night, each was appointed his taske by the Captaine, all men encouraging one another, to the vtmost of their power.

By night our guide lost his way, which much discouraged our men, being we were wet, and weary of our armes: but one of our men hauing beene before at *Namafchet* brought vs into the way againe.

Before we came to the Towne we sat downe and ate such as our Knapfacke afforded, that being done, wee threw them aside, and all such things as might hinder vs, and so went on and beset the house, according to our last resolution. Those that entred, demanded if *Coubatant* were not there: but feare had bereft the Savages of speech. We charged them not to stirre, for if *Coubatant* were not there, we would not meddle with them, if he were, we came principally for him, to be auenged on him for the supposed death of *Tisquantum*, and other matters: but howsoever wee would not at all hurt their women, or children. Notwithstanding some of them pressed out at a priuate doore and escaped, but with some wounds: At

³⁸¹ *Corbitant* seems to have had a temporary summer residence at what is now known as Muttock Hill, in Middleborough, about three-quarters of a mile N. N. W. of the village of

the Four Corners, — where the well-known Judge Oliver lived, whose house was burned 4 Nov., 1778. — [*Ms. letter* from W. Latham, Esq.; Washburn's *Judic. Hist. Mass.*, 303.]

length perceiuing our principall ends, they told vs *Coubatant* was returned with all his traine, and that *Tisquantum* was yet liuing, and in the towne offering some Tobacco, other such as they had to eate. In this hurley burley we difcharged two Peeces at randome, which much [55] terrified all the Inhabitants, except *Tisquantum* and *Tokamahamon*, who though they knew not our end in comming, yet assured them of our honesty, that we would not hurt them. Those boyes that were in the house seeing our care of women, often cried *Neesquaes*,³⁸² that is to say, I am a Woman: the Women also hanging vpon *Hobbamock*, calling him *Towam*,³⁸³ that is, Friend. But to be short, we kept them we had, and made them make a fire that we might see to search the house. In the meane time, *Hobbamock* gat on the top of the house, and called *Tisquantum* and *Tokamahamon*, which came vnto vs accompanied with others, some armed and others naked. Those that had Bowes and Arrowes we tooke them away, promising them againe when it was day. The house we tooke for our better safegard: but releafed those we had taken, manifesting whom we came for and wherefore.

On the next morning we marched into the middest of

³⁸² "*Neesquaes* does mean 'I am a girl.'" — [*Ms. note* from Hon. J. H. Trumbull.]

³⁸³ "*Towam* may mean 'friend;' but I find no better or other authority

than Mourt for the word, unless it was the writer's way of reporting the word *netoinp*, 'my friend,' imperfectly heard and half-forgotten." — [*Ibid.*]

the Towne, and went to the house of *Tisquantum* to breakfast. Thither came all whose hearts were upright towards vs, but all *Coubatants* faction were fled away. There in the midst of them we manifested againe our intendment, assuring them, that although *Coubatant* had now escaped vs, yet there was no place should secure him and his from vs if he continued his threatening vs, and prouoking others against vs, who had kindly entertained him, and neuer intended euill towards him till he now so iustly deserued it. Moreover, if *Massafoyt* did not returne in safetie from *Narrohigganset*, or if hereafter he should make any infurrection against him, or offer violence to *Tisquantum*, *Hobbamock*, or any of *Massafoyts* Subiects, we would revenge it vpon him, to the ouerthrow of him and his. As for those were wounded, we were sorry for it, though themselues procured it in not staying in the house at our command: yet if they would returne home with vs, our Surgeon should heale them.

At this offer, one man and a woman that were wounded went home with vs, *Tisquantum* and many other knowne [56] friends accompanying vs, and offering all helpe that might be by carriage of any thing wee had to ease

vs. So that by Gods good Providence wee safely returned home the morrow night after we set forth. [57]

(* * *)

RELATION OF OUR Voyage to the *MASSACHUSETTS*,³⁸⁴

And what happened there.



It seemed good to the Company in generall, that though the *Massachusetts* had often threatened vs (as we werè informed) yet we should goe amongst them, partly to see the Countrey, partly to make Peace with them, and partly to procure their trucke.

For these ends the Governours chose ten men, fit for the purpose, and sent *Tisquantum*, and two other Salvages to bring vs to speech with the people, and interpret for vs.³⁸⁵

We set out about mid-night,³⁸⁶ the tyde then seruing

³⁸⁴ The *Massachusetts* tribe was that inhabiting the neighborhood of Boston bay. Josiah Cotton says, in his Indian vocabulary, the word means "an hill in the form of an arrow's head." Roger Williams says, in a deposition taken at Narragansett, ¹⁸/₂₈ June, 1682, "I had learnt that the *Massachusetts* was called so from the Blue Hills." — [3 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.*, ii. 235; *R.-I. Hist. Coll.*, iv. 208.]

³⁸⁵ Bradford's account is as follows: "After this, y^e 18. of Sepembr: they sente out ther shalop to the *Massachusetts*, with 10. men, and Squanto for their guid and interpreter, to discover and veiw that bay, and trade with y^e natives; the which they performed,

and found kind entertainment. The people were much affraid of y^e *Tarantins*, a people to y^e eastward which used to come in harvest time and take away their corne, & many times kill their persons. They returned in safte, and brought home a good quantity of beaver, and made reporte of y^e place, wishing they had been ther feated; (but it seems y^e Lord, who assignes to all men y^e bounds of their habitations, had apoynted it for an other use.)" — [*Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 104.]

³⁸⁶ Bradford, and Prince (probably from him), fix the date of this expedition as on *Tuesday*, ¹⁸/₂₈ September, 1621.

for vs; we supposing it to be neerer then it is, thought to be there the next morning betimes: but it proued well neere twentie Leagues from *New Plimmouth*.³⁸⁷

We came into the bottome of the Bay,³⁸⁸ but being late wee anchored and lay in the Shallop, not hauing seene any of the people. The next morning³⁸⁹ we put in for the shore. There we found many Lobsters that had beene gathered together by the Saluages, which we made ready vnder a cliffe.³⁹⁰ The Captaine fet two Sentinels behind the cliffe to the landward to secure the Shallop, and taking a guide with him, and foure of our company, went to seeke the Inhabitants, where they met a woman comming for her Lobsters, they told her of them, and contented her for them. She told them where the people were; *Tisquantum* went to them, the rest returned, hauing direction which way to bring the Shallop to them.

³⁸⁷ The actual distance, by water, from Plymouth to Boston is not far from forty-four miles.

³⁸⁸ That is, run in by Point Allerton into Lighthouse Channel.

³⁸⁹ They started at midnight, and do not seem to have arrived until late the next day, when they anchored and passed the night; so that this "next morning" was that of *Thursday*,²⁰
³⁰ Sept.

³⁹⁰ Dr. Belknap [*Amer. Biog.*, ii. 224] supposed that in putting in for the shore, they went up N. W. through what is now the main ship-channel, and that the "cliffe" under which

they landed was Copp's Hill; and Dr. Young [*Chron. of Plym.*, 225] endorsed his theory. But Mr. Drake [*Hist. of Bos.*, 44], relying for corroboration upon a *Ms.* of W. T. Harris, Esq., of Cambridge, suggests the much greater probability that they struck directly, a little S. of W. across Quincy bay, to the nearer shore, and that the "cliffe" was that pile of rocks known as "the chapel" at the N. E. extremity of the peninsula of Squantum. After examination of the localities, it seems to me that the probabilities of the case greatly favor the view taken by Mr. Drake.

The Sachim, or Gouvernour of this place, is called *Obbatinewat*,³⁹¹ and though he liue in the bottome of the *Massachusset* bay, yet he is vnder *Massafoyt*. He vsed vs very kindly; he told vs, he durst not then remaine in any fetled place, for feare of the *Tarentines*.³⁹² Also the *Squa Sachim*,³⁹³ or *Massachussets* Queene was an enemy to him. [58]

We told him of diuers Sachims that had acknowledged themselues to be King IAMES his men, and if he also would submit himselfe, we would be his safegard from his enemies; which he did, and went along with vs to bring vs to the *Squa Sachim*. Againe we crossed the Bay which is very large, and hath at left fiftie Ilands in it:³⁹⁴

³⁹¹ The phraeseology which follows in the next paragraph, "if he also would submit himselfe," seems to forbid the supposition, which has been entertained by some [Prince, *N. E. Chron.*, pt. ii. 112], that this was the *Obbatinnua* who, with eight other sachems, had acknowledged himself to be "a loyal subject of King James," at Plymouth (during the previous week),¹³ Sept., 1621.—[Morton's *N. E. Mem.*, 29.] *Obbatinewat* is supposed to have been a sachem of the Massachusetts.

