

INDEX

<u>Headings.</u>	<u>Page No.</u>
Foreword and Poem of Billericay by Lily May Ager	3
Billericay and the Great Migration –	
Chapter One – Origins of Billericay in Essex to Puritan times	4
Chapter Two – England under the Tudors.	
Henry VII 1485-1509)	5 - 8
Henry VIII 1509-1547	8 - 11
Edward VI 1547-1553	11 - 12
Mary I 1553-1558	12 - 13
Elizabeth I 1558-1603	13 - 15
(Mary Queen of Scots)	15 - 18
Economy and Society	18 - 19
Government and Society	19
The early Stuarts and the Commonwealth – England in 1603 Economy and Society	20 - 21
Government and Society	21
James I (1603-1625)	
Triple Monarchy, Religious Policy	22
Finance and Politics, Factions & Favourites	22 - 24
Charles I (1625-1649)	
The Politics of War	24 - 25
Peace and Reform, Religious reform	25 - 26
The Long Parliament	26 - 27
Civil War and Revolution and England during the Civil War	27 - 28
Commonwealth and Protectorate	29 - 30
The later Stuarts – Charles II (1660-1685)	
The restoration	30 - 31
War and Government, The Popish Plot	31 - 32
The exclusion crisis and the Tory reaction	32
James II (1685-1688) – Church and King.	32 - 33
The revolution of 1688	33
William III (1689-1702) and Mary II	
The revolution settlement.	33 - 34
A new society, The sinews of War	34 - 35
Anne (1702-1714)	
Last of the Stuarts	35
Whigs & Tories, Tories and Jacobites	35 - 36
Eighteenth Century Britain 1714 to 1815	
Britain in 1714.	36 - 37
Chapter Three – The Puritans (The Pilgrim Fathers)	37 - 38
Chapter Four – The Mayflower (By Lily May Ager)	38 - 40
Chapter Five – Christopher Martin.	40 - 42
Chapter Six – A chronological account	42 - 44
The 41 Signatories and ‘Strangers’ to the Mayflower Compact	
1. John Alden	44 - 45
2. Isaac Allerton	45 - 46
Mary Allerton	46
3. John Allerton	46
4. John Billington	46
Eleanor Billington	46
5. William Bradford	46 - 47
6. William Brewster	47 - 48
7. Richard Britteridge	48
8. Peter Browne	48
William Butten	49
Robert Carter	49
9. John Carver	49
10. James Chilton	49
11. Richard Clarke	49
12. Francis Cooke	49 - 50
Humility Cooper	50
13. John Crackstone	50
14. Edward Doty	50
15. Francis Eaton	51
16. Thomas English	51
17. Moses Fletcher	51
18. Edward Fuller	51
19. Samuel Fuller (and his Will)	51 - 53
20. Richard Gardinar	53
21. John Goodman	53
William Holbeck	53
John Hooke	53 - 54
22. Stephen Hopkins	54
23. John Howland	54
John Langmore	55
William Latham	55
24. Edward Leister	55
25. Edward Margesson	55
26. Christopher Martin (see Chapter Five)	55

...	...	Desire Minter	...	...	...	55 - 56
...	...	Ellen, Jasper, Richard and Mary More	...	...	...	56
...	27.	William Mullins	...	...	...	56
...	28.	Degory Priest	...	...	...	56 - 57
...	29.	John Rigsdale	...	...	...	57
...	30.	Thomas Rogers	...	...	...	57
...	...	Henry Samson	...	...	...	57
...	31.	George Soule	...	...	...	58
...	32.	Myles Standish	...	...	...	58 - 59
...	...	Elias Story	...	...	...	59
...	...	Edward Thompson	...	...	...	59
...	33.	Edward Tilley	...	...	...	59
...	34.	John Tilley	...	...	...	59
...	35.	Thomas Tinker	...	...	...	59
...	...	William Trevore	...	...	...	59
...	36.	John Turner	...	...	...	60
...	37.	Richard Warren	...	...	...	60
...	38.	William White	...	...	...	60 - 61
...	...	Roger Wilder	...	...	...	61
...	39.	Thomas Williams	...	...	...	61
...	40.	Edward Winslow	...	...	...	62
...	41.	Gilbert Winslow	...	...	...	62
...	...	Mr. Ely	...	...	...	62
...	...	Dorothy (Maid Servant to John Carver)	...	...	...	62 - 63
Chapter Seven – Pilgrims and Officers to America on this ship.						
John Clarke (Pilot & Masters Mate, Robert Coppin (Masters Mate), John Alden (Cooper)						
Giles Heale (Surgeon)						63
Chapter Eight – The Manuscript						
Chapter Nine – More history of the Mayflower (in poem by Lily May Ager)						
Billericay's Martyrs						202
The Old Mill						202 - 203
St. Mary Magdalen						203
Billericay High Street						204
Commemoration of Four Hundred years						204 - 205
Early Jamestown Settlement						205 - 206
The Second Charter						206 - 207
Arrival of Sir Thomas Dale						208
A permanent foothold						208
The Virginia Company of London and Plymouth and the Royal Charters						209
A timeline of events of the Virginia Companies						209 - 212
Other emigrant ships during the early seventeenth century						212 - 217
Jamestown – A Timeline						217 - 226
The Mayflower and ships following 1620						226 - 235
Chapter ten – A biography of some of the Essex passengers and families						
Notes and A retrospect of the family and village connections with Essex						236 - 253
						253 - 255

FOREWORD

It is certainly a subject matter of great interest, of theory, myth and fact all thrown into the last four hundred years and quite arguably, before that added to which, the supposition amongst family history concludes that some thirty-five million people worldwide can trace their roots back to this time.

This booklet, as far as the Basildon Borough Heritage Society is concerned, is meant to put into some perspective, and in that context, starting with a poem, penned along with others of the Billericay area, by Lily May Ager, a date we know not, she was an Elementary School Teacher, from Southminster in 1902 and who died in Billericay in 1978. She taught in London pre-war and then possibly in the Billericay Primary School post war into the early 1950's. This legacy of poetry reflects fairly on the town and the borough over two millennia. We have constructed the document to be used for reference purposes rather than as an authoritative booklet. Invariably some references will, at first glance appear to have no direct link, but we have endeavoured to explain that in the various sections linked to events included herein.

BILLERICAY

O, little Essex country town,
With a name so strange a mystery!
The hidden past alone knows why
Thou wert thus called Billericay.

'Tis known that Bronze Age man once lived
In thee and thy vicinity.
And some suggest that thou wert named
From Bel, an old divinity.

On Bell Hill's mound, the legend runs,
Men built an altar to this god
In times so distant, there's no proof
That e'er the feet of priests here trod.

Long after came the Roman bold.
We know the sites of camps he built;
His burial grounds: the roads he took
When British Queen much blood near spilt;

But what he called thee is unknown,
Though likely 'twas in Latin speech.
Some say that Count of Saxon shore
Here dwelt, his coastlands within reach.

The Saxon nearby, built his fort
When Roman Britain passed from Roman hands,
And from thy hill, on Crouch and Thames
Men saw the raiding Danish hands.

E'en later still, when Norman power
Brought ruthless, yet a stable rule,
The Domesday Book gives us no clue
As to thy name in times so cruel.

In Middle Ages, thou went called
As now, Full well Wat Tyler's band
Knew thee, as they in Norsey wood
Against the king made their last stand.

Kings charter gave thee market rights
In legal hand thy name was writ.
Here preaching men of martyr strain
Reform's new lamp of learning lit.

And then the Pilgrim, wresting long
With love of thee, to new land bound,
Went overseas, and took with him
Thy name, to plant on freedom's ground.

Thus on two continents thou art known
In spite of origin obscure,
With liberty thy name long linked,
'Gainst tyranny of conscience, sure.

BILLERICAY AND THE GREAT MIGRATION

Chapter 1 – Origins.

Essex is one of the largest of the six “Home Counties” of England and its maritime position has long since given it considerable importance. For more than a thousand years it has represented in brief, the history of England and we shall understand much better, the progress and development of England as a whole, if we carefully absorb the geography and history of this county. We do not know for certain when Billericay was first inhabited, but relics of the middle Stone Age, indicate some sort of settlement during that period, have been found in the area. However, there is definite evidence of a fair-size Bronze Age settlement in the area. These Bronze aged people buried their dead in Norsey Wood where there were two Bronze Age burial grounds. We do not know where they lived but it must have been somewhere nearby. We know that there was quite a large Iron Age settlement in the area. Iron Age remains have been discovered over the years, but there is no definite evidence to show precisely where the Iron Age settlement was situated.

The Trinovantes were one of the Celtic tribes of pre-Roman Britain. Their territory was on the north side of the Thames Estuary in current Essex and included areas in Hertfordshire and Suffolk as well as lands now located in the greater area of London. These tribes were bordered to the north by the Iceni and to the west by the Catuvellauni. These ancient Britons were hunters and protective of the areas they claimed, so the high ground around Billericay, was admirable for their purposes as it overlooked the surrounding woodlands which held ample stocks of wildlife.

There is no doubt there was a Roman settlement in the Billericay area. Billericay is accepted as the site of a small Roman town by all the leading authorities, but in the absence of conclusive proof the sight of the town must have been a matter for conjecture. The Roman occupation under Claudius in A.D. 43 established a military station and fort at Blunts Wall, to the south-west of the modern town. Traces of this fort, covering about four acres, could be seen until the early part of the last century, and the Essex historian Morant gives a full description of this site which they thought eminently suitable for defence and the policing of the surrounding areas. With the recall of the Roman Legions in A.D.410, Essex was left open to the marauding Saxons, and by the end of the fifth century, the whole of Essex was under Saxon rule. They, being essentially a farming community, the Saxons preferred to settle in the more fertile area about a mile to the south of the Roman Camp.

Remains of the Roman occupation of Britain have been found over wide area of Billericay, at Outward Common, in Norsey Wood, in the High Street and off Perry Street. Among the finds have been coins, including a hoard of 1100 Romano-British coins, tiles, remains of Roman burials and fragments of Roman paving equipment. Roman Billericay must have been quite an important place.

The translation of the Anglo-Saxon name for this settlement is “The Farmstead Near to the Stronghold” which we know today as Great Burstead which also became the seat of the Lord of the Manor, and, with the advent of Christianity, it also became the centre of the parish and remained so for two and a half centuries from the Norman conquest.

During the dark ages, the main centre of population in the area was at Great Burstead, some two miles from the present town. This early predominance of Great Burstead is responsible for an anomaly which persisted until the 19th century, the fact that Billericay was part of the parish of Great Burstead. Billericay soon became the main ecclesiastical centre of the parish, but Great Burstead remained the equal to God a classical capital, a reminder of the days when Great Burstead was the main centre of population in the parish and the town of Billericay did not exist. During the 9th and 10th centuries Billericay began to grow on its present site. By the time of Domesday book, Billericay, with a population of about four hundred, was already larger than Great Burstead, with a population between one and two hundred.

The origin of the name Billericay is uncertain. Several suggestions have been made to account for it, but none of them have been shown to be correct beyond reasonable doubt. It first occurs in ancient documents as “Byllyrica” in 1291. A number of spellings were used throughout the centuries, but by the 17th century Billerica was the first standard form. The final “y” has been added only in the last two hundred years. Billericay continued to be just an outlying district, the church of St. Mary Magdalen at Great Burstead remained the only place of Christian worship in the area. The main impetus to Billericay's development was given by the grant of a market charter in 1253. A later charter also granted the right to hold two annual fairs. The grant of a market charter established Billericay as the main town and the commercial centre of the Barstable Hundred, stretching from Tilbury and Benfleet in the South to Doddington and Downham in the North. Billericay was also a “haven town” where goods were allocated and stored before being exported abroad. One must remember that the Thames is close by, while the Crouch was navigable as far as Wickford then.

Life in mediaeval Billericay was not without excitement . A number of men participated in the peasants revolt of 1381, after Richard II broke his promises and Wat Tyler was killed at Smithfield, the Essex members of the revolt fled to Billericay and barricaded themselves in Norsey Wood. Here they were pursued by an army led by a Sir Thomas of Woodstock and Sir Thomas Percy, and the Battle of Billericay followed. The rebels were no match for the trained soldiers, and some five hundred of their number were killed.

Billericay had one feature which distinguished it from many other small towns, it would be no exaggeration to say that, for its size, it was one of the most violent puritan towns in England. The puritan beliefs of the people of Billericay were not lightly held. As early as the reign of Henry VIII a Billericay man suffered martyrdom for his religious beliefs during.

During the reign of Queen Mary, two Billericay men and four women suffered martyrdom. Three of them were teenagers. No other town in England of similar size made a greater sacrifice.

Chapter 2 - England under the Tudors

Henry VII (1485–1509)

When Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, seized the throne on August 22, 1485, leaving the Yorkist Richard III dead upon the field of battle, few Englishmen would have predicted that 118 years of Tudor rule had begun. Six sovereigns had come and gone, and at least 15 major battles had been fought between rival contenders to the throne since that moment in 1399 when the divinity that “doth hedge a king” was violated and Richard II was forced to abdicate. Simple arithmetic forecast that Henry VII would last no more than a decade and that the Battle of Bosworth Field was nothing more than another of the erratic swings of the military pendulum in the struggle between the house of York and the house of Lancaster. What gave Henry Tudor victory in 1485 was not so much personal charisma as the fact that key noblemen deserted Richard III at the moment of his greatest need, that Thomas Stanley (2nd Baron Stanley) and his brother Sir William stood aside during most of the battle in order to be on the winning team, and that Louis XI of France supplied the Lancastrian forces with 1,000 mercenary troops.

The desperateness of the new monarch’s gamble was equalled only by the doubtfulness of his claim. Henry VII’s Lancastrian blood was tainted by illegitimacy twice over. He was descended on his mother’s side from the Beaufort family, the offspring of John of Gaunt and his mistress Katherine Swynford, and, though their children had been legitimized by act of Parliament, they had been specifically barred from the succession. His father’s genealogy was equally suspect: Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, was born to Catherine of Valois, widowed Queen of Henry V, by her clerk of the wardrobe, Owen Tudor, and the precise marital status of their relationship has never been established. Had quality of Plantagenet blood, not military conquest, been the essential condition of monarchy, Edward, Earl of Warwick, the 10-year-old nephew of Edward IV, would have sat upon the throne. Might, not soiled right, had won out on the high ground at Bosworth Field, and Henry VII claimed his title by conquest. The new king wisely sought to fortify his doubtful genealogical pretension, however, first by parliamentary acclamation and then by royal marriage. The Parliament of November 1485 did not confer regal power on the first Tudor monarch—victory in war had already done that—but it did acknowledge Henry as “our new sovereign lord.” Then, on January 18, 1486, Henry VII married Elizabeth of York, the eldest daughter of Edward IV, thereby uniting “the white rose and the red” and launching England upon a century of “smooth-faced peace with smiling plenty.”

“God’s fair ordinance,” which Shakespeare and later generations so clearly observed in the events of 1485–86, was not limited to military victory, parliamentary sanction, and a fruitful marriage; the hidden hand of economic, social, and intellectual change was also on Henry’s side. The day was coming when the successful prince would be more praised than the heroic monarch and the solvent sovereign more admired than the pious one. Henry Tudor was probably no better or worse than the first Lancastrian, Henry IV; they both worked diligently at their royal craft and had to fight hard to keep their crowns, but the seventh Henry achieved what the fourth had not—a secure and permanent dynasty—because England in 1485 was moving into a period of unprecedented economic growth and social change.

Economy and society.

By 1485 the kingdom had begun to recover from the demographic catastrophe of the Black Death and the agricultural depression of the late 14th century. As the 15th century came to a close, the rate of population growth began to increase and continued to rise throughout the following century. The population, which in 1400 may have dropped as low as 2.5 million, had by 1600 grown to about 4 million. More people meant more mouths to feed, more backs to cover, and more vanity to satisfy. In response, yeoman farmers, gentleman sheep growers, urban cloth manufacturers, and merchant adventurers produced a social and economic revolution. With extraordinary speed, the export of raw wool gave way to the export of woolen cloth manufactured at home, and the wool clothier or entrepreneur was soon buying fleece from sheep raisers, transporting the wool to cottagers for spinning and weaving, paying the farmer’s wife and children by the piece, and collecting the finished article for shipment to Bristol, London, and eventually Europe. By the time Henry VII seized the throne, the Merchant Adventurers, an association of London cloth exporters, were controlling the London-Antwerp market. By 1496 they were a chartered organization with a legal monopoly of the woolen cloth trade, and, largely as a consequence of their political and international importance, Henry successfully negotiated the Intercursus Magnus, a highly favourable commercial treaty between England and the Low Countries.

As landlords increased the size of their flocks to the point that ruminants outnumbered human beings 3 to 1 and as clothiers grew rich on the wool trade, inflation injected new life into the economy. England was caught up in a vast European spiral of rising prices, declining real wages, and cheap money. Between 1500 and 1540, prices in England doubled, and they doubled again in the next generation. In 1450 the cost of wheat was what it had been in 1300; by 1550 it had tripled. Contemporaries blamed inflation on human greed and only slowly began to perceive that rising

prices were the result of inflationary pressures brought on by the increase in population, international war, and the flood of gold and silver arriving from the New World.

Inflation and the wool trade together created an economic and social upheaval. A surfeit of land, a labour shortage, low rents, and high wages, which had prevailed throughout the early 15th century as a consequence of economic depression and reduced population, were replaced by a land shortage, a labour surplus, high rents, and declining wages.

The landlord, who a century before could find neither tenants nor labourers for his land and had left his fields fallow, could now convert his meadows into sheep runs. His rents and profits soared; his need for labour declined, for one shepherd and his dog could do the work of half a dozen men who had previously tilled the same field. Slowly the medieval system of land tenure and communal farming broke down.

The common land of the manor was divided up and fenced in, and the peasant farmer who held his tenure either by copy (a document recorded in the manor court) or by unwritten custom was evicted. The total extent of enclosure and eviction is difficult to assess, but, between 1455 and 1607, in 34 counties more than 500,000 acres (200,000 hectares), or about 2.75 percent of the total, were enclosed, and some 50,000 persons were forced off the land. Statistics, however, are deceptive regarding both the emotional impact and the extent of change. The most disturbing aspect of the land revolution was not the emergence of a vagrant and unemployable labour force for whom society felt no social responsibility but an unprecedented increase in what men feared most—change. Farming techniques were transformed, the gap between rich and poor increased, the timeless quality of village life was upset, and, on all levels of society, old families were being replaced by new.

The beneficiaries of change, as always, were the most grasping, the most ruthless, and the best educated segments of the population: the landed country gentlemen and their socially inferior cousins, the merchants and lawyers. By 1500 the essential economic basis for the landed country gentleman's future political and social ascendancy was being formed: the 15th-century knight of the shire was changing from a desperate and irresponsible land proprietor, ready to support the baronial feuding of the Wars of the Roses, into a respectable landowner desiring strong, practical government and the rule of law. The gentry did not care whether Henry VII's royal pedigree could bear close inspection; their own lineage was not above suspicion, and they were willing to serve the prince "in parliament, in council, in commission and other offices of the commonwealth."

Dynastic threats

It is no longer fashionable to call Henry VII a "new monarch," and, indeed, if the first Tudor had a model for reconstructing the monarchy, it was the example of the great medieval kings. Newness, however, should not be totally denied Henry Tudor; his royal blood was very "new," and the extraordinary efficiency of his regime introduced a spirit into government that had rarely been present in the medieval past. It was, in fact, "newness" that governed the early policy of the reign, for the Tudor dynasty had to be secured and all those with a better or older claim to the throne liquidated. Elizabeth of York was deftly handled by marriage; the sons of Edward IV had already been removed from the list, presumably murdered by their uncle Richard III; and Richard's nephew Edward Plantagenet, the young earl of Warwick, was promptly imprisoned. But the descendants of Edward IV's sister and daughters remained a threat to the new government. Equally dangerous was the persistent myth that the younger of the two princes murdered in the Tower of London had escaped his assassin and that the earl of Warwick had escaped his jailers.

The existence of pretenders acted as a catalyst for further baronial discontent and Yorkist aspirations, and in 1487 John de la Pole, a nephew of Edward IV by his sister Elizabeth, with the support of 2,000 mercenary troops paid for with Burgundian gold, landed in England to support the pretensions of Lambert Simnel, who passed himself off as the authentic Earl of Warwick. Again Henry Tudor was triumphant in war; at the Battle of Stoke, de la Pole was killed and Simnel captured and demoted to a scullery boy in the royal kitchen. Ten years later Henry had to do it all over again, this time with a handsome Flemish lad named Perkin Warbeck, who for six years was accepted in Yorkist circles in Europe as the real Richard IV, brother of the murdered Edward V. Warbeck tried to take advantage of Cornish anger against heavy royal taxation and increased government efficiency and sought to lead a Cornish army of social malcontents against the Tudor throne. It was a measure of the new vigour and popularity of the Tudor monarchy, as well as the support of the gentry, that social revolution and further dynastic war were total failures, and Warbeck found himself in the Tower along with the earl of Warwick. In the end both men proved too dangerous to live, even in captivity, and in 1499 they were executed.

The policy of dynastic extermination did not cease with the new century. Under Henry VIII, the Duke of Buckingham (who was descended from the youngest son of Edward III) was killed in 1521; the Earl of Warwick's sister, the countess of Salisbury, was beheaded in 1541 and her descendants harried out of the land; and in January 1547 the poet Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, the grandson of Buckingham, was put to death. By the end of Henry VIII's reign, the job had been so well done that the curse of Edward III's fecundity had been replaced by the opposite problem: the Tudor line proved to be infertile when it came to producing healthy male heirs. Henry VII sired Arthur, who died in 1502, and Henry VIII in turn produced only one legitimate son, Edward VI, who died aged 16, thereby ending the direct male descent.

Financial policy.

It was not enough for Henry VII to secure his dynasty; he also had to re-establish the financial credit of his crown and reassert the authority of royal law. Medieval kings had traditionally lived off four sources of non-parliamentary income: rents from the royal estates, revenues from import and export taxes, fees from the administration of justice, and feudal moneys extracted on the basis of a vassal's duty to his overlord. The first Tudor was no different from his Yorkist or medieval predecessors; he was simply more ruthless and successful in demanding every penny that was owed him. Henry's first move was to confiscate all the estates of Yorkist adherents and to restore all property over which the crown had lost control since 1455 (in some cases as far back as 1377). To these essentially statutory steps he added efficiency of rent collection. In 1485 income from crown lands had totalled £29,000; by 1509 annual land revenues had risen to £42,000, and the profits from the duchy of Lancaster had jumped from £650 to £6,500. At the same time, the Tudors profited from the growing economic prosperity of the realm, and annual customs receipts rose from more than £20,000 to an average of £40,000 by the time Henry died.

The increase in customs and land revenues was applauded, for it meant fewer parliamentary subsidies and fit the medieval formula that kings should live on their own, not parliamentary, income.

But the collection of revenues from feudal and prerogative sources and from the administration of justice caused great discontent and earned Henry his reputation as a miser and extortionist. Generally, Henry demanded no more than his due as the highest feudal overlord, and a year after he became sovereign, he established a commission to look into land tenure to discover who held property by knight's fee—that is, by obligation to perform military services. Occasionally he overstepped the bounds of feudal decency and abused his rights. In 1504, for instance, he levied a feudal aid (tax) to pay for the knighting of his son—who had been knighted 15 years before and had been dead for two. Henry VIII continued his father's policy of fiscal feudalism, forcing through Parliament in 1536 the Statute of Uses—to prevent any landowner from escaping "relief" and wardship (feudal inheritance taxes) by settling the ownership of his lands in a trustee for the sole benefit ("use") of himself—and establishing the Court of Wards and Liveries in 1540 to handle the profits of feudal wardship. The howl of protest was so great that in 1540 Henry VIII had to compromise, and by the Statute of Wills a subject who held his property by knight's fee was permitted to bequeath two-thirds of his land without feudal obligation.

To fiscal feudalism Henry VII added rigorous administration of justice. As law became more effective, it also became more profitable, and the policy of levying heavy fines as punishment upon those who dared break the king's peace proved to be a useful whip over the mighty magnate and a welcome addition to the king's exchequer. Even war and diplomacy were sources of revenue; one of the major reasons Henry VII wanted his second son, Henry, to marry his brother's widow was that the king was reluctant to return the dowry of 200,000 crowns that Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain had given for the marriage of their daughter Catherine of Aragon. Generally, Henry believed in a good-neighbour policy—apparent in his alliance with Spain by the marriage of Arthur and Catherine in 1501 and peace with Scotland by the marriage of his daughter Margaret to James IV in 1503—on the grounds that peace was cheap and trade profitable. In 1489, however, he was faced with the threat of the union of the Duchy of Brittany with the French crown; and England, Spain, the empire, and Burgundy went to war to stop it. Nevertheless, as soon as it became clear that nothing could prevent France from absorbing the duchy, Henry negotiated the unheroic but financially rewarding Treaty of Étampes in 1492, whereby he disclaimed all historic rights to French territory (except Calais) in return for an indemnity of £159,000. By fair means or foul, when the first Tudor died, his total nonparliamentary annual income had risen at least twofold and stood in the neighbourhood of £113,000 (some estimates put it as high as £142,000). From land alone the king received £42,000, while the greatest landlord in the realm had to make do with less than £5,000; economically speaking, there were no longer any overmighty magnates.

The administration of justice.

Money could buy power, but respect could only be won by law enforcement. The problem for Henry VII was not to replace an old system of government with a new one—no Tudor was consciously a revolutionary—but to make the ancient system work tolerably well. He had to tame but not destroy the nobility, develop organs of administration directly under his control, and wipe out provincialism and privilege wherever they appeared. In the task of curbing the old nobility, the king was immeasurably helped by the high aristocratic death rate during the Wars of the Roses; but where war left off, policy took over. Commissions of Array composed of local notables were appointed by the crown for each county in order to make use of the power of the aristocracy in raising troops but to prevent them from maintaining private armies (livery) with which to intimidate justice (maintenance) or threaten the throne.

Previous monarchs had sought to enforce the laws against livery and maintenance, but the first two Tudors, though they never totally abolished such evils, built up a reasonably efficient machine for enforcing the law, based on the historic premise that the king in the midst of his council was the fountain of justice. Traditionally, the royal council had heard all sorts of cases, and its members rapidly began to specialize. The Court of Chancery had for years dealt with civil offenses, and the Court of Star Chamber evolved to handle alleged corruption of justice (intimidation of witnesses and jurors, bribing of judges, etc.), the Court of Requests poor men's suits, and the High Court of Admiralty piracy. The process by which the conciliar courts developed was largely accidental, and the Court of Star Chamber acquired its name from the star-painted ceiling of the room in which the councillors sat, not from the statute of 1487 that recognized its existence. Conciliar justice was popular because the ordinary courts where common law prevailed

were slow, cumbersome, and more costly; favoured the rich and mighty; and tended to break down when asked to deal with riot, maintenance, livery, perjury, and fraud. The same search for efficiency applied to matters of finance. The traditional fiscal agency of the crown, the exchequer, was burdened with archaic procedures and restrictions, and Henry VII turned to more intimate and flexible departments of his personal household—specifically to the treasurer of the chamber, whom he could supervise directly—as the central tax-raising, rent-collecting, and money-disbursing segment of government.

The Tudors sought to enforce law in every corner of their kingdom, and step by step the blurred medieval profile of a realm shattered by semiautonomous franchises, in which local law and custom were obeyed more than the king's law, was transformed into the clear outline of a single state filled with loyal subjects obeying the king's decrees.

By 1500 royal government had been extended into the northern counties and Wales by the creation of the Council of the North and the Council for the Welsh Marches. The Welsh principalities had always been difficult to control, and it was not until 1536 that Henry VIII brought royal law directly into Wales and incorporated the 136 self-governing lordships into a greater England with five new shires.

If the term new monarchy was inappropriate in 1485, the same cannot be said for the year of Henry VII's death, for when he died in 1509, after 24 years of reign, he bequeathed to his son something quite new in English history: a safe throne, a solvent government, a prosperous land, and a reasonably united kingdom.

Only one vital aspect of the past remained untouched, the semi-independent Roman Catholic Church, and it was left to the second Tudor to challenge its authority and plunder its wealth.

Henry VIII (1509-1547)

An 18-year-old prince inherited his father's throne, but the son of an Ipswich butcher carried on the first Tudor's administrative policies. While the young sovereign enjoyed his inheritance, Thomas Wolsey collected titles - Archbishop of York in 1514, lord chancellor and Cardinal legate in 1515, and Papal legate for life in 1524. He exercised a degree of power never before wielded by king or minister, for, as lord chancellor and cardinal legate, he united in his overweight person the authority of church and state. He sought to tame both the lords temporal and the lords spiritual, administering to the nobility the "new law of the Star Chamber," protecting the rights of the underprivileged in the poor men's Court of Requests, and teaching the abbots and bishops that they were subjects as well as ecclesiastical princes. Long before Henry assumed full power over his subjects' souls as well as their bodies, his servant had marked the way. The cardinal's administration, however, was stronger on promise than on performance, and, for all his fine qualities and many talents, he exposed himself to the accusation that he prostituted policy for pecuniary gain and personal pride.

Together, the king and cardinal plunged the kingdom into international politics and war and helped to make England one of the centres of Renaissance learning and brilliance. But the sovereign and his chief servant overestimated England's international position in the Continental struggle between Francis I of France and the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. Militarily, the kingdom was of the same magnitude as the papacy—the English king had about the same revenues and could field an army about the same size—and, as one contemporary noted, England, with its back door constantly exposed to Scotland and its economy dependent upon the Flanders wool trade, was a mere "morsel among those choppers" of Europe. Nevertheless, Wolsey's diplomacy was based on the expectation that England could swing the balance of power either to France or to the empire and, by holding that position, could maintain the peace of Europe. The hollowness of the cardinal's policy was revealed in 1525 when Charles disastrously defeated and captured Francis at the Battle of Pavia. Italy was overrun with the emperor's troops, the pope became an imperial chaplain, all of Europe bowed before the conqueror, and England sank from being the fulcrum of Continental diplomacy to the level of a second-rate power just at the moment when Henry had decided to rid himself of his wife, the 42-year-old Catherine of Aragon.

It is still a subject of debate whether Henry's decision to seek an annulment of his marriage and wed Anne Boleyn was a matter of state, of love, or of conscience; quite possibly all three operated. Catherine was fat, seven years her husband's senior, and incapable of bearing further children. Anne was everything that the queen was not—pretty, vivacious, and fruitful. Catherine had produced only one child that lived past infancy, a girl, Princess Mary (later Mary I); it seemed ironic indeed that the first Tudor should have solved the question of the succession only to expose the kingdom to what was perceived as an even greater peril in the second generation: a female ruler. The need for a male heir was paramount, for the last Queen of England, Matilda, in the 12th century, had been a disaster, and there was no reason to believe that another would be any better. Finally, there was the question of the king's conscience. Henry had married his brother's widow, and, though the pope had granted a dispensation, the fact of the matter remained that every male child born to Henry and Catherine had died, proof of what was clearly written in the Bible: "If a man takes his brother's wife, it is impurity; he has uncovered his brother's nakedness; they shall be childless" (Leviticus 20:21).

