

William Bradford

Of Plymouth Plantation

BOOK ONE

from Chapter 1

[W]hen as by the travail and diligence of some godly and zealous preachers, and God's blessing on their labours, as in other places of the land, so in the North parts, many became enlightened by the word of God, and had their ignorance and sins discovered unto them, and began by his grace to reform their lives, and make conscience of their ways, the work of God was no sooner manifest in them, but presently they were both scoffed and scorned by the profane multitude, and the ministers urged with the yoke of subscription, or else must be silenced; and the poor people were so vexed with apparators, and pursuants, and the commissary courts, as truly their affliction was not small; which, notwithstanding, they bore sundry years with much patience, till they were occasioned (by the continuance and increase of these troubles, and other means which the Lord raised up in those days) to see further into things by the light of the word of God. How not only these base and beggarly ceremonies were unlawful, but also that the lordly and tyrannous power of the prelates ought not to be submitted unto; which thus, contrary to the freedom of the gospel, would load and burden men's consciences, and by their compulsive power make a profane mixture of persons and things in the worship of God. And that their offices and callings, courts and canons, etc. were unlawful and anti-Christian; being such as have no warrant in the word of God; but the same y^t were used in poperie, and still retained. Of which a famous author thus writeth in his Dutch comtaries. At the coming of King James into England; *The new king (saith he) found their established the reformed religion, according to the reformed religion of king Edward the 6th. Retaining, or keeping still the spiritual state of the Bishops, etc after the old manner, much varying and differing from the reformed churches in Scotland, France, and the Netherlands, Embden, Geneva, etc whose reformation is cut, or shaped much nearer the first Christian churches, as it was used in the Apostles' times.*

So many therefore of these professors as saw the evil of these things, in these parts of anti-Christian bondage, and as the Lord's free people, joined themselves (by a covenant of the Lord) into a church estate, in the fellowship of the gospel, to walk in all his ways, made known, or to be made known unto them, according to their best endeavours, whatsoever it should cost them, the Lord assisting them. And that it cost them something this ensuing history will declare.

These people became two distinct bodies or churches, and in regard of distance of place did congregate severally; for they were of sundry towns and villages, some in Nottinghamshire, some of Lincolnshire, and some of Yorkshire, where they border nearest together. In one of these churches (besides others of note) was Mr. John Smith, a man of able gifts, and a good preacher, who afterwards was chosen their pastor. But these afterwards falling into some errors in the Low Countries, there (for the most part) buried themselves, and their names.

But in this other church (which must be the subject of our discourse) besides other worthy men, was Mr. Richard Clifton, a grave and reverend preacher, who by his panes and diligence had done much good, and under God had been a means of the conversion of many. And also that famous and worthy man Mr. John Robinson, who afterwards was their pastor for many years, till the Lord took him away by death. Also Mr. William Brewster a reverent man,

who afterwards was chosen an elder of the church and lived with them till old age.

But after these things they could not long continue in any peaceable condition, but were hunted and persecuted on every side, so as their former afflictions were but as flea-bitings in comparison of these which now came upon them. For some were taken and clapt up in prison, others had their houses beset and watched night and day, and hardly escaped their hands; and the most were fain to fly and leave their houses and habitations, and the means of their livelihood. Yet these and many other sharper things which afterward befell them, were no other then they looked for, and therefore were the better prepared to bear them by the assistance of God's grace and spirit. Yet seeing themselves thus molested, and that there was no hope of their continuance there, by a joint consent they resolved to go into the Low-Countries, where they heard was freedom of Religion for all men; as also how sundry from London, and other parts of the land, had been exiled and persecuted for the same cause, and were gone thither, and lived at Amsterdam, and in other places of the land. So after they had continued together about a year, and kept their meetings every Sabbath in one place or other, exercising the worship of God amongst themselves, notwithstanding all the diligence and malice of their adversaries, they seeing they could no longer continue in this condition, they resolved to get over into Holland as they could; which was in the years 1607 and 1608.; of which more at large in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

Showing the reasons and causes of their removal.

After they had lived in this city about some 11 or 12 years, (which is the more observable being the whole time of that famous truce between that state and the Spaniards,) and sundry of them were taken away by death, and many others began to be well stricken in years, the grave Mistress Experience having taught them many things, those prudent governours with sundry of the sagest members began both deeply to apprehend their present dangers, and wisely to foresee the future, and thine of timely remedy. In the agitation of their thoughts, and much discourse of things hear about, at length they began to incline to this conclusion, of removal to some other place. Not out of any newfangledness, or other such like giddy humor, by which men are oftentimes transported to their great hurt and danger, but for sundry weighty and solid reasons; some of the chief of which I will hear briefly touch. And first, they saw and found by experience the hardness of the place and country to be such, as few in comparison would come to them, and fewer that would bide it out, and continue with them. For many that came to them, and many more that desired to be with them, could not endure that great labor and hard fare, with other inconveniences which they underwent and were contented with. But though they loved their persons, approved their cause, and honoured their sufferings, yet they left them as it were weeping, as Orpah did her mother in law Naomie, or as those Romans did Cato in Utica, who desired to be excused and borne with, though they could not all be Catoes. For many, though they desired to enjoy the ordinances of God in their purity, and the liberty of the gospel with them, yet, alas, they admitted of bondage, with danger of conscience, rather than to endure these hardships; yea, some preferred and chose the prisons in England, rather then this liberty in Holland, with these afflictions. But it was thought that if a better and easier place of living could be had, it would draw many, and take away these discouragements. Yea, their pastor would often say, that many of those who both wrote and preached now against them, if they were in a place where they might have liberty and live comfortably, they would then practise as

they did.

Secondly. They saw that though the people generally bore all these difficulties very cheerfully, and with a resolute courage, being in the best and strength of their years, yet old age began to steal on many of them, (and their great and continual labours, with other crosses and sorrows, hastened it before the time,) so as it was not only probably thought, but apparently seen, that within a few years more they would be in danger to scatter, by necessities pressing them, or sink under their burdens, or both. And therefore according to the divine proverb, that a wise man seeth the plague when it cometh, and hideth himself, *Pro. 22. 3.*, so they like skillful and beaten soldiers were fearful either to be entrapped or surrounded by their enemies, so as they should neither be able to fight nor flee; and therefore thought it better to dislodge betimes to some place of better advantage and less danger, if any such could be found. Thirdly; as necessity was a taskmaster over them, so they were forced to be such, not only to their servants, but in a sort, to their dearest children; the which as it did not a little wound the tender hearts of many a loving father and mother, so it produced likewise sundry sad and sorrowful effects. For many of their children, that were of best dispositions and gracious inclinations, having learned to bear the yoke in their youth, and willing to bear part of their parents' burden, were, often times, so oppressed with their heavy labors, that though their minds were free and willing, yet their bodies bowed under the weight of the same, and became decrepit in their early youth; the vigor of nature being consumed in the very bud as it were. But that which was more lamentable, and of all sorrows most heavy to be borne, was that many of their children, by these occasions, and the great licentiousness of youth in that county, and the manifold temptations of the place, were drawn away by evil examples into extravagant and dangerous courses, getting the reins off their necks, and departing from their parents. Some became soldiers, others took upon them far voyages by sea, and other some worse courses, tending to dissoluteness and the danger of their soules, to the great greif of their parents and dishonour of God. So that they saw their posterity would be in danger to degenerate and be corrupted.

Lastly, (and which was not least,) a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way there unto, for the propagating and advancing the gospel of the kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world; yea, though they should be but even as stepping-stones unto others for the performing of so great a work.

These, and some other like reasons, moved them to undertake this resolution of their removal; the which they afterward prosecuted with so great difficulties, as by the sequel will appear.

The place they had thoughts on was some of those vast and unpeopled countries of America, which are fruitful and fit for habitation, being devoid of all civil inhabitants, where there are only salvage and brutish men, which range up and downe, little otherwise than the wild beasts of the same. This proposition being made public and coming to the scanning of all, it raised many variable opinions amongst men, and caused many fears and doubts amongst themselves. Some, from their reasons and hops conceived, laboured to stir up and encourage the rest to undertake and prosecute the same; others, again, out of their fears, objected against it, and sought to divert from it, alleging many things, and those neither unreasonable nor improbable; as that it was a great design, and subject to many inconceivable perils and dangers; as, besides the casualties of the seas (which none can be freed from) the length of the voyage was such, as the weak bodies of women and other persons worn out with age and traville (as many of them were) could never be able to endure. And yet if they should, the miseries of the land which they should be exposed unto, would be to hard to be borne; and likely, some or all of them together, to consume and utterly to ruinate them. For there they should be liable to famine, and nakedness, and the want, in a manner, of all things. The change of air, diet, and drinking of

water, would infect their bodies with sore sickness, and grievous diseases. And also those which should escape or overcome these difficulties, should yet be in continual danger of the savage people, who are cruel, barbarous, and most treacherous, being most furious in their rage, and merciless where they overcome; not being content only to kill, and take away life, but delight to torment men in the most bloody manner that may be; flaying some alive with the shells of fishes, cutting of the members and joints of others by piecemeal, and broiling on the coals, eat the collops of their flesh in their sight whilst they live; with other cruelties horrible to be related. And surely it could not be thought but th every hearing of these things could not but move the very bowels of men to grate within them, and make the weak to quake and tremble. It was furder objected, that it would require greater sums of money to furnish such a voyage, and to fit them with necessaries, then their consumed estates would amount to; and yet they must as well look to be seconded with supplies, as presently to be transported. Also many precedents of ill success, and lamentable miseries befallen others in the like designs, were easy to be found, and not forgotten to be alleged; besides their own experience, in their former troubles and hardships in their removal into Holland, and how hard a thing it was for them to live in that strange place, though it was a neighbor country, and a civil and rich commonwealth.