³⁹² "The *Tarrantines* were the inhabitants of Penobscot River. They were one of the three *Etchemin* tribes."—[Williamson's *Hist. Me.*, i. 459.]

³⁹³ When *Nanapashemet* (soon to be

mentioned), the great sachem of the Massachusetts Indians, died, his queen carried on the government as squaw-sachem, marrying Webbacowet, the great medicine-man of the nation. In 1637, she deeded a tract of land in *Musketaguid* (Concord).¹³ Jan., 1637,⁶ she sold Mystic Pond, and a large tract of land now included in Somerville, to Jotham Gibbons of Boston.⁸ March, 1644, she submitted to the whites. She died before 1662.—[Brooks's *Hist. Medford*, 73, 74.]

³⁹⁴ Shaw's *History of Boston* (A. D. 1817) contains a list of the names of forty-seven "islands and rocks in and near Boston harbor." Snow's work (A. D. 1828) says the bay "is bespangled with upwards of 100 islands or rocks."—[Shaw, 83; Snow, 113.]

but the certaine number is not knowne to the Inhabitants. Night it was before wee came to that side of the Bay³⁹⁵ where this people were. On shore the Saluages went but found no body. That night alfo we rid at Anchor aboard the Shallop.

On the morrow³⁹⁶ we went ashore, all but two men, and marched in Armes vp in the Countrey. Hauling gone three myles, we came to a place where Corne had beene newly gathered, a house pulled downe, and the people gone. A myle from hence, *Nanepashemet* their King in his life time had liued.³⁹⁷ His house was not like others, but a scaffold was largely built, with pools³⁹⁸ and plancks some six foote from ground, and the house vpon that, being situated on the top of a hill.

Not farre from hence in a bottome,³⁹⁹ wee came to a Fort built by their deceafed King, the manner thus;

³⁹⁵ They seem to have crossed from Quincy over to what is now Charlestown.

³⁹⁶ Friday, ²¹ Sept. ₁ Oct., 1621.

³⁹⁷ *Nanepashemet* is said to have been at one time the most powerful sachem of New England. He resided at Lynn until "the great war of the Taretines," in 1615. He then retreated to Medford, where he built him a house on Rock Hill. He was killed by the *Taretines* in 1619. Roger Williams [*Key, &c., R.-I. Hist. Coll.*, i. 110] says that *Nanepashet* was the *Wampanoag* word for "Moone God." Whether we are to

infer any connection between that word and the name of this chief seems to be doubtful.—[Brooks's *Hist. Medford*, 72; Newhall's *Hist. Lynn*, 35; Shattuck's *Hist. Concord*, 2.] Dr. Young is wholly misled in his note here by his theory of their first landing at Copp's Hill, which compels him to suppose that crossing the bay would carry them to Squantum, and that *Nanepashemet* lived on Milton Hill.

³⁹⁸ Poles.

³⁹⁹ In the vicinity of Mystic Pond, in Medford.—[See Drake's *Hist. Bos.*, 45.]

There were pools some thirtie or fortie foote long, stucke in the ground as thicke as they could be fet one by another, and with these they inclosed a ring some forty or fifty foote ouer. A trench breast high was digged on each side; one way there was to goe into it with a bridge; in the midst of this Pallizado stood the frame of an house, wherein being dead he lay buried.⁴⁰⁰

About a myle from hence, we came to such another, but feated on the top of an hill: here *Nanepashemet* was killed, none dwelling in it since the time of his death. At this place we stayed, and sent two Saluages to looke the Inhabitants, and to informe them of our ends in coming, that they might not be fearefull of vs: Within a myle of this place they found the women of the place together, with their Corne on heapes, whither we supposed them to be fled for feare of vs, and the more, because in diuers places they had newly pulled downe their houfes,⁴⁰¹ and for hast in one place had left some of their Corne couered with a Mat, and no body with it. [59]

With much feare they entertained vs at first, but seeing

⁴⁰⁰ An Indian skeleton was exhumed in West Medford, Mafs., 21 Oct., 1862, a short distance S. E. from Mystic Pond, which, partly because there was with it a pipe with a copper mouth-piece, it was thought might be *Nanepashemet's*.—[*Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Dec., 1862.]

⁴⁰¹ "They are quicke; in halfe a day, yea, sometimes at few houres

warning to be gone and the house up elsewhere, especially, if they have stakes readie pitcht for their Mats.

"I once in travell lodged at a house, at which in my returne I hoped to have lodged againe the next night, but the house was gone in that interim, and I was glad to lodge under a tree."—[Roger Williams, *Key, &c., R.-I. Hist. Coll.*, 56.]

our gentle carriage towards them, they tooke heart and entertained vs in the best manner they could, boyling Cod and such other things as they had for vs. At length with much sending for came one of their men, shaking and trembling for feare. But when he saw we intended them no hurt, but came to trucke, he promised vs his skins also. Of him we enquired for their Queene, but it seemed shee was far from thence, at lef we could not see her.⁴⁰²

Here *Tisquantum* would haue had vs rifled the Saluage women, and taken their skins, and all such things as might be feruiceable for vs; for (sayd he) they are a bad people, and haue oft threatned you: But our answere was; Were they neuer so bad, we would not wrong them, or giue them any iust occasion against vs: for their words we little weighed them, but if they once attempted any thing against vs, then we would deale far worfe then he desired.

Hauing well spent the day, we returned to the Shallop, almost all the Women accompanying vs, to trucke, who fold their coats from their backes, and tyed boughes about them, but with great shamefastnesse⁴⁰³ (for indeed they are more modest then some of our English women are) we promised them to come againe to them, and they vs, to keepe their skins.

⁴⁰² Mr. Shattuck seems to suggest that her residence was in Concord, Massachusetts. — [*Hist. Concord*, 3.]
⁴⁰³ Shamefacedness.

Within this Bay, the Salvages say, there are two Riwers; the one whereof we saw, hauing a faire entrance, but we had no time to discouer it.⁴⁰⁴ Better harbours for shipping cannot be then here are. At the entrance of the Bay are many Rockes;⁴⁰⁵ and in all likelihood very good fishing ground.⁴⁰⁶ Many, yea, most of the Ilands haue beene inhabited, some being cleered from end to end, but the people are all dead, or remoued.

Our victuall growing scarce, the Winde comming fayre, and hauing a light Moone, we set out at euening, and through the goodnesse of GOD, came safely home before noone the day following.⁴⁰⁷ [60]

⁴⁰⁴ The Myctic and the Charles, and Rainsford Rocks, keep their the former of which they saw in their places in and around our harbor. visit to *Nanepashemet's* house and grave, &c.

⁴⁰⁵ The Brewsters, Calf Island, Egg Rock, The Graves, Harding's Rocks,

⁴⁰⁶ A supposition that would then have found abundant verification, — more so than now.

⁴⁰⁷ Saturday, ²² Sept. ₃ Oct., 1621.



A
 L E T T E R S E N T F R O M
New-England to a friend in these parts,⁴⁰⁸
setting forth a briefe and true Declaration
 of the worth of that Plantation;
 As also certaine vfeull Directions
for such as intend a VOYAGE
into those Parts.



Quing, and old Friend,⁴⁰⁹ although I receiued no Letter from you by this Ship,⁴¹⁰ yet forasmuch as I know you expect the performance of my promise, which was, to write vnto you truly and faithfully of all things. I haue therefore at this time sent vnto you accordingly. Referring you for fur-

⁴⁰⁸ This heading was prefixed in England by the party receiving the letter, who was probably the person who published the same, with the "more large Relations" which accompanied it, and to which reference is made. Writing in England, he naturally says, "these" parts.

⁴⁰⁹ There is reasonable evidence that this was George Morton. — See Introduction.