Unfortunately, Henry's annulment was not destined to stand or fall upon the theological issue of whether a papal dispensation could set aside such a prohibition, for Catherine was not simply the king's wife; she was also the aunt of the Emperor Charles V, the most powerful sovereign in Europe. Both Henry and his cardinal knew that the annulment

would never be granted unless the emperor's power in Italy could be overthrown by an Anglo-French military alliance and the pope rescued from imperial domination, and for three years Wolsey worked desperately to achieve this diplomatic and military end. Caught between an all-powerful emperor and a truculent English king, Pope Clement VII procrastinated and offered all sorts of doubtful solutions short of annulment, including the marriage of Princess Mary and the king's illegitimate son, Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond; the legitimizing of all children begotten of Anne Boleyn; and the transfer of Catherine into a nunnery so that the king could be given permission to remarry. Wolsey's purpose was to have the marriage annulled and the trial held in London. But in 1529, despite the arrival of Lorenzo Cardinal Campeggio to set up the machinery for a hearing, Wolsey's plans exploded. In July the pope ordered Campeggio to move the case to Rome, where a decision against the king was a foregone conclusion, and in August Francis and the emperor made peace at the Treaty of Cambrai. Wolsey's policies were a failure, and he was dismissed from office in October 1529. He died on November 29, just in time to escape trial for treason.

The Reformation background

Henry now began groping for new means to achieve his purpose. At first he contemplated little more than blackmail to frighten the pope into submission. But slowly, reluctantly, and not realizing the full consequences of his actions, he moved step by step to open defiance and a total break with Rome. Wolsey, in his person and his policies, had represented the past. He was the last of the great ecclesiastical statesmen who had been as much at home in the cosmopolitan world of European Christendom, with its spiritual centre in Rome, as in a provincial capital such as London. By the time of Henry's matrimonial crisis, Christendom was dissolving. Not only were late medieval kingdoms assuming the character of independent nation-states, but the spiritual unity of Christ's seamless cloak was also being torn apart by heresy. Henry possibly would never have won his annulment had there not existed in England men who desired a break with Rome, not because it was dynastically expedient but because they regarded the pope as the "whore of Babylon."

The religious life of the people was especially vibrant in the early decades of the 16th century, and, although there were numerous vociferous critics of clerical standards and behaviour, the institutional church was generally in good heart. Only during the extraordinary period in the 12th and 13th centuries, when money was being poured into the creation of parishes and the building of several thousand parish churches and 19 great cathedrals, was more spent on religion than in the decades between the arrival of the Tudors and the Reformation. And now it was not just great landowners but the people in general who poured money into their churches. Perhaps one in three parish churches underwent major refurbishments in this period. Hundreds of elaborate chantry chapels and altars were erected, money invested in parish guilds doubled (for the benefit of the living in the form of pensions and doles and for the benefit of the dead in the form of masses), and the number of those seeking ordination reached a new peak. In Bedfordshire at least charitable giving was highly selective; some religious orders were much more favoured than others. There is also some evidence that the monastic life and the endowment of monasteries were slowing down, but in essence the church was successfully meeting the spiritual needs of huge numbers of people.

Precisely because of the religiosity of the people, there was a growing volume of complaint about clerical absenteeism and pluralism in general and about the unavailability of the bishops in particular. Many prelates served as the top civil servants of the crown rather than as shepherds of Christ's flock. And as inflation began to take off, so did attempts by clerics to maximize their incomes by a rather ruthless determination to collect everything to which they were entitled—such as the "best beasts" demanded as mortuary fees from grieving and impoverished parents of dead children. Spasmodic persecution had failed to eradicate the Lollard legacy of John Wycliffe in substantial pockets of southern England, and the infiltration of Lutheran books and of printed Bibles opened the eyes of some among the learned and among those who traded with the Baltic states and the Low Countries to the possibility of alternative ways of encountering God. The powerful force of the "Word" took hold of some and made the mumbling of prayers, the billowing of incense, and the selling of indulgences to rescue souls from the due penalty of their sins seem the stuff of idolatry and not of true worship. But in 1532, when Henry VIII began to contemplate a schism from Rome, embracing Protestantism was the last thing on his mind, and very few of his subjects would have wished him to do so.

The break with Rome

With Wolsey and his papal authority gone, Henry turned to the authority of the state to obtain his annulment. The so-called Reformation Parliament that first met in November 1529 was unprecedented; it lasted seven years, enacted 137 statutes (32 of which were of vital importance), and legislated in areas that no medieval Parliament had ever dreamed of entering. "King in Parliament" became the revolutionary instrument by which the medieval church was destroyed.

The first step was to intimidate the church, and in 1531 the representatives of the clergy who were gathered in Convocation were forced under threat of praemunire (a statute prohibiting the operation of the legal and financial jurisdiction of the pope without royal consent) to grant Henry a gift of £119,000 and to acknowledge him supreme head of the church "as far as the law of Christ allows." Then the government struck at the papacy, threatening to cut off its revenues; the Annates Statute of 1532 empowered Henry, if he saw fit, to abolish payment to Rome of the first

year's income of all newly installed bishops. The implied threat had little effect on the pope, and time was running out, for by December 1532 Anne Boleyn was pregnant, and on January 25, 1533, she was secretly married to Henry. If the king was to be saved from bigamy and if his child was to be born in holy wedlock, he had less than eight months to get rid of Catherine of Aragon. Archbishop William Warham had conveniently died in August 1532, and in March 1533 a demoralized and frightened pontiff sanctioned the installation of Thomas Cranmer as Primate of the English church.

Cranmer was a friend of the annulment, but, before he could oblige his sovereign, the queen's right of appeal from the archbishop's court to Rome had to be destroyed; this could be done only by cutting the constitutional cords holding England to the papacy. Consequently, in April 1533 the crucial statute was enacted; the Act of Restraint of Appeals boldly decreed that "this realm of England is an empire." A month later an obliging archbishop heard the case and adjudged the king's marriage to be null and void. On June 1 Anne was crowned rightful queen of England, and three months and a week later, on September 7, 1533, the royal child was born. To "the great shame and confusion" of astrologers, it turned out to be Elizabeth Tudor (later Elizabeth I).

Henry was mortified; he had risked his soul and his crown for yet another girl. But Anne had proved her fertility, and it was hoped that a male heir would shortly follow.

In the meantime it was necessary to complete the break with Rome and rebuild the Church of England. By the Act of Succession of March 1534, subjects were ordered to accept the king's marriage to Anne as "undoubted, true, sincere and perfect." A second Statute "in Restraint of Annates" severed most of the financial ties with Rome, and in November the constitutional revolution was solemnized in the Act of Supremacy, which announced that Henry Tudor was and always had been "Supreme Head of the Church of England"; not even the qualifying phrase "as far as the law of Christ allows" was retained.

The consolidation of the Reformation

The medieval tenet that church and state were separate entities with divine law standing higher than human law had been legislated out of existence; the new English church was in effect a department of the Tudor state. The destruction of the Roman Catholic Church led inevitably to the dissolution of the monasteries. As monastic religious fervour and economic resources had already begun to dry up, it was easy enough for the government to build a case that monasteries were centres of vice and corruption. In the end, however, what destroyed them was neither apathy nor abuse but the fact that they were contradictions within a national church, for religious foundations by definition were international, supranational organizations that traditionally supported papal authority.

Though the monasteries bowed to the royal supremacy, the government continued to view them with suspicion, arguing that they had obeyed only out of fear, and their destruction got under way early in 1536.

In the name of fiscal reform and efficiency, foundations with endowments of under £200 a year (nearly 400 of them) were dissolved on the grounds that they were too small to do their job effectively. By late 1536 confiscation had become state policy, for the Pilgrimage of Grace, a Roman Catholic-inspired uprising in the north, which appeared to the government to have received significant support from monastic clergy, seemed to be clear evidence that all monasteries were potential nests of traitors. By 1539 the foundations, both great and small, were gone. Moreover, property constituting at least 13 percent of the land of England and Wales was nationalized and incorporated into the crown lands, thereby almost doubling the government's normal peacetime, nonparliamentary income.

Had those estates remained in the possession of the crown, English history might have been very different, for the kings of England would have been able to rule without calling upon Parliament, and the constitutional authority that evolved out of the crown's fiscal dependence on Parliament would never have developed. For better or for worse, Henry and his descendants had to sell the profits of the Reformation, and by 1603 three-fourths of the monastic loot had passed into the hands of the landed gentry. The legend of a "golden shower" is false; monastic property was never given away at bargain prices, nor was it consciously presented to the kingdom in order to win the support of the ruling elite. Instead, most—though not all—of the land was sold at its fair market value to pay for Henry's wars and foreign policy. The effect, however, was crucial: the most powerful elements within Tudor society now had a vested interest in protecting their property against papal Catholicism.

The marriage to Anne, the break with Rome, and even the destruction of the monasteries went through with surprisingly little opposition. It had been foreseen that the royal supremacy might have to be enacted in blood, and the Act of Supremacy (March 1534) and the Act of Treason (December 1534) were designed to root out and liquidate the dissent. The former was a loyalty test requiring subjects to take an oath swearing to accept not only the matrimonial results of the break with Rome but also the principles on which it stood; the latter extended the meaning of treason to include all those who did "maliciously wish, will or desire, by words or writing or by craft imagine" the king's death or slandered his marriage. Sir Thomas More (who had succeeded Wolsey as lord chancellor), Bishop John Fisher (who almost alone among the episcopate had defended Catherine during her trial), and a handful of monks suffered death for their refusal to accept the concept of a national church. Even the Pilgrimage of Grace of 1536-37 was a short-lived eruption. The uprisings in Lincolnshire in October and in Yorkshire during the winter were without doubt religiously motivated, but they were also as much feudal and social rebellions as revolts in support of Rome. Peasants, landed country gentlemen, and barons with traditional values united in defense of the monasteries and the old religion, and

for a moment the rebels seemed on the verge of toppling the Tudor state. The nobility were angered that they had been excluded from the king's government by men of inferior social status, and they resented the encroachment of bureaucracy into the northern shires. The gentry were concerned by rising taxes and the peasants by threatened enclosure. But the three elements had little in common outside religion, and the uprisings fell apart from within. The rebels were soon crushed and their leaders including Robert Aske, a charismatic Yorkshire country attorney, they were brutally executed. The Reformation came to England piecemeal, which goes far to explain the government's success. Had the drift toward Protestantism, the royal supremacy, and the destruction of the monasteries come as a single religious revolution, it would have produced a violent reaction. As it was, the Roman Catholic opposition could always argue that each step along the way to Reformation would be the last.

The expansion of the English state

The decade of Reformation led to a transformation in the operations of Tudor government. Not only were new revenue courts created to handle all the wealth of the monasteries, but problems of dynastic and national security required a much more hands-on royal control of provincial affairs. In and through the English Parliament, Henry incorporated the principality of Wales and the marcher lordships (previously independent of the crown's direct control) into the English legal and administrative system. In the process, he not only shired the whole of Wales, granted seats in the English Parliament to the Welsh shires and boroughs, and extended the jurisdiction of the common-law courts and judges to Wales, but he also insisted that legal processes be conducted in English. The palatinates of the north were similarly incorporated, and all those grants by which royal justice was franchised out to private individuals and groups were revoked. For the first time the king's writ and the king's justice were ubiquitous in England.

In 1541 the Irish Parliament, which represented only the area around Dublin known as the Pale, passed an act creating the Kingdom of Ireland and declared it a perpetual appendage of the English crown. Now, for the first time in 300 years, the king set out to make good his claim to jurisdiction over the whole island. English viceroys sought to impose English law, English inheritance customs, English social norms, and the English religious settlement upon all the people there. In an attempt to achieve this in a peaceful and piecemeal way, the Anglo-Irish lords and the heads of Gaelic clans were invited to surrender their lands and titles to the crown on the promise of their regrant on favourable terms. Thus began a century of wheedling and cajoling, of rebellion and confiscation, of accommodation and plantation, that was to be a constant drain on the English Exchequer and a constant source of tragedy for the native people of Ireland. Henry VIII did not seek to incorporate Scotland into his imperium. Though he tried to keep his nephew James V, then king of Scotland, "on-side" during his feud with Rome and never forgot that on 23 previous occasions Scottish kings had sworn feudal obeisance to kings of England, Henry never laid claim to the Scottish throne.

Henry's last years

Henry was so securely seated upon his throne that the French ambassador announced that he was more an idol to be worshipped than a king to be obeyed. The king successfully survived four more matrimonial experiments, the enmity of every major power in Europe, and an international war.

On May 19th 1536, Anne Boleyn's career was terminated by the executioner's axe. She had failed in her promise to produce further children to secure the succession. Her enemies poisoned the king's mind against her with accusations of multiple adulteries. The king's love turned to hatred, but what sealed the queen's fate was probably the death of her rival, Catherine of Aragon, on January 8th 1536. From that moment it was clear that, should Henry again marry, whoever was his wife, the children she might bear would be legitimate in the eyes of Roman Catholics and Protestants alike. How much policy, how much revulsion for Anne, and how much attraction for Jane Seymour played in the final tragedy is beyond analysis, but 11 days after Anne's execution Henry married Jane. Sixteen months later the future Edward VI was born. Jane died as a consequence, but Henry finally had what it had taken a revolution to achieve - a legitimate male heir. Henry married thrice more, once for reasons of diplomacy, once for love, and once for peace and quiet. Anne of Cleves, his fourth wife, was the product of Reformation international politics. For a time in 1539 it looked as if Charles V and Francis would come to terms and unite against the schismatic king of England, and the only allies Henry possessed were the Lutheran princes of Germany. In something close to panic he was stampeded into marriage with Anne of Cleves. But the following year, the moment the diplomatic scene changed, he dropped both his wife and the man who had engineered the marriage, his vicar-general in matters spiritual, Thomas Cromwell. Anne was divorced July 12, Cromwell was executed July 28, and Henry married Catherine Howard the same day. The second Catherine did not do as well as her cousin, the first Anne; she lasted only 18 months. Catherine proved to be neither a virgin before her wedding nor a particularly faithful damsel after her marriage. With the execution of his fifth wife, Henry turned into a sick old man, and he took as his last spouse Catherine Parr, who was as much a nursemaid as a wife. During those final years the king's interests turned to international affairs. Henry's last wars (1543–46) were fought not to defend his church against resurgent European Catholicism but to renew much older policies of military conquest in France and Scotland. Though he enlarged the English Pale at Calais by seizing the small French port of Boulogne and though his armies crushed the Scots at the Battles of Solway Moss (1542) and Pinkie (1547) and ravaged much of Lowland Scotland during the "Rough Wooing," the wars had no lasting diplomatic or international effects except to assure that the monastic lands would pass into the hands of the gentry.

By the time Henry died (January 28, 1547), medievalism had nearly vanished. The crown stood at the pinnacle of its power, able to demand and receive a degree of obedience from both great and small that no medieval monarch had been able to achieve. The measure of that authority was threefold: (1) the extent to which Henry had been able to thrust a very unpopular annulment and supremacy legislation down the throat of Parliament, (2) his success in raising unprecedented sums of money through taxation, and (3) his ability to establish a new church on the ashes of the old. It is difficult to say whether these feats were the work of the king or his chief minister, Thomas Cromwell. The will was probably Henry's and the parliamentary means his minister's, but whoever was responsible, by 1547 England had come a long way on the road of Reformation. The crown had assumed the authority of the papacy without as yet fundamentally changing the old creed, but the ancient structure was severely shaken. Throughout England men were arguing that because the pontiff had been proved false, the entire Roman Catholic creed was suspect, and the cry went up to "get rid of the poison with the author." It was not long before every aspect of Roman Catholicism was under attack—the miracle of the mass whereby the bread and wine are transformed into the glorified body and blood of Christ (see transubstantiation), the doctrine of purgatory, the efficacy of saints and images, the concept of an ordained priesthood with the power to mediate grace through the sacraments, the discipline of priestly celibacy, and so on. The time had come for Parliament and the supreme head to decide what constituted the "true" faith for Englishmen.

Henry never worked out a consistent religious policy: the Ten Articles of 1536 and the Bishop's Book of the following year tended to be somewhat Lutheran in tone; the Six Articles of 1539, or the Act for Abolishing Diversity of Opinion, and the King's Book of 1543 were mildly Roman Catholic. Whatever the religious colouring, Henry's ecclesiastical via media was based on obedience to an authoritarian old king and on subjects who were expected to live "soberly, justly and devoutly." Unfortunately for the religious, social, and political peace of the kingdom, both these conditions disappeared the moment Henry died and a nine-year-old boy sat upon the throne.

Edward VI (1547–53)

Henry was succeeded by his nine-year-old son, Edward VI, but real power passed to his brother-in-law, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, who became Duke of Somerset and Lord Protector shortly after the new reign began. Somerset ruled in loco parentis; the divinity of the crown resided in the boy king, but authority was exercised by an uncle who proved himself to be more merciful than tactful and more idealistic than practical. Sweet reason and tolerance were substituted for the old king's brutal laws. The treason and heresy acts were repealed or modified, and the result came close to destroying the Tudor state. The moment idle tongues could speak with impunity, the kingdom broke into a chorus of religious and social discord.

To stem religious dissent, the lord protector introduced The Book of Common Prayer in 1549 and an act of uniformity to enforce it. Written primarily by Thomas Cranmer, the first prayer book of Edward VI was a literary masterpiece but a political flop, for it failed in its purpose. It sought to bring into a single Protestant fold all varieties of middle-of-the-road religious beliefs by deliberately obscuring the central issue of the exact nature of the mass - whether it was a miraculous sacrament or a commemorative service. The Book of Common Prayer succeeded in antagonizing both religious sides.

Somerset is best remembered for these religious reforms, but their effectiveness was much blunted by their association with greed. Henry VIII had plundered and dissolved the monasteries and had mounted a half-successful campaign to accuse the monastic communities of corruption, licentiousness, and putting obedience to a foreign power above their obedience to him. Somerset extended the state's plunder to the parish churches and to the gold and silver piously and generously given by thousands of layfolk for the adornment of the parish churches. Their descendants watched the desecration with sullen anger. The rhetoric of cleansing parish churches of idolatrous and sacrilegious images sounded hollow as wagonloads of gold and silver objects headed toward the smelter's shop in the lord protector's backyard.

All this in turn was linked to what has been called Somerset's *idée fixe*, the permanent solution to the problem of the Anglo-Scottish frontier. Every time Henry VIII had tried to assert his claims to French territories, kings of Scotland had taken the opportunity to invade England. On each occasion—and especially in 1513 and 1542—the Scottish armies had been humiliated and a high proportion of the nobility killed or captured (James IV had been killed at the Battle of Flodden, and, when James V heard of the massacre of his nobility and men at Solway Moss, "he turned his face to the wall and died"). In 1543 the captured nobles agreed to a marriage treaty that was intended to see the marriage of Henry's son and heir, Edward VI, to the infant Mary (Mary, Queen of Scots), with the aim of uniting the thrones of England and Scotland. But the Scots broke their promise and shipped Mary off to France with the intention of marrying her to the heir of the French throne. Foreseeing the permanent annexation of Scotland to France in the same way that the Netherlands had been annexed to Spain, Somerset determined to conquer the Scottish Lowlands and to establish permanent castles and strongholds as a buffer between the kingdoms. It cost him most of the country's remaining treasure and much of his popularity, and the whole policy proved a failure.

Somerset was no more successful in solving the economic and social difficulties of the reign. Rising prices, debasement of the currency, and the cost of war had produced an inflationary crisis in which prices doubled between

1547 and 1549. A false prosperity ensued in which the wool trade boomed, but so also did enclosures with all their explosive potential. The result was social revolution. Whether Somerset deserved his title of “the good duke” is a matter of opinion. Certainly, the peasants thought that he favoured the element in the House of Commons that was anxious to tax sheep raisers and to curb enclosures and that section of the clergy that was lashing out at economic inequality. In the summer of 1549, the peasantry in Cornwall and Devonshire revolted against the Prayer Book in the name of the good old religious days under Henry VIII, and, almost simultaneously, the humble folk in Norfolk rose up against the economic and social injustices of the century. At the same time that domestic rebellion was stirring, the protector had to face a political and international crisis, and he proved himself to be neither a farsighted statesman nor a shrewd politician. He embroiled the country in a war with Scotland that soon involved France and ended in an inconclusive defeat, and he earned the enmity and disrespect of the members of his own council. In the eyes of the ruling elite, Somerset was responsible for governmental ineptitude and social and religious revolution. The result was inevitable: a palace revolution ensued in October 1549, in which he was arrested and deprived of office, and two and a half years later he was executed on trumped-up charges of treason.

The protector’s successor and the man largely responsible for his fall was John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, who became Duke of Northumberland. The Duke was a man of action who represented most of the acquisitive aspects of the landed elements in society and who allied himself with the extreme section of the Protestant reformers. Under Northumberland, England pulled out of Scotland and in 1550 returned Boulogne to France; social order was ruthlessly re-established in the countryside, the more conservative of the Henrician bishops were imprisoned, the wealth of the parish churches was systematically looted, and uncompromising Protestantism was officially sanctioned.

The Ordinal of 1550 transformed the divinely ordained priest into a preacher and teacher, The Second Prayer Book of Edward VI (1552) was avowedly Protestant, altars were turned into tables, clerical vestments gave way to plain surplices, and religious orthodoxy was enforced by a new and more stringent Act of Uniformity.

How long a kingdom still attached to the outward trappings of Roman Catholicism would have tolerated doctrinal radicalism and the plundering of chantry lands and episcopal revenues under Somerset and Northumberland is difficult to say, but in 1553 the ground upon which Northumberland had built his power crumbled: Edward was dying of consumption. To save the kingdom from Roman Catholicism and himself from Roman Catholic Mary, who was Edward’s successor under the terms of a statute of Henry VIII as well as that king’s will, Northumberland - with the support, perhaps even the encouragement, of the dying king - tried his hand at kingmaking. Together they devised a new order of succession in which Mary and Elizabeth were declared illegitimate and the crown passed to Lady Jane Grey, the granddaughter of Henry VIII’s sister (Mary, duchess of Suffolk) and, incidentally, Northumberland’s daughter-in-law. The gamble failed, for when Edward died on July 6, 1553, the kingdom rallied to the daughter of Catherine of Aragon. Whatever their religious inclinations, Englishmen preferred a Tudor on the throne. In nine days the interlude was over, and Northumberland and his daughter-in-law were in the Tower of London.

Mary I (1553–58)

Roman Catholicism was not a lost cause when Mary came to the throne. If she had lived as long as her sister Elizabeth was to live (the womb cancer from which Mary died in 1558 not only brought her Catholic restoration to an end but rendered her childless and heirless), England would probably have been an irrevocably Catholic country. Mary was indeed determined to restore Catholicism, but she was also determined to act in accordance with the law. She worked with and through successive Parliaments to reverse all the statutes that excluded papal jurisdiction from England and to revoke her half-brother’s doctrinal and liturgical reforms; however, she persuaded Rome to allow her to confirm the dissolution of the monasteries and the secularization of church properties.

New monasteries were to be created, but the vast wealth of the dissolved ones remained in lay hands. She also gave the married Protestant clergy a straight choice: to remain with their wives and surrender their livings or to surrender their wives and resume their priestly ministry. Her resolute Catholicism was laced with realism. With her principal adviser, Reginald Cardinal Pole, she planned for a long-term improvement in the education and training of the clergy and the sumptuous refurbishment of parish churches. She took her inspiration from the Erasmian humanist reforms long championed by Pole in his Italian exile. But this liberal Catholicism was in the process of being repudiated by the Council of Trent, with its uncompromising policies. Pole was recalled to Rome by a hard-line pope and accused of heresy for his previous attempts to achieve an accommodation with Protestantism. Mary’s plans were torpedoed as much by the internal struggle for control of the Roman church as by the strength of Protestant opposition in England. Most potential leaders of a resistance movement had been encouraged by Mary to emigrate and had done so, but there were scores of underground Protestant cells during her reign. In thousands of parish churches, the restored liturgy and worship were welcomed.

Mary’s decision to marry Prince Philip of Spain (later Philip II), her Habsburg cousin and the son of Charles V, the man who had defended her mother’s marital rights, proved to be unwise. Given her age—she was 32 when she came to the throne - a quick marriage was essential to childbearing, but this one proved to be a failure. Her marriage was without love or children, and, by associating Roman Catholicism in the popular mind with Spanish arrogance, it triggered a rebellion that almost overthrew the Tudor throne. In January 1554, under the leadership of Sir Thomas Wyatt the Younger, the peasants of Kent rose up against the queen’s Roman Catholic and Spanish policies, and

3,000 men marched on London. The rebellion was crushed, but it revealed to Mary and her Chief Minister, Cardinal Pole, that the kingdom was filled with disloyal hearts who placed Protestantism and nationalism higher than obedience to the throne.

The tragedy of Mary's reign was the belief not only that the old church of her mother's day could be restored but also that it could be best served by fire and blood. At least 282 men and women were martyred in the Smithfield Fires during the last three years of her reign; compared with events on the Continent, the numbers were not large, but the emotional impact was great. Among the first half-dozen martyrs were the Protestant leaders Cranmer, Nicholas Ridley, Hugh Latimer, and John Hooper, who were burned to strike terror into the hearts of lesser men. Their deaths, however, had the opposite effect; their bravery encouraged others to withstand the flames, and the Smithfield Fires continued to burn because nobody could think of what to do with heretics except put them to death. The law required it, the prisons were overflowing, and the martyrs themselves offered the government no way out except to enforce the grisly laws.

Mary's reign was a study in failure. Her husband, who was 10 years her junior, remained in England as short a time as possible; the war between France and the Habsburg empire, into which her Spanish marriage had dragged the kingdom, was a disaster and resulted in the loss of England's last Continental outpost, Calais; her subjects came to call her "Bloody Mary" and greeted the news of her death and the succession of her sister, Elizabeth, on November 17, 1558, with ringing bells and bonfires.

Elizabeth I (1558–1603)

No one in 1558, any more than in 1485, would have predicted that—despite the social discord, political floundering, and international humiliation of the past decade—the kingdom again stood on the threshold of an extraordinary reign. To make matters worse, the new monarch was the wrong sex.

Englishmen knew that it was unholy and unnatural that "a woman should reign and have empire above men." At age 25, however, Elizabeth I was better prepared than most women to have empire over men. She had survived the palace revolutions of her brother's reign and the Roman Catholicism of her sister's; she was the product of a fine Renaissance education, and she had learned the need for strong secular leadership devoid of religious bigotry. Moreover, she possessed her father's magnetism without his egotism or ruthlessness. She was also her mother's daughter, and the offspring of Anne Boleyn had no choice but to re-establish the royal supremacy and once again sever the ties with Rome.

Elizabeth's religious settlement was constructed on the doctrine of adiaphorism, the belief that, except for a few fundamentals, there exists in religion a wide area of "things indifferent" that could be decided by the government on the basis of expediency. Conservative opposition was blunted by entitling the queen "supreme governor," not "head," of the church and by combining the words of the 1552 prayer book with the more conservative liturgical actions of the 1549 prayer book. At the same time, many of the old papal trappings of the church were retained. Protestant radicals went along with this compromise in the expectation that the principle of "things indifferent" meant that Elizabeth would, when the political dust had settled, rid her church of the "livery of Antichrist" and discard its "papal rags." In this they were badly mistaken, for the queen was determined to keep her religious settlement exactly as it had been negotiated in 1559. As it turned out, Roman Catholics proved to be better losers than Protestants: of the 900 parish clergy, only 189 refused to accept Elizabeth as supreme governor, but the Protestant radicals—the future Puritans—were soon at loggerheads with their new sovereign.

The Tudor ideal of government

The religious settlement was part of a larger social arrangement that was authoritarian to its core. Elizabeth was determined to be queen in fact as well as in name. She tamed the House of Commons with tact combined with firmness, and she carried on a love affair with her kingdom in which womanhood, instead of being a disadvantage, became her greatest asset. The men she appointed to help her run and stage-manage the government were politiques like herself: William Cecil, Baron Burghley, her principal secretary and in 1572 her lord treasurer; Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury; and a small group of other moderate and secular men.

In setting her house in order, the queen followed the hierarchical assumptions of her day. All creation was presumed to be a great chain of being, running from the tiniest insect to the Godhead itself, and the universe was seen as an organic whole in which each part played a divinely prescribed role. In politics every element was expected to obey "one head, one governor, one law" in exactly the same way as all parts of the human body obeyed the brain. The crown was divine and gave leadership, but it did not exist alone, nor could it claim a monopoly of divinity, for all parts of the body politic had been created by God. The organ that spoke for the entire kingdom was not the king alone but "king in Parliament," and, when Elizabeth sat in the midst of her Lords and Commons, it was said that "every Englishman is intended to be there present from the prince to the lowest person in England." The Tudors needed no standing army in "the French fashion" because God's will and the monarch's decrees were enshrined in acts of Parliament, and this was society's greatest defense against rebellion. The controlling mind within this mystical union of crown and Parliament belonged to the queen. The Privy Council, acting as the spokesman of royalty, planned and initiated all legislation, and Parliament was expected to turn that legislation into law. Inside and outside Parliament the goal of Tudor government was benevolent paternalism in which the strong hand of authoritarianism was masked by

the careful shaping of public opinion, the artistry of pomp and ceremony, and the deliberate effort to tie the ruling elite to the crown by catering to the financial and social aspirations of the landed country gentleman. Every aspect of government was intimate because it was small and rested on the support of probably no more than 5,000 key persons. The bureaucracy consisted of a handful of privy councillors at the top and possibly 500 paid civil servants at the bottom—the 15 members of the secretariat, the 265 clerks and custom officials of the treasury, a staff of 50 in the judiciary, and approximately 150 more scattered in other departments. Tudor government was not predominantly professional. Most of the work was done by unpaid amateurs: the sheriffs of the shires, the lord lieutenants of the counties, and, above all, the Tudor maids of all work, the 1,500 or so justices of the peace. Meanwhile, each of the 180 “corporate” towns and cities was governed by men chosen locally by a variety of means laid down in the particular royal charter each had been granted.

