

GOOD NEWS FROM NEW ENGLAND: *OR* A true Relation of things very re- markable at the Plantation of *Plymouth* in NEW ENGLAND.

Showing the wondrous providence and good-
ness of GOD, in their preservation and continuance,
*being delivered from many apparent
deaths and dangers.*

Together with a Relation of such religious and
civil Laws and Customs, as are in practice amongst
the *Indians*, adjoining to them at this day. As also
*what commodities are there to be raised for the
maintenance of that said other Planta-
tions in the said Country.*

Written by *E.W.* who hath borne a part in the
fore-named troubles, and there lived since
their first Arrival.

Whereunto is added by him a brief Relation of a credible
intelligence of the present estate of Virginia.

LONDON

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are to be sold at their shops, at the *Bible* in *Pauls-Church-*
yard, and at the three *Golden Lions* in *Cornhill*,
near the *Royal Exchange*. 1624.

TO
ALL WELL-WILLERS
AND FURTHERERS OF
Plantations in New England: especially
to such as ever have or desire to assist, the
people of Plymouth in their just pro-
ceedings, Grace, and Peace, be
multiplied.

Right Honorable and Worshipful Gentlemen, or whatsoever: since it hath pleased God to stir you up to be instruments of his glory, in so honorable an enterprise as the enlarging of His Majesty's Dominions, by planting his loyal subjects in so healthful and hopeful a country as New England is; where the Church of God being seated in sincerity, there is no less hope of converting the Heathen of their evil ways, and convincing them to the true knowledge and worship of the living God, and so consequently the salvation of their souls by the merits of Jesus Christ, than elsewhere though it be much talked on, and lightly or lamely prosecuted. I therefore think it but my duty to offer the view of our proceedings to your worthy considerations, having to that end composed them together thus briefly as you see; wherein to your great encouragement, you may behold the good providence of God working with you in our preservation from so many dangerous plots and treacheries, as have been intended against us; as also in giving his blessing so powerfully upon the weak means we had, enabling us with health and ability beyond expectation, in our greatest scarcities, and possessing the hearts of the savages with astonishment and fear of us, whereas if God had let them loose, they might easily have swallowed us up, scarce being an handful in comparison of those forces they might have gathered together against us, which now by God's blessing will be more hard and difficult, in regard our number of men is increased, our town better fortified, and our store better victualed. Blessed therefore be his name, that hath done so great things for us, and hath wrought so great a change amongst us.

Accept I pray you my weak endeavors, pardon my unskillfulness, and bear with my plainness in the things I have handled. Be not discouraged by our former necessities, but rather encouraged with us, hoping that as God hath wrought with us in our beginning of this worthy Work, undertaken in his name and fear; so he will by us accomplish the same to his glory and our comfort, if we neglect not the means. I confess it hath not been much less chargeable to some of you, than hard and difficult to us, that have endured the brunt of the barrel, and yet small profits returned; only by God's mercy we are safely seated, housed, and fortified, by which means a great step is made unto gain, and a more direct course taken for the same, than if at first we had rashly and covetously fallen upon it.

Indeed, three things are the overthrow and bane (as I may term it) of plantations.

1. The vain expectation of present profit, which too too commonly taketh a principal seat in the heart and affection; though God's glory, etc., is preferred before it in the mouth with protestation.

2. Ambition in their Governors and Commanders, seeking only to make themselves great, and slaves of all that are under them, to maintain a transitory base honor in themselves, which God oft punisheth with contempt.

3. The carelessness of those that send over supplies of men unto them, not caring how they be qualified: so that oft times they are rather the Image of men endued with bestial, yea, diabolical affections, than the Image of God, endured with reason, understanding, and holiness. I pray God I speak not these things experimentally, by way of complaint of our own condition, but having great cause on the contrary part to be thankful to God for his mercies towards us: but rather, if there be any too desirous of gain, to entreat them to moderate their affections, and consider that no man expecteth fruit before the tree be grown; advising all men, that as they tender their own welfare, so to make choice of such to manage and govern their affairs, as are approved not to be seekers of themselves, but the common good of all for whom they are employed; and beseeching such as have the care of transporting men for the supply and furnishing of plantations, to be truly careful in sending such as may further and not hinder so good an action. There is no godly honest man, but will be helpful in his kind, and adorn his profession with an upright life and conversation, which Doctrine of manners ought first to be preached by giving good example to the poor savage heathens amongst whom they live. On the contrary part, what great offense hath been given by many profane men, who being but seeming Christians, have made Christ and Christianity stink in the nostrils of the poor infidels, and so laid a stumbling block before them: but woe be to them by whom such offenses come.

These things I offer to your Christian considerations, beseeching you to make a good construction of my simple meaning, and take in good part this ensuing relation, dedicating myself and it evermore unto your service; beseeching God to crown our Christian and faithful endeavors with his blessings temporal and eternal.

Yours in this service, ever
to be commanded:

E. W.

To the Reader.

Good Reader, when I first penned this discourse, I intended it chiefly for the satisfaction of my private friends, but since that time have been persuaded to publish the same: and the rather, because of a disorderly colony that are dispersed, and most of them returned, to the great prejudice and damage of him that set them forth; who as they were a stain to old England that bred them, in respect of their lives and manners amongst the Indians: so it is to be feared, will be no less to New England in their vile and clamorous reports, because she would not foster them in their desired idle courses. I would not be understood to think there were no well deserving persons amongst them: for of mine knowledge it was a grief to some that they were so yoked; whose deserts as they were then suitable to their honest protestations, so I desire still may be, in respect of their just and true relations.

Peradventure thou wilt rather marvel that I deal so plainly, than any way doubt of the truth of this my Relation, yea it may be tax me therewith, as seeming rather to discourage men, than any way to further so noble an action? If any honest mind be discouraged, I am sorry, sure I am, I have given no just cause; and am so far from being discouraged myself, as I purpose to return forthwith. And for other light and vain persons, if they stumble hereat I have my desire, accounting it better for them and us that they keep where they are, as being unfit and unable to perform so great a task.

Some faults have escaped because I could not attend on the press, which I pray thee correct as thou findest, and I shall account it as a favor unto me.

Thine E.W.

GOOD NEWS FROM New England.

The Good Ship called the *Fortune*, which in the month of November 1621 (blessed be God) brought us a new supply of 35 persons, was not long departed our coast, ere the great people of Narragansett, which are reported to be many thousands strong, began to breath forth many threats against us, notwithstanding their desired and obtained peace with us in the foregoing summer. Insomuch as the common talk of our neighbor Indians on all sides was of the preparation they made to come against us. In reason a man would think they should have now more cause to fear us than before our supply came: but though none of them were present, yet understanding by others that they neither brought arms nor other provisions with them, but wholly relied on us, it occasioned them to slight and brave us with so many threats as they did. At length came one of them to us, who was sent by Conanucus their chief Sachem or King, accompanied with one Tokamahamon a friendly Indian. This messenger inquired for Tisquantum our interpreter, who not being at home seemed rather to be glad than sorry, and leaving for him a bundle of new arrows lapped in a rattlesnake's skin, desired to depart with all expedition. But our Governors not knowing what to make of this strange carriage, and comparing it with that we had formerly heard, committed him to the custody of Captain Standish, hoping now to know some certainty of that we so often heard, either by his own relation to us, or to Tisquantum at his return, desiring myself, having special familiarity with the other fore-named Indian, to see if I could learn anything from him, whose answer was sparingly to this effect; that he could not certainly tell, but thought they were enemies to us. That night Captain Standish gave me and another charge of him, and gave us order to use him kindly, and that he should not want anything he desired, and to take all occasions to talk and inquire of the reasons of those reports we heard, and withal to signify that upon his true relation he should be sure of his own freedom. At first fear so possessed him, that he could scarce say anything: but in the end became more familiar, and told us that the messenger which his master sent in summer to treat of peace, at his return persuaded him rather to war; and to the end he might provoke him hereunto, (as appeared to him by our reports) detained many of the things were sent him by our Governor, scorning the meanness of them both in respect of what himself had formerly sent, and also of the greatness of his own person; so that he much blamed the former messenger, saying, that upon the knowledge of his false carriage, it would cost him his life; but assured us that upon his relation of our speech than with him to his master, he would be friends with us. Of this we informed the Governor and his assistant, and Captain Standish, who after consultation considered him howsoever but in the state of a messenger, and it being as well against the Law of Arms amongst them as us in Europe, to lay violent hands on any such, set him at liberty, the Governor giving him order to

certify his master that he had heard of his large and many threatenings, at which he was much offended, daring him in those respects to the utmost, if he would not be reconciled to live peaceably as other his neighbors; manifesting withal (as ever) his desire of peace; but his fearless resolution, if he could not so live amongst them. After which he caused meat to be offered him, but he refused to eat, making all speed to return, and giving many thanks for his liberty. But requesting the other Indian again to return, the weather being violent, he used many words to persuade him to stay longer, but could not. Whereupon he left him, and said he was with his friends, and would not take a journey in such extremity.

After this when Tisquantum returned, and the arrows were delivered, and the manner of the messengers carriage related, he signified to the Governor, that to send the rattlesnake's skin in that manner, imported enmity, and that it was no better than a challenge. Hereupon after some deliberation, the Governor stuffed the skin with powder and shot, and sent it back, returning no less defiance to Conanacuss, assuring him if he had shipping now present thereby to send his men to Narragansett (the place of his abode) they should not need to come so far by land to us: yet withal showing that they should never come unwelcome or unlooked for. This message was sent by an Indian, and delivered in such sort, as it was no small terror to this savage King, insomuch as he would not once touch the powder and shot, or suffer it to stay in his house or country. Whereupon the messenger refusing it, another took it up, and having been posted from place to place a long time, at length came whole back again.

In the mean time, knowing our own weakness, notwithstanding our high words and lofty looks towards them, and still lying open to all casualty, having as yet (under God) no other defense than our arms, we thought it most needful to impale our town, which with all expedition we accomplished in the month of February and some few days, taking in the top of the hill under which our town is seated, making four bulwarks or jetties without the ordinary circuit of the pale, from whence we could defend the whole town: in three whereof are gates, and the fourth in time to be. This being done, Captain Standish divided our strength into four squadrons or companies, appointing whom he thought most fit to have command of each; and at a general muster or training, appointed each his place, gave each his company, giving them charge upon every alarm to resort to their leaders to their appointed place, and in his absence, to be commanded and directed by them. That done according to his order, each drew his company to his appointed place for defense, and there together discharged their muskets. After which they brought their new commanders to their houses, where again they graced them with their shot, and so departed.

Fearing also lest the enemy at any time should take any advantage by firing our houses, Captain Standish appointed a certain company, that whosoever they saw or heard fire to be cried in the town, should only betake themselves to their arms, and should enclose the house or place so endangered, and stand aloof on their guard, with their backs towards the fire, to prevent treachery, if any were in that kind intended. If the fire were in any of the houses of this guard, they were then freed from it, but not otherwise, without special command.

Long before this time we promised the people of Massachusetts in the beginning of March to come unto them, and trade for their furs, which being then come, we began to make preparation for that voyage. In the meantime, an Indian called Hobomok, who still lived in the town, told us, that he feared the Massachusetts or Massachuseucks (for

they so called the people of that place) were joined in confederacy with the Nanohiggenneucks, or people of Narragansett, and that they therefore would take this opportunity to cut off Captain Standish and his company abroad: but howsoever in the meantime, it was to be feared that the Narragansetts would assault the town at home, giving many reasons for his jealousy, as also that Tisquantum was in the confederacy, who we should find would use many persuasions to draw us from our shallop to the Indians houses for their better advantage. To confirm this his jealousy he told us of many secret passages that passed between him and others, having their meetings ordinarily abroad in the woods: but if at home howsoever he was excluded from their secrecy, saying it was the manner of the Indians when they meant plainly to deal openly: but in this his practice there was no show of honesty.