⁴¹⁰ The ship which carried this letter from New Plymouth to old England was the *Fortune*, the first which followed the *Mayflower*, in the interest of the colony. She was of fifty-five tons, and sailed from London "in the beginning of July [1621], but it was the end of August ere they could pass Plymouth, and arrived at New Plymouth in New England the eleventh of November." — [Smith's *New*

ther fatisfaction to our more large Relations⁴¹¹ || You shall vnderstand, that in this little time, that a few of vs haue beene here,⁴¹² we haue built seauen dwelling houfes, and foure for the vse of the Plantation,⁴¹³ and haue made preparation for diuers others. We set the last Spring some twentie Acres of *Indian* Corne, and sowed some six Acres of Barly & Peafe, and according to the manner of the *Indians*, we manured our ground with Herings or rather Shadds,⁴¹⁴ which we haue in great abundance, and take with great ease at our doores⁴¹⁵ Our Corne did proue

Eng. Trials, 16.] She was laded, for her return voyage, "with good clapbord as full as she could stowe, and 2. hoggheads of beaver and other skins," &c., the freight being estimated "to be worth near £500." — [Bradford, *Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 108.] Bradford says she "stayed not above 14. days" (probably after she was unladen) [*Ibid*, 110]; and she evidently failed on her return voyage on *Thursday*, ¹³ Dec., 1621 [*Cushman Genealogy*, 64]; and, as she neared the English coast, was taken by a French cruiser, carried into the Ile d'Yeu, robbed of all her valuables, and then releafed, reaching England on *Sunday*, ¹⁷ Feb., 1621².

⁴¹¹ Which make up the bulk of this volume.

⁴¹² Winslow's letter bears date, *Tuesday*, ¹¹ Dec., 1621. They had landed at Plymouth, from the Mayflower, to commence their settlement on *Wednesday*, ³⁰ Dec., 1620; so that

the "little time" of which Winslow speaks lacked but nine days of a year.

⁴¹³ It must be remembered that the 102 with whom they landed on Cape Cod had been reduced exactly one half by death; so that seven dwelling-houses would now accommodate the whole, — in families of from seven to eight in each.

⁴¹⁴ The fish intended was, beyond question, the alewife. (See note 212.) Thomas Morton says, "There is a Fish (by some called shadds, by some *allises* [alewives]), that at the spring of the yeare passe up the rivers to spaune in the ponds; and are taken in such multitudes in every river, that hath a pond at the end, that the Inhabitants dounge their ground with them. You may see 100 acres together set with these Fish, every acre taking 1000. of them." — [*New Eng. Canaan*, Force, II., v. 60.]

⁴¹⁵ In Town Brook, as the fish thronged it in the spring to go up.

well, & God be prayfed, we had a good increafe of *Indian*-Corne, and our Barly indifferent good, but our Peafe not worth the gathering, for we feared they were too late fowne, they came vp very well, and bloffomed, but the Sunne parched [61] them in the bloffome; our harveft being gotten in, our Governour⁴¹⁶ fent foure men on fowling, that fo we might after a more fpeciall manner reioyce together, after we had gathered the fruit of our labours; ⁴¹⁷ they foure in one day killed as much fowle, as with a little helpe befide, ferved the Company almoft a weeke, at which time amongft other Recreations, we exercifed our Armes, many of the *Indians* coming amongft vs, and amongft the reft their greateft King *Maffafoyt*, with fome ninetie men, whom for three dayes we entertained and feafted, and they went out and killed five Deere, which they brought to the Plantation and beftowed on our Governour, and vpon the Captaine, and others. And although it be not alwayes fo plentifull, as it was at this time with vs, yet by the goodneffe of God, we are fo farre from want, that we often wifh you partakers of our plentie.⁴¹⁸ Wee haue found the *Indians* very faithfull in their Covenant of Peace with vs; very louing and readie to pleafure vs: we often goe to them, and they

⁴¹⁶ "Shortly after [*i. e.* after Carver's death, juft fubfequent to ⁵/₁₅ April, 1621] William Bradford was chofen Gover in his ftead." — [Bradford, *Hift. Plym. Plant.*, 101.]

⁴¹⁷ Here began that peculiar New-England feftival,—the annual autumnal *Thanksgiving*.

⁴¹⁸ This was written honeftly when it was written, though the addition of

come to vs; some of vs haue bin fiftie myles by Land in the Country with them;||the occasions and Relations whereof, you shall vndestand by our generall and more full Declaration of such things as are worth the noting,⁴¹⁹ yea, it hath pleased God so to possesse the *Indians* with a feare of vs, and loue vnto vs, that not onely the greatest King amongst them called *Massafoyt*, but also all the Princes and peoples round about vs, haue either made fute vnto vs, or beene glad of any occasion to make peace with vs, so that feauen of them at once haue sent their messengers to vs to that end,⁴²⁰ yea, an Fle⁴²¹ at sea, which we neuer saw hath also together with the former

the Fortune's company to theirs, and the necessity of victualing that ship for her return voyage, made them know what famine was in the winter that was then beginning. Bradford says, "So they were presently [after the Fortune failed] put to half allowance, one as well as an other, which begane to be hard; but they bore it patiently under hope of supply." [110.]

⁴¹⁹ See pp. 98-111.

⁴²⁰ Morton [*N. E. Memorial*, 29] gives the following document, to which Winflow most likely refers, although *nine* names appear upon it:—

"September¹³ Anno Dom. 1621.

"**K**now all men by these Presents, That we whose Names are "under-written do acknowledge our "selves to be the Loyal Subjects of "King James, King of Great Britain, "France and Ireland, Defender of "the Faith &c. In Witness where-

"of, and as a Testimonial of the same, "we have Subscribed our Names or "Marks, as followeth.

"*Ohquamehud. Chikkatabak.*

"*Cawnacome. Quadaquina.*

"*Obbatinnua. Huttamoiden.*

"*Nattawahunt. Apannow.*

"*Caunbatant.*"

⁴²¹ This is, clearly, a misprint for "Ile." The reference seems to be to an occurrence in the latter part of August, 1621, when, Bradford says, "Those of ye *Iles of Capawack* sent to make frendship."—[*Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 104.] Morton, speaking of *Capewak*, adds, in the margin, "Now called Martins Vineyard."—[*N. E. Memorial*, 26.] Richard Vines, in his deed to Thomas Mayhew (of date ^{25 Oct.} _{4 Nov.}, 1641), speaks of "ye Islands of *Capawock* als *Martha's Vineyard*."—[Hough's *Nantucket Papers*, 4.]

yeelded willingly to be vnder the protection, and subiects to our foueraigne Lord King IAMES, so that there is now great peace amongst the *Indians* themselues, which was not formerly, neither would haue bin but for vs; and we for our parts walke as peaceably and safely in the wood, as in the hie-wayes in *England*, we entertaine them familiarly in our houfes, and they as friendly bestowing their Venison on vs. They are a people without any Religion, or knowledge of any God,⁴²² yet very trustie, [62] quicke of apprehension, ripe witted, iust, the men and women goe naked, onely a skin about their middles; for the temper of the ayre, here it agreeth well with that in *England*, and if there be any difference at all, this is somewhat hotter in Summer, some thinke it to be colder in Winter, but I cannot out of experience so say; the ayre is very cleere and not foggie, as hath beene reported. I neuer in my life remember a more seasonable yeare, then we haue here enjoyed: and if we haue once but Kine, Horfes, and Sheepe, I make no question, but men might liue as contented here, as in any part of the world. For fish and fowle, we haue great abundance, fresh Codd in the Summer is but course ⁴²³ meat with vs, our Bay is full of Lobsters all the Summer, and affordeth varietie of

⁴²² "Whereas myself, and others, in former letters, (which came to the pres against my will and knowledge,) wrote that the Indians about us are a people without any religion, or knowl-

edge of any God, therein I erred, though we could then gather no better, &c." — [Winflow's *Good News*, &c., in Young's *Plym. Chron.*, 355.]