Smallness did not mean lack of government, for the 16th-century state was conceived of as an organic totality in which the possession of land carried with it duties of leadership and service to the throne, and the inferior part of society was obligated to accept the decisions of its elders and betters. The Tudors were essentially medieval in their economic and social philosophy. The aim of government was to curb competition and regulate life so as to attain an ordered and stable society in which all could share according to status. The Statute of Apprentices of 1563 embodied this concept, for it assumed the moral obligation of all men to work, the existence of divinely ordered social distinctions, and the need for the state to define and control all occupations in terms of their utility to society. The same assumption operated in the famous Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601—the need to ensure a minimum standard of living to all men and women within an organic and non-competitive society (see Poor Law). By 1600 poverty, unemployment, and vagrancy had become too widespread for the church to handle, and the state had to take over, instructing each parish to levy taxes to pay for poor relief and to provide work for the able-bodied, punishment for the indolent, and charity for the sick, the aged, and the disabled. The Tudor social ideal was to achieve a static class structure by guaranteeing a fixed labour supply, restricting social mobility, curbing economic freedom, and creating a kingdom in which subjects could fulfil their ultimate purpose in life—spiritual salvation, not material well-being.

Social reality, at least for the poor and powerless, was probably a far cry from the ideal, but for a few years Elizabethan England seemed to possess an extraordinary internal balance and external dynamism. In part the queen herself was responsible. She demanded no windows into men’s souls, and she charmed both great and small with her artistry and tact. In part, however, the Elizabethan Age was a success because men had at their disposal new and exciting areas, both of mind and geography, into which to channel their energies.

A revolution in reading (and to a lesser extent writing) was taking place. By 1640 a majority of men, and just possibly a majority of men and women, could read, and there were plenty of things for them to read. In the year that Henry VIII came to the throne (1509), the number of works licensed to be published was 38. In the year of Elizabeth’s accession (1558), it was 77; in the year of her death (1603), it was 328. In the year of Charles I’s execution (1649), the number had risen to 1,383. And by the time of the Glorious Revolution (1688–89), it had reached 1,570. These figures do not include the ever-rising tide of broadsheets and ballads that were intended to be posted on the walls of inns and alehouses as well as in other public places. Given that a large proportion of the illiterate population spent at least part of their lives in service in homes with literate members and given that reading in the early modern period was frequently an aural experience—official documents being read aloud in market squares and parish churches and all manner of publications being read aloud to whole households—a very high proportion of the population had direct or indirect access to the printed word.

There was very little church building in the century after the Reformation, but there was an unprecedented growth of school building, with grammar schools springing up in most boroughs and in many market towns. By 1600 schools were provided for more than 10 percent of the adolescent population, who were taught Latin and given an introduction to Classical civilization and the foundations of biblical faith. There was also a great expansion of university education; the number of colleges in Oxford and Cambridge doubled in the 16th century, and the number of students went up fourfold to 1,200 by 1640 (see University of Oxford; University of Cambridge). The aim of Tudor education was less to teach the “three Rs” (reading, writing, and arithmetic) than to establish mind control: to drill children “in the knowledge of their duty toward God, their prince and all other[s] in their degree.” A knowledge of Latin and a smattering of Greek became, even more than elegant clothing, the mark of the social elite.

The educated Englishman was no longer a cleric but a justice of the peace or a member of Parliament, a merchant or a landed gentleman who for the first time was able to express his economic, political, and religious dreams and his grievances in terms of abstract principles that were capable of galvanizing people into religious and political parties. Without literacy, the spiritual impact of the Puritans or, later, the formation of parties based on ideologies that engulfed the kingdom in civil war would have been impossible. So too would have been the cultural explosion that produced William Shakespeare, Christopher Marlowe, Edmund Spenser, Francis Bacon, and John Donne.

Poets, scholars, and playwrights dreamed and put pen to paper. Adventurers responded differently; they went “a-voyaging.” From a kingdom that had once been known for its “sluggish security,” Englishmen suddenly turned to the sea and the world that was opening up around them. The first hesitant steps had been taken under Henry VII when John Cabot in 1497 sailed in search of a northwest route to China and as a consequence discovered Cape Breton

Island. The search for Cathay became an economic necessity in 1550 when the wool trade collapsed and merchants had to find new markets for their cloth. In response, the Muscovy Company was established to trade with Russia; by 1588, 100 vessels a year were visiting the Baltic. Martin Frobisher made a series of voyages to northern Canada during the 1570s in the hope of finding gold and a shortcut to the Orient; John Hawkins encroached upon Spanish and Portuguese preserves and in 1562 sailed for Africa in quest of slaves to sell to West Indian plantation owners; and Sir Francis Drake circumnavigated the globe (December 13, 1577–September 26, 1580) in search of the riches not only of the East Indies but also of Terra Australis, the great southern continent. Suddenly, Englishmen were on the move: Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his band of settlers set forth for Newfoundland (1583); Sir Walter Raleigh organized what became the equally ill-fated “lost colony” at Roanoke (1587–91); John Davis in his two small ships, the *Moonshine* and the *Sunshine*, reached 72° north (1585–87), the farthest north any Englishman had ever been; and the honourable East India Company was founded to organize the silk and spice trade with the Orient on a permanent basis. The outpouring was inspired not only by the urge for riches but also by religion—the desire to labour in the Lord’s vineyard and to found in the wilderness a new and better nation. As it was said, Englishmen went forth “to seek new worlds for gold, for praise, for glory.” Even the dangers of the reign—the precariousness of Elizabeth’s throne and the struggle with Roman Catholic Spain—somehow contrived to generate a self-confidence that had been lacking under “the little Tudors.”

Mary, Queen of Scots

The first decade of Elizabeth’s reign was relatively quiet, but after 1568 three interrelated matters set the stage for the crisis of the century: the queen’s refusal to marry, the various plots to replace her with Mary of Scotland, and the religious and economic clash with Spain. Elizabeth Tudor’s virginity was the cause of great international discussion, for every bachelor prince of Europe hoped to win a throne through marriage with Gloriana (the queen of the fairies, as she was sometimes portrayed), and was the source of even greater domestic concern, for everyone except the queen herself was convinced that Elizabeth should marry and produce heirs. The issue was the cause of her first major confrontation with the House of Commons, which was informed that royal matrimony was not a subject for commoners to discuss. Elizabeth preferred maidenhood—it was politically safer and her most useful diplomatic weapon—but it gave poignancy to the intrigues of her cousin Mary, Queen of Scots.

Mary had been an unwanted visitor-prisoner in England ever since 1568, after she had been forced to abdicate her Scottish throne in favour of her 13-month-old son, James VI (later James I). She was Henry VIII’s grandniece and, in the eyes of many Roman Catholics and a number of political malcontents, the rightful ruler of England, for Mary of Scotland was a Roman Catholic. As the religious hysteria mounted, there was steady pressure put on Elizabeth to rid England of this dangerous threat, but the queen delayed a final decision for almost 19 years. In the end, however, she had little choice. Mary played into the hands of her religious and political enemies by involving herself in a series of schemes to unseat her cousin. One plot helped to trigger the rebellion of the northern earls in 1569. Another, the Ridolfi plot of 1571 (see Ridolfi, Roberto), called for an invasion by Spanish troops stationed in the Netherlands and for the removal of Elizabeth from the throne and resulted in the execution in 1572 of Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, the ranking peer of the realm. Yet another, the Babington plot of 1586, led by Anthony Babington, allowed the queen’s ministers to pressure her into agreeing to the trial and execution of Mary for high treason.

The clash with Spain

Mary was executed on February 8, 1587. By then England had moved from cold war to open war against Spain. Philip II was the colossus of Europe and leader of resurgent Roman Catholicism. His kingdom was strong: Spanish troops were the best in Europe, Spain itself had been carved out of territory held by the infidel and still retained its Crusading zeal, and the wealth of the New World poured into the treasury at Madrid. Spanish pre-eminence was directly related to the weakness of France, which, ever since the accidental death of Henry II in 1559, had been torn by factional strife and civil and religious war. In response to this diplomatic and military imbalance, English foreign policy underwent a fundamental change. By the Treaty of Blois in 1572, England gave up its historic enmity with France, accepting by implication that Spain was the greater danger. It is difficult to say at what point a showdown between Elizabeth and her former brother-in-law became unavoidable—there were so many areas of disagreement—but the two chief points were the refusal of English merchants-cum-buccaneers to recognize Philip’s claims to a monopoly of trade wherever the Spanish flag flew throughout the world and the military and financial support given by the English to Philip’s rebellious and heretical subjects in the Netherlands. The most blatant act of English poaching in Spanish imperial waters was Drake’s circumnavigation of the Earth, during which Spanish shipping was looted, Spanish claims to California ignored, and Spanish world dominion proved to be a paper empire. But the encounter that really poisoned Anglo-Iberian relations was the Battle of San Juan de Ulúa in September 1568, where a small fleet captained by Hawkins and Drake was ambushed and almost annihilated through Spanish perfidy.

Only Hawkins in the *Minion* and Drake in the *Judith* escaped. The English cried foul treachery, but the Spanish dismissed the action as sensible tactics when dealing with pirates. Drake and Hawkins never forgot or forgave, and it was Hawkins who, as treasurer of the navy, began to build the revolutionary ships that would later destroy the old-fashioned galleons of the Spanish Armada.

If the English never forgave Philip’s treachery at San Juan de Ulúa, the Spanish never forgot Elizabeth’s interference in the Netherlands, where Dutch Protestants were in full revolt. At first, aid had been limited to money and the

harbouring of Dutch ships in English ports, but, after the assassination of the Protestant leader, William I, in 1584, the position of the rebels became so desperate that in August 1585 Elizabeth sent over an army of 6,000 under the command of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Reluctantly, Philip decided on war against England as the only way of exterminating heresy and disciplining his subjects in the Netherlands. Methodically, he began to build a fleet of 130 vessels, 31,000 men, and 2,431 cannons to hold naval supremacy in the English Channel long enough for Alessandro Farnese, duke of Parma, and his army, stationed at Dunkirk, to cross over to England.

Nothing Elizabeth could do seemed to be able to stop the Armada Catholica. She sent Drake to Spain in April 1587 in a spectacular strike at that portion of the fleet forming at Cádiz, but it succeeded only in delaying the sailing date. That delay, however, was important, for Philip's admiral of the ocean seas, the veteran Álvaro de Bazán, Marqués de Santa Cruz, died, and the job of sailing the Armada was given to Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, Duque de Medina-Sidonia, who was invariably seasick and confessed that he knew more about gardening than war. What ensued was not the new commander's fault. He did the best he could in an impossible situation, for Philip's Armada was invincible in name only. It was technologically and numerically outclassed by an English fleet of close to 200. Worse, its strategic purpose was grounded on a fallacy: that Parma's troops could be conveyed to England. The Spanish controlled no deep water port in the Netherlands in which the Armada's great galleons and Parma's light troop-carrying barges could rendezvous. Even the Deity seemed to be more English than Spanish, and in the end the fleet, buffeted by gales, was dashed to pieces as it sought to escape home via the northern route around Scotland and Ireland. Of the 130 ships that had left Spain, perhaps 85 crept home; 10 were captured, sunk, or driven aground by English guns, 23 were sacrificed to wind and storm, and 12 others were "lost, fate unknown."

Internal discontent

When the Armada was defeated during the first weeks of August 1588, the crisis of Elizabeth's reign was reached and successfully passed. The last years of her reign were an anti-climax, for the moment the international danger was surmounted, domestic strife ensued. There were moments of great heroism and success—as when Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, Raleigh, and Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, made a second descent on Cádiz in 1596, seized the city, and burned the entire West Indian treasure fleet—but the war so gloriously begun deteriorated into a costly campaign in the Netherlands and France and an endless guerrilla action in Ireland, where Philip discovered he could do to Elizabeth what she had been doing to him in the Low Countries.

Even on the high seas, the days of fabulous victories were over, for the King of Spain soon learned to defend his empire and his treasure fleets. Both Drake and Hawkins died in 1596 on the same ill-conceived expedition into Spanish Caribbean waters - symbolic proof that the good old days of buccaneering were gone forever. At home the cost of almost two decades of war (£4 million) raised havoc with the queen's finances. It forced her to sell her capital (about £800,000, roughly one-fourth of crown lands) and increased her dependence upon parliamentary of income, which rose from an annual average of £35,000 to over £112,000 a year.

The expedition to the Netherlands was not, however, the most costly component of the protracted conflict; indeed, the privateering war against Spain more than paid for itself. The really costly war of the final years of Elizabeth's reign was in Ireland, where a major rebellion in response to the exclusion of native Catholics from government and to the exploitation of every opportunity to replace native Catholics with Protestant English planters tied down thousands of English soldiers. The rebellion was exacerbated by Spanish intervention and even by a Spanish invasion force (the element of the Armada that temporarily succeeded). This Nine Years War (1594–1603) was eventually won by the English but only with great brutality and at great expense of men and treasure.

Elizabeth's financial difficulties were a symptom of a mounting political crisis that under her successors would destroy the entire Tudor system of government. The 1590s were years of depression—bad harvests, soaring prices, peasant unrest, high taxes, and increasing parliamentary criticism of the queen's economic policies and political leadership. Imperceptibly, the House of Commons was becoming the instrument through which the will of the landed classes could be heard and not an obliging organ of royal control. In Tudor political theory this was a distortion of the proper function of Parliament, which was meant to beseech and petition, never to command or initiate. Three things, however, forced theory to make way for reality. First was the government's financial dependence on the Commons, for the organ that paid the royal piper eventually demanded that it also call the governmental tune. Second, under the Tudors, Parliament had been summoned so often and forced to legislate on such crucial matters of church and state—legitimizing monarchs, breaking with Rome, proclaiming the supreme headship (governorship under Elizabeth), establishing the royal succession, and legislating in areas that no Parliament had ever dared enter before—that the Commons got into the habit of being consulted. Inevitably, a different constitutional question emerged: If Parliament is asked to give authority to the crown, can it also take away that authority? Finally, there was the growth of a vocal, politically conscious, and economically dominant gentry; the increase in the size of the House of Commons reflected the activity and importance of that class. In Henry VIII's first Parliament, there were 74 knights who sat for 37 shires and 224 burgesses who represented the chartered boroughs and towns of the kingdom. By the end of Elizabeth's reign, borough representation had been increased by 135 seats.

The Commons was replacing the Lords in importance because the social element it represented had become economically and politically more important than the nobility. Should the crown's leadership falter, there existed by the

end of the century an organization that was quite capable of seizing the political initiative, for as one disgruntled contemporary noted: “the foot taketh upon him the part of the head and commons is become a king.” Elizabeth had sense enough to avoid a showdown with the Commons, and she retreated under parliamentary attack on the issue of her prerogative rights to grant monopolies regulating and licensing the economic life of the kingdom, but on the subject of her religious settlement she refused to budge.

By the last decade of her reign, Puritanism was on the increase. During the 1570s and '80s, “cells” had sprung up to spread God’s word and rejuvenate the land, and Puritan strength was centred in exactly that segment of society that had the economic and social means to control the realm—the gentry and merchant classes. What set a Puritan off from other Protestants was the literalness with which he held to his creed, the discipline with which he watched his soul’s health, the militancy of his faith, and the sense that he was somehow apart from the rest of corrupt humanity. This disciplined spiritual elite clashed with the queen over the purification of the church and the stamping out of the last vestiges of Roman Catholicism. The controversy went to the root of society: Was the purpose of life spiritual or political? Was the role of the church to serve God or the crown? In 1576 two brothers, Paul and Peter Wentworth, led the Puritan attack in the Commons, criticizing the queen for her refusal to allow Parliament to debate religious issues. The crisis came to a head in 1586, when Puritans called for legislation to abolish the episcopacy and the Anglican prayer book. Elizabeth ordered the bills to be withdrawn, and, when Peter Wentworth raised the issue of freedom of speech in the Commons, she answered by clapping him in the Tower of London. There was emerging in England a group of religious idealists who derived their spiritual authority from a source that stood higher than the crown and who thereby violated the concept of the organic society and endangered the very existence of the Tudor paternalistic monarchy. As early as 1573 the threat had been recognized.

At the beginning it was but a cap, a surplice, and a tippet [over which Puritans complained]; now, it is grown to bishops, archbishops, and cathedral churches, to the overthrow of the established order, and to the Queen’s authority in causes ecclesiastical. James I later reduced the problem to one of his usual *bons mots*—“no bishop, no king.” Elizabeth’s answer was less catchy but more effective; she appointed as archbishop John Whitgift, who was determined to destroy Puritanism as a politically organized sect. Whitgift was only partially successful, but the queen was correct: the moment the international crisis was over and a premium was no longer placed on loyalty, Puritans were potential security risks.

Puritans were a loyal opposition, a church within the church. Elizabethan governments never feared that there would or could be a Puritan insurrection in the way they constantly feared that there could and would be an insurrection by papists. Perhaps 1 in 5 of the peerage, 1 in 10 of the gentry, and 1 in 50 of the population were practicing Catholics, many of them also being occasional conformists in the Anglican church to avoid the severity of the law. Absence from church made householders liable to heavy fines; associating with priests made them liable to incarceration or death. To be a priest in England was itself treasonous; in the second half of the reign, more than 300 Catholics were tortured to death, even more than the number of Protestants burned at the stake by Mary. Some priests, especially Jesuits, did indeed preach political revolution, but many others preached a dual allegiance—to the queen in all civil matters and to Rome in matters of the soul. Most laymen were willing to follow this more moderate advice, but it did not stem the persecution or alleviate the paranoia of the Elizabethan establishment.

Catholicism posed a political threat to Elizabethan England. Witches posed a cultural threat. From early in Elizabeth’s reign, concern grew that men and (more particularly) women on the margins of society were casting spells on respectable folk with whom they were in conflict. Explanations abound. Accusations seem to have often arisen when someone with wealth denied a request for personal charity to someone in need, with the excuse that the state had now taken over responsibility for institutional relief through the Poor Laws; guilt about this refusal of charity would give way to blaming the poor person who had been turned away for any ensuing misfortunes. Sometimes magisterial encouragement of witchcraft prosecutions was related to the intellectual search for the causes of natural disasters that fell short of an explanation more plausible than the casting of spells. Sometimes there was concern over the existence of “cunning men and women” with inherited knowledge based on a cosmology incompatible with the new Protestantism. This was especially the case when the cunning men and women were taking over the casting of spells and incantations that had been the province of the Catholic priest but were not the province of the Protestant minister. Certainly, the rise in incidence of witchcraft trials and executions can be taken as evidence of a society not at peace with itself. As the century ended, there was a crescendo of social unrest and controlled crowd violence. There were riots about the enclosure of common land, about the enforced movement of grain from producing regions to areas of shortage, about high taxes and low wages, and about the volatility of trade. The decades on either side of the turn of the century saw roaring inflation and the first real evidence of the very young and the very old starving to death in remote areas and in London itself. Elizabethan England ended in a rich cultural harvest and real physical misery for people at the two ends of the social scale, respectively.

The final years of Gloriana’s life were difficult both for the theory of Tudor kingship and for Elizabeth herself. She began to lose hold over the imaginations of her subjects, and she faced the only palace revolution of her reign when her favourite, the Earl of Essex, sought to take her crown. There was still fight in the old queen, and Essex ended on

the scaffold in 1601, but his angry demand could not be ignored: What! Cannot princes err? Cannot subjects receive wrong? Is an earthly power or authority infinite? Pardon me, pardon me, my good Lord, I can never subscribe to these principles.

When the queen died on March 24, 1603, it was as if the critics of her style of rule and her concept of government had been waiting patiently for her to step down. It was almost with relief that men looked forward to the problems of a new dynasty and a new century, as well as to a man, not a woman, upon the throne.

Economy and society

At the beginning of the 17th century, England and Wales contained more than four million people. The population had nearly doubled over the previous century, and it continued to grow for another 50 years. The heaviest concentrations of population were in the southeast and along the coasts. Population increase created severe social and economic problems, not the least of which was a long-term price inflation. English society was predominantly rural, with as much as 85 percent of its people living on the land. About 800 small market towns of several hundred inhabitants facilitated local exchange, and, in contrast to most of western Europe, there were few large urban areas. Norwich and Bristol were the biggest provincial cities, with populations of around 15,000. Exeter, York, and Newcastle were important regional centres, though they each had about 10,000 inhabitants. Only London could be ranked with the great Continental cities. Its growth had outstripped even the doubling of the general population. By the beginning of the 17th century, it contained more than a quarter of a million people and by the end nearly half a million, most of them poor migrants who flocked to the capital in search of work or charity. London was the centre of government, of overseas trade and finance, and of fashion, taste, and culture. It was ruled by a merchant oligarchy, whose wealth increased tremendously over the course of the century as international trade expanded.

London not only ruled the English mercantile world, but it also dominated the rural economy of the southeast by its insatiable demand for food and clothing. The rural economy was predominately agricultural, with mixed animal and grain husbandry practiced wherever the land allowed. The population increase, however, placed great pressure upon the resources of local communities, and efforts by landlords and tenants to raise productivity for either profit or survival were the key feature of agricultural development. Systematic efforts to grow luxury market crops like wheat, especially in the environs of London, drove many smaller tenants from the land. So too did the practice of enclosure, which allowed for more productive land use by large holders at the expense of their poorer neighbours. There is evidence of a rural subsistence crisis lasting throughout the first two decades of the century. Marginally productive land came under the plough, rural revolts became more common, and harvest failures resulted in starvation rather than hunger, both in London and in the areas remote from the grain-growing lowlands - such as North Wales and the Lake District.

It was not until the middle of the century that the rural economy fully recovered and entered a period of sustained growth. A nation that could barely feed itself in 1600 was an exporter of grain by 1700.

In the northeast and southwest the harsher climate and poorer soils were more suited for sheep raising than for large-scale cereal production. The northeast and southwest were the location of the only significant manufacturing activity in England, the woolen cloth industry. Wool was spun into large cloths for export to Holland, where the highly technical finishing processes were performed before it was sold commercially. Because spinning and weaving provided employment for thousands of families, the downturn of the cloth trade at the beginning of the 17th century compounded the economic problems brought about by population increase. This situation worsened considerably after the opening of the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), as trade routes became disrupted and as new and cheaper sources of wool were developed. But the transformation of the English mercantile economy from its previous dependence upon a single commodity into a diversified entrepôt that trans-shipped dozens of domestic and colonial products was one of the most significant developments of the century.

The economic divide between rich and poor, between surplus and subsistence producers, was a principal determinant of rank and status. English society was organized hierarchically with a tightly defined ascending order of privileges and responsibilities. This hierarchy was as apparent in the family as it was in the state. In the family, as elsewhere, male domination was the rule; husbands ruled their wives, masters their servants, parents their children. But if hierarchy was stratified, it was not ossified; those who attained wealth could achieve status. The social hierarchy reflected gradations of wealth and responded to changes in the economic fortunes of individuals. In this sense it was more open than most European societies. Old wealth was not preferred to new, and an ancient title conferred no greater privileges than recent elevation; the humble could rise to become gentle, and the gentle could fall to become humble.

During the early 17th century a small titular peerage composed of between 75 and 100 peers formed the apex of the social structure. Their titles were hereditary, passed from father to eldest son, and they were among the wealthiest subjects of the state. Most were local magnates, inheriting vast county estates and occupying honorific positions in local government. The peerage was the military class of the nation, and in the counties peers held the office of lord lieutenant. Most were also called to serve at court, but at the beginning of the century their power was still local rather than central.

Below them were the gentry, who probably composed only about 5 percent of the rural population but who were rising in importance and prestige. The gentry were not distinguished by title, though many were knights and several hundred purchased the rank of baronet (hereditary knighthoods) after it was created in 1611. Sir Thomas Smith defined a member of the gentry as "he that can bear the port and charge of a gentleman." The gentry were expected to provide hospitality for their neighbours, treat their tenants paternally, and govern their counties. They served as deputy lieutenants, militia captains, and most important, as justices of the peace. To the justices fell the responsibility of enforcing the king's law and keeping the king's peace. They worked individually to mediate local disputes and collectively at quarter sessions to try petty crimes. As the magistracy the gentry were the backbone of county governance, and they maintained a fierce local independence even while enforcing the edicts of the crown.

Beneath the gentry were those who laboured for their survival. There were many prosperous tenants who were styled yeomen to denote their economic independence and the social gulf between them and those who eked out a bare existence. Some were the younger sons of gentlemen; others aspired to enter the ranks of the gentry, having amassed sufficient wealth to be secure against the fluctuations of the early modern economy. Like the gentry, the yeomanry were involved in local government, performing most of the day-to-day, face-to-face tasks. Yeomen were village elders, constables, and tax collectors, and they composed the juries that heard cases at quarter sessions. Most owned sufficient freehold land to be politically enfranchised and to participate in parliamentary selections. Filling out the ranks of rural society were husbandmen, cottagers, and labourers. Husbandmen were tenant farmers at or near self-sufficiency; cottagers were tenants with cottages and scraps of land, dependent on a range of by-employments to make ends meet ("an economy of makeshifts"); and labourers were those who were entirely dependent on waged employment on the land of others. They were the vast majority of local inhabitants, and their lives were bound up in the struggle for survival.

In towns, tradesmen and shopkeepers occupied the ranks below the ruling elites, but their occupational status clearly separated them from artisans, apprentices, and labourers. They were called the middling sort and were active in both civic and church affairs, holding the same minor offices as yeomen or husbandmen. Because of the greater concentrations of wealth and educational opportunities, the urban middling sort were active participants in urban politics.

Government and society

Seventeenth-century government was inextricably bound together with the social hierarchy that dominated local communities. Rank, status, and reputation were the criteria that enabled members of the local elite to serve the crown either in the counties or at court. Political theory stressed hierarchy, patriarchy, and deference in describing the natural order of English society. Most of the aristocracy and gentry were the king's own tenants, whose obligations to him included military service, taxes, and local office holding. The monarch's claim to be God's vice-regent on earth was relatively uncontroversial, especially since his obligations to God included good governance. Except in dire emergency, the monarch could not abridge the laws and customs of England nor seize the persons or property of his subjects. The monarch ruled personally, and the permanent institutions of government were constantly being reshaped.

Around the king was the court, a floating body of royal servants, officeholders, and place seekers. Personal service to the king was considered a social honour and thus fitting to those who already enjoyed rank and privilege. Most of the aristocracy and many gentlemen were in constant attendance at court, some with lucrative offices to defray their expenses, others extravagantly running through their fortunes. There was no essential preparation for royal service, no necessary skills or experiences. Commonly, members of the elite were educated at universities and the law courts, and most made a grand tour of Europe, where they studied languages and culture. But their entry into royal service was normally through the patronage of family members and connections rather than through ability.

From among his court the monarch chose the Privy Council. Its size and composition remained fluid, but it was largely composed of the chief officers of state: the lord treasurer, who oversaw revenue; the lord chancellor, who was the crown's chief legal officer; and the lord chamberlain, who was in charge of the king's household. The archbishop of Canterbury was the leading churchman of the realm, and he advised the king, who was the head of the established church. The Privy Council advised the king on foreign and domestic policy and was charged with the administration of government. It communicated with the host of unpaid local officials who governed in the communities, ordering the justices to enforce statutes or the deputy lieutenants to raise forces. In these tasks the privy councillors relied not only upon the king's warrant but upon their own local power and prestige as well. Thus, while the king was free to choose his own councillors, he was constrained to pick those who were capable of commanding respect. The advice that he received at the council table was from men who kept one eye on their localities, the other on the needs of central policy.

This interconnection between the centre and the localities was also seen in the composition of Parliament. Parliament was another of the king's councils, though its role in government was less well defined than the Privy Council's and its summoning was intermittent. In the early 17th century, Parliament was less an institution than an event; it was convened when the king sought the aid of his subjects in the process of creating new laws or to provide extraordinary revenue. Like everything else in English society, Parliament was constituted in a hierarchy, composed of the king,

Lords, and Commons. Every peer of the realm was personally summoned to sit in the House of Lords, which was dominated by the greatest of the king's officers. The lower house was composed of representatives selected from the counties and boroughs of the nation. The House of Commons was growing as local communities petitioned for the right to be represented in Parliament and local gentry scrambled for the prestige of being chosen. It had 464 members in 1604 and 507 forty years later. Selection to the House of Commons was a mark of distinction, and many communities rotated the honour among their most important citizens and neighbours. Although there were elaborate regulations governing who could choose and who could be chosen, in fact very few members of the House of Commons were selected competitively. Contests for places were uncommon; elections in which individual votes were cast were extremely rare.

Members of Parliament served the dual function of representing the views of the localities to the king and representing the views of the king to the localities. Most were members of royal government, either at court or in their local communities, and all had responsibility for enforcing the laws that were created at Westminster. Most Parliaments were summoned to provide revenue in times of emergency, usually for defense, and most members were willing to provide it within appropriate limits. They came to Parliament to do the king's business, the business of their communities, and their own personal business in London. Such conflicting obligations were not always easily resolved, but Parliament was not perceived as an institution in opposition to the king any more than the stomach was seen as opposing the head of the body. However, increasingly King and Parliament clashed over specific issues.

The early Stuarts and the Commonwealth - England in 1603 - Economy and society

At the beginning of the 17th century, England and Wales contained more than four million people. The population had nearly doubled over the previous century, and it continued to grow for another 50 years. The heaviest concentrations of population were in the southeast and along the coasts. Population increase created severe social and economic problems, not the least of which was a long-term price inflation. English society was predominantly rural, with as much as 85 percent of its people living on the land. About 800 small market towns of several hundred inhabitants facilitated local exchange, and, in contrast to most of western Europe, there were few large urban areas. Norwich and Bristol were the biggest provincial cities, with populations of around 15,000. Exeter, York, and Newcastle were important regional centres, though they each had about 10,000 inhabitants. Only London could be ranked with the great Continental cities. Its growth had outstripped even the doubling of the general population. By the beginning of the 17th century, it contained more than a quarter of a million people and by the end nearly half a million, most of them poor migrants who flocked to the capital in search of work or charity. London was the centre of government, of overseas trade and finance, and of fashion, taste, and culture. It was ruled by a merchant oligarchy, whose wealth increased tremendously over the course of the century as international trade expanded.

London not only ruled the English mercantile world, but it also dominated the rural economy of the southeast by its insatiable demand for food and clothing. The rural economy was predominately agricultural, with mixed animal and grain husbandry practiced wherever the land allowed. The population increase, however, placed great pressure upon the resources of local communities, and efforts by landlords and tenants to raise productivity for either profit or survival were the key feature of agricultural development. Systematic efforts to grow luxury market crops like wheat, especially in the environs of London, drove many smaller tenants from the land. So too did the practice of enclosure, which allowed for more productive land use by large holders at the expense of their poorer neighbours.