Hereupon the Governor, together with his Assistant and Captain Standish, called together such, as by them were thought most meet for advice in so weighty a business, who after consideration hereof came to this resolution; that as hitherto upon all occasions between them and us, we had ever manifested undaunted courage and resolution, so it would not now stand with our safety to mew up ourselves in our new-enclosed town, partly because our store was almost empty, and therefore must seek out for our daily food, without which we could not long subsist; but especially for that thereby they would see us dismayed, and be encouraged to prosecute their malicious purposes, with more eagerness than ever they intended: whereas on the contrary, by the blessing of God, our fearless carriage might be a means to discourage and weaken their proceedings. And therefore thought best to proceed in our trading voyage, making this use of that we heard, to go the better provided, and use the more carefulness both at home and abroad, leaving the event to the disposing of the Almighty, whose providence as it had hitherto been over us for good, so we had now no cause (save our sins) to despair of his mercy in our preservation and continuance, where we desired rather to be instruments of good to the heathens about us, than to give them the least measure of just offense.

All things being now in readiness, the forenamed Captain with ten men, accompanied with Tisquantum and Hobomok, set forwards for the Massachusetts: but we had no sooner turned the point of the harbor called the Gurnet's Nose (where being becalmed we let fall our grapnel, to set things to rights, and prepare to row) but there came an Indian of Tisquantum's family, running to certain of our people that were from home with all eagerness, having his face wounded, and the blood still fresh on the same, calling to them to repair home, oft looking behind him, as if some others had him in chase, saying that at Nemasket (a town some fifteen miles from us) there were many of the Narragansetts, Massasoit our supposed friend, and Corbitant our feared enemy, with many others, with a resolution to take advantage on the present opportunity, to assault the town in the Captain's absence, affirming that he received the wound in his face for speaking in our behalf, and by flight escaped, looking oft backward, as if he suspected them to be at hand. This he affirmed again to the Governor, whereupon he gave command that three piece of ordnance should be made ready and discharged, to the end that if we were not out of hearing, we might return therat. Which we no sooner heard, but we repaired homeward with all convenient speed, arming ourselves, and making all in readiness to fight. When we entered the harbor, we saw the town likewise on their guard, whither we hasted with all convenient speed. The news being made known unto us, Hobomok said flatly that it was false, assuring us of Massasoit's faithfulness; howsoever

he presumed he would never have undertaken any such act without his privity, himself being a pniese, that is, one of his chiefest champions or men of valor, it being the manner amongst them not to undertake such enterprises without the advice and furtherance of men of that rank. To this the Governor answered, he should be sorry that any just and necessary occasions of war should arise between him and any the savages, but especially Massasoit, not that he feared him more than the rest, but because his love more exceeded towards him than any. Whereunto Hobomok replied; there was no cause wherefore he should distrust him, and therefore should do well to continue his affections.

But to the end things might be made more manifest, the Governor caused Hobomok to send his wife with all privacy to Pokanoket the chief place of Massasoit's residence, (pretending other occasions) there to inform herself, and so us, of the right state of things. When she came thither, and saw all things quiet, and that no such matter was or had been intended, told Massasoit what had happened at Plymouth, (by them called Patuxet) which when he understood, he was much offended at the carriage of Tisquantum, returning many thanks to the Governor for his good thoughts of him; and assuring him that according to their first articles of peace, he would send word and give warning when any such business was towards.

Thus by degrees we began to discover Tisquantum, whose ends were only to make himself great in the eyes of this countrymen, by means of his nearness and favor with us, not caring who fell so he stood. In the general, his course was to persuade them he could lead us to peace or war at his pleasure, and would oft threaten the Indians, sending them word in a private manner, we were intended shortly to kill them, that thereby he might get gifts to himself to work their peace, insomuch as they had him in greater esteem than many of their Sachems; yea they themselves sought to him, who promised them peace in respect of us; yea and protection also, so as they would resort to him. So that whereas divers were wont to rely on Massasoit for protection, and resort to his abode, now they began to leave him, and seek after Tisquantum. Now though he could not make good these his large promises, especially because of the continued peace between Massasoit and us, he therefore raised this false alarm, hoping whilst things were hot in the heat of blood, to provoke us to march into his country against him, whereby he hoped to kindle such a flame as would not easily be quenched, and hoping if that block were once removed, there were no other between him and honor; which he loved as his life, and preferred before his peace. For these and the like abuses, the Governor sharply reproved him, yet was he so necessary and profitable an instrument, as at that time we could not miss him. But when we understood his dealings, we certified all the Indians of our ignorance and innocence therein, assuring them till they begun with us, they should have no cause to fear. And if any hereafter should raise any such reports, they should punish them as liars and seekers of their and our disturbance, which gave the Indians good satisfaction on all sides.

After this we proceeded in our voyage to the Massachusetts, where we had good store of trade, and (blessed be God) returned in safety, though driven from before our town in great danger and extremity of weather.

At our return, we found Massasoit at the plantation, who made his seeming just apology for all former matters of accusation, being much offended and enraged against Tisquantum, whom the Governor pacified as much as he could for the present. But not long after his departure, he sent a messenger to the Governor, entreating him to give way

to the death of Tisquantum, who had so much abused him. But the Governor answered; although he had deserved to die both in respect of him and us; yet for our sakes he desired he would spare him, and the rather because without him he knew not well how to understand himself, or any other the Indians. With this answer the messenger returned, but came again not long after, accompanied with divers others, demanding him from Massasoit their master, as being one of his subjects, whom by our first articles of peace we could not retain: yet because he would not willingly do it without the Governors approbation, offered him many beavers' skins for his consent thereto, saying, that according to their manner, their Sachem had sent his own knife, and them therewith, to cut off his head and hands, and bring them to him. To which the Governor answered: it was not the manner of the English to sell men's lives at a price, but when they had deserved justly to die, to give them their reward, and therefore refused their beavers as a gift: but sent for Tisquantum, who though he knew their intent, yet offered not to flee, but came and accused Hobomok as the author and worker of his overthrow; yielding himself to the Governor to be sent or not according as he thought meet. But at the instant, when our Governor was ready to deliver him into the hands of his executioners, a boat was seen at sea to cross before our town, and fall behind a headland not far off: whereupon, having heard many rumors of the French, and not knowing whether there were any combination between the savages and them, the Governor told the Indians, he would first know what boat that was ere he would deliver him into their custody. But being mad with rage, and impatient at delay, they departed in great heat.

Here let me not omit one notable (though wicked) practice of this Tisquantum, who to the end he might possess his countrymen with the greater fear of us, and so consequently of himself, told them we had the plague buried in our storehouse, which at our pleasure we could send forth to what place or people we would, and destroy them therewith, though we stirred not from home. Being upon the fore-named brabbles sent for by the Governor to this place, where Hobomok was and some other of us, the ground being broke in the midst of the house, (hereunder certain barrels of powder were buried, though unknown to him) Hobomok asked him what it meant? To whom he readily answered; that was the place wherein the plague was buried, whereof he formerly told him and others. After this Hobomok asked one of our people, whether such a thing were, and whether we had such command of it? Who answered no; but the God of the English had it in store, and could send it at his pleasure to the instruction of his and our enemies.

This was, as I take it, about the end of May 1622. At which time our store of victuals was wholly spent, having lived long before with a bare and short allowance: the reason was, that supply of men before mentioned, which came so unprovided, not landing so much as a barrel of bread or meal for their whole company, but contrariwise received from us for their ship's store homeward. Neither were the setters forth thereof altogether to be blamed therein, but rather certain amongst ourselves, who were too prodigal in their writing and reporting of that plenty we enjoyed. But that I may return.

This boat proved to be a shallop that belonged to a fishing ship, called the *Sparrow*, set forth by Master Thomas Weston, late merchant and citizen of London, which brought six or seven passengers at his charge, that should before have been landed at our plantation, who also brought no more provision for the present than served the boat's gang for their return to the ship, which made her voyage at a place called Damariscove near Mohegan some forty leagues from us north-eastward; about which

place there fished above thirty sail of ships, and whither myself was employed by our Governor, with orders to take up such victuals as the ships could spare, where I found kind entertainment and good respect, with a willingness to supply our wants: But being not able to spare that quantity I required, by reason of the necessity of some amongst themselves, whom they supplied before my coming, would not take any bills for the same, but did what they could freely, wishing their store had been such as they might in greater measure have expressed their own love, and supplied our necessities, for which they sorrowed, provoking one another to the utmost of their abilities: which although it were not much amongst so many people as were at the Plantation, yet through the provident and discreet care of the Governors, recovered and preserved strength till our own crop on the ground was ready.

Having dispatched there, I returned home with all speed convenient, where I found the state of the Colony much weaker than when I left it: for till now we were never without some bread, the want whereof much abated the strength and flesh of some, and swelled others. But here it may be said, if the country abound with fish and fowl in such measure as is reported, how could men undergo such measure of hardness, except through their own negligence? I answer; everything must be expected in its proper season. No man, as one saith, will go into an orchard in the winter to gather cherries: so he that looks for fowl there in the summer, will be deceived in his expectation. The time they continue in plenty with us, is from the beginning of October to the end of March: but these extremities befell us in May and June. I confess that as the fowl decrease, so fish increase. And indeed their exceeding abundance was great cause of increasing our wants. For though our bay and creeks were full of bass, and other fish, yet for want of fit and strong seines, and other netting, they for the most part brake through and carried all away before them. And though the sea were full of cod, yet we had neither tackling nor hawsers for our shallops. And indeed had we not been in a place where divers sorts of shell-fish are that may be taken with the hand, we must have perished, unless God had raised some unknown or extraordinary means for our preservation.

In the time of these straits (indeed before my going to Mohegan) the Indians began again to cast forth many insulting speeches, glorying in our weakness, and giving out how easy it would be ere long to cut us off. Now also Massasoit seemed to frown on us, and neither came or sent to us as formerly. These things occasioned further thoughts of fortification: And whereas we have a hill called the Mount, enclose within our pale, under which our town is seated, we resolved to erect a fort thereon, from whence a few might easily secure the town from any assault the Indians can make, whilst the rest might be employed as occasion served. This work was begun with great eagerness, and with the approbation of all men, hoping that this being once finished, and a continual guard there kept, it would utterly discourage the Savages from having any hopes or thoughts of rising against us. And though it took the greatest part of our strength from dressing our corn, yet (life being continued) we hoped God would raise some means in stead thereof for our further preservation.

In the end of June, or beginning of July, came into our harbor two ships of Master Weston's aforesaid, the one called the *Charity*, the other the *Swan*, having in them some fifty or sixty men sent over at his own charge to plant for him. These we received into our town, affording them whatsoever courtesy our mean condition could afford. There the *Charity*, being the bigger ship, left them, having many passengers which she was to land

in Virginia. In the meantime, the body of them refreshed themselves at Plymouth, whilst some most fit sought out a place for them. That little store of corn we had, was exceedingly wasted by the unjust and dishonest walking of these strangers, who though they would sometimes seem to help us in our labor about our corn, yet spared not day and night to steal the same, it being then eatable, and pleasant to taste, though green and unprofitable. And though they received much kindness, set light both by it and us; not sparing to requite the love we showed them, with secret backbitings, revilings, etc. the chief of them being forestalled and made against us, before they came, as after appeared: nevertheless for their Master's sake, who formerly had deserved well from us, we continued to do them whatsoever good or furtherance we could, attributing these things to the want of conscience and discretion, expecting each day, when God in his providence would disburden us of them, sorrowing that their overseers were not of more ability and fitness for their places, and much fearing what would be the issue of such raw and unconscionable beginnings.

At length their coasters returned, having found in their judgment a place fit for plantation, within the Bay of the Massachusetts, at a place called by the Indians Wessagussett. To which place the body of them went with all convenient speed, leaving still with us such as were sick and lame, by the Governor's permission, though on their parts undeserved, whom our surgeon by the help of God recovered gratis for them, and they fetched home, as occasion served.

They had not been long from us, ere the Indians filled our ears with clamors against them, for stealing their corn, and other abuses conceived by them. At which we grieved the more, because the same men, in mine own hearing, had been earnest in persuading Captain Standish, before their coming to solicit our Governor to send some of his men to plant by them, alleging many reasons how it might be commodious for us. But we knew no means to redress those abuses, save reproofs, and advising them to better walking, as occasion served.

In the end of August came other two ships into our harbor, the one (as I take it) was called the *Discovery*, Captain Jones having the command thereof, the other was that ship of Mr. Weston's called the *Sparrow*, which had now made her voyage of fish, and was consorted with the other, being both bound for Virginia. Of Captain Jones we furnished ourselves of such provisions as we most needed, and he could best spare, who as he used us kindly, so made us pay largely for the things we had. And had not the Almighty, in his All-ordering Providence, directed him to us, it would have gone worse with us, than ever it had been, or after was: for, as we had now but small store of corn for the year following: so for want of supply, we were worn out of all manner of trucking stuff, not having any means left to help ourselves by trade; but, through God's good mercy towards us, he had wherewith, and did supply our wants on that kind competently.