⁴²³ *Course* — rude, mean.—[*Bailey*.]

other Fish; in September we can take a Hoghead of Eeles in a night, with small labour, & can dig them out of their beds, all the Winter⁴²⁴ we haue Muffells and Othus⁴²⁵ at our doores: Oysters we haue none neere, but we can haue them brought by the *Indians* when we will; all the Spring time the earth fendeth forth naturally very good Sallet Herbs;⁴²⁶ here are Grapes, white and red, and very sweete and strong also. Strawberies, Gooseberies, Raspas,⁴²⁷ &c. Plums of three sorts, with⁴²⁸ blacke and red, being almost as good as a Damfen: abundance of Rofes, white, red, and damask: single, but very sweet indeed; the Countrey wanteth onely industrious men to imploy, for it would grieue your hearts (if as I) you had seene so many myles together by goodly Riuers vnhabited,⁴²⁹ and withall to consider those parts of the world wherein you liue, to be euen greatly burthened with abundance of people. These things I thought good to let you vnderstand, being the truth of things as nere as I

⁴²⁴ The previous winter had been exceptionally mild. See note 261; also note 327.

⁴²⁵ What should be the true correction of this is not quite so obvious as the fact of the misprint. Dr. Young suggests [*Plym. Chron.*, 233] that it was intended for "other," the word "shell-fish" being accidentally omitted. Dr. Cheever, in his reprint [*N. E. in America*, 97], says, "Perhaps this is a misprint for the word *cockles*." I am familiar enough with the locali-

ity, and its shell-fishery, to feel sure that the word which Winslow *ought* to have written here was "clams;" while I think it quite as likely that that word in the Ms. would have been twisted into this text, as any other.

⁴²⁶ Salad herbs.

⁴²⁷ Probably written *Raspis*, which is an obsolete name for the raspberty. — [*Webster*.]

⁴²⁸ A misprint for "white"?

⁴²⁹ See the narrative of the journey to *Packanokik*, especially page 103.

could experimentally take knowledge of, and that you might on our behalfe giue God thanks who hath delt so fauourably with vs.

Our supply of men from you came the ninth of *November* 1621. putting in at Cape Cod, some eight or ten leagues from vs, the *Indians* that dwell thereabout were they who were owners of the Corne which we found in Caues, for which we haue giuen them full content, and are in great [63] league with them, they sent vs word there was a ship⁴³⁰ nere vnto them, but thought it to be a French man, and indeede for our selues, we expected not a friend so soone. But when we perceived that she made for our Bay, the Gouvernor commanded a great Peece to be shot off, to call home such as were abroad at worke; whereupon euery man, yea, boy that could handle a Gun were readie, with full resolution, that if she were an Enemy, we would stand in our iust defence, not fearing them, but God provided better for vs then we supposed; these came all in health vnto vs, not any being sicke by the way (otherwise then by Sea sicknesse) and so continue at this time, by the blessing of God,⁴³¹ the

⁴³⁰ The *Fortune*.

⁴³¹ The number of persons added to the Plymouth colony by this arrival was thirty-five; besides whom came Robert Cushman, to return with the ship. The names of these passengers, arranged in the order in which they

received their lots [*Plym. Col. Rec.*, xii. 5], were as follows:—

1. William Hilton [left wife and two children to come in the *Ann*. He removed to Dover, N. H., before 1627, and thence to Kit-

good-wife *Ford* was deliuered of a sonne the first night shee landed, and both of them are very well. When it pleafeth God, we are fetled and fitted for the fishing

- tery, Me., where he was living in 1661. — *Savage's Gen. Diſt.*, ii. 423.]
2. John Winflow [brother of Edward, came ſingle; married Mary Chilton. In 1657, removed to Boſton, where he was a thrifty merchant, and died 1674, leaving a large family. — *Savage's Gen. Diſt.*, iv. 601.]
 3. William Conner [came ſingle; died or removed before 1627.]
 4. John Adams [came ſingle; married Elinor Newton; died 1633, leaving two ſons and a daughter. — *Savage's Gen. Diſt.*, i. 11.]
 5. William Tench [came ſingle, and either died or removed before 1627.]
 - 6 John Cannon [came ſingle, and died or removed before 1627.]
 7. Hugh Stacie [removed to Dedham, and thence to Salem. It is conjectured that he may have thence gone home, and been the perſon of that name who with his wife helped to form the Congregational Church in Wrentham, England, under Rev. John Phillip, in 1650. — *Savage's Gen. Diſt.*, iv. 159; *Browne's Hiſt. Cong. Ch. at Wrentham, Suffolk*, 13.]
 8. William Beale [came ſingle, and died or removed before 1627.]
 9. Thomas Cuſhman [was ſon of Robert, now fourteen years old, and left with Gov. Bradford; was freeman in 1633; married Mary Allerton, 163 $\frac{2}{8}$; removed to Jones's River, in Kingſton, about 1637, where he lived and died; 1649 was choſen Ruling Elder of the Plymouth Church; died $\frac{11}{21}$ Dec., 1691. — *Cuſhman Genealogy*, 84-99.]
 10. Auſtin Nicholas [died or removed before 1627.]
 11. Widow Ford [had lately loſt her husband, probably in England, and brought with her children William, John, and Martha, and had another child the night after landing. It has been conjectured that ſhe married Peter Browne (ſee note 27, No. 33, and note 265), and that ſhe returned, or died, before 1627. — *Savage's Gen. Diſt.*, ii. 182.]
 12. William Wright [had wife Prifcilla, and by his will of $\frac{16}{26}$ Sept., 1633, ſeems to have had no children. — *Savage's Gen. Diſt.*, iv. 661.]
 - 13 William Pitt [muſt have died or removed (perhaps to Marblehead) between 1624 and 1627.]
 - 14 Robert Hicks. [His wife Margaret followed in the Ann, with two ſons and two daughters. Hicks had been a leather-dreſſer in

business, and other trading, I doubt not but by the blessing of God, the gayne will giue content to all; in the meane time, that we haue gotten we haue sent by

London. He died ^{24 Mar.} 1647,
_{3 Apr.}
— Savage's *Gen. Diſt.*, ii., 410.]

15. Thomas Prence [was son of Thomas of Lechlade, Gloucestershire; married, ⁵/₁₅ Aug., 1624, Patience, daughter of Elder William Brewster; had five children by her; she died in 1634, and he removed to Duxbury, and married, ¹/₁₀ April, 1635, Mary, daughter of William Collier, by whom he had four children; was Governor and Assistant; removed to Eastham in 1645, where his wife died, and, 1662, he married the widow of Samuel Freeman; he removed again, in 1663, to Plymouth, where he died, ^{29 March}/_{8 April}, 1673, aged 72. — Savage's *Gen. Diſt.*, iii. 477.]
16. Stephen Dean [built the first corn-mill in New England, in 1632; married, about 1627, Elizabeth Ring; had three daughters, and died in Sept., 1634. — Savage's *Gen. Diſt.*, ii. 30.]
17. Moses Symonson (Simmons) [was born at Leyden; probably brought wife with him, but no child; settled at Duxbury; was one of the original proprietors of Dartmouth, Bridgewater, and Middleborough, but does not appear to have removed to either. He left two children.

Winflow says of him (*Hypocrisie Unmasked*, 95), "Yea at this very instant, another called *Moses Symonson*, because a child of one that was in communion with the *Dutch Church* at *Leyden*, is admitted into Church-fellowship at *Plymouth* in *New-England*, and his children also to Baptism, as well as our own," &c. — Savage's *Gen. Diſt.*, iv. 100.]