There is evidence of a rural subsistence crisis lasting throughout the first two decades of the century. Marginally productive land came under the plough, rural revolts became more common, and harvest failures resulted in starvation rather than hunger, both in London and in the areas remote from the grain-growing lowlands—such as north Wales and the Lake District. It was not until the middle of the century that the rural economy fully recovered and entered a period of sustained growth. A nation that could barely feed itself in 1600 was an exporter of grain by 1700.

In the northeast and southwest the harsher climate and poorer soils were more suited for sheep raising than for large-scale cereal production. The northeast and southwest were the location of the only significant manufacturing activity in England, the woolen cloth industry. Wool was spun into large cloths for export to Holland, where the highly technical finishing processes were performed before it was sold commercially. Because spinning and weaving provided employment for thousands of families, the downturn of the cloth trade at the beginning of the 17th century compounded the economic problems brought about by population increase. This situation worsened considerably after the opening of the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), as trade routes became disrupted and as new and cheaper sources of wool were developed. But the transformation of the English mercantile economy from its previous dependence upon a single commodity into a diversified entrepôt that trans-shipped dozens of domestic and colonial products was one of the most significant developments of the century.

The economic divide between rich and poor, between surplus and subsistence producers, was a principal determinant of rank and status. English society was organized hierarchically with a tightly defined ascending order of privileges and responsibilities. This hierarchy was as apparent in the family as it was in the state. In the family, as elsewhere, male domination was the rule; husbands ruled their wives, masters their servants, parents their children. But if hierarchy was stratified, it was not ossified; those who attained wealth could achieve status. The social hierarchy reflected gradations of wealth and responded to changes in the economic fortunes of individuals. In this sense it was

more open than most European societies. Old wealth was not preferred to new, and an ancient title conferred no greater privileges than recent elevation; the humble could rise to become gentle, and the gentle could fall to become humble.

During the early 17th century a small titular peerage composed of between 75 and 100 peers formed the apex of the social structure. Their titles were hereditary, passed from father to eldest son, and they were among the wealthiest subjects of the state. Most were local magnates, inheriting vast county estates and occupying honorific positions in local government. The peerage was the military class of the nation, and in the counties peers held the office of lord lieutenant. Most were also called to serve at court, but at the beginning of the century their power was still local rather than central.

Below them were the gentry, who probably composed only about 5 percent of the rural population but who were rising in importance and prestige. The gentry were not distinguished by title, though many were knights and several hundred purchased the rank of baronet (hereditary knighthoods) after it was created in 1611. Sir Thomas Smith defined a member of the gentry as "he that can bear the port and charge of a gentleman." The gentry were expected to provide hospitality for their neighbours, treat their tenants paternally, and govern their counties. They served as deputy lieutenants, militia captains, and most important, as justices of the peace. To the justices fell the responsibility of enforcing the king's law and keeping the king's peace. They worked individually to mediate local disputes and collectively at quarter sessions to try petty crimes. As the magistracy the gentry were the backbone of county governance, and they maintained a fierce local independence even while enforcing the edicts of the crown.

Beneath the gentry were those who laboured for their survival. There were many prosperous tenants who were styled yeomen to denote their economic independence and the social gulf between them and those who eked out a bare existence. Some were the younger sons of gentlemen; others aspired to enter the ranks of the gentry, having amassed sufficient wealth to be secure against the fluctuations of the early modern economy.

Like the gentry, the yeomanry were involved in local government, performing most of the day-to-day, face-to-face tasks. Yeomen were village elders, constables, and tax collectors, and they composed the juries that heard cases at quarter sessions. Most owned sufficient freehold land to be politically enfranchised and to participate in parliamentary selections. Filling out the ranks of rural society were husbandmen, cottagers, and labourers. Husbandmen were tenant farmers at or near self-sufficiency; cottagers were tenants with cottages and scraps of land, dependent on a range of by-employments to make ends meet ("an economy of makeshifts"); and labourers were those who were entirely dependent on waged employment on the land of others. They were the vast majority of local inhabitants, and their lives were bound up in the struggle for survival.

In towns, tradesmen and shopkeepers occupied the ranks below the ruling elites, but their occupational status clearly separated them from artisans, apprentices, and labourers. They were called the middling sort and were active in both civic and church affairs, holding the same minor offices as yeomen or husbandmen. Because of the greater concentrations of wealth and educational opportunities, the urban middling sort were active participants in urban politics.

Government and society

Seventeenth-century government was inextricably bound together with the social hierarchy that dominated local communities. Rank, status, and reputation were the criteria that enabled members of the local elite to serve the crown either in the counties or at court.

Political theory stressed hierarchy, patriarchy, and deference in describing the natural order of English society. Most of the aristocracy and gentry were the king's own tenants, whose obligations to him included military service, taxes, and local office holding. The monarch's claim to be God's vice-regent on earth was relatively uncontroversial, especially since his obligations to God included good governance. Except in dire emergency, the monarch could not abridge the laws and customs of England nor seize the persons or property of his subjects. The monarch ruled personally, and the permanent institutions of government were constantly being reshaped. Around the king was the court, a floating body of royal servants, officeholders, and place seekers. Personal service to the king was considered a social honour and thus fitting to those who already enjoyed rank and privilege. Most of the aristocracy and many gentlemen were in constant attendance at court, some with lucrative offices to defray their expenses, others extravagantly running through their fortunes. There was no essential preparation for royal service, no necessary skills or experiences. Commonly, members of the elite were educated at universities and the law courts, and most made a grand tour of Europe, where they studied languages and culture. But their entry into royal service was normally through the patronage of family members and connections rather than through ability.

From among his court the monarch chose the Privy Council. Its size and composition remained fluid, but it was largely composed of the chief officers of state: the lord treasurer, who oversaw revenue; the lord chancellor, who was the crown's chief legal officer; and the lord chamberlain, who was in charge of the king's household. The archbishop of Canterbury was the leading churchman of the realm, and he advised the king, who was the head of the established church. The Privy Council advised the king on foreign and domestic policy and was charged with the administration of government. It communicated with the host of unpaid local officials who governed in the communities, ordering the

justices to enforce statutes or the deputy lieutenants to raise forces. In these tasks the privy councillors relied not only upon the king's warrant but upon their own local power and prestige as well. Thus, while the king was free to choose his own councillors, he was constrained to pick those who were capable of commanding respect. The advice that he received at the council table was from men who kept one eye on their localities and the other on the needs of central policy.

This interconnection between the centre and the localities was also seen in the composition of Parliament. Parliament was another of the king's councils, though its role in government was less well defined than the Privy Council's and its summoning was intermittent. In the early 17th century, Parliament was less an institution than an event; it was convened when the king sought the aid of his subjects in the process of creating new laws or to provide extraordinary revenue. Like everything else in English society, Parliament was constituted in a hierarchy, composed of the king, Lords, and Commons. Every peer of the realm was personally summoned to sit in the House of Lords, which was dominated by the greatest of the king's officers. The lower house was composed of representatives selected from the counties and boroughs of the nation. The House of Commons was growing as local communities petitioned for the right to be represented in Parliament and local gentry scrambled for the prestige of being chosen. It had 464 members in 1604 and 507 forty years later. Selection to the House of Commons was a mark of distinction, and many communities rotated the honour among their most important citizens and neighbours. Although there were elaborate regulations governing who could choose and who could be chosen, in fact very few members of the House of Commons were selected competitively. Contests for places were uncommon, and elections in which individual votes were cast were extremely rare.

Members of Parliament served the dual function of representing the views of the localities to the king and of representing the views of the king to the localities. Most were members of royal government, either at court or in their local communities, and nearly all had responsibility for enforcing the laws that were created at Westminster. Most Parliaments were summoned to provide revenue in times of emergency, usually for defense, and most members were willing to provide it within appropriate limits. They came to Parliament to do the king's business, the business of their communities, and their own personal business in London. Such conflicting obligations were not always easily resolved, but Parliament was not perceived as an institution in opposition to the king any more than the stomach was seen as opposing the head of the body. There were upsets, however, and, increasingly during the 17th century, king and Parliament clashed over specific issues, but until the middle of the century they were part of one system of royal government.

James I (1603–25)

James VI, king of Scotland (1567–1625), was the most experienced monarch to accede to the English throne since William the Conqueror, as well as one of the greatest of all Scottish kings. A model of the philosopher prince, James wrote political treatises such as *The Trew Law of a Free Monarchy* (1598), debated theology with learned divines, and reflected continually on the art of statecraft. He governed his poor by balancing its factions of clans and by restraining the enthusiastic leaders of its Presbyterian church. In Scotland, James was described as pleasing to look at and pleasing to hear. He was sober in habit, enjoyed vigorous exercise, and doted on his Danish wife, Anne, who had borne him two male heirs. But James I was viewed with suspicion by his new subjects. Centuries of hostility between the two nations had created deep enmities, and these could be seen in English descriptions of the king. In them he was characterized as hunchbacked and ugly, with a tongue too large for his mouth and a speech impediment that obscured his words. It was said that he drank to excess and spewed upon his filthy clothing. It was also rumoured that he was homosexual and that he took advantage of the young boys brought to service at court. This caricature, which has long dominated the popular view of James I, was largely the work of disappointed English office seekers whose pique clouded their observations and the judgments of generations of historians.

In fact, James showed his abilities from the first. In the counties through which he passed on his way to London, he lavished royal bounty upon the elites who had been starved for honours during Elizabeth's parsimonious reign. He knighted hundreds as he went, enjoying the bountiful entertainments that formed such a contrast with his indigent homeland. He would never forget these first encounters with his English subjects, "their eyes flaming nothing but sparkles of affection." On his progress James also received a petition, putatively signed by a thousand ministers, calling his attention to the unfinished business of church reform.

Triple monarchy

James had one overriding ambition: to create a single unified monarchy out of the congeries of territories he now found himself ruling. He wanted a union not only of the crown but of the kingdoms. He made it plain to his first Parliament that he wanted a single name for this new single kingdom: he wanted to be king not of England, Scotland, and Ireland but of Great Britain, and that is what he put on his seals and on his coins. He wanted common citizenship, the end of trade barriers, and gradual movement toward a union of laws, of institutions, and of churches, although he knew this could not be achieved overnight. The chauvinism of too many English elite, however, meant he was not to achieve all of his goals. A common coinage, a common flag, the abolition of hostile laws, and a joint Anglo-Scottish plantation of Ulster were all he was able to manage. Even free trade between the kingdoms was prevented by the amateur lawyers in the English House of Commons. Having failed to promote union by legislation, he tried to promote it by stealth, creating a pan-British court and royal household, elevating Scots to the English peerage and Englishmen

to the Scottish and Irish peerage, rewarding those who intermarried across borders, and seeking to remove from each of the churches those features objectionable to members of the other national churches. Progress was negligible and, under his son Charles I, went into reverse.

Religious policy

The Millenary Petition (1603) initiated a debate over the religious establishment that James intended to defend. The king called a number of his leading bishops to hold a formal disputation with the reformers. The Hampton Court Conference (1604) saw the king in his element. He took a personal role in the debate and made clear that he hoped to find a place in his church for moderates of all stripes. It was only extremists that he intended to “harry from the land,” those who, unlike the supporters of the Millenary Petition, sought to tear down the established church. The king responded favourably to the call for creating a better-educated and better-paid clergy and referred several doctrinal matters to the consideration of convocation. But only a few of the points raised by the petitioners found their way into the revised canons of 1604. In fact, the most important result of the conference was the establishment of a commission to provide an authorized English translation of the Bible, the King James Version (1611).

Indeed, James’s hope was that moderates of all persuasions, Roman Catholic and Protestant alike, might dwell together in his church. He offered to preside at a general council of all the Christian churches—Catholic and Protestant—to seek a general reconciliation. Liberals in all churches took his offer seriously. He sought to find a formula for suspending or ameliorating the laws against Catholics if they would take a binding oath of political obedience. Most Catholics were attracted by the offer, but James’s plans took a tremendous knock when an unrepresentative group of Catholics, disappointed that this son of a Catholic queen had not immediately restored Catholic liberties, plotted to kill him, his family, and his leading supporters by blowing up the Houses of Parliament in the course of a state opening, using gunpowder secreted in a cellar immediately beneath the House of Lords. The failure of the Gunpowder Plot (1605) led to reprisals against Catholics and prevented James from going any further than exhibiting humane leniency toward them in the later years of his reign. Nevertheless, James’s ecumenical outlook did much to defuse religious conflict and led to 20 years of relative peace within the English church.

Finance and politics

To a king whose annual budget in Scotland was barely £50,000, England looked like the land of milk and honey. But in fact James I inherited serious financial problems, which his own liberality quickly compounded. Elizabeth had left a debt of more than £400,000, and James, with a wife and two sons, had much larger household expenses than the unmarried queen. Land and duties from customs were the major sources of royal revenue, and it was James’s good fortune that the latter increased dramatically after the judges ruled in Bate’s case (1606) that the king could make impositions on imported commodities without the consent of Parliament.

Two years later, under the direction of James’s able minister Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, impositions were levied on an expanded list of goods, and a revised book of rates was issued in 1608 that increased the level of duties. By these measures customs revenues grew by £70,000 per year. But even this windfall was not enough to stem the effects of inflation on the one hand and James’s own free spending on the other. By 1606 royal debt was more than £600,000, and the crown’s financial ministers had turned their attention to prerogative income from wardships, purveyance, and the discovery of concealed lands (i.e., crown lands on which rents and dues were not being paid). The revival and rationalization of these ancient rights created an outcry. As early as 1604 Salisbury was examining proposals to commute these fiscal rights into an annual sum to be raised by a land tax. By 1610 negotiations began for the Great Contract between the king and his taxpaying subjects that aimed to raise £200,000 a year. But at the last moment both royal officials and leaders of the House of Commons backed away from the deal, the government believing that the sum was too low and the leaders of the Commons that a land tax was too unpopular. The failure of the Great Contract drove Salisbury to squeeze even more revenue out of the king’s feudal rights, including the sale of titles.

This policy violated the spirit of principles about property and personal liberty held by the governing classes and, along with impositions, was identified as a grievance during James’s first Parliaments.

There was much suspicion that the Scottish king would not understand the procedures and privileges of an English Parliament, and this suspicion was reinforced by James’s speeches in the first session of the Parliament of 1604–10. The conventional ban upon the selection of outlaws to the Commons led to the Buckinghamshire Election Case (1604). The Commons reversed a decision by the lord chancellor and ordered Francis Goodwin, an outlaw, to be seated in the House of Commons. James clumsily intervened in the proceedings, stating that the privileges of the Commons had been granted by the grace of the monarch, a pronouncement that stirred the embers of Elizabethan disputes over parliamentary privilege. Although a compromise solution to the case was found, from this time forward the Commons took an active role in scrutinizing the returns of its members. A standing committee on elections was formed, and the freedom of members from arrest during sessions was reasserted. Some wanted to go even further and present the king with a defense of the ancient rights of their house. But this so-called apology was the work of a minority and was never accepted by the whole House of Commons or presented to the king.

Factions and favourites

As in the previous reign, court politics were factionalized around noble groups tied together by kinship and interest. James had promoted members of the Howard family to places of leadership in his government; Henry Howard, earl of Northampton, adeptly led a family group that included Thomas Howard, earl of Suffolk, and Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel. All managed to enrich themselves at the expense of the king, whose debts reached £900,000 by 1618. A stink of corruption pervaded the court during these years. The Howards formed the core of a pro-Spanish faction that desired better relations with Spain and better treatment of English Catholics. They also played upon the king's desire for peace in Europe. The Howards were opposed by an anti-Spanish group that included the queen; George Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury; and William Herbert, earl of Pembroke. This group wished to pursue an aggressively Protestant foreign policy and, after the opening of the Thirty Years' War, to support James's son-in-law, Frederick V, the elector of the Palatinate. It was the anti-Spanish group that introduced the king to George Villiers, reputedly one of the handsomest men in Europe. Through Villiers they sought a conduit to power.

Even at the time it was thought unseemly that a lover should be provided for the king at the connivance of the queen and the archbishop. But Villiers was nobody's fool, and, while he succeeded spectacularly in gaining James's confidence, he refused to be a cipher for those who had advanced him. Soon he had risen to the pinnacle of the aristocracy. First knighted in 1615, he was created duke of Buckingham in 1623, the first nonroyal duke in half a century. Buckingham proved an able politician. He supported the movement for fiscal reform that led to the disgrace of Lord Treasurer Suffolk and the promotion of Lionel Cranfield, later earl of Middlesex. Cranfield, a skilled London merchant, took the royal accounts in hand and made the unpopular economies that kept government afloat. Buckingham, whose power rested upon his relationship with the king, wholeheartedly supported James's desire to re-establish peace in Europe. For years James had angled to marry his son Charles to a Spanish princess. There were, however, many obstacles to this plan, not the least of which was the insistence of the pope that the marriage lead to the reconversion of England to Roman Catholicism. When negotiations remained inconclusive, James, in 1621, called his third Parliament with the intention of asking for money to support the Protestant cause. By this means he hoped to bully Philip IV of Spain into concluding the marriage negotiations and into using his influence to put an end to the German war.

Parliament, believing that James intended to initiate a trade war with Spain, readily granted the king's request for subsidies. But some members mistakenly also believed that the king wished their advice on military matters and on the prince's marriage. When James learned that foreign policy was being debated in the lower house, he rebuked the members for their temerity in breaching the royal prerogative. Stunned, both because they thought that they were following the king's wishes and because they believed in their freedom to discuss such matters, members of the Commons prepared the Protestation of 1621, exculpating their conduct and setting forth a statement of the liberties of the house. James sent for the Commons journal and personally ripped the protestation from it.

He reiterated his claim that royal marriages and foreign policy were beyond the ken of Parliament and dryly noted that less than one-third of the elected members of the house had been present when the protestation was passed.

The Parliament of 1621 was a failure at all levels. No legislation other than the subsidy bill was passed; a simple misunderstanding among the members had led to a dramatic confrontation with the king; and judicial impeachments were revived, costing the king the services of Lord Chancellor Bacon.

James, moreover, was unable to make any progress with the Spaniards, and supporting the European Protestants drained his revenue. By 1624 royal indebtedness had reached £1 million. The old king was clearly at the end of his power and influence. His health was visibly deteriorating, and his policies were openly derided in court and country. Prince Charles (later Charles I) and Buckingham decided to take matters into their own hands. In 1623 they travelled incognito to Madrid.

Their gambit created as much consternation in England as it did in Spain. James wept inconsolably, believing that his son would be killed or imprisoned. The Spaniards saw the end of their purposely drawn-out negotiations. Every effort was made to keep Charles away from the infanta, and he only managed to catch two fleeting glimpses of the heavily veiled princess. Nevertheless, he confided in Buckingham that he was hopelessly in love. Buckingham and John Digby, earl of Bristol, the ambassador to Spain, were almost powerless to prevent the most damaging concessions. Charles even confessed himself willing to be instructed in the Catholic faith. Yet the more the prince conceded, the more embarrassed the Spaniards became. Nothing short of an ultimate Catholic reestablishment in England would be satisfactory, and they began to raise obviously artificial barriers. Even the lovesick prince realized that he was being humiliated. Shame turned to rage as he and Buckingham journeyed home. There they persuaded the bedridden king to call another Parliament for the purpose of declaring war on Spain. The Parliament of 1624 was given free rein. All manner of legislation was passed; subsidies for a trade war with Spain were voted; and issues of foreign policy were openly discussed. Firmly in control of political decision making, Charles and Buckingham worked to stave off attacks on James's fiscal policies, especially the granting of monopolies to royal favourites. The last Parliament of James's reign was his most successful. On March 27, 1625, the old king died.

Charles I (1625–49)

Father and son could hardly be more different than were James and Charles. Charles was shy and physically deformed. He had a speech defect that made his pronouncements painful for him and his audiences alike. Charles

had not been raised to rule. His childhood had been spent in the shadow of his brother, Prince Henry, who had died in 1612, and Charles had little practical experience of government. He was introverted and clung tenaciously to a few intimates. His wife, Henrietta Maria—French, Roman Catholic, and hugely unpopular—received Charles's loyalty despite great political cost. So did Buckingham, who survived the change in monarchs and consolidated his grip on government.

The politics of war

Along with his kingdom, Charles I inherited a domestic economic crisis and the war with Spain. A series of bad grain harvests, continued dislocation of the cloth trade, and a virulent plague that killed tens of thousands all conspired against the new king. Under the pressure of economic crisis, members of the Parliament of 1625 were determined to reform the customs and to limit the crown's right to levy impositions. The traditional lifelong grant of tonnage and poundage was thus withheld from Charles so that reform could be considered. But reform was delayed, and, despite the appearance of illegality, the king collected these levies to prevent bankruptcy. The Spanish war progressed no better than the domestic economy. Buckingham organized an expedition to Cádiz, but its failure forced Charles to summon another Parliament. From the start the Parliament of 1626 was badly managed, and members of both houses thirsted for Buckingham's blood. Where James had sacrificed his ministers to further policy, Charles would not. Parliament was dissolved without granting any subsidies.

Charles now fell back upon desperate remedies. All his predecessors had collected "forced loans" at times of imminent crisis when there was no time to await parliamentary elections, returns, and the vote of subsidies. It was widely accepted that the king must have discretion to require loans from his subjects in such circumstances—loans that were routinely converted into grants when the next Parliament met. What was unprecedented was the collection of forced loans to replace lost parliamentary subsidies. The £260,000 Charles collected in 1627 was precisely the sum he had turned down when it was made conditional upon his surrender of Buckingham to the wrath of the Commons. But he collected it at a heavy price: Charles was compelled to lock up 180 refusers, including many prominent gentry. However, he refused to show cause for his imprisonment of five leading knights, controversially relying on a rarely used discretionary power to arrest "by special commandment" those suspected of crimes it was not in the general interest to make public—a contingency normally used to nip conspiracies in the bud. The inevitable result was furore in the next Parliament, to which he again had to go cap in hand because he was desperate for money to fund simultaneous naval wars against the two superpowers, France and Spain. Lawyers, such as Sir Edward Coke, and country gentlemen, such as Sir John Eliot, now feared that the common law insufficiently protected their lives and liberties. This sentiment was compounded by the fact that soldiers were being billeted in citizens' homes; local militias were forced to raise, equip, and transport men to fight abroad; and provost marshals declared martial law in peaceful English communities.

Yet the extremity of these expedients was matched by the seriousness of the international situation. Incredibly, England was now at war with both France and Spain, and Buckingham was determined to restore his reputation. Instead, the campaign of 1627 was a disaster, and the duke's landing at the Île de Ré a debacle. It was hard to see how Charles could protect him from his critics once the Parliament of 1628–29 assembled.

The defeats of 1627 made emergency taxation more necessary than ever, and the new Parliament, 27 of whose members had been imprisoned for refusing to contribute to the loan, assembled with a sense of profound disquiet. It was proposed to grant the king five subsidies for defense but to delay their passage until the Petition of Right (1628) could be prepared. The petition asserted four liberties: freedom from arbitrary arrest, freedom from nonparliamentary taxation, freedom from the billeting of troops, and freedom from martial law. Couched in the language of tradition, it was presented to the king as a restatement of ancient liberties. In this spirit he accepted it, more in hope of receiving his subsidies than in fear that the petition would restrain his actions.

Between the two sessions of this Parliament, the Duke of Buckingham was assassinated (August 23, 1628). While the king wept in his palace, people drank to the health of the assassin in the streets; Buckingham had become a symbol of all that was wrong in the country. But with the king's favourite removed, there was a void in government.

Buckingham had been in charge of military and domestic policy, and there was no one else who had the confidence of the king or the ability to direct the royal program. When Charles I, grief-stricken, attempted to manage the second session of Parliament by himself, all the tensions came to a head. In the Commons some members wanted to challenge violations of the Petition of Right, especially the continued collection of tonnage and poundage without parliamentary authority. Others were equally agitated about changes in religious policy caused by the emergence of Arminianism. When the level of bitterness reached new heights, the king decided to end the session. But before he could do so, two hot-headed members physically restrained the speaker while the Three Resolutions (1629), condemning the collection of tonnage and poundage as well as the doctrine and practice of Arminianism, were introduced. Parliament broke up in pandemonium, with both king and members shocked by the "carriage of diverse fiery spirits."

Peace and reform

The dissolution of the Parliament of 1628 in 1629 and the king's clear intention to govern for a period without this troublesome institution necessitated a reversal of policy. Over the next two years, peace treaties ended England's

fruitless involvement in Continental warfare in which more than £2 million had been wasted and royal government brought into disrepute. The king was also able to pacify his subjects by launching a campaign of administrative and fiscal reform that finally allowed the crown to live within its own revenues. Customs increased to £500,000 as both European and North American trade expanded. Under capable ministers such as Richard Weston, Earl of Portland, prerogative income also increased. Ancient precedents were carefully searched to ensure that the crown received its full and lawful dues. Fines were imposed on those who had not come forward to be knighted at the king's accession. These distrains of knighthood yielded more than £170,000. The boundaries of royal forests were resurveyed and encroachers fined. Fees in the court of wards were raised and procedures streamlined. With effort and application annual royal revenue reached £1 million.

The most important of Charles's fiscal schemes was not technically a design to squeeze monies into the royal coffers. While the king's own rights might underwrite the needs of government, they could do nothing toward maintaining the navy, England's sole military establishment. Thus, Charles expanded the collection of ship money, an ancient levy by which revenue was raised for the outfitting of warships. Although ship money was normally only collected in the ports in times of emergency, Charles extended it to inland communities and declared pirates a national menace. At first there was little resistance to the collection of ship money, but, as it was levied year after year, questions about its legitimacy were raised. The case of John Hampden (1637) turned upon the king's emergency powers and divided the royal judges, who narrowly decided for the crown. But legal opinion varied so significantly that revenue dropped, and the stirring of a taxpayer revolt could be felt.

Religious reform

Fears about the state of the church, which erupted at the end of the Parliament of 1628, had been building for several years. Charles had become drawn to a movement of church reform that aroused deep hostility among his Calvinist subjects. The doctrines of predestination and justification by faith alone formed the core of beliefs in the traditional English church. Yet slowly competing doctrines of free will and the importance of works along with faith, advocated by the Dutch theologian Jacobus Arminius, spread to the English church. Armenian's were viewed as radical reformers despite the fact that their leaders were elevated to the highest positions in church government. In 1633 William Laud, one of the ablest of the Armenian's, became Archbishop of Canterbury. Laud stressed ceremony over preaching. He believed in the "beauty of holiness" and introduced measures to decorate churches and to separate the communion table from the congregation. Both of these practices were reminiscent of Roman Catholicism, and came at a time when Protestants everywhere feared for the survival of their religion. Nor did it help that the queen openly attended mass along with some highly placed converted courtiers. Anti-popery was the single strain that united the diverse elements of Protestant reform, and it was now a rallying-cry against innovations at home rather than abominations abroad.

But perhaps Laud's greatest offense was to promote the authority of the clergy in general and of the bishops in particular, against the laity. He challenged head-on the central thrust of the English Reformation: the assault on the institutional wealth and power of the church as a clerical corporation. He wanted to restore the authority of the church courts and threatened to excommunicate the king's judges if they persisted in trying cases that belonged to ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He also tried to restore the value of tithes and prevent the misappropriation of churchyards for secular purposes. Moreover, he sought to penalize those who did not pay the (much-enhanced) levies for the refurbishment of church buildings. Menacingly, in Scotland and Ireland (as a prelude, many assumed, to actions to come in England) he tried to renegotiate by a policy of surrender the terms on which all former monastic and cathedral lands were held.

In all this he appeared to act more like an aggressive papal nuncio than a compliant appointee of the royal supreme governor of the church. Charles I's purring complaisance in Laud's activities was unendurable to most of his subjects. The Master of Westminster School was whipped in front of his pupils for saying of Laud that, like "a busie, angry wasp, his sting is in the tayl of everything." Others were flogged through the streets of London or had their ears cut off for "libelling" Laud and his work. He alienated not only everyone with a Puritan scruple but everyone with a strong sense of the supremacy of common law or with an inherited suspicion of clerical pride.

No wonder the archbishop had so few friends by 1640. His program extended to Ireland and—especially disastrously—to Scotland. Without consulting Parliament, the General Assembly, the Scottish bishops in conclave, or even the Scottish Privy Council, but rather by royal diktat, Laud ordered the introduction of new canons, a new ordinal, and a new prayer book based not on the English prayer book of 1559 but on the more ceremonialist and crypto-Catholic English prayer book of 1549. This was met by riot and, eventually, rebellion. Vast numbers of Scots bound themselves passively to disobey the "unlawful" religious innovations. Charles I decided to use force to compel them, and he twice sought to use troops raised by a loyal (largely Catholic) Scottish minority, troops from Ireland, and troops from England to achieve this end.

The Bishops' Wars (1639–40) brought an end to the tranquillity of the 1630s. Charles had to meet rebellion with force, and force required money from Parliament. He genuinely believed that he would be supported against the rebels,

failing to comprehend the profound hostility that Laud's innovations had created in England. The Short Parliament (1640) lasted less than a month before the king dissolved it rather than permit an extended discussion of his inadequacies. He scraped some money together and placed his troops under the command of his able and ruthless deputy, Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford. But English troops fighting for pay proved no match for Scottish troops fighting for religion. In 1640 the Scots invaded England and captured Newcastle, the vital source of London's coal. Charles was forced to accept a humiliating treaty whereby he paid for the upkeep of the Scottish army and agreed to call another Parliament.

The Long Parliament

With his circumstances more desperate than ever, Charles I summoned Parliament to meet in November 1640. The king faced a body profoundly mistrustful of his intentions. The reform movement in the Commons was led by John Pym, a minor Somerset landowner, who was prominent by his oratorical skills in debate and his political skills in committee. Pym was a moderate, and for the next three years he ably steered compromises between those who wanted too much and those who would settle for too little. In the Lords, Viscount Saye and Sele and the Earl of Warwick and the Earl of Bedford worked in tandem with Pym and his allies, leading or following as occasion required.

The Long Parliament (1640–53) opened with the imprisonment of Strafford and Laud, the architects of the Scottish fiasco. Strafford was put on trial and ultimately attainted for treason. The dubious legality of the charges against him forced the Commons to proceed by bill rather than impeachment, and thus both the House of Lords and the monarch had to approve the charge. The Lords were cowed by crowds of angry London citizens and apprentices and Charles by the mistaken belief that Strafford's blood would placate his opponents. But Strafford's execution in May was just the beginning. In fact, parliamentary reform took two different tacks. The first was to limit the king's constitutional authority in order to protect the existence of Parliament and the liberties of subjects. The second was to reconstitute the church. In February the Triennial Act (1641) was passed, mandating the summoning of Parliament every three years. In May the king's power to dissolve the Long Parliament was removed. Charles was forced to accept both bills. Meanwhile, the Commons relentlessly investigated the legal basis of the king's fiscal expedients, amending the laws that Charles had so scrupulously followed. Ship money and distraints of knighthood were declared illegal, royal forests were defined, and the prerogative courts of High Commission and Star Chamber were abolished. Again the king acceded.