In the end of September, or beginning of October, Mr. Weston's biggest ship called the *Charity*, returned for England, and left their colony sufficiently victualled, as some of most credit amongst them reported. The lesser, called the *Swan*, remained with his colony for their further help. At which time they desired to join in partnership with us to trade for corn; to which our Governor and his Assistant agreed upon such equal conditions, as were drawn and confirmed between them and us. The chief places aimed at were to the southward of Cape Cod, and the more because Tisquantum, whose peace

before this time was wrought with Massasoit, undertook to discover unto us that supposed, and still hoped passage within the shoals.

Both colonies being thus agreed, and their companies fitted and joined together, we resolved to set forward, but were oft crossed in our purposes; as first Master Richard Greene, brother-in-law to Master Weston, who from him had a charge in the oversight and government of his colony, died suddenly at our plantation, to whom we gave burial befitting his place, in the best manner we could. Afterward, having further order to proceed by letter from their other Governor at the Massachusetts, twice Captain Standish set forth with them, but were driven in again by cross and violent winds: himself the second time being sick of a violent fever. By reason whereof (our own wants being like to be now greater than formerly; partly, because we were enforced to neglect our corn, and spend much time in fortification, but especially because such havoc was made of that little we had, through the unjust and dishonest carriage of those people before mentioned, at our first entertainment of them) our Governor in his own person supplied the Captain's place, and in the month of November again set forth, having Tisquantum for his interpreter and pilot, who affirmed he had twice passed within the shoals of Cape Cod, both with English and French. Nevertheless, they went so far with him, as the master of the ship saw no hope of passage: but being (as he thought) in danger, bare up, and according to Tisquantum's directions, made for an harbor not far from them, at a place called Manamoyick, which they found, and sounding it with their shallop found the channel, though but narrow and crooked, where at length they harbored the ship. Here they perceived that the tide set in and out with more violence at some other place more southerly, which they had not seen nor could discover, by reason of the violence of the season all the time of their abode there. Some judged the entrance thereof might be beyond the shoals, but there is no certainty thereof as yet known. That night the Governor accompanied with others, having Tisquantum for his interpreter went ashore; at first the inhabitants played least in sight, because none of our people had ever been there before; but understanding the ends of their coming, at length came to them, welcoming our Governor according to their savage manner, refreshing them very well with store of venison and other victuals, which they brought them in great abundance, promising to trade with them, with a seeming gladness of the occasion: yet their joy was mixed with much jealousy, as appeared by their after practices: for at first they were loath their dwellings should be known, but when they saw our Governor's resolution to stay on the shore all night, they brought him to their houses, having first conveyed all their stuff to a remote place, not far from the same, which one of our men walking forth occasionally espied; whereupon, on the sudden, neither it nor them could be found, and so many times after upon conceived occasions, they would be all gone, bag and baggage: but being afterwards (by Tisquantum's means) better persuaded, they left their jealousy and traded with them; where they got eight hogsheads of corn and beans, though the people were but few. This gave our Governor and the company good encouragement. Tisquantum being still confident in the passage, and the inhabitants affirming, they had seen ships of good burthen pass within the shoals aforesaid. But here, though they had determined to make a second assay, yet God had otherways disposed, who struck Tisquantum with sickness, in so much as he there died, which crossed their southward trading, and the more because the Master's sufficiency was much doubted, and the season very tempestuous, and not fit to go upon discovery, having no guide to direct them.

From thence they departed, and the wind being fair for the Massachusetts went thither, and the rather because the savages upon our motion had planted much corn for us, which they promised not long before that time. When they came thither, they found a great sickness to be amongst the Indians, not unlike the plague, if not the same. They renewed their complaints to our Governor, against that other plantation seated by them, for their injurious walking. But indeed the trade both for furs and corn was overthrown in that place, they giving as much for a quart of corn, as we used to do for a beaver's skin; so that little good could be there done. From thence they returned into the bottom of the bay of Cape Cod, to a place called Nauset, where the Sachem used the Governor very kindly, and where they bought eight or ten hogsheads of corn and beans. Also at a place called Mattachiest, where they had like kind entertainment and corn also. During the time of their trade in these places, there were so great and violent storms, as the ship was much endangered, and our shallop cast away, so that they had now no means to carry the corn aboard that they had bought, the ship riding by their report well near two leagues from the same, her own boat being small, and so leaky, (having no carpenter with them) as they durst scarce fetch wood or water in her. Hereupon the Governor caused the corn to be made in a round stack, and bought mats, and cut sedge to cover it, and gave charge to the Indians not to meddle with it, promising him that dwelt next to it a reward, if he would keep vermin also from it, which he undertook, and the Sachem promised to make good. In the mean time, according to the Governor's request, the Sachem sent men to seek the shallop, which they found buried almost in sand at a high-water mark, having many things remaining in her, but unserviceable for the present; whereof the Governor gave the Sachem special charge that it should not be further broken, promising ere long to fetch both it and the corn; assuring them, if neither were diminished, he would take it as a sign of their honest and true friendship, which they so much made show of, but if they were, they should certainly smart for their unjust and dishonest dealing, and further make good whatsoever they had so taken. So he did likewise at Mattachiest, and took leave of them, being resolved to leave the ship, and take his journey home by land with our own company, sending word to the ship, that they should take their first opportunity to go for Plymouth, where he determined, by the permission of God, to meet them. And having procured a guide, it being no less than fifty miles to our Plantation, set forward, receiving all respect that could be from the Indians in his journey, and came safely home, though weary and surbated, whither some three days after the ship also came. The corn being divided which they had got, Master Weston's company went to their own Plantation, it being further agreed, that they should return with all convenient speed, and bring their carpenter, that they might fetch the rest of the corn, and save the shallop.

At their return, Captain Standish being recovered and in health, took another shallop, and went with them to the corn, which they found in safety as they left it: also they mended the other shallop, and got all their corn aboard the ship. This was in January, as I take it, it being very cold and stormy, insomuch as (the harbor being none of the best) they were constrained to cut both the shallops from the ship's stern, and so lost them both a second time. But the storm being over, and seeking out, they found them both, not having received any great hurt. Whilst they were at Nauset, having occasion to lie on the shore, laying their shallop in a creek not far from them, an Indian came into the same, and stole certain beads, scissors, and other trifles out of the same, which when the Captain missed, he took certain of his company with him, and went to the Sachem, telling him

what had happened, and requiring the same again, or the party that stole them, (who was known to certain of the Indians) or else he would revenge it on them before his departure, and so took leave for that night being late, refusing whatsoever kindness they offered. On the morrow

matter. After this there was silence a short time; at length men gave their judgment what they thought best. Amongst others, he asked Hobomok what he thought? Who answered, he was but a stranger to them, but thought it was better that one should die than many, since he had deserved it, and the rest were innocent; whereupon he passed the sentence of death upon him.

Not long after (having no great quantity of corn left) Captain Standish went again with a shallop to Mattachiest, meeting also with the like extremity of weather, both of wind, snow, and frost, insomuch as they were frozen in the harbor the first night they entered the same. Here they pretended their wonted love, and spared them a good quantity of corn to confirm the same: strangers also came to this place, pretending only to see him and his company, whom they never saw before that time, but intending to join with the rest to kill them, as after appeared. But being forced through extremity to lodge in their houses, which they much pressed, God possessed the heart of the Captain with just jealousy, giving strait command, that as one part of his company slept, the rest should wake, declaring some things to them which he understood, whereof he could make no good construction. Some of the Indians spying a fit opportunity, stole some beads also from him, which he no sooner perceived, having not above six men with him, drew them all from the boat, and set them on their guard about the Sachem's house, where the most of the people were, threatening to fall upon them without further delay, if they would not forthwith restore them, signifying to the Sachem especially, and so to them all, that as he would not offer the least injury; so he would not receive any at their hands, which should escape without punishment or due satisfaction. Hereupon the Sachem bestirred him to find out the party, which when he had done, caused him to return them again to the shallop, and came to the Captain, desiring him to search whether they were not about the boat, who suspecting their knavery, sent one, who found them lying openly upon the boat's cuddy; yet to appease his anger, they brought corn afresh to trade, insomuch as he laded his shallop, and so departed. This accident so daunted their courage, as they durst not attempt anything against him. So that through the good mercy and providence of God they returned in safety. At this place the Indians get abundance of bass both summer and winter: for it being now February they abounded with them.

In the beginning of March, having refreshed himself, he took a shallop; and went to Manomet, to fetch home that which the Governor had formerly bought, hoping also to get more from them, but was deceived in his expectation, not finding that entertainment he found elsewhere, and the Governor had there received. The reason whereof, and of the treachery intended in the place before spoken of, was not then known unto us, but afterwards: wherein may be observed the abundant mercies of God working with his providence for our good. Captain Standish being now far from the boat, and not above two or three of our men with him, and as many with the shallop, was not long at Canacum the Sachem's house, but in came two of the Massachusetts' men, the chief of them was called Wituwamat, a notable insulting villain, one who had formerly imbrued his hands in the blood of English and French, and had oft boasted of his own valor, and derided their weakness, especially because (as he said) they died crying, making sour faces, more like children than men. This villain took a dagger from about his neck, (which he had gotten of Master Weston's people) and presented it to the Sachem, and after made a long speech in an audacious manner, framing it in such sort, as the Captain (though he be the best linguist amongst us) could not gather anything from it. The end of

it was afterward discovered to be as followeth: The Massachusetts had formerly concluded to ruinate Master Weston's Colony, and thought themselves, being about thirty or forty men strong, enough to execute the same: yet they durst not attempt it, till such time as they had gathered more strength to themselves to make their party good against us at Plymouth, concluding, that if we remained, (though they had no other arguments to use against us) yet we would never leave the death of our countrymen unrevenged, and therefore their safety could not be without the overthrow of both Plantations. To this end they had formerly solicited this Sachem, as also the other called Iyanough at Mattachiest, and many others to assist them, and now again came to prosecute the same; and since there was so fair an opportunity offered by the Captain's presence, they thought best to make sure him and his company. After this his message was delivered, his entertainment much exceeded the Captain's, insomuch as he scorned at their behavior, and told them of it: after which they would have persuaded him, because the weather was cold, to have sent to the boat for the rest of his company, but he would not, desiring according to promise, that the corn might be carried down, and he would content the women for their labor, which they did. At the same time there was a lusty Indian of Pamet or Cape Cod then present, who had ever demeaned himself well towards us, being in his general carriage, very affable, courteous, and loving, especially towards the Captain. This savage was now entered into confederacy with the rest, yet to avoid suspicion, made many signs of his continued affections, and would needs bestow a kettle of some six or seven gallons on him, and would not accept of anything in lieu thereof, saying, he was rich, and could afford to bestow such favors on his friends whom he loved: also he would freely help to carry some of the corn, affirming he had never done the like in his life before, and the wind being bad would needs lodge with him at their rendezvous, having indeed undertaken to kill him before they parted, which done they intended to fall upon the rest.

The night proved exceeding cold, insomuch as the Captain could not take any rest, but either walked or turned himself to and fro at the fire: this the other observed, and asked wherefore he did not sleep as at other times, who answered he knew not well, but had no desire at all to rest. So that he then missed his opportunity. The wind serving on the next day, they returned home, accompanied with the other Indian, who used many arguments to persuade them to go to Pamet, where himself had much corn, and many other, the most whereof he would procure for us, seeming to sorrow for our wants. Once the Captain put forth with him, and was forced back by contrary wind; which wind serving for the Massachusetts, was fitted to go thither. But on a sudden it altered again.