It was answered, that all great and honourable actions are accompanied with great difficulties, and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable courages. It was granted the dangers were great, but not desperate; the difficulties were many, but not invincible. For though there were many of them likely, yet they were not certain; it might be sundry of the things feared might never befall; others by provident care and the use of good means, might in a great measure be prevented; and all of them, through the help of God, by fortitude and patience, might either be borne, or overcome. True it was, that such attempts were not to be made and undertaken without good ground and reason; not rashly or lightly as many have done for curiosity or hope of gain, etc. But their condition was not ordinary; their ends were good and honorable; their calling lawful, and urgent; and therefore they might expect the blessing of God in their proceeding. Yea, though they should lose their lives in this action, yet might they have comfort in the same, and their endeavors would be honourable. They lived hear but as men in exile, and in a poor condition; and as great miseries might possibly befall them in this place, for the twelve years of truce were now out, and there was nothing but beating of drums, and preparing for war, the events whereof are always uncertain. The Spaniard might prove as cruel as the savages of America, and the famine and pestilence as sore hear as ther, and their liberty less to look out for remedy. After many other particular things answered and alleged on both sides, it was fully concluded by the major part, to put this design in execution, and to prosecute it by the best means they could.

Chapter 7

Of their departure from Leyden, and other things thereabout, with their arrival at Southampton, were they all met together, and took in their provisions.

At length, after much travell and these debates, all things were got ready and provided. A small ship was bought, and fitted in Holland, which was intended as to serve to help to transport them, so to stay in the country and attend upon fishing and such other affairs as might be for the good and benefit of the colony when they came there. Another was hired at London, of burden about nine score; and all other things got in readiness. So being ready to depart, they had a day of solemn humiliation, their pastor taking his text from Ezra 8. 21. *And there at the river, by*

Ahava, I proclaimed a fast, that we might humble ourselves before our God, and seek of him a right way for us, and for our children, and for all our substance. Upon which he spent a good part of the day very profitably, and suitable to their presente occasion. The rest of the time was spent in powering out prayers to the Lord with great fervency, mixed with abundance of tears. And the time being come that they must depart, they were accompanied with most of their brethren out of the city, unto a towne sundry miles of called Delfes-Haven, where the ship lay ready to receive them. So they left that goodly and pleasant city, which had been there resting place near twelve years; but they knew they were pilgrims, and looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to the heavens, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits. When they came to the place they found the ship and all things ready; and shuch of their friends as could not come with them followed after them, and sundry also came from Amsterdam to see them shipped and to take their leave of them. That night was spent with little sleep by the most, but with friendly entertainment and Christian discourse and other real expressions of true Christian love. The next day, the wind being fair, they wente aboard, and their friends with them, where truly doleful was the sight of that sad and mournful parting; to see what sighs and sobs and prayers did sound amongst them, what tears did gush from every eye, and pithy speches pierced each heart; that sundry of the Dutch strangers that stood on the key as spectators, could not refrain from tears. Yet comfortable and sweet it was to see such lively and true expressions of clear and unfeigned love. But the tide (which stays for no man) calling them away that were thus loath to depart, their reverend pastor falling down on his knees, (and they all with him,) with watery cheeks commended them with most fervent prayers to the Lord and his blessing. And then with mutual embraces and many tears, they took their leaves one of another; which proved to be the last leave to many of them.

Chapter 9

Of their voyage, and how they passed the sea, and of their safe arrival at Cape Cod.

September 6. These troubles being blown over, and now all being compact together in one ship, they put to sea again with a prosperous wind, which continued diverse days together, which was some encouragement unto them; yet according to the usual manner many were afflicted with seasickness. And I may not omite hear a special work of God's providence. There was a proud and very profane young man, one of the sea-men, of a lusty, able body, which made him the more haughty; he would always be condemning the poor people in their sickness, and cursing them daily with grievous execrations, and did not let to tell them, that he hoped to help to cast half of them overboard before they came to their journey's end, and to make merry with what they had; and if he were by any gently reprov'd, he would curse and swear most bitterly. But it pleased God before they came half seas over, to smite this young man with a grievous disease, of which he dyed in a desperate maner, and so was him selfe the first that was thrown overboard. Thus his curses light on his own head; and it was an astonishment to all his fellows, for they noted it to be the just hand of God upon him.

After they had enjoyed fair winds and weather for a season, they were encountered many times with cross winds, and met with many fierce storms, with which the ship was shroudly shaken, and her upper works made very leaky; and one of the main beams in the midships was bowed and cracked, which put them in some fear that the ship could not be able to perform the voyage. So some of the chief of the company, perceiving the mariners to fear the sufficiency of the ship, as appeared by their mutterings, they entered into serious consultation with the master

and other officers of the ship, to consider in time of the danger; and rather to return then to cast themselves into a desperate and inevitable peril. And truly there was great distraction and difference of opinion amongst the mariners themselves; fain would they do what could be done for their wages sake, (being now half the seas over,) and on the other hand they were loath to hazard their lives too desperately. But in examining of all opinions, the master and others affirmed they knew the ship to be strong and firm under water; and for the buckling of the main beame, there was a great iron screw the passengers brought out of Holland, which would raise the beam into his place; the which being done, the carpenter and master affirmed that with a post put under it, set firm in the lower deck, and otherwise bound, he would make it sufficient. And as for the decks and upperworks they would caulke them as well as they could, and though with the working of the ship they would not longe keep staunch, yet there would otherwise be no great danger, if they did not overpress her with sails. So they committed themselves to the will of God, and resolved to proceed. In sundry of these storms the winds were so fierce, and the seas so high, as they could not bear a knot of sail, but were forced to hull, for diverse days together. And in one of them, as they thus lay at hull, in a mighty storm, a lusty young man (called John Howland) coming upon some occasion above the gratings, was, with a seele of the ship thrown into [the] sea; but it pleased God that he caught hold of the topsail halyards, which hung overboard, and ran out at length; yet he held his hold (though he was sundry fathoms under water) till he was held up by the same rope to the brim of the water, and then with a boat hook and other means got into the ship again, and his life saved; and though he was something ill with it, yet he lived many years after, and became a profitable member both in church and commonwealth. In all this voyage there died but one of the passengers, which was William Batten, a youth, servant to Samuel Fuller, when they drew near the coast. But to omit other things, (that I may be brief,) after long beating at sea they fell with that land which is called Cape Cod; the which being made and certainly known to be it, they were not a little joyful. After some deliberation had amongst themselves and with the master of the ship, they tacked about and resolved to stand for the southward (the wind and weather being fair) to find someplace about Hudson's River for their habitation. But after they had sailed that course about half the day, they fell amongst dangerous shoals and roaring breakers, and they were so far entangled therewith as they conceived themselves in great danger; and the wind shrinking upon them withall, they resolved to bear up again for the Cape, and thought themselves happy to get out of those dangers before night overtook them, as by God's providence they did. And the next day they got into the Cape Harbor where they rid in safety. A word or too by the way of this cape; it was thus first named by Captain Gosnole and his company, Anno. 1602, and after by Captain Smith was called Cape James; but it retains the former name amongst seamen. Also that point which first showed those dangerous shoals unto them, they called Point Care, and Tucker's Terror; but the French and Dutch to this day call it Malabar, by reason of those perilous shoals, and the losses they have suffered their.

Being thus arrived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed the God of heaven, who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all the perils and miseries thereof, again to set their feet on the firm and stable earth, their proper element. And no marvel if they were thus joyful, seeing wise Seneca was so affected with sailing a few miles on the coast of his owne Italy; as he affirmed, that he had rather remain twenty years on his way by land, then pass by sea to any place in a short time; so tedious and dreadful was the same unto him.

But hear I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amassed at this poor peoples present condition; and so I think will the reader too, when he well considers the same. Being thus passed the vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation (as may be

remembered by that which wente before), they had now no friends to welcome them, nor inns to entertain or refresh their weatherbeaten bodys, no houses or much less towns to repair to, to seek for succour. It is recorded in scripture as a mercy to the apostle and his shipwrecked company, that the barbarians shewed them no small kindness in refreshing them, but these savage barbarians, when they met with them (as after will appear) were readier to fill their sides full of arrows then otherwise. And for the season it was winter, and they that know the winters of that countrie know them to be sharp and violent, and subject to cruel and fierce storms, dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search an unknown coast. Besides, what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men? and what multitudes there might be of them they knew not. Nether could they, as it were, go up to the top of Pisgah, to view from this wilderness a more goodly country to feed their hopes; for which way soever they turned their eyes (save upward to the heavens) they could have little solace or content in respect of any outward objects. For summer being done, all things stand upon them with a weatherbeaten face; and the whole country, full of woods and thickets, represented a wild and savage heiw. If they looked behind them, there was the mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a main bar and gulf to separate them from all the civil parts of the world. If it be said they had a ship to succour them, it is true; but what heard they daly from the master. and company? but that with speed they should look out a place with their scallop, where they would be at some near distance; for the season was such as he would not stirr from thence till a safe harbor was discovered by them where they would be, and he might go without danger; and that victells consumed apace, but he must and would keep sufficient for themselves and their return. Yea, it was muttered by some, that if they got not a place in time, they would turn them and their goods ashore and leave them. Let it also be considered what weak hopes of supply and succour they left behind them, that might bear up their minds in this sad condition and trials they were under; and they could not but be very small. It is true, indeed, the affections and love of their brethren at Leyden was cordial and entire towards them, but they had little power to help them, or themselves; and how the case stood between them and the merchants at their coming away, hath already been declared. What could now sustain them but the spirit of God and his grace? May not and ought not the children of these fathers rightly say: *Our fathers were Englishmen which came over this great [ocean, and were ready to perish in this wilderness; but they cried unto the Lord, and he heard their voice, and looked on their adversity, etc. Let them therefore praise the Lord, because he is good, and his mercies endure forever. Yea, let them which have been redeemed of the Lord, shew how he hath delivered them from the hand of the oppressor. When they wandered in the desert wilderness out of the way, and found no city to dwell in, both hungry, and thirsty, their soul was overwhelmed in them. Let them confess before the Lord his loving kindness, and his wonderful works before the sons of men.*

Chapter 10

Showing how they sought out a place of habitation, and what befell them therabout.