Church reform proved more treacherous. Parliamentary leaders agreed that Charles and Laud had introduced intolerable innovations, but where some were satisfied by their removal, others wished that they be replaced by even greater novelties. In December 1640 an orchestrated petitioning campaign called upon Parliament to abolish episcopacy, root and branch. Pym and his supporters were as yet unwilling to propose such a sweeping change, fearing lest it divide the Commons and create a crisis with the Lords. Nevertheless, the equally radical proposal to remove the bishops from the upper house was passed in May, and, when the Lords rejected it, the Commons responded with the Root and Branch Bill.

Pym's fear that the religious issue might break apart the parliamentary consensus was compounded by his fear of provoking the king to counterattack. Throughout the first six months of the session, Charles had meekly followed Parliament's lead. But there were ominous signs that the worm would turn. His leading advisers, the queen among them, were searching for military options. The radical attack upon the church allowed the king to portray himself as the conservator of "the pure religion of Queen Elizabeth and King James" without "any connivance of popery or innovation"—a coded repudiation of Laudianism and Arminianism. Week by week, sympathy for the king was growing, and in August Charles determined to conclude a peace treaty with the Scots. This successful negotiation removed the crisis that had brought the Long Parliament into being. When Charles returned to London at the end of November, he was met by cheering crowds and a large body of members of the two houses, who were unaware that he had been behind a failed attempt to arrest the leading conservator and overturn the Scottish settlement.

While the king resolved one crisis in Scotland, another emerged in Ireland. Catholics, stung by the harsh repression of Strafford's rule and by the threat of plantation and of the direct rule from England planned by the Long Parliament, rose against their Protestant overlords and slaughtered thousands in a bloody rebellion. Though the reality was grim enough, the exaggerated reports that reached London seemed to fulfil the worst fears of a popish plot. Urgently an army had to be raised, but only the king had military authority, and in the present circumstance he could not be trusted with a force that might be used in London rather than Londonderry. In despair over the situation in Ireland and deeply suspicious of the king's intentions, the leaders of the Long Parliament debated the Grand Remonstrance, a catalogue of their grievances against the king.

The Grand Remonstrance (1641) divided the Commons as nothing else had. It passed by only 11 votes, and the move to have it printed failed. Many were appalled that the remonstrance was to be used as propaganda "to tell stories to the people." For the first time, members of Commons began to coalesce into opposing factions of royalists and parliamentarians.

The passage of the Grand Remonstrance was followed by Pym's attempt to transfer control of the militia (the appointment of lords, lieutenants, military officers, etc.) from the crown to Parliament. The political situation had reached a state of crisis. In Parliament rumours spread of a royal attack upon the houses, and at court wild talk of an

impeachment of the queen was reported. It was Charles who broke the deadlock. On January 4, 1642, he rode to Westminster intending to impeach five members of the Commons and one of the Lords on charges of treason. It was the same device that had already failed in Scotland. But, because the king's plan was no secret, the members had already fled. Thus, Charles's dramatic breach of parliamentary privilege badly backfired. He not only failed to obtain his objective but also lost the confidence of many of the moderates left in Parliament. After ensuring the safe departure of his wife and children out of the country, Charles abandoned his capital and headed north.

The initiative had returned to Pym and his allies, who now proceeded to pass much of their stalled legislation, including the exclusion of the bishops from the Lords and the Impressment Bill (1642), which allowed Parliament to raise the army for Ireland. In June a series of proposals for a treaty, the Nineteen Propositions (1642), was presented to the king. The proposals called for parliamentary control over the militia, the choice of royal counsellors, and religious reform. Charles rejected them outright, though in his answer he seemed to grant Parliament a coordinate power in government, making the king but one of the three estates. The king, however, had determined to settle the matter by main force. His principal advisers believed that the greatest lords and gentlemen would rally to him and Parliament would not have the stomach for rebellion. On August 22 1642 the king raised his standard bearing the device "Give Caesar His Due."

Civil war and revolution

The war that began in 1642 was a war within three kingdoms and between three kingdoms. There was a civil war in Ireland that pitted the Catholic majority against the Protestant minority, buttressed by English and Scottish armies. This war festered nastily throughout the 1640s and was settled only by a devastating use of force and terror by Oliver Cromwell in 1649–50 and his successors in 1651–54. Whenever they were in the ascendancy, the Catholic Irish were willing to send armies into England to assist Charles I, on condition that he give them religious freedom and effective control of the political institutions of the Irish kingdom. After the Cromwellian conquest, the English set out to destroy the power and wealth of the Catholic elite—at one point even proposing to transport every native Catholic from 26 of the 32 counties of Ireland into the western region comprising the 5 counties of Connaught and County Clare; in the event, they settled for a confiscation of two-fifths of the land and its redistribution to Protestant Englishmen.

England during the Civil Wars

Scotland also was embroiled in civil war, but, at one time or another, all the groups involved demonstrated a willingness to send armies into England. The Anglo-Scottish wars were fought from 1643 to 1646, resumed from 1648 to 1651, and resulted in an English military occupation and complete political subjugation (the incorporation of Scotland into an enhanced English state) that lasted until the Restoration in 1660. Then there was the English Civil War that began in 1642, a war that neither king, Parliament, nor the country wanted. It was a war that was as dangerous to win as to lose. The parliamentarians could only maintain the fiction that they were fighting to "preserve the safety of the king," as the commission of their commander, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, stated. The king's fiction was that he was opposing a rebellion. Most of the country remained neutral, hoping that differences would be composed and fighting ended.

The first years of war were as half-hearted as these justifications. Parliament held the tactical advantages of controlling the navy and London. While the navy protected the coast from foreign invasion, London provided the funds and manpower for battle. The king held the strategic advantage of knowing that he had to recapture his capital. He relied upon the aristocracy for men and arms. In the first substantial engagement of the war, the Battle of Edgehill (1642), Charles's cavalry proved superior to Parliament's, and he followed this first encounter by marching on the capital. At Brentford (1642), on the outskirts of London, the City militia narrowly averted the king's triumph. For the next two years, however, the war was fought to a desultory standstill.

Almost from the beginning, the members of Parliament were divided over their goals. A war group argued that Charles could not be trusted until he learned the lesson of military defeat. A peace group countered that the longer the war ground on, the less likely Charles would be to compromise. Both of these groups were loose coalitions, and neither of them dominated parliamentary politics. Until his death in 1643, Pym steered a course between them, supporting the Oxford Propositions (1643) for peace as well as creating the administrative machinery to raise and finance armies. The excise, modelled on impositions, and the monthly assessments, modelled on ship money, increased levels of taxation to new heights. The king burdened the communities his forces controlled just as heavily. In 1643 the war widened. Charles negotiated a cease-fire with the Catholic rebels in Ireland that allowed him to bring Irish troops to England. Parliament negotiated the Solemn League and Covenant (1643) with the Scots, who brought an army to England in return for guarantees of a presbyterian church establishment. Initially Parliament benefited most. A combination of English and Scottish troops defeated royalist forces at the Battle of Marston Moor (1644) and took York.

But ultimately religious differences between Scottish Presbyterians and English Independents vitiated the alliance. As the parliamentary commanders bickered, their forces were defeated at Lostwithiel (1644) and Newbury (1644). While another round of peace negotiations began, the unsuccessful Uxbridge Proposals (1645), Parliament recast its military establishment and formed the New Model Army. There was little new about the New Model Army other than centralization. Remnants of three armies were combined to be directed by a parliamentary committee.

This committee included the parliamentary generals who were displaced by the Self-Denying Ordinance (1645), an act that excluded members of Parliament from civil and military office. The New Model Army was commanded by Thomas Fairfax, Baron Fairfax, and eventually the cavalry was led by Lieut. Gen. Oliver Cromwell.

The new parliamentary army was thought so weak that the king hoped to crush it in a single blow and thus end the war. Instead, the Battle of Naseby on June 14, 1645, delivered the decisive blow to the royalists. Even though the parliamentary forces only just managed to carry the day despite their numerical superiority, their victory was decisive. It destroyed the king's main armies and left open a path to the west, where his other substantial forces were defeated at Langport (1645). The following year, the king surrendered to the Scots, erroneously believing that they would strike a better bargain.

For four years the political divisions at Westminster had been held in check by the military emergency. But the king's defeat released all restraints. In Parliament coherent parties began to form around the religious poles provided by Presbyterians and Independents and around the political poles of peace and war. Denzil Holles, one of the five members of Parliament Charles had tried to arrest in 1642, came to head the most powerful group. He pushed through a presbyterian church settlement, negotiated a large loan from the City of London, and used the money to ransom the king from the Scots. Holles's peace plan was to remove the main points of difference between king and Parliament by disbanding the army and settling the disputes about the church, the militia, and the rebellion in Ireland. His party was opposed by a group led by Sir Henry Vane the Younger and Oliver Cromwell, who desired toleration for Independents and were fearful of disbanding the army before an agreement was reached with Charles I.

But war weariness in both Parliament and the country swept all before it. In January 1647 Charles was returned to English custody, and Holles moved forward with his plan to send a portion of the army to Ireland, assign a small force to English garrisons, and disband the rest. But in this he reckoned without the army. In the rank and file, concern about arrears of pay, indemnity, and liability for impressment stirred the soldiers to resist Irish service. A movement that began over material grievances soon turned political as representatives were chosen from the rank and file to present demands through their officers to Parliament. Holles attempted to brush this movement aside and push through his disbandment scheme. At this the army rose up, driving out those of its officers who supported the disbandment, seizing Charles at Holmby House on June 3 and demanding the impeachment of Holles and his main supporters. At the beginning of August 1647, the army marched into London, and Holles, with 10 of his allies, fled the capital.

The army's intervention transformed civil war into revolution. Parliament, which in 1646 had argued that it was the fundamental authority in the country, by 1647 was but a pawn in a new game of power politics. The perceived corruption of Parliament made it, like the king, a target of reform. Initiative was now in the hands of the king and the army, and Charles I tried to entice Cromwell and Henry Ireton, the army's leading strategist, to bargain his restoration for a tolerant church settlement. But the officers were only one part of a politicized army that was bombarded with plans for reorganizing the state. Among the most potent plans were those of the Levelers, led by John Lilburne, who desired that a new compact between ruler and ruled, the Agreement of the People (1647), be made. This was debated by the council of the army at Putney in October. The Levelers' proposals, which had much in common with the army's, called for the reform of Parliament through elections based upon a broad franchise and for a generally tolerant church settlement. Turmoil in the army led Fairfax and Cromwell to reassert military discipline, while the machinations of Charles led to the second Civil War (1648).

Charles had now managed to join his English supporters with discontented Scots who opposed the army's intervention in politics. Though the fighting was brief, it was bloody. Fairfax stormed Colchester (1648) and executed the ringleaders of the English rebellion, and Cromwell and several New Model regiments defeated the invading Scots at the Battle of Preston (1648).

The second Civil War hardened attitudes in the army. The king was directly blamed for the unnecessary loss of life, and for the first time alternatives to Charles Stuart, "that man of blood," were openly contemplated. Parliament too was appalled by the renewal of fighting. Moderate members believed that there was still a chance to bring the king to terms, despite the fact that he had rejected treaty after treaty. While the army made plans to put the king on trial, Parliament summoned its strength for one last negotiation, the abortive Treaty of Newport. Even now the king remained intransigent, especially over the issue of episcopacy. New negotiations infuriated the army, because it believed that Parliament would sell out its sacrifices and compromise its ideals. On December 6, 1648, army troops, under the direction of Col. Thomas Pride, purged the House of Commons. Forty-five members were arrested, and 186 were kept away. A rump of about 75 active members were left to do the army's bidding. They were to establish a High Court of Justice, prepare a charge of treason against the king, and place him on trial in the name of the people of England. Pride's Purge was a last-minute compromise made to prevent absolute military rule. With Cromwell deliberately absent in the north, Ireton was left to stave off the argument, made by the Levelers, that Parliament was hopelessly corrupt and should be dissolved. The decision to proceed by trial in the High Court of Parliament was a decision in favour of constitutional forms, however much a shadow they had become. The king's trial took place at the end of January. The Court of Justice was composed of members of Parliament, civilians, and army officers. There was little enthusiasm for the work that had to be done. No more senior judge than John Bradshaw could be found to

preside, and he wore a hat ringed with iron in fear of assassination. The charges against the king, however politically correct, had little legal basis, and Charles deftly exposed their weakness, but, like Strafford before him, Charles was to be sacrificed to the law of necessity if not the law of England. On January 30, 1649, at the wall of his own palace, Charles I was beheaded. A witness recorded in his diary, "Such a groan went up as I had never before heard."

Commonwealth and Protectorate

The execution of the king aroused hostility not only in England but also throughout Europe. Regicide was considered the worst of all crimes, and not even the brilliance of John Milton in *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1649) could persuade either Catholic or Protestant powers that the execution of Charles I was just. Open season was declared against English shipping, and Charles II was encouraged to reclaim his father's three kingdoms. Despite opposition and continued external threats, the government of the Commonwealth was declared in May 1649 after acts had been passed to abolish the monarchy and the House of Lords. Political power resided in a Council of State, the Rump Parliament (which swelled from 75 to 213 members in the year following the king's execution), and the army. The military was now a permanent part of English government. Though the soldiers had assigned the complex tasks of reform to Parliament, they made sure of their ability to intervene in political affairs.

At first, however, the soldiers had other things to occupy them. For reasons of security and revenge, Ireland had to be pacified. In the autumn of 1649, Cromwell crossed to Ireland to deal once and for all with the Irish Confederate rebels. He came first to Drogheda. When the town refused to surrender, he stormed it and put the garrison of 3,000 to the sword, acting both as the avenger of the massacres of 1641 ("I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgement of God upon those barbarous wretches who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood") and as a deliberate instrument of terror to induce others to surrender. He repeated his policy of massacre at Wexford, this time choosing not to spare the civilian population. These actions had the desired effect, and most other towns surrendered at Cromwell's approach. He departed Ireland after nine months, leaving his successors with only a mopping-up operation. His reputation at a new high, Cromwell was next put in charge of dealing with those Scots who had welcomed Charles I's son, Charles II, to Scotland and who were soon to crown him at Scone as king of all of Great Britain and Ireland. Although outnumbered and in a weak defensive position, Cromwell won a stunning victory in the Battle of Dunbar on September 3, 1650. A year later to the day, having chased Charles II and a second Scottish army into England, he gained an overwhelming victory at Worcester. Charles II barely escaped with his life.

Victorious wars against the Irish, Scots, and Dutch (1652) made the Commonwealth a feared military power. But the struggle for survival defined the Rump's conservative policies. Little was done to reform the law. An attempt to abolish the court of chancery created chaos in the central courts. Little agreement could be reached on religious matters, especially on the vexing question of the compulsory payment of tithes. The Rump failed both to make long-term provision for a new "national church" and to define the state's right to confer and place limits on the freedom of those who wished to worship and gather outside the church. Most ominously, nothing at all had been done to set a limit for the sitting of the Rump and to provide for franchise reform and the election of a new Parliament. This had been the principal demand of the army, and the more the Rump protested the difficulty of the problem, the less patient the soldiers became. In April, when it was clear that the Rump would set a limit to its sitting but would nominate its own members to judge new elections, Cromwell marched to Westminster and dissolved Parliament. The Rump was replaced by an assembly nominated mostly by the army high command. The Nominated Parliament (1653) was no better able to overcome its internal divisions or untangle the threads of reform than the Rump. After five months it dissolved itself and returned power to Cromwell and the army.

The problems that beset both the Rump and the Nominated Parliament resulted from the diversity of groups that supported the revolution, ranging from pragmatic men of affairs, lawyers, officeholders, and local magistrates whose principal desire was to restore and maintain order to zealous visionaries who wished to establish heaven on earth. The republicans, like Sir Henry Vane the Younger, hoped to create a government based upon the model of ancient Rome and modern Venice. They were proud of the achievements of the Commonwealth and reviled Cromwell for dissolving the Rump. But most political reformers based their programs on dreams of the future rather than the past. They were millenarians, expecting the imminent Second Coming of Christ. Some were social reformers, such as Gerrard Winstanley, whose followers, agrarian communists known as Diggers, believed that the common lands should be returned to the common people. Others were mystics, such as the Ranters, led by Laurence Claxton, who believed that they were infused with a holy spirit that removed sin from even their most reprehensible acts. The most enduring of these groups were the Quakers (Society of Friends), whose social radicalism was seen in their refusal to take oaths or doff their hats and whose religious radicalism was contained in their emphasis upon inner light. Ultimately, all these groups were persecuted by successive revolutionary governments, which were continually being forced to establish conservative limits to individual and collective behaviour.

The failure of the Nominated Parliament led to the creation of the first British constitution, the Instrument of Government (1653). Drafted by Maj. Gen. John Lambert, the Instrument created a lord protector, a Council of State, and a reformed Parliament that was to be elected at least once every three years. Cromwell was named protector, and he chose a civilian-dominated Council to help him govern. The Protectorate tackled many of the central issues of reform head-on. Commissions were appointed to study law reform and the question of tithes.

Social legislation against swearing, drunkenness, and stage plays was introduced. Steps were taken to provide for the training of a godly ministry, and even a new university at Durham was begun.

But the protector was no better able to manage his Parliaments than had been the king. The Parliament of 1654 immediately questioned the entire basis of the newly established government, with the republicans vigorously disputing the office of lord protector. The Parliament of 1656, despite the exclusion of many known opponents, was no more pliable. Both were a focus for the manifold discontents of supporters and opponents of the regime. Nothing was more central to the Cromwellian experiment than the cause of religious liberty.

Cromwell believed that no one church had a monopoly on truth and that no one form of government or worship was necessary or desirable. Moreover, he believed in a loosely federated national church, with each parish free to worship as it wished within very broad limits and staffed by a clergy licensed by the state on the basis of their knowledge of the Bible and the uprightness of their lives, without reference to their religious beliefs. On the other hand, Cromwell felt that there should be freedom for “all species of protestant” to gather if they wished into religious assemblies outside the national church. He did not believe, however, that religious liberty was a natural right, but one conferred by the Christian magistrate, who could place prudential limits on the exercise of that liberty. Thus, those who claimed that their religion permitted or even promoted licentiousness and sexual freedom, who denied the Trinity, or who claimed the right to disrupt the worship of others were subject to proscription or penalty. Furthermore, for the only time between the Reformation and the mid-19th century, there was no religious test for the holding of public office. Although Cromwell made his detestation of Catholicism very plain, Catholics benefited from the repeal of the laws requiring attendance at parish churches, and they were less persecuted for the private exercise of their own faith than at any other time in the century. Cromwell’s policy of religious tolerance was far from total, but it was exceptional in the early modern world.

Among opponents, royalists were again active, though by now they were reduced to secret associations and conspiracies. In the west, Penruddock’s rising, the most successful of a series of otherwise feeble royalist actions in March 1655, was effectively suppressed, but Cromwell reacted by reducing both the standing army and the level of taxation on all. He also appointed senior army officers “major generals,” raising ultra-loyal militias from among the demobbed veterans paid for by penal taxation on all those convicted of active royalism in the previous decade. The major generals were also charged with superintending “a reformation of manners”—the imposition of strict Puritan codes of social and sexual conduct. They were extremely unpopular, and, despite their effectiveness, the offices were abolished within a year.

By now it was apparent that the regime was held together by Cromwell alone. Within his personality resided the contradictions of the revolution. Like the gentry, he desired a fixed and stable constitution, but, like the zealous, he was infused with a millenarian vision of a more glorious world to come (see millennialism). As a member of Parliament from 1640, he respected the fundamental authority that Parliament represented, but, as a member of the army, he understood power and the decisive demands of necessity. In the 1650s many wished him to become king, but he refused the crown, preferring the authority of the people to the authority of the sword. When he died in 1658, all hope of continued reform died with him. For a time, Richard Cromwell was elevated to his father’s titles and dignity, but he was no match in power or skill. The republicans and the army officers who had fought Oliver tooth and nail now hoped to use his son to dismantle the civil government that under the Humble Petition and Advice (1657) had come to resemble nothing so much as the old monarchy. An upper House of Lords had been created, and the court at Whitehall was every bit as ceremonious as that of the Stuarts. While some demanded that the Rump be restored to power, others clamoured for the selection of a new Parliament on the basis of the old franchise, and this took place in 1659. By then there was a vacuum of power at the centre; Richard Cromwell, incapable of governing, simply left office. A rebellion of junior officers led to the reestablishment of the Rump.

But all was confusion. The Rump was incapable of governing without financial support from the City and military support from the army. Just as in 1647, the City demanded military disbandment and the army demanded satisfaction of its material grievances. But the army was no longer a unified force. Contentions among the senior officers led to an attempt to arrest Lambert, and the widely scattered regiments had their own grievances to propound. The most powerful force was in Scotland, commanded by George Monck, once a royalist and now one of the ablest of the army’s senior officers. When one group of officers determined to dissolve the Rump, Monck marched his forces south, determined to restore it. Arriving in London, Monck quickly realized that the Rump could never govern effectively and that only the restoration of Charles II could put an end to the political chaos that now gripped the state. In February 1660 Monck reversed Pride’s Purge, inviting all of the secluded members of the Long Parliament to return to their seats under army protection. A month later the Long Parliament dissolved itself, paving the way for the return of the king.

The later Stuarts - Charles II (1660–85) - The Restoration

Charles II arrived in London on the 30th birthday of what had already been a remarkably eventful life. He came of age in Europe, a child of diplomatic intrigues, broken promises, and unfulfilled hopes. By necessity he had developed a thick skin and a shrewd political realism. This was displayed in the Declaration of Breda (1660), in which Charles offered something to everyone in his terms for resuming government. A general pardon would be issued, a tolerant

religious settlement would be sought, and security for private property would be assured. Never a man for details, Charles left the specifics to the Convention Parliament (1660), which was composed of members of the competing religious and political parties that contended for power amid the rubble of the Commonwealth.

The Convention declared the restoration of the king and the lords, disbanded the army, established a fixed income for the king by maintaining the parliamentary innovation of the excise tax, and returned to the crown and the bishops their confiscated estates. But it made no headway on a religious settlement. Despite Charles's promise of a limited toleration and his desire to accept Presbyterians into the Anglican fold as detailed in the Worcester House Declaration (1660), enthusiasts from both left and right wrecked every compromise. It was left to the Cavalier Parliament (1661–79) to make the hard choices and to demonstrate that one of the changes that had survived the revolution was the independence of Parliament. Despite Charles's desire to treat his father's adversaries leniently and to find a broad church settlement, the Cavalier Parliament sought to establish a rigid Anglican orthodoxy. It began the alliance between squire and parson that was to dominate English local society for centuries.

The bishops were returned to Parliament, a new prayer book was authorized, and repressive acts were passed to compel conformity. The imposition of oaths of allegiance and non-resistance to the crown and an oath recognizing the king's supremacy in the church upon all members of local government in the Corporation Act (1661) and then upon the clergy in the Act of Uniformity (1662) led to a massive purge of officeholders. Town governors were put out of their places, and nearly one-fifth of all clergymen were deprived of their livings. Authority in the localities was now firmly in the hands of the gentry. The Conventicle Act (1664) barred Nonconformists (Dissenters) from holding separate church services, and the Five Mile Act (1665) prohibited dispossessed ministers from even visiting their former congregations.

This program of repressive religious legislation was the first of many missed opportunities to remove the underlying causes of political discontent. Though religious Dissenters were not a large percentage of the population, their treatment raised the spectre of permanently divided local communities and of potentially arbitrary government. This legislation (the Clarendon Code) is inappropriately associated with the name of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, for he, as well as the king, realized the dangers of religious repression and attempted to soften its effects. Indeed, in central government the king relied upon men of diverse political backgrounds and religious beliefs. Clarendon, who had lived with the king in exile, was his chief political adviser, and Charles's brother James, duke of York (later James II), was his closest confidant and was entrusted with the vital post of lord admiral. Monck, who had made the restoration possible, was raised to duke of Albemarle and continued to hold military authority over the small standing army that, for the first time in English history, the king maintained.

War and government

Charles II could not undo the effects of the revolution, but they were not all negative. The Commonwealth had had to fight for its survival, and in the process England had become a potent military power. Wars against France and Spain had expanded English colonial dominions. Dunkirk and Jamaica were seized, Barbados was colonized, and the North American colonies flourished. Colonial trade was an important source of royal revenue, and Charles II continued Cromwell's policy of restricting trade to English ships and imposing duties on imports and exports. The Navigation Acts (1660 and 1663) were directed against the Dutch, still the most powerful commercial force in Europe. The Cromwellian Navigation Act (1651) had resulted in the first Anglo-Dutch War (1652–54), and Charles's policy had the same effect. In military terms the Dutch Wars (1665–67; 1672–74) were a standoff, but in economic terms they were an English triumph (see Anglo-Dutch Wars). The American colonies were consolidated by the capture of New York, and the policy of the Navigation Acts was effectively established. Colonial trade and English shipping mushroomed.

In the long run Charles's spasmodically aggressive foreign policy solved the crown's perpetual fiscal crises. But in the short run it made matters worse. The Great Plague of London (1664–66) and the Great Fire of London (1666) were interpreted as divine judgments against a sinful nation. These catastrophes were compounded when the Dutch burned a large portion of the English fleet in 1667, which led to the dismissal and exile of Clarendon. The crown's debts led to the Stop of the Exchequer (1672), by which Charles suspended payment of his bills. The king now ruled through a group of ministers known as the Cabal, an anagram of the first letters of their names. None of the five was Anglican, and two were Roman Catholic.

Charles had wearied of repressive Anglicanism, underestimating its strength among rural gentry and clergy, and desired comprehension and toleration in his church. This fit with his foreign-policy objectives, for in the Treaty of Dover (1670) he allied himself with Catholic France against Protestant Holland. In exchange he received a large subsidy from Louis XIV and, in the treaty's secret clauses, known only to the king's Catholic ministers, the promise of an even larger one if Charles undertook, at some unspecified moment, to declare himself a Catholic. That moment came for the king on his deathbed, by which time his brother and heir, the duke of York, had already openly professed his conversion. In 1672 Charles promulgated the Declaration of Indulgence, which suspended the penal code against all religious Nonconformists, Catholic and Dissenter alike. But a declaration of toleration could not bring together these mortal enemies, and the king found himself faced by a unified Protestant front. Parliamentary Anglicans would not vote money for war until the declaration was abrogated. The passage of the Test Act (1673), which the king

reluctantly signed, effectively barred all but Anglicans from holding national office and forced the duke of York to resign the admiralty.

The Popish Plot

Anti-Catholicism united the disparate elements of English Protestantism as did nothing else. Anglicans vigorously persecuted the Protestant sects, especially Quakers and Baptists, who were imprisoned by the thousands whenever the government claimed to have discovered a radical plot. John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678), which became one of the most popular works in the English language, was composed in jail. Yet Dissenters held out against persecution and continued to make their converts in towns and cities. They railed against the debauchery of court life, naming the duke of York, whose shotgun wedding to the daughter of his brother's lord chancellor had scandalized even his own family, and the king himself, who acknowledged 17 bastard children but did not produce one legitimate heir. Most of all they feared a Catholic revival, which by the late 1670s was no paranoid delusion. The alliance with Catholic France and rumours of (an all too true) secret treaty, the open conversion of the Duke of York, heir to the throne, and the king's efforts to suspend the laws against Catholic officeholders were potent signs.

Not even the policy of Charles's new Chief Minister, Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, could stem the tide of suspicion. An Anglican, Danby tried to move the crown back into alliance with the majority of country gentry, who wanted the enforcement of the penal code and the end of the pro-French foreign policy. He arranged the marriage of Charles's brother James's eldest daughter, Mary (later Mary II), to William of Orange (later William III), the Dutch stadtholder. Yet, like the king, Danby admired Louis XIV and the French style of monarchy. He attempted to manage Parliament, centralize crown patronage, shore up royal finance, and maintain a standing army—in short, to build a base for royal absolutism. Catholicism and absolutism were so firmly linked in the popular mind that Danby was soon tarred by this broad brush. In 1678 a London Dissenter named Titus Oates revealed evidence of a plot by the Jesuits to murder the king and establish Roman Catholicism in England. Although both the evidence and the plot were a total fabrication, England was quickly swept up in anti-Catholic hysteria. The apparent murder of the Protestant magistrate who had first heard Oates's revelations lent credence to a tissue of lies. Thirty-five alleged conspirators in the Popish Plot were tried and executed, harsh laws against Catholics were revived and extended, and Danby's political position was undermined when it was revealed that he had been in secret negotiation with the French. Parliament voted his impeachment and began to investigate the clauses of the Anglo-French treaties. A second Test Act (1678) was passed, barring all but Anglicans from Parliament, and an exception for the Duke of York to sit in the Lords was carried by only two votes. After 18 years Charles II dissolved the Cavalier Parliament.

The exclusion crisis and the Tory reaction

The mass hysteria that resulted from the Popish Plot also had its effects on the country's governors. When Parliament assembled in 1679, a bill was introduced to exclude the duke of York from the throne. This plunged Britain into its most serious political crisis since the revolution. Rebellion in Scotland required the use of brutal force to restore order. But, unlike his father, Charles II reacted calmly and decisively. First he co-opted the leading exclusionists, including the earl of Shaftesbury, the earl of Halifax, and the Earl of Essex, into his government, and then he offered a plan for safeguarding the church during his brother's reign. But when the Commons passed the Exclusion Bill, Charles dissolved Parliament and called new elections. These did not change the mood of the country, for in the second Exclusion Parliament (1679) the Commons also voted to bypass the duke of York in favour of his daughter Mary and William of Orange, though this was rejected by the Lords. Again Parliament was dissolved, again the king appealed to the country, and again an unyielding Parliament met at Oxford (1681). By now the king had shown his determination and had frightened the local elites into believing that there was danger of another civil war. He also had the advantage of soaring tax revenues as Britain benefited from the end of European wars in 1678 and 1679. The Oxford Parliament was dissolved in a week, the "Whig" (Scottish Gaelic: "Horse Thief") councillors, as they were now called, were dismissed from their places, and the king appealed directly to the country for support.

The king also appealed to his cousin Louis XIV, who feared exclusion as much as Charles did, if for different reasons. Louis provided a large annual subsidy to increase Charles's already plentiful revenues, which had grown with English commerce. Louis also encouraged him to strike out against the Whigs. An attempt to prosecute the earl of Shaftesbury was foiled only because a Whig grand jury refused to return an indictment. But the earl was forced into exile in Holland, where he died in 1683. The king next attacked the government of London, calling in its charter and reorganizing its institutions so that "Tories" (Irish: "Thieving Outlaws"), as his supporters were now called, held power. Quo warranto proceedings against the charters of many urban corporations followed, forcing surrenders and re-incorporations that gave the crown the ability to replace disloyal local governors.