During the time that the Captain was at Manomet, news came to Plymouth, that Massasoit was like to die, and that at the same time there was a Dutch ship driven so high on the shore by stress of weather, right before his dwelling, that till the tides increased, she could not be got off. Now it being a commendable manner of the Indians, when any (especially of note) are dangerously sick, for all that profess friendship to them, to visit them in their extremity, either in their persons, or else to send some acceptable persons to them, therefore it was thought meet (being a good and warrantable action) that as we had ever professed friendship, so we should now maintain the same, by observing this their laudable custom: and the rather, because we desired to have some conference with the Dutch, not knowing when we should have so fit an opportunity. To that end myself having formerly been there, and understanding in some measure the Dutch tongue, the Governor again laid this service upon myself, and fitted me with some cordials to

administer to him, having one Master John Hamden a gentleman of London (who then wintered with us, and desired much to see the country) for my consort, and Hobomok for our guide. So we set forward, and lodged the first night at Nemasket, where we had friendly entertainment. The next day about one of the clock, we came to a ferry in Corbitant's country, where upon discharge of my piece, divers Indians came to us from a house not far off. There they told us, that Massasoit was dead, and that day buried, and that the Dutch would be gone before we could get thither, having hove off their ship already. This news struck us blank: but especially Hobomok, who desired we might return with all speed. I told him I would first think of it, considering now that he being dead, Corbitant was the most like to succeed him, and that we were not above three miles from Mattapuyst his dwelling place, although he were but a hollow-hearted friend towards us, I thought no time so fit as this, to enter into more friendly terms with him, and the rest of the Sachems thereabout, hoping (through the blessing of God) it would be a means in that unsettled state, to settle their affections towards us, and though it were somewhat dangerous, in respect of our personal safety, because myself and Hobomok had been employed upon a service against him, which he might now fitly revenge, yet esteeming it the best means, leaving the event to God in his mercy, I resolved to put it in practice, if Master Hamden and Hobomok durst attempt it with me, whom I found willing to that or any other course might tend to the general good. So we went towards Mattapuyst. In the way, Hobomok manifesting a troubled spirit, brake forth into these speeches, "*Neen womasu Sagimus, neen womasu Sagimus,*" etc. "My loving Sachem, my loving Sachem, Many have I known, but never any like thee:" And turning him to me said; "Whilst I lived, I should never see his like amongst the Indians," saying, "he was no liar, he was not bloody and cruel like other Indians; in anger and passion he was soon reclaimed, easy to be reconciled towards such as had offended him, ruled by reason in such measure, as he would not scorn the advice of mean men, and that he governed his men better with few strokes than others did with many; truly loving where he loved"; yea he feared we had not a faithful friend left among the Indians, showing how he oft-times restrained their malice, etc. continuing a long speech with such signs of lamentation and unfeigned sorrow, as it would have made the hardest heart relent. At length we came to Mattapuyst, and went to the *Sachemo Comaco* (for so they call the Sachem's place, though they call an ordinary house *witeo*) but Corbitant the Sachem was not at home, but at Pokanoket, which was some five or six miles off; the Squaw Sachem (for so they call the Sachem's wife) gave us friendly entertainment. Here we inquired again concerning Massasoit, they thought him dead, but knew no certainty; whereupon I hired one to go with all expedition to Pokanoket, that we might know the certainty thereof, and withal to acquaint Corbitant with our there being. About half an hour before sun-setting, the messenger returned, and told us that he was not yet dead, though there was no hope we should find him living. Upon this we were much revived, and set forward with all speed, though it was late within night ere we got thither. About two of the clock that afternoon the Dutchmen departed, so that in that respect our journey was frustrate. When we came thither, we found the house so full of men, as we could scarce get in, though they used their best diligence to make way for us. There were they in the midst of their charms for him, making such a hellish noise, as it distempered us that were well, and therefore unlike to ease him that was sick. About him were six or eight women, who chafed his arms, legs, and thighs, to keep heat in him; when they had made an end of their charming, one

told him that his friends the English were come to see him; (having understanding left, but his sight was wholly gone) he asked who was come, they told him Winsnow (for they cannot pronounce the letter l, but ordinarily n in the place thereof) he desired to speak with me; when I came to him, and they told him of it, he put forth his hand to me, which I took; then he said twice, though very inwardly, "*keen Winsnow*," which is to say, "Art thou Winslow?" I answered "*ahhe*," that is, yes; then he doubled these words, "*Matta neen wonckanet namen Winsnow*"; that is to say, "O Winslow I shall never see thee again." Then I called Hobomok and desired him to tell Massasoit, that the Governor hearing of his sickness was sorry for the same, and though by reason of many businesses he could not come himself, yet he sent me with such things for him as he thought most likely to do him good in this his extremity, and whereof if he pleased to take, I would presently give him; which he desired, and having a confection of many comfortable conserves, etc. on the point of my knife, I gave him some, which I could scarce get through his teeth; when it was dissolved in his mouth, he swallowed the juice of it, whereat those that were about him much rejoiced, saying, he had not swallowed anything in two days before. Then I desired to see his mouth, which was exceedingly furred, and his tongue swelled in such manner, as it was not possible for him to eat such meat as they had, his passage being stopped up: then I washed his mouth, and scraped his tongue, and got abundance of corruption out of the same. After which, I gave him more of the confection, which he swallowed with more readiness; then he desiring to drink, I dissolved some of it in water, and gave him thereof: within half an hour this wrought a great alteration in him in the eyes of all that beheld him; presently after his sight began to come to him, which gave him and us good encouragement. In the mean time I inquired how he slept, and when he went to the stool? They said he slept not in two days before, and had not had a stool in five; then I gave him more, and told him of a mishap we had by the way in breaking a bottle of drink, which the Governor also sent him, saying, if he would send any of his men to Patuxet, I would send for more of the same, also for chickens to make him broth, and for other things which I knew were good for him, and would stay the return of the messenger if he desired. This he took marvelous kindly, and appointed some who were ready to go by two of the clock in the morning, against which time I made ready a letter, declaring therein our good success, the state of his body, etc. desiring to send me such things as I sent for, and such physic as the surgeon durst administer to him. He requested me that the day following, I would take my piece, and kill him some fowl, and make him some English pottage, such as he had eaten at Plymouth, which I promised: after his stomach coming to him, I must needs make him some without fowl, before I went abroad, which somewhat troubled me, being unaccustomed and unacquainted in such businesses, especially having nothing to make it comfortable, my consort being as ignorant as myself; but being we must do somewhat, I caused a woman to bruise some corn, and take the flower from it, and set over the grut or broken corn in a pipkin (for they have earthen pots of all sizes.) When the day broke, we went out (it being now March) to seek herbs, but could not find any but strawberry leaves, of which I gathered a handful and put into the same, and because I had nothing to relish it, I went forth again, and pulled up a sassafras root, and sliced a piece thereof, and boiled it till it had a good relish, and then took it out again. The broth being boiled, I strained it through my handkerchief, and gave him at least a pint, which he drank, and liked it very well. After this his mended more and more, also he had three moderate

stools, and took some rest. Insomuch as we with admiration blessed God for giving his blessing to such raw and ignorant means, making no doubt of his recovery, himself and all of them acknowledging us the instruments of his preservation. That morning he caused me to spend in going from one to another amongst those that were sick in the town, requesting me to wash their mouths also, and give to each of them some of the same I gave him, saying, they were good folk. This pains I took with willingness, though it were much offensive to me, not being accustomed with such poisonous savors. After dinner he desired me to get him a goose or duck, and make him some pottage therewith, with as much speed as I could: so I took a man with me, and made a shot at a couple of ducks, some six score paces off, and killed one, at which he wondered: so we returned forthwith, and dressed it, making more broth therewith, which he much desired; never did I see a man so low brought, recover in that measure in so short a time. The fowl being extraordinary fat, I told Hobomok I must take off the top thereof, saying it would make him very sick again if he did eat it; this he acquainted Massasoit therewith, who would not be persuaded to it, though I pressed it very much, showing the strength thereof, and the weakness of his stomach, which could not possibly bear it. Notwithstanding he made a gross meal of it, and ate as much as would well have satisfied a man in health. About an hour after he began to be very sick, and straining very much, cast up the broth again, and in overstraining himself, began to bleed at the nose, and so continued the space of four hours; then they all wished he had been ruled, concluding now he would die, which we much feared also. They asked me what I thought of him; I answered, his case was desperate, yet it might be it would save his life: for if it ceased in time, he would forthwith sleep and take rest, which was the principal thing he wanted. Not long after his blood stayed, and he slept at least six or eight hours; when he awaked I washed his face, and bathed and suppled his beard and nose with a linen cloth: but on a sudden he chops his nose in the water, and drew up some therein, and sent it forth again with such violence, as he began to bleed afresh, then they thought there was no hope, but we perceived it was but the tenderness of his nostril, and therefore told them I thought it would stay presently, as indeed it did.

The messengers were now returned, but finding his stomach come to him, he would not have the chickens killed, but kept them for breed. Neither durst we give him any physic which was then sent, because his body was so much altered since our instructions, neither saw we any need, not doubting now of his recovery, if he were careful. Many whilst we were there came to see him, some by their report from a place not less than an hundred miles. To all that came, one of his chief men related the manner of his sickness, how near he was spent, how amongst others his friends the English came to see him, and how suddenly they recovered him to this strength they saw, he being now able to sit upright of himself.

The day before our coming, another Sachem being there, told him, that now he might see how hollow-hearted the English were, saying if we had been such friends in deed, as we were in show, we would have visited him in this his sickness, using many arguments to withdraw his affections, and to persuade him to give way to some things against us, which were motioned to him not long before: but upon this his recovery, he brake forth into these speeches; Now I see the English are my friends and love me, and whilst I live I will never forget this kindness they have showed me. Whilst we were

there, our entertainment exceeded all other strangers. Divers other things were worthy the noting, but I fear I have been too tedious.

At our coming away, he called Hobomok to him, and privately (none hearing save two or three other of his pnieeses, who are of his council) revealed the plot of the Massachusetts before spoken of, against Master Weston's Colony, and so against us, saying that the people of Nauset, Pamet, Succonet Mattachiest, Manomet, Angawam, and the Isle of Capawack, were joined with them; himself also in his sickness was earnestly solicited, but he would neither join therein, nor give way to any of his. Therefore as we respected the lives of our countrymen, and our own after safety, he advised us to kill the men of Massachusetts, who were the authors of this intended mischief. And whereas we were wont to say, we would not strike a stroke till they first begun; if said he upon this intelligence, they make that answer, tell them, when their countrymen at Wessagussett are killed, they being not able to defend themselves, that then it will be too late to recover their lives, nay through the multitude of adversaries they shall with great difficulty preserve their own, and therefore he counseled without delay to take away the principals, and then the plot would cease. With this he charged him thoroughly to acquaint me by the way, that I might inform the Governor thereof at my first coming home. Being fitted for our return, we took our leave of him, who returned many thanks to our Governor, and also to ourselves for our labor and love: the like did all that were about him. So we departed.

That night through the earnest reque st of Corbitant, who till now remained at Sowams or Pokanoket, we lodged with him at Mattapuyst. By the way I had much conference with him; so likewise at his house, he being a notable politician, yet full of merry jests and squibs, and never better pleased than when the like are returned again upon him. Amongst other things he asked me, If in case he were thus dangerously sick, as Massasoit had been, and should send word thereof to Patuxet for *maskiet*, that is, physic, whether then Mr. Governor would send it? And if he would, whether I would come therewith to him? To both which I answered yea, whereat he gave me many joyful thanks. After that, being at his house he demanded further, how we durst being but two come so far into the country? I answered, where was true love there was no fear, and my heart was so upright towards them that for mine own part I was fearless to come amongst them. But, said he, if your love be such, and it bring forth such fruits, how cometh it to pass, that when we come to Patuxet, you stand upon your guard, with the mouths of your pieces presented towards us? Whereunto I answered, it was the most honorable and respective entertainment we could give them; it being an order amongst us so to receive our best respected friends: and as it was used on the land, so the ships observed it also at sea, which Hobomok knew, and had seen observed. But shaking the head he answered, that he liked not such salutations.

Further, observing us to crave a blessing on our meat before we did eat, and after to give thanks for the same, he asked us what was the meaning of that ordinary custom? Hereupon I took occasion to tell them of God's works of creation, and preservation, of his laws and ordinances, especially of the ten commandments, all which they hearkened unto with great attention, and liked well of: only the seventh commandment they excepted against, thinking there were many inconveniences in it, that a man should be tied to one woman: about which we reasoned a good time. Also I told them that whatsoever good things we had, we received from God, as the author and giver thereof,

and therefore craved his blessing upon that we had, and were about to eat, that it might nourish and strengthen our bodies, and having eaten sufficient, being satisfied therewith, we again returned thanks to the same our God for that our refreshing, etc. This all of them concluded to be very well, and said, they believed almost all the same things, and that the same power that we called God, they called Kiehtan. Much profitable conference was occasioned hereby, which would be too tedious to relate, yet was no less delightful to them, then comfortable to us. Here we remained only that night, but never had better entertainment amongst any of them.