Being thus arrived at Cape Cod the 11th of November, and necessity calling them to look out a place for habitation, (as well as the master's and mariners' importunity,) they having brought a large shallop with them out of England, stowed in quarters in the ship, they now got her out and set their carpenters to work to trim her up; but being much bruised and shattered in the ship with foul weather, they saw she would be long in mending. Whereupon a few of them

tendered themselves to go by land and discover those nearest places, whilst the shallop was in mending, and the rather because as they went into that harbor there seemed to be an opening some two or three leagues off, which the master judged to be a river. It was conceived there might be some danger in the attempt, yet seeing them resolute, they were permitted to go, being sixteen of them well armed, under the conduct of Captain Standish, having such instructions given them as was thought meet. They set forth the fifteenth of November: and when they had marched about the space of a mile by the seaside, they espied five or six persons with a dog coming towards them, who were savages; but they fled from them, and ran up into the woods, and the English followed them, partly to see if they could speak with them, and partly to discover if there might not be more of them lying in ambush. But the Indians seeing themselves thus followed, they again forsook the woods, and ran away on the sands as hard as they could, so as they could not come near them, but followed them by the track of their feet sundry miles, and saw that they had come the same way. So, night coming on, they made their rendezvous and set out their sentinels, and rested in quiet *that night*, and the next morning followed their track till they had headed a great creak, and so left the sands, and turned another way into the woods. But they still followed them by guess, hoping to find their dwellings; but they soon lost both them and themselves, falling into such thickets as were ready to tear their clothes and armor in pieces, but were most distressed for want of drink. But at length they found water and refreshed themselves, being the first New-England water they drunk of, and was now in their great thirst as pleasant unto them as wine or bear had been in for-times. Afterwards they directed their course to come to the other shore, for they knew it was a neck of land they were to cross over, and so at length gott to the ea-side, and marched to this supposed river, and by the way found a pond of clear fresh water, and shortly after a good quantity of clear ground where the Indians had formerly set corn, and some of their graves. And proceeding further they saw new-stubble where corn had been set the same year, also they found where lately a house had been, where some planks and a great kettle was remaining, and heaps of sand newly paddled with their hands, which they, digging up, found in them diverse fair Indian baskets filled with corn, and some in ears, fair and good, of diverse colors, which seemed to them a very goodly sight, (having never seen any such before). This was near the place of that supposed river they came to seek; unto which they went and found it to open it self into two arms with a high cliff of sand in the entrance, but more like to be creeks of salt water than any fresh, for ought they saw; and that there was good harborage for their shallope; leaving it further to be discovered by their shallop when she was ready. So their time limited them being expired, they returned to the ship, lest they should be in fear of their safety; and took with them part of the corn, and buried up the rest, and so like the men from Eshchol carried with them of the fruits of the land, and showed their brethren; of which, and their return, they were marvelously glad, and their hearts encouraged.

After this, the shallop being got ready, they set out again for the better discovery of this place, and the master of the ship desired to go himself, so there went some thirty men, but found it to be no harbor for ships but only for boats; there was also found two of their houses covered with mats, and sundry of their implements in them, but the people were run away and could not be seen; also there was found more of their corn, and of their beans of various colors. The corn and beans they brought away, purposing to give them full satisfaction when they should meet with any of them (as about some six months afterward they did, to their good content). And here is to be noted a special providence of God, and a great mercy to this poor people, that hear they got seed to plant them corne the next year, or else they might have starved, for they had none, nor any likelihood to get any till the season had been past (as the sequel did manifest). Neither is it likely they had had this, if the first voyage had not been made, for the ground was now all covered with snow, and hard frozen. But the Lord is never wanting unto his in their greatest

needs; let his holy name have all the praise.

The month of November being spent in these affairs, and much foul weather falling in, the sixth of *December* they sent out their shallop again with ten of their principal men, and some seamen, upon further discovery, intending to circulate that deep bay of Cape Cod. The weather was very cold, and it froze so hard as the spray of the sea lighting on their coats, they were as if they had been glassed; yet *that night* betimes they gott downe into thebotome of thebay, and as they drue nere theshore they saw some 10. or 12. Indeans very busie aboute some thing. They landed aboute a league or 2. from them, and had much a doe to put a shore any wher, it lay so full of flats. Being landed, it grew late, and they made them selves a barricade with loggs and bowes as well as they could in thetime, and set out their sentenill and betooke them to rest, and saw thesmoake of thefire thesavages made y^t night. When *morning* was come they devided their company, some to coaste along theshore in theboate, and the rest marched throw thewoods to see the land, if any fit place might be for their dwelling. They came allso to theplace wher they saw the Indans thenight before, and found they had been cuting up a great fish like a grampus, being some 2. inches thiike of [102]fate like a hogg, some peeces wher of they had left by theway; and theshallop found 2. more of these fishes dead on the sands, a thing usuall after storms in y^t place, by reason of thegreat flats of sand that ltheof. So they ranged up and doune all y^t day, but found no people, nor any place they liked. When the sune grue low, they hasted out of thewoods to meete with their shallop, to whom they made signes to come to them into a *creeke* hardby, the which they did at highwater; of which they were very glad, for they had not seen each other all y^t day, since themorning. So they made them a barricado (as usually they did every night) with loggs, staks, and thiike pine bowes, theheight of a man, leaving it open to leeward, partly to shelter them from thecould and wind (making their fire in themidle, and lying round aboute it), and partly to defend them from any sudden assaults of thesavags, if they should surround them. So being very weary, they betooke them to rest. But aboute *midnight*, [51] they heard a hideous and great crie, and their sentinell caled, "Arme, arme"; so they bestired them and stood to their armes, and shote of a cupple of moskets, and then the noys ceased. They concluded it was a companie of wolves, or such like willd beasts; for one of thesea men tould them he had often heard shuch a noyse in New-found land. So they rested till about 5. of theclock in the *morning*; for thetide, and ther purposse to goe from thence, made them be stiring betimes. So [103]after praiier they prepared for breakfast, and it being day dawning, it was thought best to be carring things downe to theboate. But some said it was not best to carrie thearmes downe, others said they would be the readier, for they had laped them up in their coats from the dew. But some 3. or 4. would not cary theirs till they wente them selves, yet as it fell out, thewater being not high enough, they layed them downe on thebanke side, and came up to breakfast. But presently, all on the sudain, they heard a great and strange crie, which they knew to be the same voyces they heard in thenight, though they varied their notes, and one of their company being abroad came runing in, and cried, "Men, Indeans, Indeans"; and wthall, their arowes came flying amongst them. Their men rane with all speed to recover their armes, as by thegood providence of God they did. In themeane time, of those that were ther ready, tow muskets were discharged at them, and 2. more stood ready in theenterance of ther randevoue, but were comanded not to shoote till they could take full aime at them; and theother 2. charged againe with all speed, for ther were only 4. had armes ther, and defended thebaricado which was first assalted. The crie of theIndeans was dreadfull, espetially when they saw ther men rune out of therandevoue towourds theshallop, to recover their armes, the Indeans wheeling aboute upon them. But some ruñing out with coats of malle on, and cutlasses [104]in their hands, they soone got their armes, and let fltheamongst them, and quickly stopped their violence. Yet ther was a lustie man, and no less valiante, stood behind a tree within halfe a musket shot, and let his arrows flie at them. He