In 1683 government informants named the Earl of Essex, Lord William Russell, and Algernon Sidney as conspirators in the Rye House Plot, a plan to assassinate the king. Though the evidence was flimsy, Russell and Sidney were executed and Essex took his own life. There was hardly a murmur of protest when Charles II failed to summon a Parliament in 1684, as he was bound to do by the Triennial Act. He was now fully master of his state—financially independent of Parliament and politically secure, with loyal Tory servants predominating in local and national government. He died in 1685 at the height of his power.

James II (1685–88) - Church and King.

Unlike his brother, James II did not dissimulate for the sake of policy. He dealt plainly with friend and foe alike. James did not desire to establish Catholicism or absolutism and offered what looked like ironclad guarantees for the preservation of the Anglican church. James came to the throne amid declarations of loyalty from the ruling elite. The Parliament of 1685 was decidedly royalist, granting the king customs revenues for life as well as emergency military aid to suppress Monmouth's Rebellion (1685). James Scott, duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles II, was Shaftesbury's personal choice for the throne had Exclusion succeeded. Monmouth recruited tradesmen and farmers as he marched through the West Country on the way to defeat at the Battle of Sedgemoor. The rebellion was a fiasco, as the local gentry refused to sanction civil war. Monmouth was executed, and more than 600 of his supporters were either hanged or deported in the brutal aftermath of the rebellion, the Bloody Assizes (1685).

The king misinterpreted Monmouth's failure to mean that the country would place the legitimate succession above all else. During the rebellion, James had dispensed with the Test Act and appointed Catholics to military command. This led to a confrontation with Parliament, but the king's dispensing power was upheld in *Godden v. Hales* (1686). James made it clear that he intended to maintain his large military establishment, to promote Catholics to positions of leadership, and to dispense with the penal code. He set out systematically to create a Catholic state. Over the three years of his reign, he sacked three-fourths of all justices of the peace, 11 of the 12 judges, and most lords lieutenant, and the tendrils of central bureaucracy spread throughout the land.

Existing penal laws against Catholics were suspended. Moreover, Catholics and compliant Protestant Dissenters were appointed at all levels of government. A huge propaganda drive to make converts to Catholicism was launched, and many Catholic churches, schools, and colleges were set up by state action. James set out to appoint Catholic heads to one or more colleges in Oxford and Cambridge with a view to training a new generation of Catholic governors.

Unfortunately for James, as he was beginning on his program of action, in France Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes, the legislation that had protected the rights of French Protestants for nearly a century. The repression of Huguenot congregations inflamed English public opinion. Thus, the king's effort on behalf of Catholics was doomed from the start. He had vainly hoped that the Parliament of 1685 would repeal the Test Acts. He "closeted" himself with members of Parliament (MPs), one at a time, hoping to browbeat them into agreeing to a repeal of all anti-Catholic legislation, but met stoic noncommittal reactions that were masking real anger. Moreover, his effort to forge an alliance with Dissenters proved unsuccessful. When James showed favour to William Penn and the Quakers, his leading Anglican ministers, Henry Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, and Lawrence Hyde, Earl of Rochester, resigned.

By now the king was set upon a collision course with his natural supporters. The Tory interest was made up of solid support for church and king; it was James's mistake to believe that they would support one without the other. In 1687 he reissued the Declaration of Indulgence, which suspended the penal laws against Catholics and Dissenters. This was a temporary measure, for James hoped that his next Parliament would repeal the penal code in its entirety. To that end he began a systematic investigation of the parliamentary boroughs, restricting the parliamentary franchise to members of corporations and then nominating those very members. Agents were sent to question mayors, lieutenants, and justices of the peace about their loyalty to the regime and their willingness to vote for MPs who would repeal the Test Acts. Most gave temporizing answers, but those who stood out were purged from their places. For the first time in English history, the crown was undertaking to pack Parliament. James was following an even more aggressively Catholicizing policy in his other kingdoms, placing power in Ireland into the hands of the Catholic majority for the first time in a century. Disastrously, when an Irish Parliament met, it voted for the return of all the land taken from the nobility and the church over that century—in fact, a majority of all land. When revolution came, it was especially bloody in Ireland, and it saw a further halving of the amount of land held by Catholics and a new and even more severe penal code that threatened the very existence of Catholic worship and rendered the Catholic community at the mercy of a vindictive "Protestant ascendancy" for 200 years.

The Revolution of 1688

The final crisis of James's reign resulted from two related events. The first was the refusal of seven Bishops to instruct the clergy of their dioceses to read the Declaration of Indulgence in their churches. The king was so infuriated by this unexpected check to his plans that he had the Bishops imprisoned, charged with seditious libel, and tried. Meanwhile, in June 1688 Queen Mary (Mary of Modena) gave birth to a male heir, raising the prospect that there would be a Catholic successor to James. Wild rumours spread that the queen had not given birth to the child. It was said that a baby had been smuggled into her confinement in a warming pan. When the Bishops were triumphantly acquitted by a London jury, leaders of all political groups within the state were persuaded that the time had come to take action. Seven leading Protestants drafted a carefully worded invitation for William of Orange to come to England to investigate the circumstances of the birth of the king's heir. In effect, the leaders of the political nation had invited a foreign prince to invade their land. This came as no surprise to William, who had been contemplating an invasion since the spring of 1688. William, who was organizing the Grand Alliance against Louis XIV, needed England as an ally rather than a rival. All Europe was readying for war in the summer of 1688, and James had powerful land and sea forces at his disposal to repel William's invasion. The crossing, begun on October 19, was a feat of military genius, however propitious the strong eastern "Protestant wind" that kept the English fleet at anchor while Dutch ships landed at Torbay (November 5). William took Exeter and issued a declaration calling for the election of a free Parliament.

From the beginning, the Anglican interest flocked to him. James could only watch as large parts of his army melted away.

William III (1689-1702)

Yet there was no plan to depose the king. Many Tories hoped that William's presence would force James to change his policies, and many Whigs believed that a free Parliament could fetter his excesses. When James marched out of London, there was even the prospect of battle. But the result was completely unforeseen. James lost his nerve, sent his family to France, and followed after them, tossing the Great Seal into the Thames.

James's flight was a godsend, and, when he was captured en route, William allowed him to escape again. At the end of December, William arrived in London, summoned the leading peers and bishops to help him keep order, and called Parliament into being.

The Convention Parliament (1689) met amid the confusion created by James's flight. For some Tories, James II was still the king. Some were willing to contemplate a regency and others to allow Mary to rule with William as consort. But neither William nor the Whigs would accept such a solution. William was to be king in his own right, and in February the Convention agreed that James had "abdicated the government and that the throne has thereby become vacant." At the same time, the leaders of the Convention prepared the Declaration of Rights to be presented to William and Mary. The declaration was a restatement of traditional rights, but the conflicts between Whigs and Tories caused it to be watered down considerably. Nevertheless, the Whigs did manage to declare the suspending power and the maintenance of a standing army in peacetime illegal. But many of the other clauses protecting free speech, free elections, and frequent Parliaments were cast in anodyne formulas, and the offer of the throne was not conditional upon the acceptance of the Declaration of Rights.

William III (1689–1702) and Mary II (1689–94) - The revolution settlement.

The Glorious Revolution (the Revolution of 1688) was a constitutional crisis, which was resolved in England, if not in Scotland and Ireland, through legislation. The Bill of Rights (1689), a more conservative document than even the declaration, was passed into law, and it established the principle that only a Protestant could wear the crown of England. A new coronation oath required the monarch to uphold Protestantism and the statutes, laws, and customs of the realm as well. A Triennial Act (1694) re-established the principle of regular parliamentary sessions.

Two other pieces of legislation tackled problems that had vexed the country since 1640. The Mutiny Act (1689) restrained the monarch's control over military forces in England by restricting the use of martial law. It was passed for one year only; however, when it lapsed between 1698 and 1701, the crown's military power was not appreciably affected. The Toleration Act (1689) was the most disappointing part of the whole settlement. It was originally intended to be part of a new comprehensive religious settlement in which most mainline Dissenters would be admitted into the church. This failed for the same reasons that comprehension had been failing for 30 years; the Anglican clergy would not give up its monopoly, and Dissenters would not compromise their principles. The Toleration Act permitted most forms of Protestant worship; Unitarians were explicitly excluded, as were Catholics and Jews. But the Test Acts that prevented Dissenters from holding government office or sitting in Parliament were continued in force.

A new society

In the decades before, and especially following, the Glorious Revolution, profound realignments can be seen in English society. Hitherto, the great divide was between landed wealth and urban wealth derived from trade and the law. A new fault line became ever clearer within landed society, and new ties emerged between the super-rich of the city and countryside. The old social values that had tied the peerage, or nobilitas major (greater nobility), and gentry, or nobilitas minor (lesser nobility), withered. A new social term emerged, the aristocracy. Previously it had been used to describe not a social group but a system of government; now it referred to an elite whose wealth was vicarious, encompassing not only vast estates but also great profits from urban redevelopment—such as the Russells' redevelopment of Covent Garden and later of Bloomsbury (from the time of Francis Russell, 4th earl of Bedford) and the Grosvenors' development of Mayfair, Belgravia, and Pimlico (from the time of Sir Thomas Grosvenor in the early 18th century). Profits also came to them from investment in overseas trading companies and from government stock. They built elegant town houses to go with their huge country houses, often pulling down or shifting whole villages (as Sir Robert Walpole did at Houghton Hall and Philip Yorke, earl of Hardwicke, did at Wimpole) so as to produce spacious parks and noble vistas for themselves. They patronized the secular arts in one sense and the "squires" (another new term for the "mere" gentry) in another sense. The squires faced financial decline as their rent rolls sagged and new, expensive forms of capital-intensive rather than labour-intensive agriculture passed them by. Two new political epithets were introduced: Whig aristocrat and Tory squire. They represented two social realities and two political visions: the Whig vision of a cosmopolitan, religiously and culturally liberal society and the Tory vision of a world gone bad that had abandoned the paternalism of manor house and parish church and of the confessional state and the organic society (the body politic) in favour of a materialistic possessive individualism. Post-revolution society was based much less on the rule of social leaders voluntarily leading in public service and on private philanthropy than on a rule of law made by the elite for the elite and upon the professionalism of government. These changes to the social order made many Tories temperamentally Jacobite, not in the sense that they believed in the cause of

James Edward, the Old Pretender, or Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, but that they were in perpetual mourning for the world they had lost.

The sinews of war

William III had come to England to further his Continental designs, but English politics conspired against him. The first years of his reign were dominated by the constitutional issues of the revolution settlement, and he became increasingly frustrated with the political squabbling of Whigs and Tories. Moreover, holding the English throne was proving more difficult than taking it. In 1690, with French backing, James II invaded Ireland. William personally led an army to the Battle of the Boyne (1690), where James's forces were crushed. But the compromise settlement that his plenipotentiaries reached with the Catholic leaders as the price of their abandonment of resistance (the Treaty of Limerick) was rejected by the Irish Parliament, which executed the full rigours of the penal code upon Irish Catholics.

The Irish wars impressed upon William's English subjects that, as long as the French backed James, they were now part of the great European struggle. Parliament granted William vast subsidies for the War of the Grand Alliance (1688–97), more than £4.5 million in a two-year period alone, but also established a right to oversee the expenditure of public monies. This led to both economies and accountability, and it forged a new political alliance among "country" (that is, anti-court) forces that were uneasy about foreign entanglements and suspicious of corruption at court. William's war was going badly on land and sea. The French fleet inflicted heavy losses on a combined Anglo-Dutch force and heavier losses on English merchant shipping. The land war was a desultory series of sieges and reliefs, which again tipped in favour of France. For some time it looked as if Scotland might go its own way. Whereas in England the centre held and compromises were reached, in Scotland James's supporters first held their ground and then crumbled, and a vindictive Parliament not only decreed a proscription of his supporters but set out to place much greater limits on the crown. James was formally deposed. Moreover, measures were taken to ensure that Westminster could not dictate what was done in Edinburgh. And there was to be religious toleration in Scotland. Episcopacy was abolished, and all those who had taken part in the persecution of covenanting conventicles in previous years were expelled from a vengeful kirk (church). There was spasmodic resistance from Jacobites, and it took several years and some atrocities—most notoriously, the slaughter of the MacDonalds, instigated by their ancient enemies the Campbells, in the Massacre of Glencoe in 1692—for William to secure complete control.

Year by year the financial costs mounted. Between 1688 and 1702 England accumulated more than £14 million of debt, which was financed through the creation of the Bank of England (1694). The bank was a joint-stock company empowered to discount bills and issue notes. It lent to the government at a fixed rate of interest—initially 8 percent—and this interest was secured by a specific customs grant. Investors scrambled for the bank's notes, which were considered gilt-edged securities, and more than £1.2 million was raised on the initial offering. Not surprisingly, a growing funded debt created inflation and led to a financial crisis in 1696. But the underlying English economy was sound, and military expenditures fuelled production.

The establishment of a funded national debt and the Bank of England was the work of the Whigs in alliance with the London mercantile establishment. The Tories and the country party were alternately suspicious and jealous of Whig success. In order to secure funds for his campaigns, William had been forced to allow the Whigs to dominate government, much against his inclination. An attempted assassination of the king in 1696 gave the Whigs an opportunity to impose an oath on the political nation that William was the "rightful and lawful king." This directly challenged Tory consciences, which had been tender since the death of Queen Mary in 1694. Many resigned office rather than affirm what they did not believe. The ascendancy of the so-called Junto Whigs might have been secured had not European events once again intruded into English affairs. In 1697 the War of the Grand Alliance ended with the Treaty of Rijswijk, in which Louis XIV formally recognized William III as King of England.

A great revulsion and war weariness now took hold of the country. Parliament voted to disband most of the military establishment, including William's own Dutch guards, and a vigorous public debate against the existence of a standing army ensued. Taxes were slashed, accounts were audited, and irregularities were exposed. The Junto Whigs, who were associated with war and war profiteers, fell. A new coalition of country and Tory MPs, led by Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, launched a vigorous campaign of retrenchment. It had not progressed very far by 1700, when the deaths of the Duke of Gloucester and Charles II of Spain redefined English and European priorities. The Duke of Gloucester was the only surviving child of Queen Mary's sister, Princess Anne, despite her 18 pregnancies. Because William and Mary were childless, the Duke was the long-term Protestant heir to the throne. His death created a complicated problem that was resolved in the Act of Settlement (1701), which bypassed 48 legitimate but Catholic heirs and devolved the throne upon a granddaughter of James I, that is, on Sophia of Hanover and her son George (later George I). In clauses that read like a criticism of the policies of William III, the act stipulated that the sovereign must be—and could only be—married to a member of the Anglican church and that his foreign policy was to be directed by Parliament and his domestic policy by the Privy Council. It also limited the right of the King to dismiss judges at pleasure. Although many of the more restrictive clauses of the act were repealed in 1706, the Act of Settlement asserted a greater degree of parliamentary control over the monarchy than had been obtained since 1649.

The consequences of the death of Charles II of Spain were no less momentous. Years of futile negotiations to divide the vast Spanish empire among several claimants came to an end when Louis XIV placed his grandson on the

Spanish throne and began preparing to unite the kingdoms into a grand Bourbon alliance. Louis's aggressive stance overcame even the torpor of British public opinion, especially when he renounced William's legitimacy and welcomed James Edward, the Old Pretender, to his court as rightful king of England. William constructed another anti-French coalition and bequeathed to Queen Anne the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14).

Anne (1702–14)

Queen Anne, daughter of James II and the last of the Stuarts, inherited a country that was bitterly divided politically. Her weak eyesight and indifferent health forced her to rely more upon her ministers than had any of her Stuart predecessors, but she was no less effective for that. Anne had decided views about people and policies, and these did much to shape her reign.

She detested the party divisions that now dominated central politics and did all she could to avoid being controlled by either Whigs or Tories. While she only briefly achieved her ideal of a nonpartisan ministry, Anne did much to disappoint the ambitions of nearly all party leaders.

Whigs and Tories

The most significant development in political life over the previous quarter century had been the growth of clearly defined and opposing parties, which had taken the opprobrious titles Whigs and Tories. Parties had first formed during the exclusion crisis of 1679–81, but it was the Triennial Act (1694) that unintentionally gave life to party conflict. Nine general elections were held between 1695 and 1713, and these provided the structure whereby party issues and party leaders were pushed to the fore. Though party discipline was still in its infancy and ideology was a novel aspect of politics, clearly recognizable political parties had emerged by the end of the reign of William III. In general, the Tories stood for the Anglican church, the land, and the principle of passive obedience. They remained divided over the impending Hanoverian succession, wistfully dreaming that James Edward might convert to Protestantism so that the sanctity of the legitimate succession could be reaffirmed. From their country houses, the Tories opposed an expensive land war and favoured the “blue sea” strategy of dominating the Atlantic and Mediterranean shipping lanes. Their leaders had a self-destructive streak. Only Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, was a politician of the first rank, and he always shrank from being labelled a Tory. The Tories generally had a majority in the Commons and a friend on the throne, but they rarely attained power. The Whigs stood for Parliament's right to determine the succession to the throne, for all necessary measures to blunt the international pretensions of Catholic-absolutist France, and for a latitudinarian approach to religion and a broad, generous interpretation of the Toleration Act. They were blessed with brilliant leadership and an inexhaustible supply of good luck.

John Churchill, duke of Marlborough, was the outstanding military figure of his day. His victories at the Battle of Blenheim (1704) and the Battle of Ramillies (1706) rank among the greatest in British history. During the first part of the reign, his wife, Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, was the queen's confidante, and together the Marlboroughs were able to push Anne to support an aggressive and expensive foreign policy.

Continental warfare was costing £4 million a year, paid for by a tax on land, and, after the early years, successes were few and far between. Sidney Godolphin kept the duke supplied and financed and ably managed the Whig interest by disciplining government officeholders to vote for Whig policies in Parliament. Among these policies was support for Dissenters who, to avoid the rigours of the Test Acts, would take Anglican communion. Both the queen and the Tories were opposed to these occasional conformists, and three bills to outlaw the practice were passed through the Commons but defeated in the Lords. When the Tories attempted to attach one of these to the military appropriations bill, even the queen condemned the manoeuvre.

For the first half of Anne's reign, Whig policies were dominant. The Duke of Marlborough's victories set off a wave of nationalistic pride and forced even Tories to concede the wisdom of a land war. Unfortunately, military success built overconfidence, prompting the Whigs to adopt the fruitless policy of “no peace without Spain,” which committed them to an increasingly unattainable conquest of Iberia. Yet the capture of both Gibraltar (1704) and Minorca (1708) made England the dominant sea power in the western Mediterranean and paid handsome commercial dividends. So too did the unexpected union with Scotland in 1707 (see Act of Union). Here again, Godolphin was the dominant figure, calling the Scottish Parliament's bluff when it announced it would not accept the Hanoverian succession. Godolphin passed the Aliens Act (1705), which would have prohibited all trade between England and Scotland—no mere scare tactic in light of the commercial policy that was crippling the Irish economy. Rather than risk economic strangulation, Scottish leaders negotiated for a permanent union, a compact the English monarchy had sought for more than a century. The union was a well-balanced bargain: free trade was established; Scottish Presbyterianism and the Scottish legal system were protected; and provisions were made to include 45 Scottish members in the English House of Commons and 18 members in the House of Lords. England gained security on its northern border, and the Whigs gained the promise of a peaceful Hanoverian succession.

Tories and Jacobites

Whig successes were not welcomed by the queen, who had a personal aversion to most of their leaders, especially after her estrangement from Sarah Churchill. As in the reign of William, war weariness and tax resistance combined to bring down the Whigs. The earl of Oxford and Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, vied for leadership of a reinvigorated Tory party that rallied support with the cry “church in danger.” In 1710 a Whig prosecution of a bigoted

Anglican minister, Henry Sacheverell, badly backfired. Orchestrated mob violence was directed against dissenting churches, and Sacheverell was impeached by only a narrow margin and given a light punishment. When the Tories gained power, they were able to pass legislation directed against Dissenters, including the Occasional Conformity Act (1711), which forbade Dissenters to circumvent the test acts by occasionally taking Anglican communion, and the Schism Act, which prevented them from opening schools (they were barred from Anglican schools and colleges). The Tories also concluded the War of the Spanish Succession. By the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), England expanded its colonial empire in Canada and the Caribbean and maintained possession of Gibraltar and Minorca in the Mediterranean.

But the Tories had their own Achilles' heel. They were deeply divided over who should succeed Anne, which became public during the queen's serious illness in 1713.

Though there were far more Hanoverian Tories than Jacobite Tories (supporters of James II and his son, James Edward, the Old Pretender), the prospect of the succession of a German Lutheran prince with Continental possessions to defend did not warm the hearts of isolationist Anglican country gentlemen. Both Oxford and Bolingbroke were in correspondence with James Edward, but Oxford made it plain that he would only support a Protestant succession. Bolingbroke's position was more complicated. A brilliant politician, he realized that the Tories would have little to hope for from the Hanoverians and that they could only survive by creating huge majorities in Parliament and an unshakable alliance with the church. Conflict between Tory leaders and divisions within the rank and file combined to defeat Bolingbroke's plans. After Anne died in August 1714, George I acceded to the British throne, and Bolingbroke, having tainted the Tory party with Jacobitism for the next half century, fled to France.

18th-century Britain, 1714–1815 - The state of Britain in 1714

When Georg Ludwig, elector of Hanover, became King of Great Britain on August 1, 1714, the country was in some respects bitterly divided. Fundamentally, however, it was prosperous, cohesive, and already a leading European and imperial power. Abroad, Britain's involvement in the War of the Spanish Succession had been brought to a satisfactory conclusion by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). It had acquired new colonies in Gibraltar, Minorca, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Hudson's Bay, as well as trading concessions in the Spanish New World. By contrast, Britain's rivals, France, Spain, and the Dutch Republic, were left weakened or war-weary by the conflict. It took France a decade to recover, and Spain and Holland were unable to reverse their military and economic decline. As a result Britain was able to remain aloof from war on the Continent for a quarter of a century after the Hanoverian succession, and this protracted peace was to be crucial to the new dynasty's survival and success.

War had also strengthened the British state at home. The need to raise men and money had increased the size and scope of the executive as well as the power and prestige of the House of Commons. Taxation had accounted for 70 percent of Britain's wartime expenditure (£93,644,560 between 1702 and 1713), so the Commons' control over taxation became a powerful guarantee of its continuing importance. Britain's ability to pay for war on this scale demonstrated the extent of its wealth.

Agriculture was still the bedrock of the economy, but trade was increasing, and more men and women were employed in industry in Britain than in any other European nation. Wealth, however, was unequally distributed, with almost a third of the national income belonging to only 5 percent of the population. But British society was not polarized simply between the rich and the poor; according to writer Daniel Defoe there were seven different and more subtle categories:

1. The great, who live profusely.
2. The rich, who live plentifully.
3. The middle sort, who live well.
4. The working trades, who labour hard, but feel no want.
5. The country people, farmers etc., who fare indifferently.
6. The poor, who fare hard.
7. The miserable, that really pinch and suffer want.

From 1700 to the 1740s Britain's population remained stable at about seven million, and agricultural production increased. So, although men and women from Defoe's 6th and 7th categories could still die of hunger and hunger-related diseases, in most regions of Britain there was usually enough basic food to go around. This was crucial to social stability and to popular acquiescence in the new Hanoverian regime.

But early 18th-century Britain also had its weaknesses. Its Celtic fringe—Wales, Ireland, and Scotland—had been barely assimilated. The vast majority of Welsh men and women could neither speak nor understand the English language. Most Irish men and women spoke Gaelic and belonged to the Roman Catholic church, in contrast with the population of the British mainland, which was staunchly Protestant. Scotland, which had only been united to England and Wales in 1707, still retained its traditional educational, religious, legal, and cultural practices. These internal divisions were made more dangerous by the existence of rival claimants to the British throne. James II, who had been expelled in the Glorious Revolution of 1688, died 13 years later, but his son, James Francis Edward Stuart, the Old Pretender, pressed his family's claims from his exile in France. His Catholicism and Scottish ancestry ensured him

wide support in Ireland and the Scottish Highlands; his cause also commanded sympathy among sections of the Welsh and English gentry and, arguably, among the masses.

Controversy over the succession sharpened partisan infighting between the Whig and Tory parties. About 50 Tory MPs (less than a seventh of the total number) may have been covert Jacobites in 1714. More generally, Tories differed from Whigs over religious issues and foreign policy. They were more anxious to preserve the privileges of the Anglican church and more hostile to military involvement in continental Europe than Whig politicians were inclined to be. These attitudes made the Tories vulnerable in 1714. The new king was a Lutheran by upbringing and wanted to establish wider religious toleration in his new kingdom. As a German he was deeply interested in European affairs. Consequently he regarded the Tory party as insular in its outlook as well as suspect in its allegiance.

Chapter 3 – The Puritans (Pilgrim Fathers).

We have heard of the Puritans, but who were they. Well, they were a group of English Protestants who came to prominence in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, particularly during the time under Oliver Cromwell. They worked tirelessly towards religious, moral and social reforms and therefore became particularly unhappy with the speed of reformation of the Church of England under Elizabeth I and the tolerance the established Church was showing towards the Catholic Church. They attempted to simplify and regulate forms of worship but were severely restricted by laws controlling the practice of religion. In many cases persecution led to many emigrating permanently or for short periods to the Netherlands and the area of Leiden. Then in the between the decades of 1620 to 1640 many started to emigrate to the Americas, in particular the province known as New England; it became known as the 'Great Migration' with the individuals being referred to as The Pilgrim Fathers. This increase began in strength during 1634.

Essex was a 'hot spot' for Puritans, so it is not surprising that we have a number of Basildon Borough ancestors who attempted the arduous journey into the virtual unknown. It is worth noting that Elizabeth Cromwell (nee Bourchier) lived at Little Stambridge Hall, Essex and it is possible this is where she met Oliver Cromwell and it is possible, he owned the Hall for a time.

In the early days of Elizabeth I, she treated the Puritan section with grudging tolerance, but when after the defeat of the Armada, she sat securely on her throne, she gave reign to her Tudor passion for uniformity. The leading statesmen favoured the stricter sort of Protestants, who were already beginning to be known as Puritans, Cecil, Walsingham and Leicester used their influence to secure that the Established Religion should be according to the Reformed doctrines and so far as possible, practices. The religious turmoil had meant that there were many new views and Elizabeth was anxious to suppress the zealous Puritan as the devout Catholic. The Queen's ministers were concerned with the state of religion when so many of the devout had been compelled to leave their benefices and the parishes were ill-served. As a step towards remedy, they made an examination of the state of various parishes, desiring to know how many clergy were pluralists and non-resident, or were not preaching ministers, or were of ill-life. In the return, the Curates of Laindon, Mountnessing, Ramsden Bellhouse and Wickford, were returned as 'un-preaching ministers,' the Parson of Little Burstead was a gamester, and he of Shenfield, a pettifogger. The Rector of Laindon was a scholarly man, Dr. John Walker, but he held a prebend (portion of church revenue) and left his curate, 'Mr. Brown' to look after the parish of Laindon. It was this state of things which made the more earnest Protestants continue to meet in private houses and hold their own worship apart from the parish church.

When James Stuart came to the throne of England at the beginning of a new century, he began by making promises of religious comprehension, but the Presbyterians of Scotland had often irked him by their independence and their plain speaking, so he had a prejudice against those of a like faith. The only result of his attempt to bring men of all religious opinions into union which was of any value, was the decision to revise the English versions of the Bible in common use, and issue an authorised version. This resulted in the great gift to both literature and the religious life of the version of the Bible which is still most commonly used. The Vicar of Great Burstead, William Pease, was a man of strong will.

Like most of the Essex clergy, he was a convinced Calvinist, but he was as rigorous for uniformity as King James himself. He was resolved to suppress all methods of worship save his own, and found laws ready to hand to assist him in his endeavour. The Archidiaconal Court was there to fine and imprison those who would not conform and the Vicar, had no hesitation in making use of it. In 1613 he summoned John Harries before the court in that "upon last Christmas Day he did not receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ reverently kneeling." Harries being a Puritan who objected to receiving the sacrament, kneeling. Another whom he prosecuted was a kinsman of Marie Martin, Samuel Prower; he was summoned in that he refused to be catechised unless I would ask him questions from some other catechism as "he did not know who gave him his name as his father was dead and he did not know his god-father."

The Billericay lads were a handful for the parson. Many of them had not been baptised in the church after the order of the Prayer Book and so the first question in the catechism was generally the test. Should they answer that their father gave them their name, Mr. Pease, who was a somewhat choleric cleric, would give them a box and then a whipping, and the fathers were either fined or imprisoned. William Farrington was pleased with his son for refusing to say that his name was given him by another, than his father, and especially glad when he asked the parson if he would tell him

a lie. Says Parson Pease "He asked me whether have him tell a lye and whether a lye was a sinne, and so he catechised me!" Masters were bound to send their servants to be catechised and punished if they did not see they made regular attendances at the church.

Chapter 4 – The Mayflower (by Lily Ager)

THE PILGRIM FATHERS

Can you picture a ship in full sail
In the year sixteen hundred and twenty?
'Twas the Mayflower, bearing her load
Of brave Pilgrims, who sought for a country
Where they might worship God in freedom
As they could not in England's kingdom.

Near one hundred adventurers brave
Of Good Puritan stock emigrated.
In this number were four from our town
Who should e'er with the great ones be rated,
Yet their names are not spoken to-day
Save on occasion, in Billericay.

Who were these of illustrious fame?
There were Marie and Christopher Martin
Who had married and dwelt in the town
At the Chantry. The husband took part in
The provisions needed before
The ship Mayflower left the Thames shore.

Then John Langerman, too, went from here
With another man, Solomon Prower.
The four emigrants travelled to Leigh
Or to Grays, there to board the Mayflower.
At Southampton the ship put in port,
Then her way on to Plymouth she fought.

There at Plymouth awaited a crowd,
For the Pilgrims had here come together.
The old Speedwell soon proved unfit
For Atlantic and rough windy weather.
So her sister-ship took double load
And the ocean's high waves nobly rode.

At last land! And the hopes of these folk
Bounded high, their Utopia sighted,
In New England, on virgin soil, men
With Elements fought, and so lighted
For their kinsmen the untrodden way,
These small towns grew, like Billerica.

The following is a brief history of Christopher Jones and Christopher Martin who were closely associated with the Mayflower and its famous voyage to America in 1620. This was one of the most influential Journey in global history and more than 35 Million people can trace their ancestry back to the 102 passengers and 30 crew members. This part of the 'Mayflower' story represents a small part of the Essex history and a very large part of American history, which for now, the intention is to record the stories and that part of this time capsule leading up to the stepping ashore in Massachusetts.