The day following, in our journey, Hobomok told me of the private conference he had with Massasoit, and how he charged him perfectly to acquaint me therewith (as I showed before) which having done, he used many arguments himself to move us hereunto; that night we lodged at Nemasket, and the day following about the mid-way between it and home, we met two Indians, who told us that Captain Standish was that day gone to the Massachusetts: but contrary winds again drive him back, so that we found him at home; where the Indian of Pamet still was, being very importunate that the Captain should take the first opportunity of a fair wind to go with him, but their secret and villainous purposes being through God's mercy now made known, the Governor caused Captain Standish to send him away without any distaste or manifestation of anger, that we might the better effect and bring to pass that which should be thought most necessary.

Before this journey we heard many complaints both by the Indians and some others of best desert amongst Master Weston's Colony, how exceedingly their Company abased themselves by indirect means, to get victuals from the Indians, who dwelt not far from them, fetching them wood and water, etc. and all for a meal's meat, whereas in the mean time, they might with diligence have gotten enough to have served them three or four times. Other by night brake the earth, and robbed the Indian's store, for which they had been publicly stocked and whipped, and yet was there small amendment. This was about the end of February, at which time they had spent all their bread and corn, not leaving any for seed, neither would the Indians lend or sell them any more upon any terms. Hereupon they had thoughts to take it by violence, and to that spiked up every entrance into their town (being well impaled) save one, with a full resolution to proceed. But some more honestly minded, advised John Sanders their overseer first to write to Plymouth, and if the Governor advised him thereunto, he might the better do it. This course was well liked, and an Indian was sent with all speed with a letter to our Governor, the contents whereof were to this effect; that being in great want, and their people daily falling down, he intended to go to Mohegan, where was a plantation of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, to buy bread from the ships that came thither a fishing, with the first opportunity of wind; but knew not how the Colony would be preserved till his return: he had used all means both to buy and borrow of Indians whom he knew to be stored, and he thought maliciously withheld it, and therefore was resolved to take it by violence, and only waited the return of the Messenger, which he desired should be hastened, craving his advice therein, promising also to make restitution afterward. The Governor upon the receipt hereof, asked the messenger what store of corn they had, as if he had intended to buy of them; who answered very little more than that they reserved for seed, having already spared all they could. Forthwith the Governor and his Assistant sent for many of us to advise with them herein, who after serious consideration, no way approving of this

intended course, the Governor answered his letter, and caused many of us to set our hands thereto, the contents whereof were to this purpose: we altogether disliked their intendment, as being against the law of God and nature, showing how it would cross the worthy ends and proceedings of the King's Majesty, and his honorable Council for this place, both in respect of the peaceable enlarging of His Majesty's Dominions, and also of the propagation of the knowledge and law of God, and the glad tidings of salvation, which we and they were bound to seek, and were not to use such means as would breed a distrust in the savages against our persons and professions, assuring them their Master would incur much blame hereby, neither could they answer the same; for our own parts our case was almost the same with theirs, having but a small quantity of corn left, and were enforced to live on ground nuts, clams, mussels, and such other things as naturally the country afforded, and which did and would maintain strength, and were easy to be gotten, all which things they had in great abundance, yea, oysters also which we wanted, and therefore necessity could not be said to constrain them thereunto. Moreover, that they should consider, if they proceeded therein, all they could so get would maintain them but a small time, and then they must perforce seek their food abroad, which having made the Indians their enemies, would be very difficult for them, and therefore much better to begin a little the sooner, and so continue their peace, upon which course they might with good conscience desire and expect the blessing of God, whereas on the contrary they could not.

Also that they should consider their own weakness, being most swelled, and diseased in their bodies, and therefore the more unlikely to make their party good against them, and that they should not expect help from us in that or any the like unlawful actions. Lastly, that howsoever some of them might escape, yet the principal agents should expect no better than the gallows, whosoever any special officer should be sent over by His Majesty, or his Council for New England, which we expected, and who would undoubtedly call them to account for the same. These were the contents of our answer, which was directed to their whole colony. Another particular letter our Governor sent to John Sanders, showing how dangerous it would be for him above all others, being he was their leader and commander; and therefore in friendly manner advised him to desist.

With these letters we dispatched the messenger; upon the receipt whereof they altered their determination, resolving to shift as they could, till the return of John Sanders from Mohegan, who first coming to Plymouth, notwithstanding our own necessities, the Governor spared him some corn to carry them to Mohegan. But not having sufficient for the ship's store, he took a shallop and leaving others with instructions to oversee things till his return, set forward about the end of February, so that he knew not of this conspiracy of the Indians before his going; neither was it known to any of us till our return from Sowams or Pokanoket: at which time also another Sachem called Wassapinewat, brother to Obtakiest the Sachem of the Massachusetts, who had formerly smarted for partaking with Corbitant, and fearing the like again, to purge himself revealed the same thing.

The three and twentieth of March being now come, which is a yearly Court day, the Governor having a double testimony, and many circumstances agreeing with the truth thereof, not being to undertake war without the consent of the body of the Company; made known the same in public court, offering it to the consideration of the Company, it

being high time to come to resolution, how sudden soever it seemed to them, fearing it would be put in execution before we could give any intelligence thereof. This business was no less troublesome than grievous, and the more, because it is so ordinary in these times for men to measure things by the events thereof: but especially for that we knew no means to deliver our Countrymen and preserve ourselves, than by returning their malicious and cruel purposes upon their own heads, and causing them to fall into the same pity they had digged for others, though it much grieved us to shed the blood of those whose good we ever intended and aimed at, as a principal in all our proceedings. But in the end we came to this public conclusion, that because it was a matter of such weight as every man was not of sufficiency to judge, nor fitness to know because of many other Indians which daily as occasion serveth converse with us; therefore the Governor, his Assistant, and the Captain, should take such to themselves as they thought most meet, and conclude thereof; which done we came to this conclusion, that Captain Standish should take so many men as he thought sufficient to make his party good against all the Indians in the Massachusetts Bay; and because (as all men know that have had to do in that kind) it is impossible to deal with them upon open defiance, but to take them in such traps as they lay for others; therefore he should pretend trade as at other times: but first go to the English and acquaint them with the plot, and the end of his own coming, that comparing it with their carriages towards them he might the better judge of the certainty of it, and more fitly take opportunity to revenge the same: but should forbear if it were possible till such time as he could make sure Wituwamat, that bloody and bold villain before spoken of, whose head he had order to bring with him, that he might be a warning and terror to all of that disposition. Upon this Captain Standish made choice of eight men, and would not take more because he would prevent jealousy, knowing their guilty consciences would soon be provoked thereunto: but on the next day before he could go, came one of Mr. Weston's Company by land unto us, with his pack at his back, who made a pitiful narration of their lamentable and weak estate, and of the Indians carriages, whose boldness increased abundantly, insomuch as the victuals they got they would take it out of their pots and eat before their faces, yea if in anything they gainsaid them, they were ready to hold a knife at their breasts; that to give them content, since John Sanders went to Mohegan, they had hanged one of them that stole their corn, and yet they regarded it not; that another of their company was turned savage, that their people had most forsaken the town, and made their rendezvous where they got their victuals, because they would not take pains to bring it home; that they had sold their clothes for corn, and were ready to starve both with cold and hunger also, because they could not endure to get victuals by reason of their nakedness; and that they were dispersed into three companies scarce having any powder and shot left. What would be the event of these things (he said) he much feared; and therefore not daring to stay any longer among them, though he knew not the way yet adventured to come to us, partly to make known their weak and dangerous estate, as he conceived, and partly to desire he might there remain till things were better settled at the other plantation. As this relation was grievous to us, so it gave us good encouragement to proceed in our intendments, for which Captain Standish was now fitted, and the wind coming fair, the next day set forth for the Massachusetts.

The Indians at the Massachusetts missed this man, and suspecting his coming to us as we conceive, sent one after him and gave out there that he would never come to

Patuxet, but that some wolves or bears would eat him: but we know both by our own experience and the report of others, that though they find a man sleeping, yet so soon as there is life discerned they fear and shun him. This Indian missed him but very little, and missing him passed by the town and went to Manomet, whom we hoped to take at his return, as afterward we did. Now was our fort made fit for service and some ordnance mounted; and though it may seem long work it being ten months since it begun, yet we must note, that where so great a work is begun with such small means, a little time cannot bring to perfection: beside those works which tend to the preservation of man, the enemy of mankind will hinder what in him lieth, sometimes blinding the judgment and causing reasonable men to reason against their own safety, as amongst us diverse seeing the work prove tedious, would have dissuaded from proceeding, flattering themselves with peace and security, and accounting it rather a work of superfluity and vain-glory, than simple necessity. But God (whose providence hath waked and as I may say, watched for us whilst we slept) having determined to preserve us from these intended treacheries, undoubtedly ordained this as a special means to advantage us and discourage our adversaries, and therefore so stirred up the hearts of the Governors and other forward instruments, as the work was just made serviceable against this needful and dangerous time, though we ignorant of the same. But that I may proceed, the Indian last mentioned in his return from Manomet, came through the town pretending still friendship and in love to see us, but as formerly others, so his end was to see whether we continued still in health and strength, or fell into weakness like their neighbors, which they hoped and looked for (though God in mercy provided better for us) and he knew would be glad tidings to his countrymen. But here the Governor stayed him, and sending for him to the fort, there gave the Guard charge of him as their prisoner, where he told him he must be contented to remain till the return of Captain Standish from the Massachusetts, so he was locked in a chain to a staple in the Court of Guard, and there kept. Thus was our fort hanselled, this being the first day as I take it, that ever any watch was there kept.

The Captain being now come to the Massachusetts, went first to the ship, but found neither man, or so much as a dog therein: upon the discharge of a musket the master and some others of the plantation showed themselves, who were on the shore gathering ground-nuts, and getting other food. After salutation Captain Standish asked them how they durst so leave the ship and live in such security, who answered like men senseless of their own misery, they feared not the Indians, but lived and suffered them to lodge with them, not having sword, or gun, or needing the same. To which the Captain answered, if there were no cause he was the gladder, but upon further inquiry, understanding that those in whom John Sanders had received most special confidence and left in his stead to govern the rest were at the plantation, thither he went, and to be brief, made known the Indians' purpose and the end of his own coming, as also (which formerly I omitted) that if afterward they durst not there stay, it was the intendment of the Governors and people of Plymouth there to receive them till they could be better provided: but if they conceived of any other course that might be more likely for their good, that himself should further them therein to the uttermost of his power. These men comparing other circumstances with that they now heard, answered, they could expect no better, and it was God's mercy that they were not killed before his coming, desiring therefore that he would neglect no opportunity to proceed: hereupon he advised them to secrecy, yet withal to send special command to one third of their company that were

farthest off to come home, and there enjoin them on pain of death to keep the town, himself allowing them a pint of Indian corn to a man for a day (though that store he had was spared out of our seed.) The weather proving very wet and stormy, it was the longer before he could do anything.