was seen shoot 3. arrowes, which were all avoyded. He stood 3. shot of a musket, till one taking full aime at him, and made thebarke or splinters of thetree fly about his ears, after which he gave an extraordinary shriek, and away they wente all of them. They left some to keep theshalop, and followed them aboute a quarter of a mille, and shouted once or twice, and shot of 2. or 3. peeces, and so returned. This they did, that they might conceive that they were not [52] affraide of them or any way discouraged. Thus it pleased God to vanquish their enimies, and give them deliverance; and by his spetiall providence so to dispose that not any one of them were either hurte, or hitt, though their arrows came close by them, and on every side them, and sundry of their coats, which hunge up in thebarricado, were shot throw and throw. Aterwards they gave God sollamne thanks and praise for their deliverance, and gathered up a bundle of their arrows, and sente them into England afterward by them^r. of y^eship, and called that place thefirst encounter. From hence they departed, and costed all along, but discerned no place likly for harbor; and therefore hasted to a place that their pillote, (one Mr. Coppin who had [105]bine in thecuntrie before) did assure them was a good harbor, which he had been in, and they might fetch it before night; of which they were glad, for it begane to be foule weather. After some houres sailing, it begane to snow and raine, and about themidle of theafternoone, thewind increased, and thesea became very rough, and they broake their rudder, and it was as much as 2. men could doe to steere her with a cuple of oares. But their pillott bad them be of good cheere, for he saw theharbor; but thestorme increasing, and night drawing on, they bore what saile they could to gett in, while they could see. But herwith they broake their mast in 3. peeces, and their saill fell over bord, in a very grown sea, so as they had like to have been cast away; yet by Gods mercie they recovered them selves, and having thefloud with them, struck into theharbore. But when it came too, thepillott was deceived in theplace, and said, theLord be mercifull unto them, for his eys never saw y^t place before; and he and the m^r. mate would have rune her ashore, in a cove full of breakers, before thewinde. But a lusty seaman which steered, bad those which rowed, if they were men, about with her, or ells they were all cast away; the which they did with speed. So he bid them be of good cheere and row lustly, for ther was a faire sound before them, and he doubted not but they should find one place or other wher they might ride in saftie. And though it was *very darke*, [106]and rained sore, yet in theend they gott under thelee of a smalle iland, and remained ther all y^t night in saftie. But they knew not this to be an iland till morning, but were devided in their minds; some would keepe y^eboate for fear they might be amongst theIndians; others were so weake and could, they could not endure, but got a shore, and with much adoe got fire, (all things being so wett,) and therest were glad to come to them; for after midnight thewind shifted to the [53] north-west, and it frose hard. But though this had been a day and night of much trouble and danger unto them, yet God gave them a *morning* of comforte and refreshing (as usually he doth to his children), for thenext day was a faire sunshinīg day, and they found them sellvs to be on an iland secure from theIndeans, wher they might drie their stufe, fixe their peeces, and rest them selves, and gave God thanks for his mercies, in their manifould deliverances. And this being the *last day of theweeke*, they prepared ther to keepe the*Sabath*. On *Munday* they sounded theharbor, and founde it fitt for shipping; and marched into theland, and found diverse cornfeilds, and litle runing brooks, a place (as they supposed) fitt for situation; at least it was thebest they could find, and theseason, and their presentie necessitie, made them glad to accepte of it. So they returned to their shipp againe with this news to therest of their people, which did much comforte their harts.[107]

On the15. of *Desem^r*: they wayed anchor to goe to theplace they had discovered, and came within 2. leagues of it, but were faine to bear up againe; but the16. *day* thewinde came faire, and they arrived safe in this harbor. And after wards tooke better view of theplace, and

resolved wher to pitch their dwelling; and the 25. *day* begane to erecte the first house for com̄one use to receive them and their goods.

BOOK 2

The rest of this History (if God give me life, and opportunitie) I shall, for brevitie sake, handle by way of *annalls*, noting only the heads of principall things, and passages as they fell in order of time, and may seeme to be profitable to know, or to make use of. And this may be as the 2. Booke.

The remainder of An^o: 1620.

I shall a litle returne backe and begine with a combination made by them before they came ashore, being the first foundation of their govermente in this place; occasioned partly by the discontented and mutinous speeches that some of the strangers amongst them had let fall from them in the ship—That when they came a shore they would use their owne libertie; for none had power to com̄and them, the patente they had being for Virginia, and not for New-england, which belonged to an other Government, with which the Virginia Company had nothing to doe. And partly that such an [54] acte by them done (this their condition considered) might be as firme as any patent, and in some respects more sure.

The forme was as followeth.[110]

In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwriten, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britaine, Franc, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, andc., haveing undertaken, for the glorie of God, and advancemente of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and countrie, a voyage to plant the first colonie in the Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly and mutuallie in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine our selves together into a civill body politick, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just and equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for the generall good of the Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnes wherof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cap-Codd the 11. of November, in the year of the raigne of our soveraigne lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fiftie fourth. An^o: Dom. 1620.

After this they chose, or rather confirmed, M^r. John Carver (a man godly and well approved amongst them) their Governour for that year. And after they had provided a place for their goods, or comone store, (which were long in unlading for want of boats, foulnes of winter weather, and sicknes of diverse,) and begune some small cottages for their habitation, as time would admitte, they mette and consulted of lawes and orders, both for their civill and military

Governmente, as thenecessitie of their condition did require, still adding therunto as urgent occasion in severall times, and as cases did require.[111]

In these hard and difficulte beginings they found some discontents and murmurings arise amongst some, and mutinous speeches and carriags in other; but they were soone quelled and overcome by thewisdome, patience, and just and equall carrage of things by theGov^r and better part, w^{ch} clave faithfully together in themaine. But that which was most sadd and lamentable was, that in 2. or 3. moneths time halfe of their company dyed, espetially in Jan: and February, being thedepth of winter, and wanting houses and other comforts; being infected with thescurvie and [55] other diseases, which this long vioage and their inacomodate condition had brought upon them; so as ther dyed some times 2. or 3. of a day, in theforesaid time; that of 100. and odd persons, scarce 50. remained. And of these in thetime of most distres, ther was but 6. or 7. sound persons, who, to their great comendations be it spoken, spared no pains, night nor day, but with abundance of toyle and hazard of their owne health, fetched them woode, made them fires, drest them meat, made their beads, washed their lothsome cloaths, cloathed and uncloathed them; in a word, did all thehomly and necessarie offices for them w^{ch}dainty and quesie stomacks cannot endure to hear named; and all this willingly and cherfully, without any grudging in theleast, shewing herein their true love unto their freinds and bretheren. A rare example and worthy to [112]be remembred. Tow of these 7. were M^r. William Brewster, ther reverend Elder, and Myles Standish, ther Captein and military comander, unto whom my selfe, and many others, were much beholden in our low and sicke condition. And yet the Lord so upheld these persons, as in this generall calamity they were not at all infected either with sicknes, or lamnes. And what I have said of these, I may say of many others who dyed in this generall vissitation, and others yet living, that whilst they had health, yea, or any strength continuing, they were not wanting to any that had need of them. And I doute not but their recompence is with theLord.

But I may not hear pass by an other remarkable passage not to be forgotten. As this calamitie fell among thepassengers that were to be left here to plant, and were hasted a shore and made to drinke water, that thesea-men might have themore bear, and onein his sicknes desiring but a small cann of beere, it was answered, that if he were their owne father he should have none; the disease begane to fall amongst them also, so as allmost halfe of their company dyed before they went away, and many of their officers and lustyest men, as theboatson, gunner, 3. quarter-maisters, the cooke, and others. At w^{ch} them^r. was something strucken and sent to thesick a shore and tould y^eGov^r he should send for beer for [113]them that had need of it, though he drunke water homward bound. But now amongst his company [56] ther was farr another kind of carriage in this miserie then amongst thepassengers; for they that before had been boone companions in drinking and joyllity in thetime of their health and wellfare, begane now to deserte one another in this calamitie, saing they would not hasard ther lives for them, they should be infected by coming to help them in their cabins, and so, after they came to dtheby it, would doe litle or nothing for them, but if they dyed let them dye. But shuch of thepassengers as were yet aboard shewed them what mercy they could, w^{ch} made some of their harts relente, as theboatson (and some others), who was a proud yonge man, and would often curse and scofe at thepassengers; but when he grew weak, they had compassion on him and helped him; then he confessed he did not deserve it at their hands, he had abused them in word and deed. O! saith he, you, I now see, shew your love like Christians indeed one to another, but we let one another ltheand dthelike doggs. Another lay cursing his wife, saing if it had not ben for her he had never come this unlucky viage, and anone cursing his felows, saing he had done this and that, for some of them, he had spente so much, and so much, amongst them, and they were now weary of him,

and did not help him, having need. Another gave his companion all he had, if he died, to help [114]him in his weaknes; he went and got a litle spise and made him a mess of meat once or twice, and because he dyed not so soone as he expected, he went amongst his fellows, and swore therogue would cousen him, he would see him choaked before he made him any more meate; and yet thepore fellow dyed before morning.

All this while theIndians came skulking about them, and would sometimes show them selves aloofe of, but when any aproached near them, they would rune away. And once they stoale away their tools wher they had been at worke, and were gone to diner. But about the16. of *March* a certaine Indian came bouldly amongst them, and spoke to them in broken English, which they could well understand, but marvelled at it. At length they understood by discourse with him, that he was not of these parts, but belonged to theeastrene parts, wher some English-ships came to fhish, with whom he was aquainted, and could name sundrie of them by their names, amongst whom he had gott his language. He became profitable to them [57] in aquainting them with many things concerning thestate of thecuntry in theeast-parts wher he lived, which was afterwards profitable unto them; as also of thepeople hear, of their names, number, and strength; of their situation and distance from this place, and who was cheefe amongst them. His name was *Samaset*; he tould them also of another Indian whos name was [115]*Squanto*, a native of this place, who had been in England and could speake better English then him selfe. Being, after some time of entertainente and gifts, dismiss, a while after he came againe, and 5. more with him, and they brought againe all thetoolles that were stolen away before, and made way for thecoming of their great Sachem, called *Massasoyt*; who, about 4. or 5. *days after*, came with the cheefe of his freinds and other attendance, with the aforesaid *Squanto*. With whom, after frendly entertainment, and some gifts given him, they made a peace with him (which hath now continued this 24. years) in these terms.