Billericay's part in the Mayflower venture is well known. Five Billericay people sailed with the Mayflower, and one of them, Christopher Martin, was appointed as governor.

The Mayflower had been built more than 300 miles from Plymouth in Devon, in the North Essex town of Harwich, where it was launched and registered in 1607. Along with three business partners, the ship was purchased by the man who became its captain. He was Christopher Jones, who was born in 1570, lived and was married in Harwich. His small business consortium then ran the Mayflower as a trading vessel. In 1611, Jones moved to Rotherhithe, a parish of Surrey, but now part of the London Borough of Southwark. This was a place much favoured by sea merchants because of its location on the River Thames, deep enough at this point for large ships to drop anchor and with easy access to the North Sea, into which the Thames flowed, with no intervening bridges to impede the journey. In 1620 the ship was contracted and boarded in Rotherhithe, however, from where the Mayflower sailed to Southampton, 150 miles east of Plymouth with about sixty-five passengers. Here, more passengers embarked, and

the Mayflower was joined by a sister ship called the Speedwell, which had brought emigrants for the trip from the Netherlands.

The first stopping off point is the pub at 117 Rotherhithe Street. One clue to its relevance in the Mayflower story can be seen on its rooftop: a weather vane in the shape of the famous ship. The pub has been called The Mayflower since 1957. Before that, it was the Spread Eagle and Crown, but in 1620 it was The Shippe Inn. According to the popular myth, Captain Jones tied up the Mayflower alongside the pub to avoid paying mooring taxes. Today, if you walk down the steps to the left of the pub entrance, you emerge onto the foreshore where a jetty would have taken passengers and crewmen on board.

The area around Rotherhithe in the 1500s attracted many outspoken dissenters, who refused to conform to the official line of the Anglican Church. These separatists, who had broken away from the Church of England, would have seen a lot of traffic up and down the river as ships left for foreign climates. Add to this the presence of a famous sea captain within their community and it is hardly surprising that he was approached to take the religious rebels to a place where they might start a new life in the New World.

The majority of the Pilgrims from Leiden (Holland) travelled in the Speedwell from Delfshaven, to Southampton. The plan was for both ships to sail to Northern Virginia but on Speedwell's journey to Southampton it started leaking, a week was spent patching her up and eventually on 5 August they set sail but she started leaking again so they disembarked at Dartmouth for further repairs. They continued their journey on the 21 August but after sailing approximately 300 miles 'Speedwell' started to leak again so both ships returned to Plymouth. Captain Jones selected his crew from local mariners and in August 1620, with the first wave of passengers on board, the Mayflower left the steps close to what is today the Mayflower pub, bound for Southampton on the first leg of its historic voyage.



After the transatlantic journey, Christopher Jones returned to Rotherhithe, where he died in 1622. He and two of his business partners were buried in a local church, where his children had been baptised. That church, which dated to the 12th century, no longer exists. But the present Church of St. Mary the Virgin, which was built on the same spot in 1716, has three memorials to the captain and the voyage. To reach the church from the Mayflower pub, you need to walk along St. Mary Church Street, which appropriately enough takes you past Mayflower Street. It's a fine church built to seat a congregation of 1,000 people, designed by British architect John James, an associate of Sir Christopher Wren.

Commemorating the voyage and its crew, a plaque on the wall of the church tower states: *"In 1620 the Mayflower sailed from Rotherhithe on the first stage of its epic voyage to America. In command was Captain Christopher Jones of Rotherhithe."* Inside the church, another memorial tablet, erected on the occasion of the 250th anniversary of the consecration of the church, states: *"The Mayflower. Christopher Jones, Master, and part-owner was buried in this churchyard, 5th March 1622."*

Inside the Mayflower

Forecastle.

This is where the crew's meals were cooked, and where the crew's food and supplies were stored.

Poop House.

Nothing to do with a bathroom, the poop house was the living quarters for the ship's master, Christopher Jones, and some of the higher ranking crew, perhaps master's mates' John Clarke and Robert Coppin.

Cabin.

This was the general sleeping quarters for the Mayflower's twenty or thirty crew members. The crew slept in shifts, so not everyone was sleeping in the room at the same time.

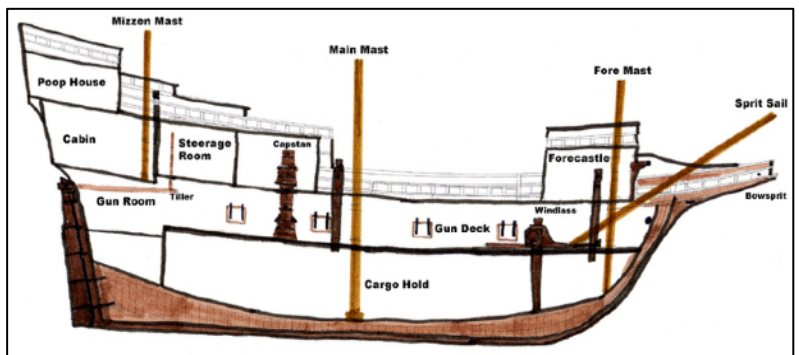
Steerage Room.

This is where the ship's pilot (John Clark, primarily) steered the Mayflower. Steering was done by a stick called a whip-staff that was moved back and forth to move the tiller, which in turn moved the rudder.

Gun Room.

This is where the powder, shot, and other supplies were stored for the ship's guns and cannons.

Gun Deck.



The gun deck is where the cannon were located. On merchant ships, this deck was also used to hold additional cargo. On the Mayflower, it is where the majority of the passengers lived. They built their own makeshift cabins within this area.

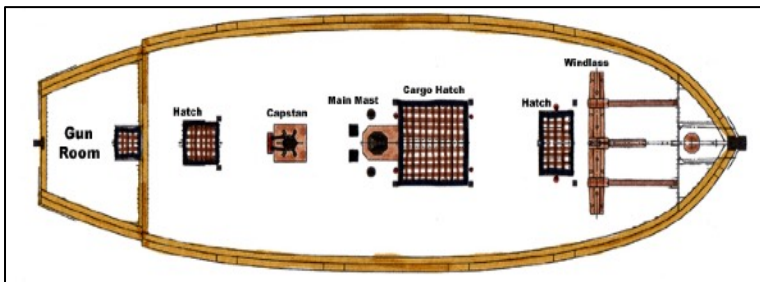
Capstan and Windlass.

These were large apparatus used to lift and lower heavy cargo between the ship's decks.

Cargo Hold.

This is where the Pilgrims stored their cargo of food, drink, tools, and supplies.

The gun deck, sometimes referred to by the Pilgrims as the "tween deck" or the area "betwixt the decks", is where the Pilgrims lived for most of the voyage. Occasionally they ventured to the upper deck, especially during calmer weather when they would be less likely to get in the way of the seamen and there was less danger of being swept overboard. The gun deck had about four gun ports on either side of the ship for cannon. Even though the Mayflower was a merchant ship, it needed to be able to defend itself from pirates and ships from countries hostile to England. The ship also had to be prepared for possible conscription--the King or Queen had authority to turn merchant ships into military vessels during a time of war. The height of the ceiling of the gun deck was only about five and a half feet, so tall people could not have stood up straight.



During the voyage, the 102 Mayflower passengers lived primarily on the gun deck. The length of the deck from stern to stern was about 80 feet, of which about 12 feet at the back belonged to the gun room and was off-limits to the passengers. The width at the widest part was about 24 feet. This means the living space for all 102 people was only about 58 feet by 24 feet! Various hatches provided access to the cargo hold below. The windlass and capstan, used to haul heavy items between the decks, also

took up floorspace, as did the main mast in the middle, and the sprit sail mast in the front. On top of that, the Pilgrims stored on this deck a 30-foot shallop (a small single-sail boat) that they would reassemble upon arrival and use for exploration and future trade. Families would have built themselves small little "cabins", simple wood dividers nailed together, to provide a very small amount of privacy. They lived in this small space for the 66-day voyage, and then many of them lived there another four to six months as they explored for a place to live, and later worked to build houses on shore, in the middle of a snowy and wet New England winter.

The End of the Mayflower

The Mayflower returned to England from Plymouth Colony, arriving back on 9 May 1621. Christopher Jones took the ship out on a trading voyage to Rochelle, France, in October 1621, returning with a cargo of Bay salt. Christopher Jones, master and quarter-owner of the Mayflower, died and was buried at Rotherhithe, Surrey on 5 March 1622. No further record of the Mayflower is found until May 1624, when it was appraised for the purposes of probate and was described as being in ruins. The ship was almost certainly sold off as scrap. The claim, first originating from J. Rendel Harris' book *The Finding of the Mayflower* (1920), that the Mayflower ended up as a barn in Jordans, England, is now widely discredited as being a figment of an overzealous imagination on the tercentenary anniversary of the Mayflower's voyage, combined with a tainted oral history. None of the evidence has withstood subsequent investigation. Regardless of the lack of evidence for its authenticity, it has been featured in National Geographic on several occasions and is a tourist destination. It is important to realize that in 1624, when the ship was scrapped, it was not at all famous, and nobody would have thought twice about letting it rot away.

Chapter 5 – Christopher Martin.

Christopher Martin who was the ship's governor who set sail from Plymouth for America with 102 passengers known as the Pilgrim Fathers but also known as Separatists and approximately 30 crew. As mentioned, Christopher Jones was the ship's captain. Christopher Martin was from Great Burstead, Essex and the first record we find of him is his marriage to Marie Prower, a widow, who had a son Solomon from her previous marriage to Edward Prower. As he walked up the aisle of St. Mary's, he would, no doubt have remembered, some eight years before, he had followed the body of Elizabeth Watts to burial in the churchyard. In the register he might have read the notice "Elizabeth Watts, widow of Thomas Watts, the blessed martyr of God, who for witnessing suffered the martyrdom of fire at Chelmsford in the reign of Queen Mary, and was buried this day of July 1599, having lived a widow after his death, made a good end like a good Christian woman in God." The entry of Marriage is dated 26th April 1607 at St. Mary Magdalen Burstead Magna.

The Baptism of their own son Nathaniel gives the date of 26th February 1609, and having further problems with the church through his son Nathaniel and step son's Solomon behaviour towards the church. They had refused to participate in the recital of phrases from the Book of Common Prayer during confirmation.

It is difficult to establish what sort of person Christopher Martin was; he was no doubt a religious person with strong views but at the same time appears to have been mistrusted by many of his compatriots. He was a Merchant by trade but without the required seven-year apprenticeship at times caused him problems, for example in 1607 he was sued by another Merchant George Hills, the outcome however is unknown. Though whatever problems he had did not

appear to get in his way as he managed to build himself a sizeable estate which included three properties. In 1611, he was appointed Church Warden of St Mary Magdalen, Great Burstead but at the Easter service in 1612 he caused a stir with Marie refusing to kneel to take Holy Communion. These actions probably were their first sign of their early Puritan views.

By 1620 he was residing in Billericay, living in the house which stands opposite St. Mary's Church. In Elizabeth's day, what are now two shops, was one 'L' shaped house; it has a comparison on the opposite side of the road in the "Chequers". From this house we can picture him going to the Grammar school to learn his Latin, perhaps to carve his initials on some oaken desk, whilst he would kick the football in the high street of Shrove Tuesday, go 'nutting' in Norsey Wood in September, and read the big Bible each morning and evening. He was brought up in the Protestant faith which was already becoming a Billericay tradition. Ever since the days of the Lollards there has been a company of people who met in some house in the town to read the Scriptures and pray together. In the days of Edward VI, the house meetings were an addition to the services in St. Mary's which were now thoroughly Protestant and Christopher would hear from his father how the famous Martin Coverdale had preached in the old brick church. The memory of the Marian martyrs was still green when Christopher was growing into a convinced Puritan.

Christopher Martin was now in business in the high street, part of his business was victualling the ships which sailed from Leigh. It is probable that he ground his corn at the mill just outside the town, possible also that he was the Miller. His young son had been one of those who refused to answer the question to the satisfaction of Mr. Pease, and Christopher Martin had been brought before the Archidiaconal Court. It would have been easy for him to have conformed but he was one of those who would not palter with conviction, and so he was ready to sacrifice security for the sake of liberty. Many of those who were of like faith to Martin had crossed over to Holland which was then the country which offered freedom of opinion to men, and Martin went across with them. By now he had already sold some of his properties with the view of emigrating to America, his first sale being on the 22nd June 1617 and his last on 8th June 1620. In January 1617 he had paid monies towards the transportation of two people, Ralph Hamer being one to the Colony of Virginia. Obviously, his Puritans ideals were gathering pace. He seemed to have problems regarding financial matters and at one point was reported by a church official for not providing the financial accounts he maintained during the time he was Church Warden. Similar problems were going to occur when he became governor of first the ship Speedwell and then the Mayflower.

For a time, he was associated with the Pilgrim church at Leyden, until it was decided to attempt settlement in New England. It was then decided to send representatives to London to interview the Virginia Company. John Carver, Robert Cushman and Christopher Martin were chosen delegates. The negotiations dragged on for some two years and then, in 1620 Thomas Weston, a London Merchant, formed a company with a small capital of £700 in ten pound shares. This small sum would not be enough to send across the seas all who desired to go on the venture, but would enable a start to be made. He had, therefore, associated himself with London Merchants known as Merchant Adventurers who were providing financial investment and arranging the emigration and settlement in America with the Leiden (Leyden) congregation of the Netherlands, the congregation being mainly Englishmen who had previously emigrated there.

He purchased four shares in the Virginia Company (London) from George Percy for himself and three others, presumably his wife and two sons. As it turned out his son Nathaniel did not sail with them and nothing is known why or what happened to him. His place appears to have been taken by their young servant John Langemore. One of the ships hired for the adventure was a London ship of 180 tons, named the Mayflower. It had been one of the vessels offered to the East India Company and had probably been on voyages on their account. Christopher Jones was the Master of the ship, took on board the English Pilgrims in London river, and Christopher Martin and his Billericay friends joined either off Grays or Leigh. We could well speculate this may have been Grays basin when we consider the Thames was between ten to fifteen feet lower in those days and we already know of a crossing point to Linford, again possibly with stepping stones from Kent and that future sailings were mentioned as being from Tilbury and the shorter distance the victualling pack-horses would need to travel.

He was appointed purchasing agent, initially connected to the ship 'Speedwell' sister ship to the Mayflower but this became unseaworthy so he took over the function with regards to the Mayflower. His role along with the two others, John Carver and Robert Cushman, who were based in the Netherlands was to purchase supplies and foodstuffs such as beer, wine, hardtack, salted beef and pork, dried peas, fishing supplies, muskets, armour, clothing, tools, trade goods for Indians, and the screw-jack which would prove to be useful in ship-structure prior to their arrival in America. He purchased most of his supplies in Southampton but is also understood to have also procured food locally and in fact the flour of the voyage was possible milled at one of the two windmills on Bell Hill would grind some of the flour, and the warehouse in the old house in the high street would store some of the casks of provisions which were taken on pack horses over the hills to the riverside and shipped onto the Mayflower.

As previously mentioned, he did not endear himself well to the Separatists, however. Robert Cushman, one of the Pilgrim's business leaders, reported: *"Near £700 hath been bestowed at 'Hampton, upon what I know not, Mr. Martin saith he neither can, nor will give any account of it; and if he be called upon for accounts, he crieth out of unthankfulness for his pains and care, that we are suspicious of him, and flings away, ... he ... so insulteth over our poor people, with such scorn and contempt, as if they were not good enough to wipe his shoes."*

It would break your heart to see his dealing, and the mourning of our people; they complain to me, and alas! I can do nothing for them. If I speak to him, he flies in my face as mutinous, and saith no complaints shall be heard or received but by himself, and saith they are forward and waspish, discontented people, and I do ill to hear them. There are others that would lose all they have put in, or make satisfaction for what they have had, that they might depart; but he will not hear them, nor suffer them to go ashore, lest they should run away. The sailors are so offended at his ignorant boldness in meddling and controlling in things he knows not what belongs to, as that some threaten to mischief him."

What action was taken if any is unknown but despite the seriousness of their concerns the Leiden congregation still assigned him to governor of the 'Speedwell'.

Chapter 6 – A chronological account.

It is understood that a meeting of the Pilgrim Fathers was held just prior to their sailing involving at least thirty-five devout Non-Conformists. The meeting is said to have taken place at the Chantry House, Billericay one of Christopher Martin's properties. The house had been built in 1510 or a major renovation of a previous house going back to the mid-1300s which had been built for the Chantry Priest of Chantry Chapel St Mary Magdalen. It would have been at this meeting that Christopher and family were able to say their goodbyes. There were two other men, staying at Billericay travelling with them, Peter Browne and Richard Britteridge.



It was in July that the Mayflower left the Thames for Southampton where it was joined by the Speedwell with the pilgrims from Leyden who had knelt on the quay at Delfshaven to receive the final benediction of John Robinson, the Pastor of the Pilgrim church at Leyden. The two ships sailed from Southampton on 5th August but the Speedwell sprung a leak and its crew were somewhat timorous about the voyage so when the two ships returned to Plymouth, the Speedwell, upon which was Robert Cushman and his family, lost the opportunity of joining a small company of ships whose names are unforgettable and whoever sail on. Speedwell started leaking again so they disembarked at Dartmouth for further repairs. They continued their journey on the 21st August but after sailing approximately 300 miles 'Speedwell' started to leak again so both ships returned to Plymouth. **The following is from Speedwell's log:**

Saturday, August 26th - *About 700 leagues [300 miles] from Land's End. Ship leaking badly. Hove to. Signalled Mayflower, in company. Consultation between Masters, Carpenters, and principal passengers. Decided to put back into Plymouth and determine whether pinnace is seaworthy. Put about and laid course for Plymouth.*

Frustrated by all the problems they decided to leave Speedwell behind, many quit the voyage and others transferred to the Mayflower along with their cargo causing considerable overcrowding.

Monday, August 28th - *At anchor in Plymouth harbour. Conference of chief colonists and officers of Mayflower and Speedwell' No special leak could be found but it was judged to be the general weakness of the ship and that she would not prove sufficient for the voyage. It was resolved to dismiss her the Speedwell and part of the company and proceed with the other ship.*

After living on the ships for a month and a half the Mayflower finally left Plymouth on the 6th September 1620. The voyage at first was fairly uneventful the only major problem as one would expect was 'sea-sickness' however, in the latter part of the voyage they encountered a number of storms to the point that it was not safe to use the ships sails so at times they just drifted. so, considering the difficult crossing in a ship that appears to be just about seaworthy and unsanitary conditions, it is surprising that there were only two deaths, a crew member, and a passenger. There was however some joy with births of two baby boys' Peregrine White to Susanna White and another aptly named Oceanus Hopkins; Peregrine is believed to have died at the age of seven.

There were four from Billericay in the final hundred who sailed. Christopher Martin and his wife Marie, Solomon Prower, who was probably his wife's younger brother, and John Langerman whom Brewster names as a servant to Christopher Martin. They took their final view of the familiar Essex scene from the summit of Langdon Hills, one of the fairest in southern England, before they joined their ship in the estuary. In the next eight years there would be five other ships which sailed from Tilbury and carried more of the Essex folk who became pilgrims.

The Hudson River was their original destination as they had received good reports on the area back in the Netherlands. On the 9th November after sixty-six days at sea they spotted land (A spot they would later call Cape Cod). Considering the bad weather, they only missed the Hudson River by a few degrees so they decided to head south towards the mouth of the river but further bad weather nearly caused them to shipwreck, so they decided to explore Cape Cod and anchored in what is now Provincetown Harbour, Massachusetts, a couple of days later. After a month and a half exploring the area, they decided on 25th December where to build their plantation and Plimouth (Plymouth) it became.

It would appear that Robert Cushman who had been one of the early organizers of the project and was to be Christopher Martin's assistant, did not, in the end sail with the Mayflower, possibly due to the fact that he was not very well or frustrated with his relationship with Martin. He did, however, sail the next year with his son Thomas on the Fortune. It was also reported by William Bradford one of the pilgrims, in his journal of Plimouth Plantation (1646) that

somewhere into the voyage the Leiden's had had enough of Christopher Martin and chose the more popular John Carver to take over.

On board ship on the 11th November just before disembarking, the separatists decided they needed a governing document that would give them some attempt at legal standing. It became known as the 'Mayflower Compact', forty-one of the adult passengers signed the document including Christopher Martin and the other two Billerica Pilgrims, Peter Browne and Richard Britteridge.



'In the name of God, Amen. we, whose names ore underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord King James, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, etc. Having undertaken, for the Glory of God, and advancements of the Christian faith and honour of our King and Country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the Northern ports of Virginia, do by these present, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God, and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic; for our better ordering, and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame, such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.

In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names at Cape Cod the 11th of November, in the year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King James, of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, 1620'. The date 11th November is based on the Julian calendar; the Gregorian calendar was not adopted until 1752. It would have made the date the 21st. Also, the 'dread sovereign' referred to in the document used the archaic definition of dread-meaning awe and reverence (for the King), not fear.

John Carver	William Bradford	Isaac Allerton	Myles Standish
Christopher Martin	William Mullins	John Howland	Stephen Hopkins
Francis Cooke	Thomas Rogers	Edward Fuller	John Turner
John Crackstone	John Billington	Degory Priest	Thomas Williams
Peter Browne	Richard Britteridge	Richard Gardiner	John Allerton
Edward Leister	Edward Winslow	John Alden	William White
Edward Tilley	Thomas Tinker	Francis Eaton	Moses Fletcher
Gilbert Winslow	George Soule	Thomas English	William Brewster
Samuel Fuller	Richard Warren	John Tilley	John Rigsdale
James Chilton	John Goodman	Edmund Margesson	Richard Clarke
Edward Doty.			

This is not the end of the story of Billerica and the pilgrims, for letter came to the old town telling of the hopes as well as the tragedies of the Plymouth settlement. Those who were irked by the restrictions of their liberty to worship God after the fashion they loved and in which they found comfort, heard of New England as a land of promise. Amongst such was William Ruse, a settled man with wife and four children, on a farm in Billerica. Life in Essex lost its sweetness when he thought that his children might grow up with no love for the simple way of worship which brought his heart nearer God. Lest they be vexed into a compelled obedience he sold his home, and gathering his substance together, he sailed on one of the early ships which carried reinforcements to the Pilgrim colony.

William Ruse with his wife Rebecca and his four children, Sarah, Marie, Samuel and William, were not the only emigrants from Billerica. In the first ten years, the settlement numbered three hundred souls and between 1630 and 1643, more than £200,000 was spent chartering ships to carry pilgrims to New England and two hundred ships carried twenty thousand men, women and children. We do not know all who went from Billerica, but Ralph Hill and William French, according to the American tradition, were amongst those who took with them the thought of old Billerica as home. In 1653 grants of land were made to Essex men between Cambridge and the Shawshin River, and then a township was founded and given the name of Billerica, and it has retained the 17th Century spelling.

Adjoining Billerica was Chelmsford, whilst Braintree was quite near. Another of the original settlers was John Parker, and he too, came from our neighbourhood, whilst his wife came from Rayleigh. The Charter granted to Billerica by the Massachusetts Court, embodied the condition that there must be a church, and the first minister of the American Billerica, was Mr. Samuel Whiting, whose father, also a minister, came from Kings Lynn, and his wife Elizabeth St. John, whose brother was Chief Justice under Oliver Cromwell. During these years when James and his son Charles were 'peopling' the New World with some of our most sober folk, their most notable helper was one who had been Rector of West Tilbury from 1609 to 1616, but who is



better known as Archbishop Laud. He designed to make the clergy conform to his pattern and as a measure, he made a list of the clergy ticketing them with either an "O" for Orthodox or "P" for Puritan. In Essex, most of the clergy were Puritan, and these include William Pease of Great Burstead and the Rector of Ramsden Bellhouse.

At Chelmsford there was a famous Puritan lecturer named Thomas Hooker, who upon his arrival in 1625 and for the next four years served as a schoolmaster at Great Baddow. He exercised great influence in the town. He was prohibited from preaching and eventually crossed the seas in 1631 with his assistant, John Elliot (born 1604 Widford in Hertfordshire and resident in Nazeing Essex) and died 21st May 1690. It was Elliot who became the first of modern missionaries, and he became known as the apostle to the Red Indians. Around 1626, Hooker became a lecturer or preacher at what was then St. Mary's parish church, Chelmsford (now Chelmsford Cathedral) and curate to its rector, John Michaelson. However, in 1629 Archbishop William Laud suppressed church lecturers, and Hooker retired to Little Baddow where he kept a school. His leadership of Puritan sympathizers brought him a summons to the Court of High Commission. Forfeiting his bond, Hooker fled to Rotterdam in the Netherlands, and considered a position in the English Reformed Church, Amsterdam, as assistant to its senior pastor, the Rev. John Paget. From the Netherlands, after a clandestine trip to England to put his affairs in order, he immigrated to the Massachusetts Bay Colony aboard the Griffin.

Hooker arrived in Boston and settled in Newtown (later renamed Cambridge), where he became the pastor of the earliest established church there, known to its members as "The Church of Christ at Cambridge." His congregation, some of whom may have been members of congregations he had served in England, became known as "Mr. Hooker's Company".

Voting in Massachusetts was limited to freemen, individuals who had been formally admitted to their church after a detailed interrogation of their religious views and experiences. Hooker disagreed with this limitation of suffrage, putting him at odds with the influential pastor John Cotton. Owing to his conflict with Cotton and discontented with the suppression of Puritan suffrage and at odds with the colony leadership, Hooker and the Rev. Samuel Stone led a group of about 100 who, in 1636, founded the settlement of Hartford, named for Stone's place of birth, Hertford in England. This led to the founding of the Connecticut Colony. Hooker became more active in politics in Connecticut. The General Court representing Wethersfield, Windsor and Hartford met at the end of May 1638 to frame a written constitution in order to establish a government for the commonwealth. Hooker preached the opening sermon at First Church of Hartford on May 31, declaring that "the foundation of authority is laid in the free consent of the people."

On January 14th 1639, freemen from these three settlements ratified the "Fundamental Orders of Connecticut" in what John Fiske called "the first written constitution known to history that created a government. It marked the beginnings of American democracy, of which Thomas Hooker deserves more than any other man to be called the father. The government of the United States today is in lineal descent more nearly related to that of Connecticut than to that of any of the other thirteen colonies."

In recognition of this, near Chelmsford Cathedral, Essex, England, where he was town lecturer and curate, there is a blue plaque fixed high on the wall of a narrow alleyway, opposite the south porch, that reads: "Thomas Hooker, 1586–1647, Curate at St. Mary's Church and Chelmsford Town Lecturer 1626–29. Founder of the State of Connecticut, Father of American Democracy." Thus from this corner of Essex went many in that company of "plain folk" who, says Masfield "giving up all things, went to live in the wilds at unknown cost to themselves, in order to preserve to their children, a life in the soul. Giving up all things in order to serve God is a sternness from which prosperity has unfitted us."

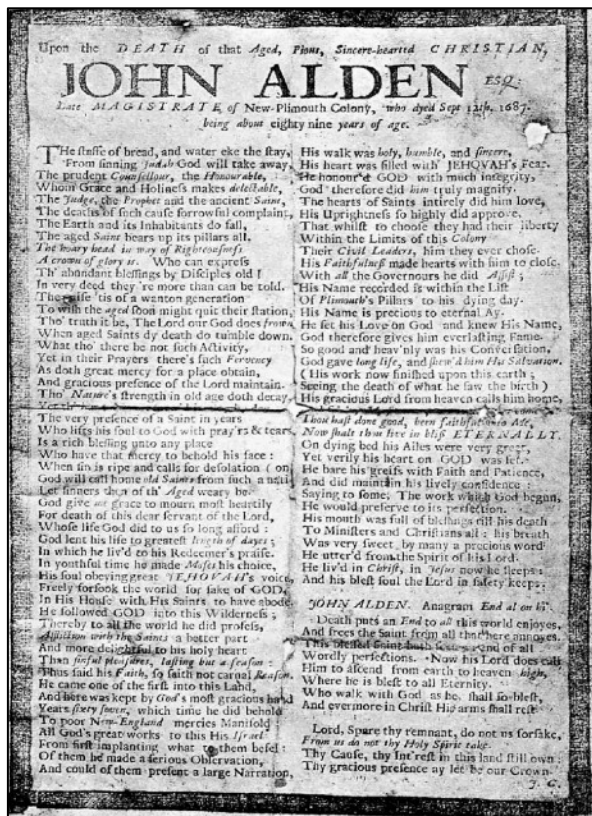
As mentioned earlier, of the fifty men on board the Mayflower, only forty-one were classed as 'true' Pilgrims, religious separatists seeking freedom from the Church of England. The others, meanwhile, were considered common folk and included merchants, craftsmen, indentured servants and orphaned children. They were referred to by the Pilgrims as "strangers". The Mayflower Compact, was signed by those forty-one "true" Pilgrims on 11th November, 1620, and became the first governing document of Plymouth Colony. It declared that the colonists were loyal to the King of England, that they were Christians who served God, that they would make fair and just laws, and that they would work together for the good of the Colony. The men also chose John Carver as Plymouth Colony's first governor. The women and "strangers" were not allowed to vote.

It must also be firstly noted that upon arrival and moored in the bay, several passengers either had died at sea or during the time that they remained on board in Provincetown Harbor for the want of land shelter. They were: William Batten (Button) who died about three days before landfall on or around 6th November 1620. Edward Thompson who died on or around 4th December 1620. Jasper More a seven year old lad from Shropshire who died on or around 16th December 1620. Dorothy Bradford who accidentally drowned on 17th December 1620. James Chilton who died on 18th December 1620.

The forty-one "true" pilgrims who signed the Mayflower Compact (here shown numbered and alphabetically) were:

1. John Alden (Harwich Essex)

John Alden may be descended from an Alden family that was residing in the parish of Harwich, Essex, England: a family that was related, by marriage, to the Mayflower's master Christopher Jones. He was about twenty-one years old when he was hired from Southampton to be the cooper (barrel-maker) for the Mayflower's voyage to America. The Pilgrims' joint-stock company gave him the option to stay in America, or return to England. He chose to stay, and



about 1622 or 1623 he married fellow Mayflower passenger Priscilla Mullins, an orphaned young woman originally from Dorking, Surrey, England, whose parents William and Alice, and brother Joseph, had all perished in the first winter at Plymouth. A fictional account of John and Priscilla Alden's courtship and its entanglement with Myles Standish, is the subject of the famous Henry Wadsworth Longfellow poem, "The Courtship of Myles Standish".