In the meantime an Indian came to him and brought some furs, but rather to gather what he could from the Captain's, than coming then for trade; and though the Captain carried things as smoothly as possibly he could, yet at his return he reported he saw by his eyes that he was angry in his heart, and therefore began to suspect themselves discovered. This caused one Pecksuot who was a pniese, being a man of a notable spirit to come to Hobomok who was then with them, and told him he understood that the Captain was come to kill himself and the rest of the savages there, tell him said he we know it, but fear him not, neither will we shun him; but let him begin when he dare, he shall not take us at unawares: many times after diverse of them severally, or few together, came to the plantation to him, where they would whet and sharpen the points of their knives before his face, and use many other insulting gestures and speeches. Amongst the rest, Wituwamat bragged of the excellency of his knife, on the end of the handle there was pictured a woman's face, but said he, I have another at home wherewith I have killed both French and English, and that hath a man's face on it, and by and by these two must marry: further he said of that knife he there had; *Hinnaim namen, hinnaim michen, matta cuts*: that is to say, By and by it should see, and by and by it should eat, but not speak. Also Pecksuot being a man of greater stature than the Captain, told him though he were a great Captain, yet he was but a little man: and said he, though I be no Sachem, yet I am a man of great strength and courage. These things the Captain observed, yet bare with patience for the present. On the next day, seeing he could not get many of them together at once, and this Pecksuot and Wituwamat both together, with another man, and a youth of some eighteen years of age, which was brother to Wituwamat, and villain-like trod in his steps, daily putting many tricks upon the weaker sort of men, and having about as many of his own company in a room with them, gave the word to his men, and the door being fast shut began himself with Pecksuot, and snatching his own knife from his neck though with much struggling killed him therewith, the point whereof he had made as sharp as a needle, and ground the back also to an edge: Wituwamat and the other man, the rest killed, and took the youth, whom the Cap. caused to be hanged; but it is incredible how many wounds these two pnieses received before they died, not making any fearful noise, but catching their weapons and striving to the last. Hobomok stood by all this time as a spectator and meddled not, observing how our men demeaned themselves in this action; all being here ended, smiling he brake forth into these speeches to the Captain, "Yesterday Pecksuot bragging of his own strength and stature, said, though you were a great Captain yet you were but a little man; but today I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground." But to proceed, there being some women at the same time, Captain Standish left them in the custody of Mr. Weston's people at the town, and sent word to another company that had intelligence of things to kill those Indian men that were amongst them, these killed two more: himself also with some of his own men went to another place, where they killed another, and through the negligence of one man an Indian escaped, who discovered and crossed their proceedings.

Not long before this execution, three of Mr. Weston's men which more regarded their bellies than any command or commander, having formerly fared well with the

Indians for making them canoes, went again to the Sachem to offer their service, and had entertainment. The first night they came thither within night late came a messenger with all speed, and delivered a sad and short message: Whereupon all the men gathered together, put on their boots and breeches, trussed up themselves, and took their bows and arrows and went forth, telling them they went a hunting, and that at their return they should have venison enough. Being now gone, one being more ancient and wise than the rest, calling former things to mind, especially the Captain's presence, and the strait charge that on pain of death none should go a musket shot from the plantation, and comparing this sudden departure of theirs therewith, began to dislike and wish himself at home again, which was further off than divers other dwelt. Hereupon he moved his fellows to return, but could not persuade them: so there being none but women left and the other that was turned savage, about midnight came away, forsaking the paths, lest he should be pursued; and by this means saved his life.

Captain Standish took one half of his men, and one or two of Mr. Weston's, and Hobomok, still seeking to make spoil of them and theirs. At length they espied a file of Indians which made towards them amain, and there being a small advantage in the ground, by reason of a hill near them, both companies strove for it; Captain Standish got it, whereupon they retreated, and took each man his tree, letting fly their arrows amain, especially at himself and Hobomok, whereupon Hobomok cast off his coat, and being a known pnieise, (theirs being now killed) chased them so fast as our people were not able to hold way with him; insomuch as our men could have but one certain mark and then but the arm and half face of a notable villain as he drew at Captain Standish, who together with another both discharged at once at him, and brake his arm; whereupon they fled into a swamp, when they were in the thicket they parleyed, but to small purpose, getting nothing but foul language. So our Captain dared the sachem to come out and fight like a man, showing how base and woman-like he was in tonguing it as he did: but he refused and fled. So the Captain returned to the plantation, where he released the women, and would not take their beaver coats from them, nor suffer the least courtesy to be offered them. Now were Mr. Weston's people resolved to leave their plantation and go for Mohegan, hoping to get passage and return with the fishing ships. The Captain told them, that for his own part he durst there live with fewer men than they were, yet since they were otherways minded, according to his order from the Governors and people of Plymouth he would help them with corn competent for their provision by the way, which he did, scarce leaving himself more than brought them home. Some of them disliked the choice of the body to go to Mohegan, and therefore desiring to go with him to Plymouth, he took them into the shallop: and seeing them set sail and clear of the Massachusetts Bay, he took leave and returned to Plymouth, whither he came in safety (blessed be God) and brought the head of Wituwamat with him.

Amongst the rest there was an Indian youth that was ever of a courteous and loving disposition towards us, he notwithstanding the death of his countrymen came to the Captain without fear, saying his good conscience and love towards us emboldened him so to do. This youth confessed that the Indians intended to kill Mr. Weston's people, and not to delay any longer than till they had two more canoes or boats, which Mr. Weston's men would have finished by this time (having made them three already) had not the Captain prevented them, and the end of stay for those boats, was to take their ship therewith.

Now was the Captain returned and received with joy, and the head being brought to the fort and there set up; the Governors and Captains with divers others went up the same further to examine the prisoner, who looked piteously on the head, being asked whether he knew it, he answered, yea: then he confessed the plot, and that all the people provoked Obtakiest their Sachem thereunto, being drawn to it by their importunity: Five there were (he said) that prosecuted it with more eagerness than the rest, the two principal were killed, being Pecksuot and Wituwamat, whose head was there, the other three were Powahs, being yet living, and known unto us, though one of them was wounded, as aforesaid. For himself he would not acknowledge that he had any hand therein, begging earnest for his life, saying, he was not a Massachusetts man, but as a stranger lived with them. Hobomok also gave a good report of him, and besought for him but was bribed so to do: nevertheless, that we might show mercy as well as extremity, the Governor released him, and the rather because we desired he might carry a message to Obtakiest his master. No sooner were the irons from his legs, but he would have been gone, but the Governor bid him stay and fear not, for he should receive no hurt, and by Hobomok commanded him to deliver this message to his master; That for our parts, it never entered into our hearts to take such a course with them, till their own treachery enforced us hereunto, and therefore might thank themselves for their own overthrow, yet since he had begun, if again by any the like courses he did provoke him, his country should not hold him, for he would never suffer him or his to rest in peace, till he had utterly consumed them, and therefore should take this as a warning. Further, that he should send to Patuxet the three Englishmen he had and not kill them; also that he should not spoil the pale and houses at Wessagussett, and that this messenger should either bring the English, or an answer, or both, promising his safe return.

This message was delivered, and the party would have returned with answer, but was at first dissuaded by them, whom afterward they would but could not persuade to come to us. At length (though long) a woman came and told us that Obtakiest was sorry that the English were killed before he heard from the Governor, otherwise he would have sent them. Also she said, he would fain make his peace again with us, but none of his men durst come to treat about it, having forsaken his dwelling, and daily removed from place to place, expecting when we would take further vengeance on him.

Concerning those other people that intended to join with the Massachusetts against us, though we never went against any of them, yet this sudden and unexpected execution, together with the just judgment of God upon their guilty consciences, hath so terrified and amazed them, as in like manner they forsook their houses, running to and fro like men distracted, living in swamps and other desert places, and so brought manifold diseases amongst themselves, whereof very many are dead, as Canacum the Sachem of Manomet, Aspinet, the Sachem of Nauset, and Iyanough, Sachem of Mattachiest. This Sachem in his life, in the midst of these distractions, said the God of the English was offended with them, and would destroy them in his anger, and certainly it is strange to hear how many of late have, and still daily die amongst them, neither is there any likelihood it will easily cease, because through fear they set little or no corn, which is the staff of life, and without which they cannot long preserve health and strength. From one of these places a boat was sent with presents to the Governor, hoping thereby to work their peace, but the boat was cast away, and three of the persons drowned, not far from

our plantation, only one escaped, who durst not come to us, but returned, so as none of them dare come amongst us.

I fear I have been too tedious both in this and other things, yet when I considered how necessary a thing it is that the truth and grounds of this action, especially should be made known, and the several dispositions of that dissolved Colony, whose reports undoubtedly will be as various, I could not but enlarge myself where I thought to be most brief, neither durst I be too brief, least I should eclipse and rob God of that honor, glory, and praise, which belongeth to him for preserving us from falling when we were at the pits brim, and yet feared nor knew not that we were in danger.

The month of April being now come on all hands we began to prepare for corn. And because there was no corn left before this time, save that was preserved for seed, being also hopeless of relief by supply, we thought best to leave off all other works, and prosecute that as most necessary. And because there was no small hope of doing good in that common course of labor that formerly we were in, for that the Governors that followed men to their labors, had nothing to give men for their necessities, and therefore could not so well exercise that command over them therein as formerly they had done, especially considering that self-love wherewith every man (in a measure more or less) loveth and preferreth his own good before his neighbors, and also the base disposition of some drones, that as at other times so now especially would be most burdensome to the rest; it was therefore thought best that every man should use the best diligence he could, for his own preservation, both in respect of the time present, and to prepare his own corn for the year following: and bring in a competent portion for the maintenance of public officers, fishermen, etc. which could not be freed from their calling without greater inconveniences. This course was to continue till harvest, and then the Governors to gather in the appointed portion, for the maintenance of themselves and such others as necessity constrained to exempt from this condition. Only if occasion served upon any special service they might employ such as they thought most fit to execute the same, during this appointed time, and at the end thereof all men to be employed by them in such service as they thought most necessary for the general good. And because there is great difference in the ground, that therefore a set quantity should be set down for a person, and each man to have his fall by lot, as being most just and equal, and against which no man could except.

At a general meeting of the Company, many courses were propounded, but this approved and followed, as being the most likely for the present and future good of the Company; and therefore before this month began to prepare our ground against seed-time. In the midst of April we began to set, the weather being then seasonable, which much encouraged us, giving us good hopes of after plenty: the setting season is good till the latter end of May. But it pleased God for our further chastisement, to send a great drought, insomuch, as in six weeks after the latter setting there scarce fell any rain, so that the stalk of that was first set began to send forth the ear before it came to half growth, and that which was later, not like to yield any at all, both blade and stalk hanging the head, and changing the color in such manner, as we judged it utterly dead: our beans also ran not up according to their wonted manner, but stood at a stay, many being parched away, as though they had been scorched before the fire. Now were our hopes overthrown, and we discouraged, our joy being turned into mourning.

To add also to this sorrowful estate in which we were, we heard of a supply that was sent unto us many months since, which having two repulses before, was a third time in company of another ship three hundred leagues at sea, and now in three months time heard no further of her, only the signs of a wrack were seen on the coast, which could not be judged to be any other than the same. So that at once God seemed to deprive us of all future hopes. The most courageous were now discouraged, because God which hitherto had been our only shield and supporter, now seemed in his anger to arm himself against us; and who can withstand the fierceness of his wrath.

These, and the like considerations moved not only every good man privately to enter into examination with his own estate between God and his conscience, and so to humiliation before him: but also more solemnly to humble ourselves together before the Lord by fasting and prayer. To that end a day was appointed by public authority, and set apart from all other employments, hoping that the same God which had stirred us up hereunto, would be moved hereby in mercy to look down upon us, and grant the request of our dejected souls, if our continuance there might any way stand with his glory and our good. But oh the mercy of our God! Who was as ready to hear as we to ask: For though in the morning when we assembled together, the heavens were as clear and the drought as like to continue as ever it was: yet (our exercise continuing some eight or nine hours) before our departure the weather was over-cast, the clouds gathered together on all sides, and on the next morning distilled such soft, sweet, and moderate showers of rain, continuing some fourteen days, and mixed with such seasonable weather, as it was hard to say whether our withered corn or drooping affections were most quickened or revived. Such was the bounty and goodness of our God. Of this the Indians by means of Hobomok took notice: who being then in the town, and this exercise in the midst of the week, said, it was but three days since Sunday, and therefore demanded of a boy what was the reason thereof? Which when he knew and saw what effects followed thereupon, he and all of them admired the goodness of our God towards us, that wrought so great a change in so short a time, showing the difference between their conjuration, and our invocation on the name of God for rain; theirs being mixed with such storms and tempests, as sometimes instead of doing them good, it layeth the corn flat on the ground, to their prejudice: but ours in so gentle and seasonable a manner, as they never observed the like.

At the same time Captain Standish being formerly employed by the Governor to buy provisions for the refreshing of the Colony, returned with the same, accompanied with one Mr. David Thompson, a Scotchman, who also that spring began a plantation twenty-five leagues northeast from us, near Smith's Isles, at a place called Piscataqua, where he liketh well. Now also heard we of the third repulse that our supply had, of their safe though dangerous return into England, and of their preparation to come to us. So that having these many signs of God's favor and acceptation, we thought it would be great ingratitude, if secretly we should smother up the same, or content ourselves with private thanksgiving for that which by private prayer could not be obtained. And therefore another solemn day was set apart and appointed for that end, wherein we returned glory, honor, and praise, with all thankfulness to our good God, which dealt so graciously with us, whose name for these and all other his mercies towards his Church and chosen ones, by them be blessed and praised now and evermore, Amen.