1. That neither he nor any of his, should injurie or doe hurte to any of their peopl.
2. That if any of his did any hurte to any of theirs, he should send theoffender, that they might punish him.
3. That if any thing were taken away from any of theirs, he should cause it to be restored; and they should doe thelike to his.
4. If any did unjustly warr against him, they would aide him; if any did warr against them, he should aide them.
5. He should send to his neighbours confederats, to certifie them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might be likewise comprised in theconditions of peace.
6. That when ther men came to them, they should leave their bows and arrows behind them.[116]

After these things he returned to his place caled *Sowams*, some 40. mile from this place, but *Squanto* continued with them, and was their interpreter, and was a spetiall instrument sent of God for their good beyond their expectation. He directed them how to set their corne, wher to take fish, and to procure other comodities, and was also their pilott to bring them to unknowne places for their profitt, and never left them till he dyed. He was a *native* [58] *of this place*, and scarce any left alive besids him selfe. He was caried away with diverce others by one *Hunt*, a m^r. of a ship, who thought to sell them for slaves in Spaine; but he got away for England, and was

entertained by a marchante in London, and imployed to New-foundland and other parts, and lastly brought hither into these parts by one M^r. *Dermer*, a gentle-man imployed by Sr. Ferdinando Gorges and others, for discovery, and other designes in these parts. Of whom I shall say some thing, because it is mentioned in a booke set forth An^o: 1622. by the Presidente and Counsell for New-England, that he made the peace betweene the salvages of these parts and the English; of which this plantation, as it is intimated, had the benefite. But what a peace it was, may appear by what befell him and his men.

This M^r. Dermer was hear the same year that these [117] people came, as appears by a relation written by him, and given me by a friend, bearing date June 30. An^o: 1620. And they came in Novemb^r: following, so ther was but 4. months differance. In which relation to his honored freind, he hath these passages of this very place.

I will first beginne (saith he) wth that place from whence *Squanto*, or *Tisquantem*, was taken away; w^{ch} in Cap: *Smiths mape* is called *Plimoth*: and I would that Plimoth had the like comodities. I would that the first plantation might hear be seated, if ther come to the number of 50. persons, or upward. Otherwise at Charlton, because ther the savages are lese to be feared. The *Pocanawkits*, which live to the west of *Plimoth*, bear an inveterate malice to the English, and are of more streingth then all the savags from thence to Penobscote. Their desire of revenge was occasioned by an English man, who having many of them on bord, made a great slaughter with their murderers and smale shot, when as (they say) they offered no injurie on their parts. Whether they were English or no, it may be doubted; yet they beleeve they were, for the Frenche have so possest them; for which cause *Squanto* cañot deny but they would have kiled me when I was at *Namasket*, had he not entreated hard for me. The soyle of the borders of [59] this great bay, may be compared to most of the plantations which I have seene in Virginia. The land is of diverce sorts; for *Patuxite* is a hardy but strong soyle, *Nawsel* and *Saughtughtett* are for the most part a blakish and deep mould, much like that wher groweth the best Tobacco in Virginia. In the botome of y^t great bay is store of Codd and basse, or mulett, andc.

But above all he comends *Pacanawkite* for the richest soyle, and much open ground fitt for English graine, andc.

Massachussets is about 9. leagues from *Plimoth*, and situate in the mids betweene both, is full of ilands and peninsules very fertill for the most parte.

With sundrie such relations which I forbear to transcribe, being now better knowne then they were to him.

He was taken prisoner by the Indeans at *Manamoiak* (a place not farr from hence, now well knowne). He gave them what they demanded for his liberty, but when they had gott what they desired, they kept him still and indevored to kill his men; but he was freed by seasing on some of them, and kept them bound till they gave him a cannows load of corne. Of which, see Purch: lib. 9. fol. 1778. But this was An^o: 1619.

After the writing of the former relation he came to the Ile of *Capawack* (which lyes south of this place in the way to Virginia), and the foresaid *Squanto* wth him, wher he going a shore amongst the Indans to trad, as he used to doe, was betrayed and assaulted by them, and *all his*

men slaine, but one that kept the boat; but him selfe gott aboard very sore wounded, and they had cut of his head upon thecudy of his boat, had not theman reskued him with a sword. And so they got away, and made shift to gett into Virginia, wher he dyed; whether of his wounds or thediseases of thecuntrie, or both togeather, is uncertaine. [60] By all which it may appeare how farr these people were [119]from peace, and with what danger this plantation was begune, save as thepowerfull hand of the Lord did protect them. These thingswere partly the reason why they kept aloofe and were so long before they came to the English. An other reason (as after them selvs made know̄) was how aboute 3. *years before*, a French-ship was cast away at *Cap-Codd*, but themen gott ashore, and saved their lives, and much of their victails, and other goods; but after theIndeans heard of it, they geathered togeather from these parts, and never left watching and dogging them till they got advantage, and *kild them all but 3. or 4.* which they kept, and sent from one Sachem to another, to make sporthe with, and used them worse then slaves; (of which theforesaid M^r. Dermer redeemed 2. of them;) and they conceived this ship was now come to revenge it.

Also, (as after was made knowne,) before they came to theEnglish to make freindship, they gott all the *Powachs* of thecuntrie, for 3. days togeather, in a horid and divellish maner to curse and execrate them with their cunjurations, which asembly and service they held in a darke and dismale swampe.

But to returne. The spring now approaching, it pleased God the mortalitie begane to cease amongst them, and thesick and lame recovered apace, which put as it were new life into them; though they had [120]borne their sadd affliction with much patience and contentednes, as I thinke any people could doe. But it was theLord which upheld them, and had beforehand prepared them; many having long borne theyoake, yea from their youth. Many other smaler maters I omite, sundrie of them having been allready published in a Journall made by one of the company; and some other passages of jurneys and relations allredy published, to which I referr those that are willing to know them more perticulerly. And being now come to the25. of March I shall begine theyear 1621.

[61] *Anno. 1621.*

From Chapter XII

They begane now to gather in thesmall harvest they had, and to fitte up their houses and dwellings against winter, being all well recovered in health and strenght, and had all things in good plenty; for as some were thus imployed in affairs abroad, others were excersised in fishing, aboute codd, and bass, and other fish, of which y^{ey} tooke good store, of which every family had their portion. All thesom̄er ther was no wante. And now begane to come in store of foule, as winter aproached, of which this place did abound when they came first (but afterward decreased by degrees). And besids water foule, ther was great store of wild Turkie, of which they tooke many, besids venison, andc. Besids they had aboute a peck a meale a weeke to a person, or now since harvest, Indean corne to y^t proportion. Which made many afterwards write so largely of their plenty hear to their freinds in England, which were not fained, but true reports.

From Chapter XIX Anno 1628

Aboute some 3. or 4. years before this time, ther came over one Captaine Wolastone, (a man of pretie parts,) and with him 3. or 4. more of some eminencie, who brought with them a great many servants, with provissions and other implments for to begine a plantation; and pitched

them selves in a place within the Massachusets, which they called, after their Captains [284]name, Mount-Wollaston. Amongst whom was one M^r. Morton, who, it should seeme, had some small adventure (of his owne or other mens) amongst them; but had litle respecte [159] amongst them, and was sleghted by themeaneest servants. Haveing continued ther some time, and not finding things to answer their expectations, nor profite to arise as they looked for, Captaine Wollaston takes a great part of thesarvants, and transports them to Virginia, wher he puts them of at good rates, selling their time to other men; and writs back to one M^r. Rassdall, one of his cheefe partners, and accounted their marchant, to bring another parte of them to Verginia likewise, intending to put them of ther as he had done therest. And he, wth theconsente of thesaid Rasdall, appoynted one Fitcher to be his Livetenante, and governe theremaines of theplantation, till he or Rasdall returned to take further order therabout. But this Morton abovesaid, haveing more craft then honestie, (who had been a kind of petie-fogger, of Furnefells Inne,) in theothers absence, watches an oppertunitie, (commons being but hard amongst them,) and gott some strong drinck and other junkats, and made them a feast; and after they were merie, he begane to tell them, he would give them good counsell. You see (saith he) that many of your fellows are carried to Virginia; and if you stay till this Rasdall returne, you will also be carried away and sould for slaves with therest. Therefore I would [285]advise you to thruste out this Levetenant Fitcher; and I, having a parte in the plantation, will receive you as my partners and consociats; so may you be free from service, and we will converse, trad, plante, and live together as equalls, and supporte and protecte one another, or to like effecte. This counsell was easily received; so they tooke oppertunitie, and thrust Levetenante Fitcher out a dores, and would suffer him to come no more amongst them, but forct him to seeke bread to eate, and other releefe from his neighbours, till he could gett passages for England. After this they fell to great licenciousnes, and led a dissolute life, powering out them selves into all profanenes. And Morton became lord of misrule, and maintained (as it were) a schoole of Athisme. And after they had gott some good into their hands, and gott much by trading with theIndeans, they spent it as vainly, in quaffing and drinking both wine and strong waters in great exsess, and, as some reported, 10^{li}. worth in a morning. They also set up a May-pole, drinking and dancing aboute it many days together, inviting the Indean women, for their consorts, dancing and frisking together, (like so many fairies, or furies rather,) and worse practises. As if they had anew revived and celebrated the feasts of theRoman Goddes Flora, or thebeasly practieses of themadd Bacchinalians. Morton likewise (to shew his poetrie) composed sundry rimes and verses, some tending to lasciviousnes, and [286]others to thedetraction and scandall of some persons, which he affixed to this idle or idoll May-polle. They chainged also the name of their place, and in stead of calling it Mounte Wollaston, they call it Merie-mounte, [160] as if this joylity would have lasted ever. But this continued not long, for after Morton was sent for England, (as follows to be declared,) shortly after came over that worthy gentlman, M^r. John Indecott, who brought over a patent under thebroad seall, for thegovermente of theMassachusets, who visiting those parts caused y^t May-polle to be cutt downe, and rebuked them for their profannes, and admonished them to looke ther should be better walking; so they now, or others, changed the name of their place againe, and called it Mounte-Dagon.