18. Philip de la Noye (Delano). [Of him Winflow says (*Hypocrisie Unmasked*, 96), "There is also one *Philip Delanoy* born of *French* parents, came to us from *Leyden* to *New-Plymouth*, who coming to age of discerning, demanded also communion with vs, & proving himself to be come of such parents as were in full communion with the *French Churches*, was here upon admitted by the Church of Plymouth; and after upon his removal of habitation to *Duxburrow* where *M. Ralph Partridge* is Pastor of the Church; and upon Letters of recommendation from the Church at *Plymouth*, hee was also admitted into fellowship with the Church at *Duxburrow*, being six miles distant from *Plymouth* &c." He mar-

this ship, and though it be not much, yet it will witnesse for vs, that wee haue not beene idle, confidering the

- ried, ¹⁹₂₉ Dec., 1634, Esther Dewfbury, and, after her death, Mary, widow of James Glafs and daughter of William Pontus, and had nine children. He removed to Duxbury soon after 1632, and died about 1681, *at. 79*, leaving an estate valued at £50.—Winfor's *Duxbury*, 65, 251.]
19. Edward Bompasse (Bumpus) [lived at Duxbury before 1634, but most of his days at Marshfield; had wife Hannah and eight children.—Thomas's *Mem. of Marshfield*, 48.]
 20. Clement Briggs [was quite young when he landed now; removed to Dorchester; there married Joan Allen, 163^o₁; thence removed to Weymouth. He had five sons.—Savage's *Gen. Diff.*, i. 251.]
 21. James Stewart [died or removed before 1627.]
 22. William Palmer [brought his son William, his wife Frances coming in the next ship; he removed to Duxbury; had a second wife; died early in 1638.—Savage's *Gen. Diff.*, iii. 342.]
 23. Jonathan Brewster [was eldest son of the Elder. Mr. Savage says he was born in Scrooby, Eng. But I have in my possession a copy of an affidavit from the Leyden Records, which states that he was "about 16 years old" ²⁵₅ June, 1609, which would throw back his birth to 1583, a date 11 years anterior to Mr. Hunter's record of the presence of his father at Scrooby. This would make him 37 at landing. He was a ribbon weaver, and received the right of citizenship in Leyden, ³⁰₁₀ June, 1617. He was in command of the Plymouth trading house on Connecticut River, in June, 1636; removed to Duxbury, thence to New London, Ct., before 1649, where he died before Sept., 1659.—*Leyden Mf. Rec.*; Savage's *Gen. Diff.*, i. 244.]
 24. Bennet Morgan [died or removed before 1627.]
 25. Thomas Flavel. [His son came with him; his wife followed in the Ann; but all were dead or removed before 1627.]
 26. Thomas Morton [either died or removed before 1627.]
 27. William Baffet [was a "journeyman mafon" from Sandwich, Eng.; ⁹₁₉ May, 1611, was to have married Maggie Butler of Norwich, but she died; ¹³₂₃ Aug., 1611, did marry Margaret Oldham; had a wife *Elizabeth*, with three children, at Plymouth in 1627; lived at Duxbury in 1637; removed to Bridgewater, and died 1667.—

smallnesse of our number all this Summer.⁴³² We hope the Marchants will accept of it, and be encouraged to furnish vs with things needfull for further imployment, which will also incourage vs to put forth our selues to the vttermost. Now because I expect your comming vnto vs⁴³³ with other of our friends, whose companie we much desire, I thought good to aduertife you of a few things needfull; be carefull to haue a very good bread-roome to put your Biskets in, let your Cask for Beere and Water be Iron-bound for the first tyre if not more; let not your meat be drie salted, none can better doe it then the Saylers; let your meale be so hard trodd in your Cask that you shall need an Ads or Hatchet to worke it out with: Trust not too much on vs for Corne at this time, for by reason of this last company that came, depending wholly vpon vs, we shall haue little enough till harueft; be carefull to come by some of your meale to spend by the way, it will much refresh you, build your Cabbins as open as you can, and bring good store of clothes, and bed- [64] ing with you; bring euery man a Musket or fowling Peece, let your Peece be long in the barrell, and feare not the waight of it, for most of our shooting is from Stands; bring iuyce

*Leyden Mf. Rec.; Savage's
Gen. Diſt., i. 136.]*

died in the interval before this list was made.

⁴³² See note 372.

These twenty-seven, with such of their wives and children as came with them, made up the full number brought by the ship, unless some one

⁴³³ George Morton came with his family in the Ann, which failed from London the last of April, or first of May, 1623.

of Lemons, and take it fasting, it is of good vse; for hot waters, Anni-feed water is the best, but vse it sparingly: if you bring any thing for comfort in the Country, Butter or Sallet oyle, or both is very good; our *Indian* Come even the coursest, maketh as pleasant meat as Rice, therefore spare that vnlesse to spend by the way; bring Paper, and Linced oyle for your Windowes,⁴³⁴ with Cotton yarne for your Lamps; let your shott be most for bigge Fowles, and bring store of Powder and shot: I forbear further to write for the present, hoping to see you by the next returne, so I take my leaue, commending you to the LORD for a safe conduct vnto vs. Resting in him

Plimmouth in New-England

this 11. of December.

Your louing Friend

1621.⁴³⁵

E. W.⁴³⁶ [65]

⁴³⁴ This, with the "daubing" before mentioned (see note 282), give one an idea of the rudeness of the houses of this plantation at this time. Glass windows were then far beyond their means.

⁴³⁵ *Tuesday*, ¹¹/₂₁ Dec., 1621, — just one year from the day on which the first landing took place from the shallop upon the rock.

⁴³⁶ There can be no doubt that this was Edward Winslow. (See note 152.)

Reasons & considerations touching the lawfulness of removing out of

England into the parts of America.



Soasmuch as many exceptions are daily made The Pream-
ble. against the going into, and inhabiting of
forraine desert places, to the hinderances of
plantations abroad, and the increase of di-
stractions at home: It is not amisse that some which haue
beene eare witnessers of the exceptions made, and are
either Agents or Abettors of such remouals and planta-
tions, doe seeke to giue content to the world, in all things
that possibly they can.

And although the most of the opposites are such as
either dreame of raising their fortunes here, to that then
which there is nothing more vnlike, or such as affecting
their home-borne countrey so vehemently, as that they
had rather with all their friends begge, yea starue in it,
then vndergoe a little difficultie in seeking abroad; yet
are there some who out of doubt in tenderesse of con-
science, and feare to offend God by running before they
be called, are straitned and doe straiten others, from going
to forraine plantations.

For whose cause especially, I haue beene drawne out of
my good affection to them, to publish some reasons that
might giue them content and fatisfaction, and also stay
and stop the wilfull and wittie cauiller: and herein I trust

I shall not be blamed of any godly wife, though thorow my slender iudgement I should misse the marke, and not strike the naile on the head, considering it is the first attempt that hath beene made (that I know of) to defend those enterprifes. Reason would therefore, that if any man of deeper reach and better iudgement see further or otherwise, that he rather instruct me, then deride me.

Cautions.

Gen. 12. 1, 2.
& 35. 1.

And being studious for breuitie, we must first consider, that whereas God of old did call and summon our Fathers by predictions, dreames, visions, and certaine illuminations [66] to goe from their countries, places and habita-

Mat. 2. 19.
Psal. 105. 13.

tions, to reside and dwell here or there, and to wander vp and downe from citie to citie, and Land to Land, according to his will and pleasure. Now there is no such calling to be expected for any matter whatsoever, neither

Heb. 1. 1, 2.

must any so much as imagine that there will now be any such thing. God did once so traine vp his people, but now he doth not, but speakes in another manner, and so we must apply our selues to Gods present dealing, and not to his wonted dealing: and as the miracle of giuing

Iosh. 5. 12.

Manna ceased, when the fruits of the land became plentie, so God hauing such a plentiful storehouse of directions in his holy word, there must not now any extraordinarie reuelations be expected.

But now the ordinarie examples and precepts of the Scriptures reasonably and rightly vnderstood and applied,

must be the voice and word, that must call vs, presse vs, and direct vs in euery action.

Neither is there any land or possession now, like vnto the possession which the Iewes had in *Canaan*, being legally holy and appropriated vnto a holy people the seed of *Abraham*, in which they dwelt securely, and had their daies prolonged, it being by an immediate voice said, that he (the Lord) gaue it them as a land of rest after their wearie trauels, and a type of *Eternall* rest in heauen, but now there is no land of that Sanctimonie, no land so appropriated; none typicall: much lesse any that can be said to be giuen of God to any nation as was *Canaan*, which they and their seed must dwell in, till God fendeth vpon them fword or captiuitie: but now we are in all places strangers and Pilgrims, traouellers and foiourners, most properly, hauing no dwelliug but in this earthen Tabernacle; our dwelling is but a wandring, and our abiding but as a fleeting, and in a word our home is no where, but in the heauens: in that house not made with hands, whose maker and builder is God, and to which all ascend that loue the comming of our Lord Jesus.

Gen. 17. 8.