In the latter end of July and the beginning of August, came two ships with supply unto us, who brought all their passengers, except one, in health, who recovered in short

time, who also notwithstanding, all our wants and hardship (blessed be God) found not any one sick person amongst us at the plantation. The bigger ship called the *Anne* was hired, and there again freighted back, from whence we set sail the tenth of September. The lesser called the *Little James*, was built for the company at their charge. She was now also fitted for trade and discovery to the southward of Cape Cod, and almost ready to set sail, whom I pray God to bless in her good and lawful proceedings.

Thus have I made a true and full narration of the state of our Plantation, and such things as were most remarkable therein since December 1621. If I have omitted anything, it is either through weakness of memory, or because I judged it not material: I confess my style rude, and unskillfulness in the task I undertook, being urged hereunto by opportunity, which I knew to be wanting in others, and but for which I would not have undertaken the same; yet as it is rude so it is plain, and therefore the easier to be understood; wherein others may see that which we are bound to acknowledge, viz. That if ever any people in these later ages were upheld by the providence of God after a more special manner than others, then we: and therefore are the more bound to celebrate the memory of his goodness, with everlasting thankfulness. For in these forenamed straits, such was our state, as in the morning we had often our food to seek for the day, and yet performed the duties of our callings, I mean other daily labors, to provide for after time: and though at some times in some seasons at noon I have seen men stagger by reason of faintness for want of food, yet ere night by the good providence and blessing of God, we have enjoyed such plenty as though the windows of heaven had been opened unto us. How few, weak, and raw were we at our first beginning, and there settling, and in the midst of barbarous enemies? Yet God wrought our peace for us. How often have we been at the pit's brim, and in danger to be swallowed up, yea, not knowing, till afterward that we were in peril? And yet God preserved us: yea, and from how many that we yet know not of, he that knoweth all things can best tell: so that when I seriously consider of things, I cannot but think that God hath a purpose to give that land as an inheritance to our nation, and great pity it were that it should long lie in so desolate a state, considering it agreeth so well with the constitution of our bodies, being both fertile, and so temperate for heat and cold, as in that respect one can scarce distinguish New England from Old.

A few things I thought meet to add hereunto, which I have observed amongst the Indians, both touching their religion, and sundry other customs amongst them. And first, whereas myself and others, in former letters (which came to the press against my will and knowledge) wrote, that the Indians about us are a people without any religion, or knowledge of any God, therein I erred, though we could then gather no better: For as they conceive of many divine powers, so of one whom they call Kiehtan, to be the principal and maker of all the rest, and to be made by none: He (they say) created the heavens, earth, sea, and all creatures contained therein. Also that he made one man and one woman, of whom they and we and all mankind came: but how they became so far dispersed that know they not. At first they say, there was no Sachem, or King, but Kiehtan, who dwelleth above in the Heavens, whither all good men go when they die, to see their friends, and have their fill of all things: This his habitation lyeth far westward in the heavens, they say; thither the bad men go also, and knock at his door, but he bids them *Quatchet*, that is to say, "Walk abroad," for there is no place for such; so that they wander in restless want and penury: never man saw this Kiehtan; only old men tell them of him, and bid them tell their children, yea, to charge them to teach their posterities the

same, and lay the like charge upon them. This power they acknowledge to be good, and when they would obtain any great matter, meet together, and cry unto him, and so likewise for plenty, victory, etc. sing, dance, feast, give thanks, and hang up garlands and other things in memory of the same.

Another power they worship, whom they call Hobomok, and to the northward of us Hobbamoqui; this as far as we can conceive is the Devil, him they call upon to cure their wounds and diseases. When they are curable, he persuades them he sends the same for some conceived anger against them, but upon their calling upon him can and doth help them: But when they are mortal, and not curable in nature, then he persuades them Kiehtan is angry and sends them, whom none can cure: in so much, as in that respect only they somewhat doubt whether he be simply good, and therefore in sickness never call upon him.

This Hobomok appears in sundry forms unto them, as in the shape of a man, a deer, a fawn, an eagle, etc. but most ordinarily a snake: He appears not to all but the chiefest and most judicious amongst them, though all of them strive to attain to that hellish height of honor.

He appeareth most ordinary and is most conversant with three sorts of people, one I confess I neither know by name nor office directly: of these they have few but esteem highly of them, and think that no weapon can kill them: another they call by the name of Powah, and the third Pniese.

The office and duty of the Powah is to be exercised principally in calling upon the Devil, and curing diseases of the sick or wounded. The common people join with him in the exercise of invocation, but do but only assent, or as we term it, say Amen to that he saith, yet sometime break out into a short musical note with him. The Powah is eager and free in speech, fierce in countenance, and joineth many antic and laborious gestures with the same over the party diseased. If the party be wounded he will also seem to suck the wound, but if they be curable (as they say) he toucheth it not, but a *skooke*, that is the snake, or *wobsacuck*, that is the eagle, sitteth on his shoulder and licks the same. This none see but the Powah, who tells them he doth it himself. If the party be otherwise diseased, it is accounted sufficient if in any shape he but come into the house, taking it for an undoubted sign of recovery.

And as in former ages Apollo had his temple at Delphos, and Diana at Ephesus; so have I heard them call upon some as if they had their residence in some certain places, or because they appeared in those forms in the same. In the Powahs speech he promiseth to sacrifice many skins of beasts, kettles, hatchets, beads knives, and other the best things they have to the fiend, if he will come to help the party diseased: But whether they perform it I know not. The other practices I have seen, being necessarily called at some times to be with their sick, and have used the best arguments I could make them understand against the same: They have told me I should see the Devil at those times come to the party, but I assured myself and them of the contrary, which so proved: yea, themselves have confessed they never saw him when any of us were present. In desperate and extraordinary hard travail in childbirth, when the party cannot be delivered by the ordinary means, they send for this Powah though ordinarily their travail is not so extreme as in our parts of the world, they being of a more hardy nature; for on the third day after childbirth I have seen the mother with the infant upon a small occasion in cold weather in a boat upon the sea.

Many sacrifices the Indians use, and in some cases kill children. It seemeth they are various in their religious worship in a little distance, and grow more and more cold in their worship to Kiehtan; saying in their memory he was much more called upon. The Narragansetts exceed in their blind devotion, and have a great spacious house wherein only some few (that are as we may term them priests) come: thither at certain known times resort all their people, and offer almost all the riches they have to their gods, as kettles, skins, hatchets, beads, knives, etc. all which are cast by the Priests into a great fire that they make in the midst of the house, and there consumed to ashes. To this offering every man bringeth freely, and the more he is known to bring, hath the better esteem of all men. This the other Indians about us approve of as good, and wish their Sachems would appoint the like: and because the plague hath not reigned at Narragansetts as at other places about them, they attribute to this custom there used.

The pnieeses are men of great courage and wisdom, and to these also the Devil appeareth more familiarly than to others, and as we conceive maketh covenant with them to preserve them from death, by wounds, with arrows, knives, hatchets, etc. or at least both themselves and especially the people think themselves to be freed from the same. And though against their battles all of them by painting disfigure themselves, yet they are known by their courage and boldness, by reason whereof one of them will chase almost an hundred men, for they account it death for whomsoever stand in their way. These are highly esteemed of all sorts of people, and are of the Sachem's Council, without whom they will not war or undertake any weighty bus iness. In war their Sachems for their more safety go in the midst of them. They are commonly men of the greatest stature and strength, and such as will endure most hardness, and yet are more discreet, courteous, and humane in their carriages than any amongst them scorning theft, lying, and the like base dealings, and stand as much upon their reputation as any men.

And to the end they may have store of these, they train up the most forward and likeliest boys from their childhood in great hardness, and make them abstain from dainty meat, observing divers orders prescribed, to the end that when they are of age the Devil may appear to them, causing to drink the juice of sentry and other bitter herbs till they cast, which they must disgorge into the platter, and drink again, and again, till at length through extraordinary oppressing of nature it will seem to be all blood, and this the boys will do with eagerness at the first, and so continue till by reason of faintness they can scarce stand on their legs, and then must go forth into the cold: also they beat their shins with sticks, and cause them to run through bushes, stumps, and brambles, to make them hardy and acceptable to the Devil, that in time he may appear unto them.

Their Sachems cannot be all called Kings, but only some few of them, to whom the rest resort for protection, and pay homage unto them, neither may they war without their knowledge and approbation, yet to be commanded by the greater as occasion serveth. Of this sort is Massasoit our friend, and Conanacus of Narragansett our supposed enemy.

Every Sachem taketh care for the widow and fatherless, also for such as are aged, and any way maimed, if their friends be dead or not able to provide for them.

A Sachem will not take any to wife but such an one as is equal to him in birth, otherwise they say their seed would in time become ignoble, and though they have many other wives, yet are they no other than concubines or servants, and yield a kind of obedience to the principal, who ordereth the family, and them in it. The like their men

observe also, and will adhere to the first during their lives; but put away the other at their pleasure.

This government is successive and not by choice. If the father die before the son or daughter be of age, then the child is committed to the protection and tuition of some one amongst them, who ruleth in his stead till he be of age, but when that is I know not.

Every Sachem knoweth how far the bounds and limits of his own country extendeth, and that is his own proper inheritance, out of that if any of his men desire land to set their corn, he giveth them as much as they can use, and sets them their bounds. In this circuit whosoever hunteth, if they kill any venison, bring him his fee, which is the fore parts of the same, if it be killed on the land, but if in the water, then the skin thereof: The great Sachems or Kings, know their own bounds or limits of land, as well as the rest.

All travelers or strangers for the most part lodge at the Sachems, when they come they tell them how long they will stay, and to what place they go, during which time they receive entertainment according to their persons, but want not.

Once a year the Pniezes use to provoke the people to bestow much corn on the Sachem. To that end they appoint a certain time and place near the Sachem's dwelling, where the people bring many baskets of corn, and make a great stack thereof. There the pniezes stand ready to give thanks to the people on the Sachem's behalf, and after acquainteth the Sachem therewith, who fetcheth the same, and is no less thankful, bestowing many gifts on them.

When any are visited with sickness, their friends resort unto them for their comfort, and continue with them oft-times till their death or recovery. If they die they stay a certain time to mourn for them. Night and morning they perform this duty many days after the burial in a most doleful manner, insomuch as though it be ordinary and the note musical, which they take one from another, and all together, yet it will draw tears from their eyes, and almost from ours also. But if they recover then because their sickness was chargeable, they send corn and other gifts unto them at a certain appointed time, whereat they feast and dance, which they call *commoco*.

When they bury the dead they sew up the corps in a mat and so put it in the earth. If the party be a Sachem they cover him with many curious mats, and bury all his riches with him, and enclose the grave with a pale. If it be a child the father will also put his own most special jewels and ornaments in the earth with it, also will cut his hair and disfigure himself very much in token of sorrow. If it be the man or woman of the house, they will pull down the mattes and leave the frame standing, and bury them in or near the same, and either remove their dwelling or give over house-keeping.

The men employ themselves wholly in hunting, and other exercises of the bow, except at some times they take some pains in fishing.

The women live a most slavish life, they carry all their burdens, set and dress their corn, gather it in, seek out for much of their food, beat and make ready the corn to eat, and have all household care lying upon them.

The younger sort reverence the elder, and do all mean offices whilst they are together, although they be strangers. Boys and girls may not wear their hair like men and women, but are distinguished thereby.

A man is not accounted a man till he do some notable act, or show forth such courage and resolution as becometh his place. The men take much tobacco, but for boys so to do they account it odious.

All their names are significant and variable, for when they come to the state of men and women, they alter them according to their deeds or dispositions.

When a maid is taken in marriage the first cutteth her hair, and after weareth a covering on her head till her hair be grown out. Their women are diversely disposed, some as modest as they will scarce talk one with another in the company of men, being very chaste also; yet other some light, lascivious and wanton.

If a woman have a bad husband, or cannot affect him, and there be war or opposition between that and any other people, she will run away from him to the contrary party and there live, where they never come unwelcome: for where are most women, there is greatest plenty.

When a woman hath her monthly terms she separateth herself from all other company, and liveth certain days in a house alone: after which she washeth herself and all that she hath touched or used, and is again received to her husband's bed or family.