Now to maintaine this riotous prodigallitie and profuse excess, Morton, thinking him selfe lawless, and hearing what gaine theFrench and fisher-men made by trading of peeces, powder, and shotte to theIndeans, he, as thehead of this consortship, begane thepractise of thesame in these parts; and first he taught them how to use them, to charge, and discharg, and what proportion of powder to give thepeece, according to thesize or bignes of thesame; and what shotte to use for foule, and what for deare. And having thus instructed them, he employed some of them to hunte and fowle for him, so as they became farr more active in that employmente then

any of the English, by reason of their [287] swiftnes of foote, and nimblnes of body, being also quick-sighted, and by continuall exercise well knowing the hants of all sorts of game. So as when they saw the execution that a peece would doe, and the benefite that might come by the same, they became madd, as it were, after them, and would not stick to give any prise they could attaine too for them; accounting their bowes and arrowes but bables in comparison of them....

This Morton having [289] thus taught them y^e use of peeces, he sould them all he could spare; and he and his consorts detirmined to send for many out of England, and had by some of the ships sente for above a score. The which being knowne, and his neighbours meeting the Indians in the woods armed with guns in this sorte, it was a terrour unto them, who lived straglingly, and were of no strenght in any place. And other places (though more remote) saw this mischeefe would quietly spread over all, if not prevented. Besides, they saw they should keep no servants, for Morton would entertaine any, how vile soever, and all the scume of the countrie, or any discontents, would flock to him from all places, if this nest was not broken; and they should stand in more fear of their lives and goods (in short time) from this wicked and deboste crue, then from the salvages them selves.

So sundrie of the cheefe of the stragling plantations, meeting together, agreed by mutuall consente to sollisite those of Plimoth (who were then of more strength then them all) to joyne with them, to prevente the further growth of this mischeefe, and suppress Morton and his consortes before y^{ey} grewe to further head and strength. Those that joyned in this action (and after contributed to the charge of sending him for England) were from Pascataway, Namkeake, Winisimett, Weesagascussett, Natasco, and other places wher any English were seated. Those of Plimoth being thus sought too by their messengers and [290] letters, and waying both their reasons, and the comone danger, were willing to afford them their help; though them selves had least cause of fear or hurte. So, to be short, they first resolved joyntly to write to him, and in a freindly and neighborly way to admonish him to forbear these courses, and sent a messenger with their letters to bring his answer. But he was so highe as he scorned all advise, and asked who had to doe with him; he had and would trade peeces with the Indians in despite of all, with many other scurillous termes full of disdain. They sente to him a second time, and bad him be better advised, and more temperate in his termes, for the countrie could not beare the injure he did; it was against their comone saftie, and against y^e king's proclamation. He answerd in high terms as before, and that the kings proclamation was no law; demanding what penaltie was upon it. It was answered, more then he could [162] bear, his majesties displeasure. But insolently he persisted, and said the king was dead and his displeasure with him, and many the like things; and threatened withall that if any came to molest him, let them looke to them selves, for he would prepare for them. Upon which they saw ther was no way but to take him by force; and having so farr proceeded, now to give over would make him farr more hautie and insolente. So they mutually resolved to proceed, and obtained of the Gov^r of Plimoth to send [291] Captaine Standish, and some other aide with him, to take Morton by force. The which accordingly was done; but they found him to stand stily in his defence, having made fast his dors, armed his consorts, set diverse dishes of powder and bullets ready on the table; and if they had not been over armed with drinke, more hurt might have been done. They somaned him to yeeld, but he kept his house, and they could gett nothing but scofes and scorns from him; but at length, fearing they would doe some violence to the house, he and some of his crue came out, but not to yeeld, but to shoote; but they were so steeld with drinke as their peeces were to heavie for them; him selfe with a carbine (over charged and allmost halfe fild with powder and shote, as was after found) had thought to have shot Captaine Standish; but he stept to him, and put by his peece, and tooke him. Neither was ther any hurte done to any of either side, save y^t one was so drunke y^t he rane his owne nose upon the pointe of a sword y^t one held before him as he entred

thehouse; but he lost but a litle of his hott blood. Morton they brought away to Plimoth, wher he was kepte, till a ship went from thelle of Shols for England, with which he was sente to theCounsell of New-England; and letters writen to give them information of his course and cariage; and also one was sent at their comone charge to informe their Ho^{ts} more perticulerly, and to prosecute against him. But he foold of themessenger, after he was gone [292]from hence, and though he wente for England, yet nothing was done to him, not so much as rebukte, for ought was heard; but returned thenexte year. Some of theworst of thecompany were disperst, and some of themore modest kepte thehouse till he should be heard from. But I have been too long aboute so un-worthy a person, and bad a cause.

From Chapter XXIII Anno 1632

Also thepeople of theplantation begane to grow in their owtward estats, by reason of theflowing of many people into thecuntrie, espetially into theBay of theMassachusets; by which means corne and catle rose to a great prise, by w^{ch} many were much inriched, and comōdities grue plentifull; and yet in other regards this benefite turned to their hurte, and this accession of strength to their weaknes. For now as their stocks increased, and the[362]inrese vendible, ther was no longer any holding them togethery, but now they must of necessitie goe to their great lots; they could not other wise keep their katle; and having oxen growne, they must have land for plowing and tillage. And no man now thought he could live, except he had catle and a great deale of ground to keep them; all striving to increase their stocks. By which means they were scatered all over thebay, quickly, and the towne, in which they lived compactly till now, was left very thine, and in a short time almost desolate. And if this had been all, it had been less, thoug to much; but thechurch must also be devided, and those y^t had lived so long togethery in Christian and comfortable fellowship must now part and suffer many divissions. First, those that lived on their lots on theother side of the bay (called Duxberie) they could not long bring their wives and children to thepublick worship and church meetings here, but with such burthen, as, growing to some competente number, they sued to be dismissed and become a body of them selves; and so they were dismist (about this time), though very unwillingly. But to touch this sadd matter, and handle things together that fell out afterward. To prevent any further scatering from this place, and weakning of the same, it was thought best to give out some good farms to spetiall persons, y^t would promise to live at Plimoth, and lickly to be helpfull to thechurch or comonewelth, and so tthey^elands to [363]Plimoth as farmes for the same; and ther they might keepe their catle and tillage by some servants, and retaine their dwellings here. And so some spetiall lands were granted at a place generall, called Greens Harbor, wher no allotments had been in theformer divission, a plase very weell meadowed, and fitt to keep and rear catle, good store. But alas! this remedy proved worse then the disease; for wthin a few years those that had thus gott footing ther rente them selves away, partly by force, and partly wearing therest with importunitie and pleas of necessitie, so as they must either suffer them to goe, or live in continuall opposition and contention. And others still, as y^{ey} conceived them selves straitened, or to want accomodation, break away under one pretence or other, thinking their owne conceived necessitie, and the example of others, a warrente sufficente for them. And this, I fear, will be theruine of New-England, at least of thechurches of God ther, and will provock theLords displeasure against them.

From Chaper XXV Anno 1634

This year (in the forepart of the same) they sent forth a barke to trade at the Dutch-Plantation; and they mette therewith on Captaine Stone, that had lived in Christophers, one of the West-Ende Ilands, and now had been some time in Virginia, and came from thence into these parts. He kept company with the Dutch Governour, and, I know not in what drunken fitt, he gott leave of the Governour to cease on their barke, when they were ready to come away, and had done their markett, having the value of 500^{li}. worth of goods aboard her; having no occasion at all, or any colour of ground for such a thing, but having made the Governour drunck, so as he could scarce speake a right word; and when he urged him hear aboute, he answered him, *Als 't u beleeft*. So he gat aboard, (the cheefe of their men and marchant being ashore,) and with some of his owne men, made therest of theirs waigh anchor, sett sayle, and carry her away towards Virginia. But diverse of the Dutch sea-men, which had bene often at Plimoth, and kindly entertayned ther, said one to another, Shall we suffer our freinds to be thus abused, [386] and have their goods carried away, before our faces, whilst our Governour is drunke? They vowed they would never suffer it; and so gott a vessell or 2. and pursued him, and brought him in againe, and delivered them their barke and goods againe.