*2 Cor. 5. 1,
2, 3*

So were the Iewes, but yet their temporall blessings and inheritances were more large then ours

Though then, there may be reasons to perswade a man to liue in this or that land, yet there cannot be the same reasons which the Iewes had, but now as naturall, ciuill and Religious [67] bands tie men, so they must be bound, and as good reasons for things terrene and heauenly appeare, so they must be led. And so here falleth in our

Obiect.

question, how a man that is here borne and bred, and hath liued some yeares, may remoue himselfe into another countrie.

Answer.

¹
What persons may hence remoue.

I answer, a man must not respect only to liue, and doe good to himselfe, but he should see where he can liue to doe most good to others: for as one saith, *He whose liuing is but for himselfe, it is time he were dead.* Some men there are who of necessitie must here liue, as being tied to duties either to Church, Common-wealth, household, kindred, &c. but others, and that many, who doe no good in none of those nor can doe none, as being not able, or not in fauour, or as wanting opportunitie, and liue as outcasts: no bodies, eie-fores, eating but for themselues, teaching but themselues, and doing good to none, either in soule or body, and so passe ouer daies, yeares, and moneths, yea so liue and so die. Now such should lift vp their eies and see whether there be not some other place and countrie to which they may goe to doe good and haue vse towards others of that knowledge, wifdome, humanitie, reason, strength, skill, facultie, &c. which God hath giuen them for the seruice of others and his owne glory.

²
Why they should remoue.

Luk. 19. 20.

But not to passe the bounds of modestie so far as to name any, though I confesse I know many, who sit here still with their talent in a napkin, hauing notable endowments both of body and minde, and might doe great good if they were in some places, which here doe none,

nor can doe none, and yet through fleshly feare, nicenesse, straitnesse of heart, &c. fit still and looke on, and will not hazard a dram of health, nor a day of pleasure, nor an houre of rest to further the knowledge and saluation of the sons of *Adam* in that *New world*, where a drop of the knowledge of Christ is most precious, which is here not fet by. Now what shall we say to such a profession of Christ, to which is ioyned no more deniall of a mans selfe? But some will say, what right haue I to goe liue in the heathens countrie? Reas. 1.

Letting passe the ancient discoueries, contracts and agreements which our English men haue long since made in those [68] parts, together with the acknowledgement of the histories and Chronicles of other nations, who professe the land of *America* from the Cape *De Florida* vnto the Bay of *Canado* (which is South and North 300. leagues and vpwards; and East and West, further then yet hath beene discouered) is proper to the King of England, yet letting that passe, lest I be thought to meddle further then it concerns me, or further then I haue discerning: I will mention such things as are within my reach, knowledge, sight and practife, since I haue trauailed in these affaires. Answ.

And first seeing we daily pray for the conuersion of the heathens, we must consider whether there be not some ordinary meanes, and course for vs to take to conuert them, or whether praier for them be only referred to Gods Reas. 2.

extraordinarie worke from heauen. Now it seemeth vnto me that we ought also to endeouour and vse the meanes to conuert them, and the meanes cannot be vsed vnlesse we goe to them or they come to vs: to vs they cannot come, our land is full: to them we may goe, their land is emptie.

Reaf. 3.

This then is a sufficient reason to proue our going thither to liue, lawfull: their land is spacious and void, & there are few and doe but run ouer the grasse, as doe also the Foxes and wilde beasts: they are not industrious, neither haue art, science, skill or facultie to vse either the land or the commodities of it, but all spoiles, rots, and is marred for want of manuring, gathering, ordering, &c. As the ancient Patriarkes therefore remoued from straiter places into more roomthy, where the Land lay idle and waste, and none vsed it, though there dwelt inhabitants by them, as *Gen.* 13. 6. 11. 12. and 34. 21. and 41. 20. so is it lawfull now to take a land which none vseth, and make vse of it.

Reaf. 4.
This is to be considered as respecting new *England*, and the territories about the plantation.

And as it is a common land or vnused, & vndressed countrey; so we haue it by common consent, composition and agreement, which agreement is double: First the Imperial Governour *Massasoit*, whose circuits in likelihood are larger then *England* and *Scotland*, hath acknowledged the Kings Maiestie of *England* to be his Master and Commander, and that once in my hearing, yea and in writing, vnder his hand to Captaine [69] *Standish*, both he and many other Kings which are vnder him, as

Pamet, Nauset, Cummaquid, Narrowhiggonset, Namafchet, &c., with diuers others that dwell about the baies of *Patuxet*, and *Massachusset*: neither hath this beene accomplished by threats and blowes, or shaking of sword, and found of trumpet, for as our facultie that way is small, and our strength lesse: so our warring with them is after another manner, namely by friendly vsage, loue, peace, honest and iust cariages, good counsell, &c., that so we and they may not only liue in peace in that land, and they yeeld subiection to an earthly Prince, but that as voluntaries they may be perswaded at length to embrace the Prince of peace Christ Iesus, and rest in peace with him for euer. *Psal.* 110. 3.
& 48. 3.

Secondly, this composition is also more particular and applicatorie as touching our selues there inhabiting: the Emperour by a ioynt consent, hath promised and appointed vs to liue at peace, where we will in all his dominions, taking what place we will, and as much land as we will, and bringing as many people as we will, and that for these two causes. First, because we are the seruants of *Iames King of England*, whose the land (as he confesseth) is, 2. because he hath found vs iust, honest, kinde and peaceable, and so loues our company; yea, and that in these things there is no dissimulation on his part, nor feare of breach (except our securitie ingender in them some vnthought of trecherie, or our vnciuilitie prouoke them to anger) is most plaine in other Relations,⁴³⁷ which

⁴³⁷ The "Relations" preceding in this volume, are those here intended.

shew that the things they did were more out of loue then out of feare.

It being then first a vast and emptie *Chaos*: Secondly acknowledged the right of our Soueraigne King: Thirdly, by a peaceable composition in part possessed of diuers of his louing subiects, I see not who can doubt or call in question the lawfulness of inhabiting or dwelling there, but that it may be as lawfull for such as are not tied vpon some speciall occasion here, to liue there as well as here, yea, and as the enterprife is weightie and difficult, so the honour is more worthy, to plant a rude wildernesse, to enlarge the honour and fame of our dread Soueraigne, but chiefly to displaie the [70] efficacie & power of the Gospell both in zealous preaching, professing, and wise walking vnder it, before the faces of these poore blinde Infidels.

As for such as object the tediousnesse of the voyage thither, the danger of Pirats robbetrie, of the fauages treacherie, &c. these are but Lyons in the way, and it were well for such men if they were in heauen, for who can shew them a place in this world where iniquitie shall not compasse them at the heeles, and where they shall haue a day without grieffe, or a lease of life for a moment; and who can tell but God, what dangers may lie at our doores, euen in our natiue cuntry, or what plots may be abroad, or when God will cause our funne to goe downe at noone daies, and in the midst of our peace and

Prov. 22. 13.

Psal. 49. 5.
Mat. 6. 34.

Amos 8. 9.

securitie, lay vpon vs some lasting scourge for our so long neglect and contempt of his most glorious Gospell.

But we haue here great peace, plentie of the Gospell, ^{Ob.} and many fweet delights and varietie of comforts,

True indeed, and farre be it from vs to denie and ^{Answ.} diminish the least of these mercies, but haue we rendered ^{2 Chron. 32.} vnto God thankfull obedience for this long peace, whilst ^{25.} other peoples haue beene at wars? haue we not rather murmured, repined, and fallen at iars amongst our selues, whilst our peace hath lasted with forraigne power? was there euer more fuits in law, more enuie, contempt and reproch then now adaies? *Abraham* and *Lot* departed afunder when there fell a breach betwixt them, which ^{Gen. 13. 9, 10.} was occasioned by the straightnesse of the land: and surely I am perswaded, that howfoeuer the frailties of men are principall in all contentions, yet the straitnes of the place is such, as each man is faine to plucke his meanes as it were out of his neighbours throat, there is such preffing and oppressing in towne and countrie, about Farmes, trades, traffique, &c. so as a man can hardly any where set vp a trade but he shall pull downe two of his neighbours.