For adultery the husband will beat his wife and put her away, if he please. Some common strumpets there are as well as in other places, but they are such as either never married, or widows, or put away for adultery: for no man will keep such an one to wife.

In matters of unjust and dishonest dealing the Sachem examineth and punisheth the same. In case of thefts, for the first offense he is disgracefully rebuked, for the second beaten by the Sachem with a cudgel on the naked back, for the third he is beaten with many strokes, and hath his nose slit upward, that thereby all men may both know and shun him. If any man kill another, he must likewise die for the same. The Sachem not only passeth the sentence upon malefactors, but executeth the same with his own hands, if the party be then present; if not, sendeth his own knife in case of death, in the hands of others to perform the same. But if the offender be to receive other punishment, he will not receive the same but from the Sachem himself, before whom being naked he kneeleth, and will not offer to run away though he beat him never so much, it being a greater disparagement for a man to cry during the time of his correction, than is his offense and punishment.

As for their apparel they wear breeches and stockings in one like some Irish, which is made of deerskins, and have shoes of the same leather. They wear also a deer's skin loose about them like a cloak, which they will turn to the weather side. In this habit they travel, but when they are at home or come to their journey's end, presently they pull off their breeches, stockings, and shoes, wring out the water if they be wet, and dry them, and rub or chafe the same. Though these be off, yet have they another small garment that covereth their secrets. The men wear also when they go abroad in cold weather an otter or fox skin on their right arm, but only their bracer on the left. Women and all of that sex wear strings about their legs, which the men never do.

The people are very ingenious and observational, they keep account of time by the moon, and winters or summers; they know diverse of the stars by name, in particular, they know the North star and call it *maske*, which is to say the bear. Also they have many names for the winds. They will guess very well at the wind and weather before hand, by observations in the heavens. They report also, that some of them can cause the wind to blow in what part they list, can raise storms and tempests which they usually do when they intend the death or destruction of other people, that by reason of the unseasonable weather they may take advantage of their enemies in their houses. At such times they

perform their greatest exploits, and in such seasons when they are at enmity with any, they keep more careful watch than at other times.

As for the language it is very copious, large, and difficult, as yet we cannot attain to any great measure thereof; but can understand them, and explain ourselves to their understanding, by the help of those that daily converse with us. And though there be difference in an hundred miles distance of place, both in language and manners, yet not so much but that they very well understand each other. And thus much of their lives and manners.

Instead of records and chronicles, they take this course, where any remarkable act is done, in memory of it, either in the place, or by some pathway near adjoining, they make a round hole in the ground about a foot deep, and as much over, which when others passing by behold, they inquire the cause and occasion of the same, which being once known, they are careful to acquaint all men, as occasion serveth therewith. And least such holes should be filled, or grown up by any accident, as men pass by they will oft renew the same: by which means many things of great antiquity are fresh in memory. So that as a man travelleth, if he can understand his guide, his journey will be the less tedious, by reason of the many historical discourses will be related unto him.

In all this it may be said, I have neither praised nor dispraised the country: and since I lived so long therein, my judgment thereof will give no less satisfaction to them that know me, than the relation of our proceedings. To which I answer, that as in one so of the other, I will speak as sparingly as I can, yet will make known what I conceive thereof.

And first for that continent, on which we are called New England, although it hath ever been conceived by the English to be a part of that mainland adjoining to Virginia, yet by relation of the Indians it should appear to be otherwise: for they affirm confidently, that it is an island, and that either the Dutch or French pass through from sea to sea, between us and Virginia, and drive a great trade in the same. The name of that inlet of the sea they call Mohegan, which I take to be the same which we call Hudson's River, up which Master Hudson went many leagues, and for want of means (as I hear) left it undiscovered. For confirmation of this, their opinion is thus much; though Virginia be not above an hundred and fifty leagues from us, yet they never heard of Powhattan, or knew that any English were planted in his country, save only by us and Tisquantum, who went in an English ship thither: And therefore it is the more probable, because the water is not passable for them, who are very adventurous in their boats.

Then for the temperature of the air, in almost three years experience, I can scarce distinguish New England from Old England, in respect of heat, and cold, frost, snow, rain, winds, etc. Some object, because our plantation lieth in the latitude of 42° it must needs be much hotter. I confess, I cannot give the reason of the contrary; only experience teacheth us, that if it do exceed England, it is so little as must require better judgments to discern it. And for the winter, I rather think (if there be difference) it is both sharper and longer in New England than Old; and yet the want of those comforts in the one which I have enjoyed in the other, may deceive my judgment also. But in my best observation, comparing our own condition with the relations of other parts of America, I cannot conceive of any to agree better with the constitution of the English, not being oppressed with extremity of heat, nor nipped with biting cold, by which means, blessed be God, we

enjoy our health, notwithstanding, those difficulties we have undergone, in such a measure as would have been admired, if we had lived in England with the like means.

The day is two hours longer than here when it is at the shortest, and as much shorter there, when it is at the longest.

The soil is variable, in some places mould, in some clay, others, a mixed sand, etc. The chiefest grain is the Indian maize, or Guinea-wheat; the seed-time beginneth in midst of April, and continueth good till the midst of May. Our harvest beginneth with September. This corn increaseth in great measure, but is inferior in quantity to the same in Virginia, the reason I conceive, is because Virginia is far hotter than it is with us, it requiring great heat to ripen; but whereas it is objected against New England, that corn will not there grow, except the ground be manured with fish? I answer, that where men set with fish (as with us) it is more easy so to do than to clear ground and set without some five or six years, and so begin anew, as in Virginia and elsewhere. Not but that in some places, where they cannot be taken with ease in such abundance, the Indians set four years together without, and have as good corn or better than we have that set with them, though indeed I think if we had cattle to till the ground, it would be more profitable and better agreeable to the soil, to sow wheat, rye, barley, peas, and oats, than to set maize, which our Indians call *ewachim*: for we have had experience that they like and thrive well; and the other will not be procured without good labor and diligence, especially at seed-time, when it must also be watched by night to keep the wolves from the fish, till it be rotten, which will be in fourteen days; yet men agreeing together, and taking their turns it is not much.

Much might be spoken of the benefit that may come to such as shall here plant by trade with the Indians for furs, if men take a right course for obtaining the same, for I dare presume upon that small experience I have had, to affirm, that the English, Dutch, and French, return yearly many thousand pounds profits by trade only from that island, on which we are seated.

Tobacco may be there planted, but not with that profit as in some other places, neither were it profitable there to follow it, though the increase were equal, because fish is a better and richer commodity, and more necessary, which may be and are there had in as great abundance as in any other part of the world; witness the west-country merchants of England, which return incredible gains yearly from thence. And if they can so do which here buy their salt at a great charge, and transport more company to make their voyage, than will sail their ships, what may the planters expect when once they are seated, and make the most of their salt there, and employ themselves at least eight months in fishing, whereas the other fish but four, and have their ship lie dead in the harbor all the time, whereas such shipping as belong to plantations, may take freight of passengers or cattle thither, and have their lading provided against they come. I confess, we have come so far short of the means to raise such return, as with great difficulty we have preserved our lives; insomuch, as when I look back upon our condition, and weak means to preserve the same, I rather admire at God's mercy and providence in our preservation, than that no greater things have been effected by us. But though our beginning have been thus raw, small, and difficult, as thou hast seen, yet the same God that hath hitherto led us through the former, I hope will raise means to accomplish the latter. Not that we altogether, or principally propound profit to be the main end of that we have undertaken, but the glory of God, and the honor of our country, in the enlarging of His Majesty's

Dominions, yet wanting outward means, to set things in that forwardness we desire, and to further the latter by the former, I thought meet to offer both to consideration, hoping that where religion and profit jump together (which is rare) in so honorable an action, it will encourage every honest man, either in person or purse, to set forward the same, or at least-wise to commend the well-fare thereof in his daily prayers to the blessing of the blessed God.

I will not again speak of the abundance of fowl, store of venison, and variety of fish, in their seasons, which might encourage many to go in their persons, only I advise all such before hand to consider, that as they hear of countries that abound with the good creatures of God, so means must be used for the taking of every one in his kind, and therefore not only to content themselves that there is sufficient, but to foresee how they shall be able to obtain the same, otherwise, as he that walketh London streets, though he be in the midst of plenty, yet if he want means, is not the better but hath rather his sorrow increased by the sight of that he wanteth, and cannot enjoy it: so also there, if thou want art and other necessaries hereunto belonging, thou mayest see that thou wantest, and thy heart desireth, and yet be never the better for the same. Therefore if thou see thine own insufficiency of thyself, then join to some others, where thou mayest in some measure enjoy the same, otherwise assure thyself, thou art better where thou art. Some there be that thinking altogether of their present wants they enjoy here, and not dreaming of any there, through indiscretion plunge themselves into a deeper sea of misery. As for example, it may be here, rent and firing are so chargeable, as without great difficulty a man cannot accomplish the same; never considering, that as he shall have no rent to pay, so he must build his house before he have it, and peradventure may with more ease pay for his fuel here, than cut and fetch it home, if he have not cattle to draw it there; though there is no scarcity but rather too great plenty.

I write not these things to dissuade any that shall seriously upon due examination set themselves to further the glory of God, and the honor of our country, in so worthy an enterprise, but rather to discourage such as with too great lightness undertake such courses, who peradventure strain themselves and their friends for their passage thither, and are no sooner there, than seeing their foolish imagination made void, are at their wits end, and would give ten times so much for their return, if they could procure it, and out of such discontented passions and humors, spare not to lay that imputation upon the country, and others, which themselves deserve.

As for example, I have heard some complain of others for their large reports of New England, and yet because they must drink water and want many delicacies they here enjoyed, could presently return with their mouths full of clamors. And can any be so simple as to conceive that the fountains should stream forth wine, or beer, or the woods and rivers be like butcher's shops, or fishmongers stalls, where they might have things taken to their hands. If thou canst not live without such things, and hast no means to procure the one, and wilt not take pains for the other, nor hast ability to employ others for thee, rest where thou art: for as a proud heart, a dainty tooth, a beggar's purse, and an idle hand, be here intolerable, so that person that hath these qualities there, is much more abominable. If therefore God hath given thee a heart to undertake such courses, upon such grounds as bear thee out in all difficulties, viz., his glory as a principal, and all other outward good things but as accessories, which peradventure thou shalt enjoy, and it may be not: then thou wilt with true comfort and thankfulness receive the least of his mercies;

whereas on the contrary, men deprive themselves of much happiness, being senseless of greater blessings, and through prejudice smother up the love and bounty of God, whose name be ever glorified in us, and by us, now and evermore. Amen.

FINIS.

A brief Relation of a credible intelligence of the present estate of VIRGINIA.

At the earnest entreaty of some of my much respected friends, I have added to the former discourse a relation of such things as were credibly reported at a Plymouth, in New England, in September last past, concerning the present estate of Virginia. And because men may doubt how we should have intelligence of their affairs, being we are so far distant, I will therefore satisfy the doubtful therein. Captain Francis West being in New England about the latter end of May past, sailed from thence to Virginia, and returned in August. In September the same ship and company being discharged by him at Damariscove, came to New Plymouth, where upon our earnest inquiry after the state of Virginia since that bloody slaughter committed by the Indians upon our friends and countrymen, the whole ship's company agreed in this, viz; that upon all occasions they chased the Indians to and fro, insomuch, as they sued daily unto the English for peace, who for the present would not admit of any; that Sir George Yeardley, etc. was at their present employed upon service against them; that amongst many others, Opachancano, the chief emperor, was supposed to be slain, his son also was killed at the same time. And though by reason of these forenamed broils in the forepart of the year, the English had undergone great want of food, yet, through God's mercy there never was more show of plenty, having as much and as good corn on the ground as ever they had; neither was the hopes of their tobacco crop inferior to that of their corn: so that the planters were never more full of encouragement, which I pray God long to continue, and so to direct both them and us, as his glory may be the principal aim and end of all our actions, and that for his mercy's sake, AMEN.

FINIS.

A Postscript.

If any man desire a more ample relation of the State of this Country, before such time as this present relation taketh place, I refer them to the two former printed books: the one published by the President and Council for New England, and the other gathered by the inhabitants of this present Plantation at Plymouth in New England: Both which books are to be sold by John Bellamy, at his shop at the three golden lions in Cornhill near the Royal Exchange.