Afterwards Stone came into the Massachusets, and they sent and commensed suite against him for this facte; but by mediation of freinds it was taken up, and the suite lett fall. And in the company of some other gentle-men Stone came afterwards to Plimoth, and had freindly and civill entertainments amongst them, with therest; but revenge boyled within his brest, (though cancelled,) for some conceived he had a purpose (at one time) to have staped the Governour, and put his hand to his dagger for that end, but by Gods providence and the vigilance of some was prevented. He afterward returned to Virginia, in a pinass, with one Captaine Norton and some others; and, I know not for what occasion, they would needs goe up Coonigtecutt River; and how they carried themselves I know not, but the Indeans knockt him in the head, as he lay in his cabine, and had thrown the covering over his face (whether out of fear or desperation is uncertaine); this was his end. They likewise killed all therest, but Captaine Norton defended himselfe a long time against them all in the cooke-roume, till by accidente the gunpowder tooke fire, which (for readynes) he had sett in an open thing before him, which did [387] so burne, and scald him, and blind his eyes, as he could make no longer resistance, but was slaine also by them, though they much comended his vallour. And having killed them, they made a pray of what they had, and chafered away some of their things to the Dutch that lived ther. But it was not longe before a quarell fell betweene the Dutch and them, and they would have cutt of their bark; but they slue the cheef sachem wth the shott of a murderer.

I am now to relate some strang and remarkable passages. Ther was a company of people lived in the country, up above in the river of Conigtecutt, a great way from their trading house ther, and were enimise to those Indeans which lived aboute them, and of whom they stood in some fear (bing a stout people). About a thousand of them had inclosed them selves in a forte, which they had strongly palissadoed about. 3. or 4. Dutch men went up in the beginning of winter to live with them, to gett their trade, and prevente them for bringing it to the English, or to fall into amitie with them; but at spring to bring all downe to their place. But their enterprise failed, for it pleased God to visite these Indeans with a great sicknes, and such a mortalitie that of a 1000. above 900. and a halfe of them dyed, and many of them did rott above ground for want of buriall, and the Dutch men [388] almost starved before they could gett away, for ice and snow. But about Feb: they got with much difficultie to their trading house; whom they kindly releaved,

being almost spent with hunger and cold. Being thus refreshed by them diverse days, they got to their own place, and the Dutch were very thankful for this kindness.

This spring, also, those Indians that lived about their trading house there fell sick of the small pox, and died most miserably; for a sorer disease cannot befall them; they fear it more than the plague; for usually they that have this disease have them in abundance, and for want of bedding and lining and other helps, they fall into a lamentable condition, as they lie on their hard mats, the pox breaking and mattering, and running one into another, their skin cleaving (by reason thereof) to the mats they lie on; when they turne them, a whole side will flea off at once, [204] (as it were,) and they will be all of a gore blood, most fearful to behold; and then being very sore, what with cold and other distempers, they dothelike rotten sheep. The condition of this people was so lamentable, and they fell downe so generally of this disease, as they were (in the end) not able to help one another; no, not to make a fire, nor to fetch a little water to drinke, nor any to bury the dead; but would strive as long as they could, and when they could procure no other means to make fire, they [389] would burne the wooden trays and dishes they ate their meate in, and their very bowes and arrowes; and some would crawl out on all fours to get a little water, and some times do the by the way, and not be able to gett in againe. But those of the English house, (though at first they were afraid of the infection,) yet seeing their woeful and sad condition, and hearing their pitifull cries and lamentations, they had compassion of them, and daily fetched them wood and water, and made them fires, gott them victuals whilst they lived, and buried them when they dyed. For very few of them escaped, notwithstanding they did what they could for them, to the hazard of themselves. The cheefe Sachem himselfe now dyed, and almost all his friends and kinred. But by the marvelous goodness and providence of God not one of the English was so much as sicke, or in the least measure tainted with this disease, though they daily did these offices for them for many weeks together. And this mercie which they shewed them was kindly taken, and thankfully acknowledged of all the Indians that knew or heard of the same; and their m^{rs} here did much commend and reward them for the same.

From Chapter XXVII Anno. 1636

In the year 1634, the Pequots (a stout and warlike people), who had made wars with sundry of [416] their neighbours, and puffed up with many victories, grew now at variance with the Narragansets, a great people bordering upon them. These Narragansets held correspondance and termes of freindship with the English of the Massachusetts. Now y^e Pequots, being conscious of the guilt of Captain-Stones death, whom they knew to be an English man, as also those y^t were with him, and being fallen out with y^e Dutch, least they should have over many enemies at once, sought to make freindship with the English of the Massachusetts; and for y^t end sent both messengers and gifts unto them, as appears by some letters sent from the Gov^r hither.

Dear and worthy S^r: andc. To let you know somewhat of our affairs, you may understand that the Pequots have sent some of theirs to us, to desire our freindship, and offered much wampam and beaver, andc. The first messengers were dismissed without answer; with the next we had diverse dayes conference, and taking the advice of some of our ministers, and seeking the Lord in it, we concluded a peace and freindship with them, upon these conditions: that they should deliver up to us those men who were guilty of Stones death, andc. And if we desired to plant in Conightcutte, they should give up their right to us, and so we would send

to trade with them as our freinds (which was thecheefe thing we aimed at, being now in warr with theDutch and therest of their neighbours). To this they readily agreed; and that we should meadiate a peace betweene them and the Narigansetts; for which end they were contente we should give the Narigansets parte of y^t presente, they would bestow on us [417](for they stood [219] so much on their honour, as they would not be seen to give any thing of them selves). As for Captein Stone, they tould us ther were but 2. left of those who had any hand in his death; and that they killed him in a just quarell, for (say they) he surprised 2. of our men, and bound them, to make them by force to shew him theway up theriver;and he with 2. other coming on shore, 9. Indeans watched him, and when they were a sleepe in thenight, they kiled them, to deliver their owne men; and some of them going afterwards to thepinass, it was suddainly blowne up. We are now preparing to send a pinass unto them, andc.

In an other of his, dated the12. of thefirst month, he hath this.

Our pinass is latly returned from thePequents; they put of but litle comoditie, and found them a very false people, so as they mean to have no more to doe with them. I have diverce other things to write unto you, andc.

Yours ever assured,

Jo: Winthrop.

Boston, 12. of the1. month, 1634.

After these things, and, as I take, this year, John Oldom, (of whom much is spoken before,) being now an inhabitant of theMassachusetts, went wth a small vessell, and slenderly mand, a trading into these south parts, and upon a quarell betweene him and theIndeans was cutt of by them (as hath been before noted) at an iland called by y^eIndeans Munisses, but since by [418]theEnglish Block Iland. This, with theformer about the death of Stone, and the baffoyling of thePequents with theEnglish of y^eMassachusetts, moved them to set out some to take revenge, and require satisfaction for these wrongs; but it was done so superficially, and without their acquainting of those of Conightecute and other neighbours with thesame, as they did litle good. But their neighbours had more hurt done, for some of themurderers of Oldome fled to y^ePequents, and though the English went to thePequents, and had some parley with them, yet they did but delude them, and theEnglish returned without doing any thing to purpose, being frustrate of their oppertunitie by theothers deceite. After theEnglish were returned, the Pequents tooke their time and oppertunitie to cut of some of y^eEnglish as they passed in boats, and went on fouling, and assaulted them thenext spring at their habytations, as will appear in its place. I doe but touch these things, because I make no question they wall be more fully and distinctly handled by them

selves, who had more exacte knowledg of them, and whom they did more properly concerne.

From Chapter XXVIII anno 1637

In thefore parte of this year, the Pequents fell openly upon theEnglish at Conightecute, in the lower parts of the river, and slew sundry of them, (as they were at work in y^e fields,) both men and women, to the great terrour of the rest; and wente away in great prid and triumph, with many high threats. They also assaltd a fort at the rivers mouth, though strong and well defended; and though they did not their prevaile, yet it struk them with much fear and astonishment to see their bould attempts in the face of danger; which made them in all places to stand upon their gard, and to prepare for resistance, and earnestly to solissite their freinds and confederats in the Bay of Massachusetts to send them speedy aide, for they looked for more forcible assaults. M^r. Vane, being then Gov^r, write from their Generall Courte to them hear, to joyne with them in this warr; to [420] which they were cordially willing, but tooke opportunitie to write to them aboute some former things, as well as presente, considerable hereaboute....

In the mean time, the Pequents, espetially in the winter before, sought to make peace with the Narigansets, and used very pernicious arguments to move them therunto: as that the English were stranegers and begane to overspred their countrie, and would deprive them therof in time, if they were suffered to grow and increse; and if y^e Narigansets did assist the English to subdue them, they did but make way for their owne overthrow, for if they were rooted out, the English would soone take occasion to subjugate them; and if they would harken to them, they should not neede to fear the strength of the English; for they would not come to open battle with them, but fire their houses, kill their katle, and lthein ambush for them as they went abroad upon their occasions; and all this they might easily doe without any or litle danger to them selves. The which course being held, they well saw the English could not long subsiste, but they would either be starved with hunger, or be forced to forsake the countrie; with many thelike things; insomuch [424] that the Narigansets were once wavering, and were halfe minded to have made peace with them, and joyed against the English. But againe when they considered, how much wrong they had received from the Pequents, and what an oppertunitie they now had by the help of the English to right them selves, revenge was so sweete unto them, as it prevailed above all therest; so as they resolved to joyne with the English against them, and did. [223] The Court here agreed forwith to send 50. men at their owne charg; and wth as much speed as posible they could, gott them armed, and had made them ready under sufficiente leaders, and provided a barke to carrie them provisions and tend upon them for all occasions; but when they were ready to march (with a supply from the Bay) they had word to stay, for the enemy was as good as vanquished, and their would be no neede.