The Townes abound with young tradef-men, and the Hospitals are full of the Auncient, the country is replenished with new Farmers, and the Almshouses are filled with old Labourers, many there are who get their liuing with bearing burdens, but moe are faine to burden the

land with their [71] whole bodies: multitudes get their meanes of life by prating, and so doe numbers more by begging. Neither come these straits vpon men alwaies through intemperancy, ill husbandry, indiscretion, &c. as some thinke, but euen the most wise, sober, and discreet men, goe often to the wall, when they haue done their best, wherein as God's prouidence fwaieth all, so it is easie to see, that the straitnesse of the place hauing in it so many strait hearts, cannot but produce such effects more and more, so as euery indifferent minded man should be ready to say with Father *Abraham*, *Take thou the right hand, and I will take the left*: Let vs not thus oppresse, straiten, and afflict one another, but seeing there is a spacious Land, the way to which is thorow the sea, wee will end this difference in a day.

That I speake nothing about the bitter contention that hath beene about Religion, by writing, disputing, and inueighing earnestly one against another, the heat of which zeale if it were turned against the rude barbarisme of the Heathens, it might doe more good in a day, then it hath done here in many yeares. Neither of the little loue to the Gospell, and profit which is made by the Preachers in most places, which might easily driue the zealous to the Heathens who no doubt if they had but a drop of that knowledge which here flieth about the streetes, would be filled with exceeding great ioy and

gladnesse, as that they would euen plucke the kingdome of heauen by violence, and take it as it were by force.

The greateft let that is yet behinde is the sweet fellowship of friends, and the fatietie of bodily delights. The laft let.

But can there be two neerer friends almost then *Abraham* and *Lot*, or then *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and yet vpon as little occasions as we haue heere, they departed afunder, two of them being Patriarches of the Church of old; the other the Apostles of the Church which is new, and their couenants were such as it seemeth might binde as much as any couenant betweene men at this day, and yet to auoid greater inconueniences they departed afunder.

Neither must men take so much thought for the flesh, as not [72] to be pleased except they can pamper their bodies with varietie of dainties. Nature is content with little, and health is much endangered, by mixtures vpon the stomach: The delights of the palate doe often inflame the vitall parts: as the tongue setteth a fire the whole body. James 3. 6. Secondly, varieties here are not common to all, but many good men are glad to snap at a crust. The rent taker liues on sweet morsels, but the rent payer eats a drie crust often with watery eies: and it is nothing to say what some one of a hundreth hath, but what the bulke, body and cominalty hath, which I warrant you is short enough.

And they also which now liue so sweetly, hardly will their children attaine to that priuiledge, but some circum-

uentor or other will outftrip them, and make them fit in the duft, to which men are brought in one age, but cannot get out of it againe in 7. generations.

To conclude, without all partialitie, the prefent confumption which groweth vpon vs here, whilst the land groaneth vnder fo many clofe-fifted and vnmercifull men, being compared with the eafineffe, plaineneffe and plentifulneffe in liuing in thofe remote places, may quickly perfwade any man to a liking of this courfe, and to practife a remoual, which being done by honeft, godly and industrious men, they fhall there be right hartily welcome, but for other of diffolute and prophane life, their roomes are better then their companies; for if here where the Gofpell hath beene fo long and plentifully taught, they are yet frequent in fuch vices as the Heathen would fhame to fpeake of, what will they be when there is leffe restraint in word and deed? My onely fute to all men is, that whether they liue there or here, they would learne to vfe this world as they vfed it not, keeping faith and a good confcience, both with God and men, that when the day of account fhall come, they may come forth as good and fruitfull feruants, and freely be receiued, and enter into the ioy of their mafter.

R. C.

FINIS.



CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.







Chronological Table of Events.

Day of week.	O. S.	N. S.	Year.	EVENTS.	Page.
—	July.	July.	1620	Left Leyden	1
S.	5 Aug.	15 Aug.	“	Sailed from Southampton	1
S.	13 Aug.	23 Aug.	“	Put back to Dartmouth	1
W.	23 Aug.	2 Sept.	“	Sailed again	1
—			“	Put back, the second time, to Plymouth	1
W.	6 Sept.	16 Sept.	“	Sailed from Plymouth	1
Th.	9 Nov.	19 Nov.	“	Saw Cape Cod	2
S.	11 Nov.	21 Nov.	“	Anchored in Provincetown harbor, signed compact, and went ashore	3
M.	13 Nov.	23 Nov.	“	Unshipped the shallop, and went on shore to wash, &c.	11
W.	15 Nov.	25 Nov.	“	Started on first expedition inland—camped at Stout's Creek	15
Th.	16 Nov.	26 Nov.	“	Found the Truro Springs; made fire; went to Pond Village, Pamet River, and Cornhill; dug up corn, &c.; and went back to Pond Village for the night	16-24
F.	17 Nov.	27 Nov.	“	Sunk the kettle in the pond, and went back to the ship	24-26
M.	27 Nov.	7 Dec.	“	Large exploring party started in the shallop, and got to E. Harbor Creek	28
T.	28 Nov.	8 Dec.	“	Went on to Pamet River, and inland from it	29
W.	29 Nov.	9 Dec.	“	Revisited Cornhill, and Master Jones and a part returned	30-32
Th.	30 Nov.	10 Dec.	“	Found the wigwams, graves, &c., &c., and got back that night and found Peregrine White had been born in their absence	32-37
T.	5 Dec.	15 Dec.	“	Francis Billington nearly blows up the Mayflower	42
W.	6 Dec.	16 Dec.	“	The third exploring party started in the shallop, and got as far as Eastham	43-47

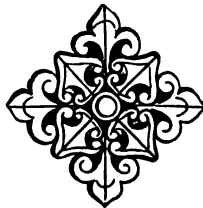
Day of week.	O. S.	N. S.	Year.	EVENTS.	Page.
Th.	7 Dec.	17 Dec.	1620	Explored up toward Wellfleet Bay, and inland, and slept at Great-Meadow Creek	47-51
F.	8 Dec.	18 Dec.	"	First encounter with the Indians; then coasted round, and ran in under the lee of Clark's Island, in Plymouth Harbor, in a north-easter, in the evening	51-58
S.	9 Dec.	19 Dec.	"	Staid on the Island, probably refitting their broken mast, &c., &c.	59
S.	10 Dec.	20 Dec.	"	Kept the Sabbath on Clark's Island...	59
M.	11 Dec.	21 Dec.	"	FOREFATHER'S DAY. Landed on the rock, and explored the coast	59
T.	12 Dec.	22 Dec.	"	Started back for the Mayflower, and probably reached her	59
F.	15 Dec.	25 Dec.	"	Weighed anchor for Plymouth, but could not fetch the harbor, and were obliged to put back toward Cape Cod	60
S.	16 Dec.	26 Dec.	"	Dropped anchor inside Plymouth Beach	60
M.	18 Dec.	28 Dec.	"	Landed from the Mayflower, and explored	61-62
T.	19 Dec.	29 Dec.	"	Landed for a second exploration.....	63-64
W.	20 Dec.	30 Dec.	"	Landed again, and determined to settle near Burial Hill and Town Brook...	64
Th.	21 Dec.	31 Dec.	"	Stormy and wet, so that those in the ship could not go ashore, and those on the shore could do nothing. Richard Britteridge dies.....	65-66
F.	22 Dec.	1 Jan.	1620	Still stormy. Goodwife Allerton (Mrs. Isaac) has a stillborn son	66
S.	23 Dec.	2 Jan.	"	Commence to gather stuff for building..	66
S.	24 Dec.	3 Jan.	"	Those on shore hear a cry of savages, as they think. Solomon Prower dies	66
M.	25 Dec.	4 Jan.	"	Busy in building the common house; thought they heard Indians towards night. Began to drink water on board.....	66-67
T.	26 Dec.	5 Jan.	"	Foul weather; no going ashore.....	67
W.	27 Dec.	6 Jan.	"	Got to work again	67
Th.	28 Dec.	7 Jan.	"	Divided the company into 19 families, and measured out lots	67-68
F.	29 Dec.	8 Jan.	"	Tried to work, but rainy.....	68
S.	30 Dec.	9 Jan.	"	Do. Saw Indian smokes.....	68-69
M.	1 Jan.	10 Jan.	"	At work again. Digory Priest dies....	69
W.	3 Jan.	13 Jan.	"	Those who were cutting thatch saw more Indian smokes, but no Indians.....	70

Day of week.	O. S.	N. S.	Year.	EVENTS.	Page.
Th.	4 Jan.	14 Jan.	162°	Standifh with a party went out, and found wigwams, but no natives. Shot an eagle, and likened it to mutton !..	70
F.	5 Jan.	15 Jan.	"	A failor found a herring ; so they hoped for fish soon, but had no cod-hooks ..	70
S.	6 Jan.	16 Jan.	"	C. Martin very sick, and sends ashore for Carver, who goes on Sunday morning	70
M.	8 Jan.	18 Jan.	"	A fine fair day ; the shallop goes out for fish, and has good succets. F. Billington discovers the lake since called by his name. Martin dies	71
T.	9 Jan.	19 Jan.	"	Divided their lots of land by lot.....	72
Th.	11 Jan.	21 Jan.	"	William Bradford taken sick while at work	72-73
F.	12 Jan.	22 Jan.	"	Began to rain about noon. John Goodman and Peter Brown lost themselves	73-75
S.	13 Jan.	23 Jan.	"	Goodman and Brown found their way back in the evening	75-76
§.	14 Jan.	24 Jan.	"	The thatch of the common house took fire and burned. The greater number were now on shore, and they had intended to have service there this day, but the fire postponed it.....	76
M.	15 Jan.	25 Jan.	"	Rainy again, and no communication between the ship and the shore.....	77
T.	16 Jan.	26 Jan.	"	A fair, sunshiny day, like April	77
W.	17 Jan.	27 Jan.	"	" " "	77
Th.	18 Jan.	28 Jan.	"	" " "	77
F.	19 Jan.	29 Jan.	"	Began to make a shed to store provision in, but at noon it rained. John Goodman saw two wolves.....	77
S.	20 Jan.	30 Jan.	"	Made the shed	78
§.	21 Jan.	31 Jan.	"	Kept their meeting on land for the first time	78
M.	22 Jan.	1 Feb.	"	Fair day ; stored their meal in the shed	78
M.	29 Jan.	8 Feb.	"	Cold, with fleet, but cleared up, and the long-boat and shallop carried goods ashore. Rose Standifh died	78
T.	30 Jan.	9 Feb.	"	Frosty, with fleet ; could not work.....	78
W.	31 Jan.	10 Feb.	"	Same weather. Saw two favages running away, who seemed to have been on the Island near the ship	78
§.	4 Feb.	14 Feb.	"	Wet, and so windy as almost to endanger the light ship, and to wash out the "daubing" of their houses.....	79
F.	9 Feb.	19 Feb.	"	So cold they could work but little. The	

Day of week.	O. S.	N. S.	Year.	EVENTS.	Page.
				house for the sick people got on fire, but with little damage. The master killed five geefe, and found a dead deer	79
F.	16 Feb.	26 Feb.	162°	Fair, but cold. One fowling saw twelve Indians and heard more. The Indians made a great fire at night, and carried off some tools left in the woods	80
S.	17 Feb.	27 Feb.	"	Had a meeting to establish military orders. Chose Miles Standish captain. Saw two savages on Watson's Hill making signs, but they ran away	81
W.	21 Feb.	3 Mar.	"	Got the great guns ashore and mounted them on the hill, and had a feast with Master Jones. Wm. White, Wm. Mullins, and two others, die ..	82
♄.	25 Feb.	7 Mar.	"	Mary, wife of Isaac Allerton, dies	82
S.	3 Mar.	13 Mar.	"	The birds sang, and there was a thunderstorm with rain	82
W.	7 Mar.	17 Mar.	"	Wind E. Carver went with a party to the great ponds. Sowed some garden feeds	82
F.	16 Mar.	26 Mar.	"	Had another meeting about military orders, &c., but were interrupted by the coming in upon them of <i>Samofet</i> , <i>Samofet</i> dismissed with presents. A fair day	83
S.	17 Mar.	27 Mar.	"	<i>Samofet</i> dismissed with presents. A fair day	85
♄.	18 Mar.	28 Mar.	"	A reasonable fair day. <i>Samofet</i> came again, with five others, to truck. They were sent away because it was Sunday; but <i>Samofet</i> would not go, feigning sickness	87
M.	19 Mar.	29 Mar.	"	Fair day. Digged, and sowed garden feeds	89
T.	20 Mar.	30 Mar.	"	Fair day. Digged, and sowed garden feeds	89
W.	21 Mar.	31 Mar.	"	Fine warm day. <i>Samofet</i> sent away. Another meeting about laws and orders, again interrupted by the Indians coming. The carpenter, long sick, was able to fit the shallop "to fetch all from aboard"	90
Th.	22 Mar.	1 Apr.	"	Another fine day, and another attempt at public business interrupted by the coming of <i>Samofet</i> and <i>Squanto</i> ,	

Day of week.	O. S.	N. S.	Year.	EVENTS.	Page.
F.	23 Mar.	2 Apr.	162 ^o	announcing <i>Massasoit</i> , who made a formal call, with his brother and suit, and concluded a treaty. A very fair day. Visits exchanged between the colonists and <i>Massasoit's</i> party. <i>Squanto</i> caught a batch of eels. Concluded the fo-many-times-interrupted laws and orders, and chose John Carver governor for the ensuing year.	90-95 96-97
M.	2 July	12 July	1621	Stephen Hopkins and Edward Winslow start for <i>Pokanokit</i> , and go to <i>Namasket</i> , and the Indian wear in <i>Titicut</i>	98-102
T.	3 July	13 July	"	They crossed the <i>Titicut</i> at <i>Squabetty</i> , and proceeded to <i>Matepys</i> (Gardner's Neck), and thence to <i>Sowams</i> (Warren, R. I.), and were welcomed by <i>Massasoit</i>	102-107
Th.	5 July	15 July	"	Saw many Sachems, and witnessed their games, &c., &c.	108
F.	6 July	16 July	"	Started early and fasting for Plymouth, came to <i>Matepys</i> , and slept at the wear	109
S.	7 July	17 July	"	Got home, wet, weary, and worn.	111
M. ?	6 Au. ?	16 Au. ?	"	Ten men start for <i>Nauset</i> (Eastham), to seek John Billington, who had lost himself in the woods. Put in at <i>Cummaquid</i> (Barnstable), at night.	112
T. ?	7 Au. ?	17 Au. ?	"	Saw <i>Iyanough</i> , and went on to <i>Nauset</i> , where they found the boy	113-115
W. ?	8 Au. ?	18 Au. ?	"	Returned safely to Plymouth	116-117
M.	13 Aug.	23 Aug.	"	They resolve to send ten men armed to <i>Namasket</i> , to revenge the supposed death of <i>Squanto</i>	118-120
T.	14 Aug.	24 Aug.	"	The company started in the rain, lost themselves, but reached <i>Coubatan's</i>	

Day of week.	O. S.	N. S.	Year.	EVENTS.	Page.
W.	15 Aug.	25 Aug.	1621	house and attacked it, and captured the party	120-121
				Explained matters, and returned to Plymouth	122-123
—					
T.	18 Sept.	28 Sept.	"	Ten men, with <i>Squanto</i> and three other Indians, start at midnight for the <i>Massachusetts</i>	124
W.	19 Sept.	29 Sept.	"	Arrived in Boston Bay too late to land	125
Th.	20 Sept.	30 Sept.	"	Landed at <i>Squantum</i> , in Quincy, and toward night crossed over to Charlestown	126
F.	21 Sept.	1 Oct.	"	Marched up to <i>Nanepashemet's</i> grave (in Medford), &c. Saw many Indian women, and, returning to their shallop, started on their return voyage.	127-130
S.	22 Sept.	2 Oct.	"	Arrived back at Plymouth before noon	130
—					
T.	13 Nov.	23 Nov.	"	The <i>Fortune</i> arrives, bringing Robert Cushman, and 35 persons to be colonists	131
T.	11 Dec.	21 Dec.	"	Edward Winslow writes to George Morton, to be sent with these "Relations" by the ship on her return voyage	131-142
Th.	13 Dec.	23 Dec.	"	The <i>Fortune</i> fails on her return.	132
§.	17 Feb.	27 Feb.	1622	Cushman reaches London, after capture and detention at <i>Ile-d'Yeu</i>	132





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