I shall not take upon me exactly to describe their proceedings in these things, because I expecte it will be fully done by them selves, who best know the carrage and circumstances of things; I shall therefore but touch them in generall. From Connightecute (who were most sencible of the hurt sustained, and the present danger), they sett out a partie of men, and an other partie mett them from the Bay, at the Narigansets, who were to joyne with them. the Narigansets were earnest to be gone before the English were well rested and refreshte, espetially some of them which came last. [425] It should seeme their desire was to come upon the enemy sudenly, and undiscovered. Ther was a barke of this place, newly put in ther, which was come from Conightecutte, who did encourage them to lay hold of the Indeans forwardnes, and to shew as

great forwardnes as they, for it would incorage them, and expedition might prove to their great advantage. So they went on, and so ordered their march, as the Indeans brought them to a forte of theenimies (in which most of their cheefe men were) before day. They approached thesame with great silence, and surrounded it both with English and Indeans, that they might not breake out; and so assualted them with great courage, shooting amongst them, and entered theforte with all speed; and those y^t first entered found sharp resistance from the enimie, who both shott at and graped with them; others rane into their howses, and brought out fire, and sett them on fire, which soone tooke in their matts, and, standing close togeather, with thewind, all was quickly on a flame, and therby more were burnte to death then was otherwise slaine; it burnte their bowstrings, and made them unservisable. Those y^t scaped thefire were slaine with thesword; some hewed to peeces, others rune throw with their rapiers, so as they were quickly dispatchte, and very few escaped. It was conceived they thus destroyed about 400. at this time. It was a fearfull sight to see them thus frying in thefyer, and thestreams of blood [426]quenching thesame, and horrible was thestinck and sente ther of; but thevictory seemed a sweete sacrifice, and they gave the prays therof to God, who had wrought so wonderfully for them, thus to inclose their enimise in their hands, and give them so speedy a victory over so proud and insulting an enimie. The Narigansett Indeans, all this while, stood round aboute, but aloofe from all danger, and left thewhole [224] execution to theEnglish, exept it were thestopping of any y^t broke away, insulting over their enimies in this their ruine and miserie, when they saw them dancing in theflames, calling them by a word in their owne language, signifying, O brave Pequents! which they used familiarly among them selves in their own prayes, in songs of triumph after their victories. After this servis was thus happily accomplished, they marcht to the water side, wher they mett with some of their vesells, by which they had refreishing with victualls and other necessaries. But in their march therest of thePequents drew into a body, and acoasted them, thinking to have some advantage against them by reason of a neck of land; but when they saw the English prepare for them, they kept a loofe, so as they neither did hurt, nor could receive any. After their refreishing and repair to geather for further counsell and directions, they resolved to pursue their victory, and follow thewarr against therest, but theNarigansett Indeans [427]most of them forsooke them, and such of them as they had with them for guides, or otherwise, they found them very could and backward in thebussines, ether out of envie, or y^t they saw theEnglish would make more profite of thevictorie then they were willing they should, or els deprive them of such advantage as them selves desired by having them become tributaries unto them, or thelike....

That I may make an end of this matter: this Sassacouse (thePequents cheefe sachem) being fled to theMowhakes, they cutt of his head, with some other of thecheefe of them, whether to satisfie theEnglish, or rather theNarigansets, (who, as I have since heard, hired them to doe it,) or for their owne advantage, I well know not; but thus this warr tooke end. The rest of thePequents were wholly driven from their place, and some of them submitted them selves to theNarigansets, and lived under them; others of them betooke them selves to theMonhiggs, under Uncass, their sachem, wth the approbation of theEnglish of Conightecutt, under whose protection Uncass lived, and he and his men had been faithful to them in this warr, and done them very good service. But this did so vexe [431]the Narrigansetts, that they had not thewhole sweay over them, as they have never ceased plotting and contriving how to bring them under, and because they cannot attaine their ends, because of theEnglish who have protected them, they have sought to raise a generall conspiracie against theEnglish

from Chapter 32 (1642)

There was a youth whose name was Thomas Granger; he was servant to an honest man of Duxbury, being about 16 or 17 years of age. (His father and mother lived at the same time at Situate.) He was this year detected of buggery (and indicted for the same) with a mare, a cowe, tow goats, five sheep, two calves, and a turkey. Horrible it is to mention, but the truth of the history requires it. He was first discovered by one that^t accidentally saw his lewd practice towards the mare. (I forbear particulars.) Being upon it examined and committed, in the end he not only confest the fact with that beast at that time, but sundry times before, and at several times with all the rest of the forenamed in his indictment; and this his free-confession was not only in private to the magistrates, (though at first he strived to deny it,) but to sundry, both ministers and others, and afterwards, upon his indictment, to the whole court and jury; and confirmed it at his execution. And whereas some of the sheep could not so well be known by his description of them, others with them were brought before him, and he declared which were they, and which were not. And accordingly he was cast by the jury, and condemned, and after executed about the eighth of September, 1642. A very sad spectacle it was; for first the mare, and then the cow, and the rest of the lesser cattle, were killed before his face, according to the law, *Levit: 20. 15.* and then he himself was executed. The cattle were all cast into a great and large pit that was digged of purpose for them, and no use made of any part of them.

Upon the examination of this person, and also of a former that had made some sodomitical attempts upon another, it being demanded of them how they came first to the knowledge and practice of such wickedness, the one confessed he had long used it in old England; and this youth last spoken of said he was taught it by another that had heard of such things from some in England when he was there, and they kept cattle together. By which it appears how one wicked person may infect many; and what care all ought to have what servants they bring into their families.

But it may be demanded how came it to pass that so many wicked persons and profane people should so quickly come over into this land, and mixe them selves amongst them? seeing it was religious men y^t begane thework, and they came for religions sake. I confess this may be marvelled at, at least in time to come, when the reasons therof should not be knowne; and themore because here was so many hardships and wants mett withall. I shall therefore indeavor to give some answer hereunto. And first, according to y^t in thegospell, it is ever to be remembered that wher theLord begins to sow good seed, ther theenvious man will endeavore to sow tares. 2. Men being to come over into a wildernes, in which much labour and servise was to be done aboute building and planting, andc., such as wanted help in y^t respecte, when they could not have such as y^{ey} would, were glad to take such as they could; and so, many untoward servants, sundry of them proved, that were thus brought over, both men and women kind: who, when their times were expired, became families of them selves, which gave increase hereunto. 3. An other and a maine reason hearof was, that men, finding [477]so many godly disposed persons willing to come into these parts, some begane to make a trade of it, to transeport passengers and their goods, and hired ships for that end; and then, to make up their freight and advance their profite, cared not who thepersons were, so they had money to pay them. And by this means the cuntrie became pestered with many unworthy persons, who, being come over, crept into one place or other. 4. Againe, the Lords blessing usually following his people, as well in outward as spirituall things, (though afflictions be mixed withall,) doe make many to adhear to thepeople of God, as many followed Christ, for theloaves sake, John 6. 26. and a mixed multitud came into thewilldernes with thepeople of God out of Eagipte of old, Exod. 12. 38; so allso ther were sente by their freinds some under hope y^t they would be made better; others that they might be eased

of such burthens, and they kept from shame at home y^t would necessarily follow their dissolute courses. And thus, by one means or other, in 20. years time, it is a question whether the greater part be not growne the worser.

from Chapter 34(1644)

Mr. Edward Winslow was chosen Governor this year.

Many having left this place (as is before noted) by reason of the straightness and barrenness of the same, and their finding of better accommodations elsewhere, more suitable to their ends and minds; and sundry others still upon every occasion desiring their dismissions, the church began seriously to think whether it were not better jointly to remove to some other place, then to be thus weakened, and as it were insensibly dissolved. Many meetings and much consultation was held hearabout, and diverse were men's minds and opinions. Some were still for staying together in this place, aledging men might hear live, if they would be content with their condition; and yet it was not for want or necessity so much that they removed, as for the enriching of themselves. Others were resolute upon removal, and so signified y^t hear y^{ey} could not stay; but if the church did not remove, they must; insomuch as many were swayed, rather then ther should be a dissolution, to condescend to a removall, if a fitt place could be found, that might more conveniently and comfortable [508] receive the whole, with such accession of others as might come to them, for their better strength and subsistence; and some such like cautions and limitations. So as, with the afforesaide provissos, the greater parte consented to a removall to a place called Nawsett, which had been superficially veiwed and the good will of the purchassers (to whom it belonged) obtained, with some addition thertoo from the Courte. But now they begane to see their errour, that they had given away already the best and most comōdious places to others, and now wanted them selves; for this place was about 50. myles from hence, and at an outside of the cōuntry, remote from all society; also, that it would prove so strait, as it would not be competente to receive the whole body, much less be capable of any addition or increase; so as (at least in a shorte time) they should be worse ther then they are now hear. The which, with sundry other like considerations and inconveniences, made them chaing their resolutions; but such as were before resolved upon removall tooke advantage of this agremente, and wente on notwithstanding, neither could therest hinder them, they haveing made some begiñing. And thus was this poore church left, like an anciente mother, growne olde, and forsaken of her children, (though not in their affections,) yett in regarde of their bodily presence and personall helpfulness. Her anciente members being most of them worne away by death; and these of later time being [509] like children translated into other families, and she like a widow left only to trust in God. Thus she that had made many rich became her selfe poore.