Likely a combination of his practical skills as a cooper and carpenter, and his young wife Priscilla's substantial inheritance of company shares, John Alden quickly rose up to become a prominent member of the Plymouth Colony. He was elected an assistant to the governor as early as 1631 and was regularly re-elected.

He was one of the men who purchased the joint-stock company from its English shareholders in 1626, and was involved in the company's trading on the Kennebec River. In 1634, he was involved in a fur trading dispute that escalated into a double-killing (trespasser John Hocking and Plymouth colonist Moses Talbot).

He was held by the Massachusetts Bay Colony for questioning, which caused a major jurisdictional controversy as Plymouth Colony leadership felt the Bay Colony had no authority to detain him.

John Alden, along with Myles Standish and several other Plymouth Colonists, founded the town of Duxbury to the north of

Plymouth. Dendrochronological evidence suggests the men had started building their houses there as early as 1629. Alden served the town of Duxbury as deputy to the Plymouth Court throughout the 1640s, and served on several committees and sat on several Councils of War. He also served for a time as colony treasurer. About 1653, he built the Alden House, which is still standing and is maintained by the Alden Kindred of America.

By the 1660s, John and Priscilla Alden had a growing family of ten children. Combined with his numerous public service duties (which were mostly unpaid positions) he was left in fairly low means. He petitioned and received from the Plymouth Court various land grants, which he distributed to his children throughout the 1670s. He died in 1687 at the age of 89, one of the last surviving Mayflower passengers.

2. Isaac Allerton (c.1586 East Bergholt Suffolk) He is mentioned in the 1609 Apprenticeships Registers for the Blacksmiths company in London indicating he is the son of Bartholomew Allerton a Tailor of Ipswich in Suffolk. He firstly married Mary Norris on 4th November 1611 at Leiden in The Netherlands, secondly to Fear Brewster at Plymouth in 1626. She was the daughter of William Brewster and thirdly to Joanna Swinnerton at Marblehead. Isaac Allerton died in February 1659 at New Haven. Joanne was still living in New Haven in May 1684.

Based on a deposition given in 1639, Allerton was born in England about 1586–88, although clues to his ancestry have long been quite elusive. Some records from colonial Dutch New Amsterdam (New York) note he was from the English county of Suffolk. Allerton's son Bartholomew did return to England from Plymouth and served as a minister in Suffolk which may indicate a connection to that county. In 1659 the will of Bartholomew was proved, and at that time he was residing in Bramfield, Suffolk but no other records relating to the Allerton's, a rare name, have been found in Suffolk.

The apprentice record as translated from Latin (Isack Allerton fil Bartholomei Allerton): '21 June 1609, Isaac Allerton, son of Bartholomew Allerton late of Ipswich, Suffolk, tailor has bound himself apprentice by indenture to James Gly, Citizen and Black Smith of London for seven years from the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist last.

Also living in Leiden in 1611 was Allerton's sister Sarah (Allerton) Vincent, widow prior to 1611 of John Vincent. Isaac and his wife, Mary, and Sarah and her second husband Degory Priest, had a double wedding in Leiden on November 4, 1611. In the records of the time, Sarah is noted to have been "of London". Also in Leiden at this time was John Allerton, who may well have been a relative of Isaac's or Isaac's brother, but this has never been proven for certain. Allerton became betrothed to Mary Norris in Leiden by October 7, 1611. He lived in Pieterskerkhof near St. Peter's Church. In 1614 he became a citizen of Leiden. While in Leiden in 1619 Allerton worked as a tailor; John Hooke, who would travel with Allerton on the Mayflower, was his apprentice.

Isaac Allerton is one of the most complex figures in early Plymouth Colony. He was elected assistant to Governor Bradford in 1621, and continued in that capacity well into the 1630s. He was the individual sent to handle most of the buyout negotiations with the London investors that commenced in 1627, and continued through the early 1630s. Allerton soon began to take advantage of his position by engaging in some personal trading deals, and engaging the Pilgrims' joint-stock company in business ventures they had not authorized. After driving the colony deeper into debt

with ill-advised business opportunities, he was eventually removed and replaced by Edward Winslow. After the death of his wife Fear in 1634, he retreated to the New Haven Colony and married there to Joanna Swinnerton. Allerton became an active merchant trader, engaging in transactions and trade with many neighbouring colonies including the Dutch at New Netherlands; New Sweden; Virginia; Massachusetts Bay; and Barbados.

Isaac Allerton died in February 1659 between the 1st (appeared in court) and 12th (date of inventory). He was buried in February. His first wife Mary is believed to have been buried in an unmarked grave, as with many who died the first winter, in Coles Hill Burial Ground, Plymouth, possibly early in 1621. She is named on the Pilgrim Memorial Tomb on Coles Hill as "Mary, first wife of Isaac Allerton."

Mary Allerton (nee Norris)

Born about 1590, possibly from Newbury in Berkshire. She died on 25 February 1620 at Plymouth. Mary Allerton was about thirty when she came on the Mayflower with her husband Isaac and three children Bartholomew, Remember, and Mary and a servant boy John Hooke. Her marriage record in Leiden indicates she was from Newbury, which is presumably Newbury, co. Berks, England. Searches of this area for her baptism record and other Norris family records have not yet turned up anything conclusive. They buried a child at St. Peters, Leiden, on 5 February 1620, and she gave birth to a stillborn son in Plymouth Harbour on 22nd December 1620. She herself died during the height of the first winter, on 25th February 1621, though her husband and three children all survived.

3. John Allerton (East Bergholt Suffolk)

Very little is known about Mayflower passenger John Allerton. It is generally assumed that he was related in some way to well-known Mayflower passenger Isaac Allerton: perhaps a brother. If that is the case, then he may also hail from the vicinity of East Bergholt, Suffolk, England. He appears to have been living in Leiden, Holland, with the Pilgrim congregation established there. He buried a child at St. Peters in Leiden on 21st May 1616, and at that time he resided in the same neighbourhood as Isaac Allerton. He was a signatory to the Mayflower Compact on 11th November 1620.

Governor William Bradford, writing in 1651, informs us that John Allerton intended to return to Leiden to help others in the church prepare for their voyages over, but his death the first winter at Plymouth prevented those plans being fulfilled.

4. John Billington (Spalding Lincolnshire).

The Billington family appears to have originated from in or around Cowbit and Spalding, Lincolnshire, England, where Francis Longland named Francis Billington, son of John Billington, as an heir. A manorial survey taken in 1650 indicated that Francis Billington was then in New England. Research in the records of the region has yet to turn up any additional details of the family, however. Every community seems to have its troublemakers, and for Plymouth Colony it was the Billington's. Shortly after arriving in Plymouth Harbour and still onboard the Mayflower, young Francis Billington got hold of his father's musket and shot it off inside, showering sparks around an open barrel of gunpowder and nearly blowing up the ship. During the first winter at Plymouth the terrible epidemic (perhaps of typhus) that halved the settlers' population to about 50 left only the Billington family intact, and the two boys were soon off on adventures of their own. Francis, hoping to discover a new ocean, found a small lake behind the town that was given the grand name Billington Sea, which survives to the present day. John Jr. became lost in the woods in 1621 and turned up on Cape Cod where he is credited by some with having established the first contact with the local tribes.

A few months later, in March 1621, John Billington was brought before the Company and charged with "contempt of the Captain's lawful command with opprobrious speeches," and was sentenced to have his neck and heels tied together: "but upon humbling himself and craving pardon, and it being the first offence, he is forgiven." Two months later, his son John wandered off and was taken by the Nauset to Cape Cod: Plymouth was forced to send out a party to retrieve the boy. In 1624, Billington was implicated in the Oldham-Lyford scandal, which was a failed revolt against the authority of the Plymouth church, but he played ignorant of the plot and was never officially punished. In 1625, William Bradford wrote a letter to Robert Cushman saying "Billington still rails against you, ... he is a knave, and so will live and die." Governor Bradford's prophesy was to be realized within five years. In 1630, John Billington entered his name on the first page of American murder annals by shooting John Newcomin, who, true to his name, was a later arrival at Plymouth. Bradford includes a terse account of the case in *The History of Plymouth Colony*.

They having been enemies for some time. Billington was tried by jury, and sentenced to death by hanging, which was carried out in September or October 1630. Billington's wife was sentenced by the Plymouth Court in 1636 to sit in the stocks and to be whipped for a slander against John Doane.

It was only in 1990, however, that America's first murderer achieved his greatest celebrity from beyond the grave. An article in the Los Angeles Times claimed President James Garfield as Billington's descendant.

Eleanor Billington.

Eleanor Billington came on the Mayflower with her husband John Billington, and sons John and Francis. She was one of only four women to survive to the time of the First Thanksgiving in the autumn of 1621. Her family had a reputation of being ill-behaved, and just six years after her husband was executed for murder, she herself was sentenced to sit in the stock and be whipped for a slander against John Doane. Eleanor later remarried to Gregory

Armstrong between 14 and 21 September 1638, but had no additional children with him. Her death date is unknown, but she was last known to have been living on 2nd March 1643.

5. William Bradford (Yorkshire) and Dorothy Bradford (nee May) Wisbech Cambridgeshire).

He was born in Yorkshire around 1590 and was Baptised on 19th March 1590 in Austerfield Yorkshire. When he was about twelve, he started attending the church services of Reverend Richard Clyfton, himself a Protestant separatist and learned of the efforts to reform the Church of England and end all remaining Roman Catholic practices within the church.

It was, at this time he formed a close relationship with William Brewster of nearby Scrooby Manor, where subsequent meetings were held in secret to avoid persecution. On their first attempt to leave England in for Holland, they were arrested and imprisoned after their ship's captain betrayed them.; However, by 1608 they had made it to Holland where they stayed for the next ten years.

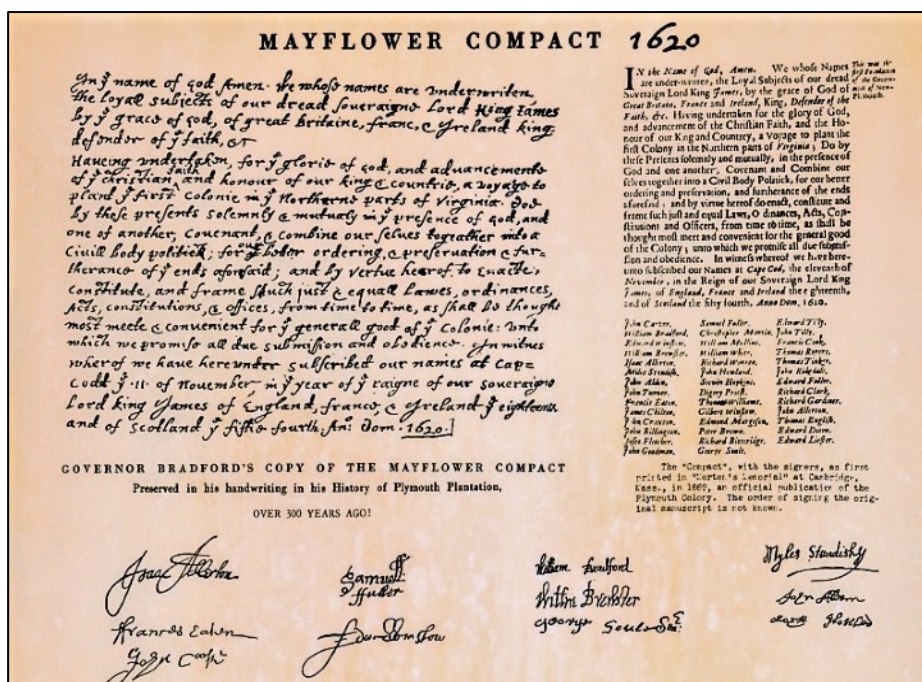
The first governor of the colony was John Carver. Carver was able to form peace treaties and alliances with Native American tribes, but he died shortly after. Following Carver's death, William Bradford was elected as the governor of Plymouth, an office he held for most of the remainder of his life. As governor, Bradford played an active role in the colony's finances, trading, courts, laws, and relationships, basically, he had his hand in pretty much everything. He established democratic practices, such as town meetings that served as the first example of self-governance in the New World. These practices would later help shape national politics in the United States. Furthermore, he made a point of welcoming all religious pilgrims to Plymouth as well as nonbelievers. He also proclaimed the first Thanksgiving, a tradition we still celebrate today. Dorothy Bradford was born in Wisbech, Cambridgeshire, England, about 1597, the daughter of Henry and Katherine May. At the age of 16, she married 23-year old William Bradford on 10th December 1613 in Amsterdam, and returned with her husband to take up residence in Leiden, Holland. Her father, Henry May, was a leading church elder in the Henry Ainsworth church congregation in Amsterdam. It was discovered in 2017 by research conducted by Caleb Johnson, Sue Allan, and Simon Neal, that she was actually the niece of Mayflower passenger William White, her grandmother Thomasine (Cross)(May) White was also the mother of William White. Dorothy and William Bradford had a son, John, who was born in Leiden sometime around 1617. When William and Dorothy decided to make the voyage to America in 1620 on the Mayflower, they left behind their son John in Leiden, presumably with the intention of sending for him as soon as the colony was built and more stable and suitable for a young child.

Governor Bradford's Copy of the Mayflower Compact.

The Mayflower anchored off Provincetown on 11th November 1620, and the Pilgrims sent out several expeditions of men to explore the region to seek out the best place to build their Colony. While William Bradford was away on one of these explorations, on 7th December 1620, Dorothy fell off the Mayflower into the freezing waters of Provincetown Harbour, and drowned. Her son John came to America later, married Martha Bourne, took up residence in Duxbury and later moved to Norwich, Connecticut where he died about 1676, having had no children. In the mid-19th century, a fictional story was published in Harper's Weekly, in which Dorothy's fall off the Mayflower was portrayed as a depression-induced suicide, involving an affair with Master Christopher Jones. Although the story was completely fictional and had no historical basis (it is called an accident in the only contemporary account), it has nevertheless made it into some popular accounts of the Pilgrims and gets regularly debated on television. After the death of his wife, Bradford married Alice Carpenter Southworth in 1623 in Plymouth.

Alice was a widow of Edward Southworth and had arrived in Plymouth weeks earlier on the ship Anne. She had two children prior to their marriage, Constant and Thomas. Together, William and Alice had three more children, William (born 1624), Mercy (born 1627), and Joseph (born 1630).

6. William and Mary Brewster (possibly from Scrooby Nottinghamshire) and children Jonathan, Patience, Fear and another child, Love and Wrasling. Mary Brewster died on 17 April 1627 at Plymouth.



William Brewster, was a spiritual leader of the Pilgrims, “the single most important individual in the formation and development of the group of settlers known as the Pilgrims” according to his biographer. He was born near Scrooby, in the upper central part of England, in 1568 and was exposed to reformist religious thought at Cambridge University.

After Cambridge, Brewster became a trusted servant to William Davison, who was a member of Queen Elizabeth’s Privy Council and would become her Secretary of State. Brewster served Mr. Davison “at Court” meaning they both travelled with the Queen from palace to palace. Brewster’s lifelong friend William Bradford would later write that Davison “trusted him above all others that were about him, and only employed him in all matters of the greatest trust and secrecy. He esteemed him rather as a son than a servant, and for his wisdom and godliness he would converse with him more like a friend and familiar than a master.”

After the assassination of the Dutch Prince of Orange in 1584, the Hapsburg Catholic armies marched on the Protestant north and captured Antwerp. The Dutch sought English aid and protection. The negotiations brought Davison and Brewster to Holland in 1585 and 1586. In return for English support, the Dutch pledged three towns as security of repayment. Upon their return to England, Davison gave Brewster the honour of wearing the gold chain and keys to the town of Vlissingen as they made their way back to Court.

Davison was Queen Elizabeth’s principal advisor during the trial of Mary, Queen of Scots. Elizabeth knew her sister had to be executed for Elizabeth’s own safety, but only reluctantly signed the order, asking Davison to delay its implementation. In the meantime she secretly asked the wardens guarding Mary to do the deed; they refused on religious and legal grounds. When the Privy Council went ahead and carried out the Queen’s signed execution order, she had Davison imprisoned in the Tower of London and put on trial at Westminster Abbey, seeking to blame him for Mary’s execution. Brewster attended Davison in prison and got a first-hand look at Court intrigue.

The origins of Mrs. Mary Brewster are not known. A number of theories have been proposed, including maiden names such as Wentworth, Love, Wyrall, and others. However, no proof to support any of these hypotheses has been found. We know that Mary was born about 1569 because she stated she was 40 years old in an affidavit filed in Leiden, Holland on 25th June 1609. She was presumably from the vicinity of Doncaster, Yorkshire or Scrooby, Nottinghamshire, as she married William Brewster in that area about 1592 and had their first son Jonathan in Scrooby a year later.



Scrooby Manor

She next had a daughter Patience, born about 1600 or somewhat earlier. About 1606, the church congregation began more formally meeting at the Scrooby manor, where she and husband William resided. About this time, pressure from the English authorities was mounting, and the meetings became more and more secretive. She gave birth to another daughter at this time, which they named Fear. The couple fled just over a year later for Holland with the other members of the congregation, and in Leiden they buried an unnamed child: presumably one that had died in infancy. In 1611, she

gave birth to a son they named Love, and two or three years later gave birth to their last son, whom they named Wrasling. Mary came to Plymouth on the Mayflower in 1620 with husband William, and her two youngest children Love and Wrasling. Mary was one of only five adult women to survive the first winter, and one of only four women to survive to the so-called "First Thanksgiving" in 1621. Son Jonathan Brewster joined the family in November 1621, arriving at Plymouth on the ship Fortune. Daughters Patience and Fear came on the ship Anne in 1623. Mary died in 1627 at Plymouth, having reached about the age of 60. Husband William survived her, and would live another 17 years.

7. Richard Britteridge

Richard Britteridge was an adult man, and not a servant. He died the first winter at Plymouth on 21 December 1620, one of six passengers to die that month, and the first passenger to die after the Mayflower had transitioned from Provincetown Harbour over to Plymouth Harbour. He, along with others were probably buried in then unmarked graves in the Coles Hill Burial Ground in Plymouth. Nothing else is known about Richard Britteridge. Based solely on name alone (it is a fairly uncommon name), he could perhaps be the Richard Brightridge/Britteridge, that was baptized on 31 December 1581 at Crowhurst, Sussex.

8. Peter Browne (1594 – 1633)

He was Baptised on 26 January 1594 at Dorking in Surrey, the son of William Browne. He first married Martha Ford sometime between 1624 and 1626 in Plymouth. They had two daughters, Mary and Priscilla. However, she died a shortly after and his second marriage was to a Mary, born 1589 Worcestershire, in about 1631 but she died on 11th November 1633 in Plymouth Massachusetts. He died in this autumn when a sickness was spreading through the colony.

The Browne family appears to have had several associations with the Mullins family of Dorking, who also came on the Mayflower. Peter Browne's brother John Browne came to Plymouth Colony about 1632 and settled in Duxbury, the next town just to the north of Plymouth. John Browne was baptized in Dorking on 29 June 1600. On 12th January 1621, Peter Browne and John Goodman had been cutting thatch for house roofing all morning. They ate some meat and went for a short walk to refresh themselves, when their two dogs (an English mastiff and a English spaniel) spied a great deer and gave chase. Peter and John followed and quickly got lost. They wandered around the entire afternoon in the rain, and spent the night in a tree (and pacing back and forth under it) fearing that they had heard lions roaring in the woods. The next day they made their way up a hill, spotted the Bay, reoriented themselves, and made it back home to an extremely worried Colony that had already sent out two exploring parties in an attempt to find them.

Peter Browne was apparently still living there during the 1623 Division of Land. By about 1626, he married Martha Ford, who arrived as one of the only female passengers on the ship Fortune in 1621. She gave birth almost immediately after arriving, but husband Ford apparently died during the voyage or shortly after arrival. In the 1627 Division of Cattle he, his wife Martha (Ford), his daughter Mary Browne, and his stepchildren John and Martha Ford were included with the Samuel Fuller and Anthony Anable families. About a year later, Peter and Martha would have daughter Priscilla (perhaps named after Mayflower passenger Priscilla Mullins who was also from Dorking), but wife Martha would die shortly thereafter. Peter remarried to a woman named Mary, whose maiden name has not been discovered. With her, he had a daughter Rebecca born about 1631, and another child who was born about 1633 and died before reaching adulthood (the name of this child has not been discovered).

The general sickness that occurred that autumn and also killed neighbor Samuel Fuller, Mayflower passenger Francis Eaton, and several others in Plymouth. His estate inventory, taken 10 October 1633, shows that he owned 130 bushels of corn, six melch goats, one cow, eight sheep, and a number of pigs, among other things. Peter Browne and his brothers were all weavers, which explains why he had more sheep than anyone else in Plymouth at the time.

William Butten.

William Butten was called "a youth" by Governor William Bradford in his passenger list of the Mayflower. He came as a servant with the family of Doctor Samuel Fuller. He was the only Mayflower passenger to die during the voyage itself--just three days before land was sighted.

William Butten's English origins remain unknown. There were a couple of William Butten's baptized in William Bradford's home parish of Austerfield, co. Yorks, but they are all for men that would have been in their 20s or 30s and thus unlikely to have been referred to as "a youth."

There is a William Button, son of John, baptized on 13 March 1605 in Worksop, co. Nottingham, which is where some of the original Separatists met prior to fleeing to Holland. This individual might be a good candidate, but there is no evidence (beyond name and age, which could be just coincidental) to support this identification.

Robert Carter.

Robert Carter came on the Mayflower as a servant, or apprentice, to the William Mullins family. Nothing has been conclusively discovered about his English origins, although presumably he came from the Carter family seen living in and around Guildford and Dorking, co. Surrey, where his master William Mullins came from. William Mullins, in his will of 21st February 1621, requests that John Carver and "Master Williamson" (likely a pseudonym for William Brewster) look after Robert Carter because he "hath not so approved himself as I would he should have done." This would suggest the boy was likely a teenager. Robert Carter died sometime the first winter, presumably in late February or March 1621.

9. John Carver

His wife Katherine (nee White), Desire Minter and two man-servants.

John Howland, Roger Wilder, William Latham, a boy and maid servant and a child put to them called Jasper More.

Katherine White was the daughter of Alexander White of Sturton-le-Steeple, Nottinghamshire, England. She was born probably in the 1570s. In 1599, Alexander White mentions his daughter Leggett in his will, and mentions their daughter Mary who is stated to have been under the age of 10. Nothing more is known of Mr. Leggett, or of their daughter Mary. In 1604, Katherine's sister Bridget married the Pilgrims' soon-to-be pastor, John Robinson; and in 1605 sister Frances White married to Francis Jessop. The White, Jessop, and Robinson families were among those who moved to Leiden, Holland. There, in 1611, sister Jane White married another Leiden church member, Randall Thickers. At some point (whether before or after the move to Holland is unknown), Katherine's husband died and she remarried, perhaps around 1616, to John Carver. They buried a child in November 1617 in Leiden.

Both Katherine and John Carver came on the Mayflower to Plymouth in 1620. John became governor for a time, until his death in April 1621 of an apparent sun stroke while working in the fields. Katherine died a few weeks later of what William Bradford described as a broken heart.

10. James Chilton

James Chilton was born about 1556, probably at Canterbury in Kent, the son of Lyonell and Edith Chilton. James married about 1583, and had his first child (Joel) baptized at St. Paul's, Canterbury, Kent, in August 1584. The name

of James Chilton's wife is not found in any records. The long-published claim that she was named Susanna Furner was disposed of by Michael Paulick's research published in 1999 and 2007. James Chilton had eight children born in Canterbury, Kent, before moving about 1600 to Sandwich, Kent, where he had his last three children baptized. In 1609, his wife (unfortunately called simply Mrs. Chilton, wife of James Chilton," was charged by the Archdeaconry Court with attending the secret burial of a child (they opposed the "popish" burial ceremonies of the Church of England). It was presumably not long before the family left for Holland. In 1619, James Chilton (aged 63) and his oldest daughter Isabella were caught in the middle of an anti-Arminian riot in Leiden, and he was hit in the head with a stone, requiring the services of the town surgeon Jacob Hey.

James, his wife, and his youngest daughter Mary, all came on the Mayflower in 1620. James, at the age of 64, was the oldest person known to have made the Mayflower's voyage. James died on 8 December 1620 onboard the Mayflower, which was then anchored off Provincetown Harbour--one of six passengers to die in the month of December. His wife also died sometime the first winter, but daughter Mary survived.

11. Richard Clarke.

Almost nothing is known about Mayflower passenger Richard Clarke. He is enumerated by William Bradford on the Mayflower passenger list in a way that suggests he was an adult. He died the first winter at Plymouth, leaving no descendants. The Clarke surname is far too common to do any serious research, so there is little hope of ever discovering or learning anything further about this passenger.

12. Francis Cooke

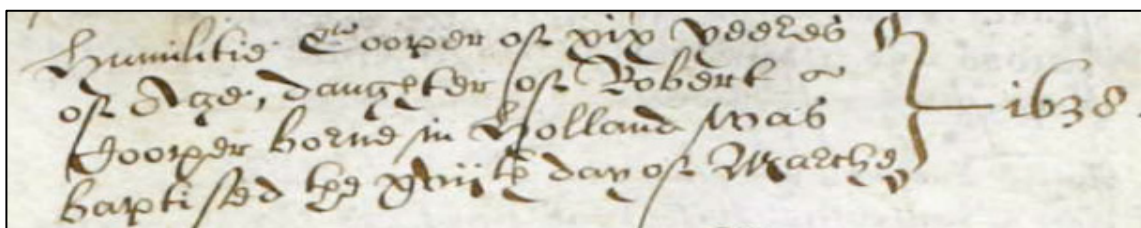
Francis Cooke was born about 1583. His origins have not been discovered, but it is probable he was born, perhaps from the Canterbury or Norwich areas. He married Hester le Mahieu on 20 July 1603 in Leiden, Holland; she was a French Walloon whose parents had initially fled to Canterbury, England; she left for Leiden sometime before 1603. Their marriage occurred in Leiden, Holland six years before the Pilgrim church made its move there, so he was living there long before their arrival and must have met up with and joined them afterwards. What brought Francis to Holland in the first place is unknown: religious persecution of Protestants in England did not really begin until after King James took power in 1604. In 1606, the Cooke's left Leiden and went to Norwich in Norfolk, for a time (for what reason is not known), but returned to have their first son, John, baptized at the French church in Leiden, sometime between January and March, 1607. In Holland, Cooke took up the profession of wool-comber.

Francis, and his oldest son John, came on the Mayflower to Plymouth in 1620. He left behind his wife Hester and his other children Jane, Jacob, Elizabeth and Hester. After the Colony was founded and better established, he sent for his wife and children, and they came to Plymouth in 1623 onboard the ship Anne. Francis lived out his life in Plymouth. Although he kept a fairly low profile, he was on a number of minor committees such as the committee to lay out the highways, and received some minor appointments by the Court to survey land.

He was a juror on a number of occasions, and was on the coroner's jury that examined the body of Martha Bishop, the four year old daughter who was murdered by her mother Alice. He received some modest land grants at various times throughout his life. He lived to be about 80 years old, dying on 7th April 1663; his wife Hester survived him by at least three years and perhaps longer.

Humility Cooper.

Humility Cooper was the daughter of Robert Cooper, who was originally from Henlow, Bedfordshire. She was born about 1619 (based on her age at baptism), and came on the Mayflower in the custody of her uncle and aunt, Edward and Agnes (Cooper) Tilley. This probably suggests her mother had died (perhaps a childbirth complication) and so her father Robert may have then turned his young daughter over to his sister Agnes for care. Unfortunately, both Edward and Agnes Tilley died the first winter at Plymouth, and Humility was sent back to England or Holland, after 1627 when she was enumerated in the Division of Cattle at Plymouth in the William Brewster household. By 1638, at the age of 19, she was living in the parish of Holy Trinity, London, and was baptized there, as an adult, on 17 March 1638/9. No further record of her has been found, outside of the fact that William Bradford, writing in 1651, indicates she had died.



The baptism record of Humility Cooper from the parish registers of Holy Trinity Minorities, London. It reads "Humilitie Cooper of xix yeeres of Age, daughter of Robert Cooper borne in Holland was baptized this xviith day of Marche 1638."

13. John Crackstone.

John Crackstone married Catherine Bates on 9th May 1594 at Stratford St. Mary, Suffolk, which is just six miles north of Colchester in Essex. Catherine was baptized at Stratford St. Mary on 5th October 1567, the daughter of Thomas and Agnes Bates.

John Crackstone first appears in Leiden records on 19th May 1617, when he witnessed the betrothal of Henry Collet to Alice Howarth. On 12th December 1618, Leiden records show that his daughter, Anna, was married to Thomas Smith. Attempts to trace the descendants of Thomas and Anna (Crackstone) Smith in Leiden records have thus far been unsuccessful. William Bradford reports that John Crackstone came on the Mayflower with his son John. Baptism records for his two known children, Anna and John, have not been discovered, nor is it known what happened to his wife Catherine. John Crackstone, the father, died the first winter at Plymouth, sometime likely between January and March 1621. Son John, who was perhaps an older teenager at the time (he did not sign the "Mayflower Compact"), took up residence with the Isaac Allerton family. He died shortly after 1627, when he lost himself in the woods, became frozen, developed a fever, and died.

14. Edward Doty.

Edward Doty's English origins have not yet been discovered. Some sources claim he was baptized on 14th May 1598 in either Dudllick, Shropshire or "Thurburton Hills", Suffolk. I have investigated these in English records, and found both to be fictitious. However, there is a real Edward Doty baptized on 3rd November 1600 at East Halton, Lincolnshire, son of Thomas Doty. The Doty families of East Halton are regularly using the names Thomas, Edward, and John: the first three names Mayflower passenger Edward Doty assigned to his children. Even if this particular Edward Doty is not the Mayflower passenger himself, I suspect he may have still originated from amongst this general Lincolnshire Doty family. Edward Doty came on the Mayflower in 1620 as a servant to Stephen Hopkins, and was apparently still a servant in 1623 when the Division of Land was held. This would indicate he was still under the age of 25 at that time. He signed the "Mayflower Compact" in November 1620, so he was likely over 18 or 21 at the time. This narrows his likely birth date to around 1597-1602. Edward Doty married twice, according to William Bradford. However, nothing is known of his first wife. His second wife, Faith Clarke, came on the ship 'Francis' in April 1634 with her father Thurston Clarke, and they were married the following January in Plymouth.

Edward Doty appears to have been somewhat of a troublemaker throughout his life at Plymouth. In June 1621, he engaged in a sword and dagger duel with fellow Hopkins servant Edward Leister; both were wounded before being separated, and were punished by having their head and feet tied together for an hour (it was supposed to have been for a whole day, but they were let go early because of their apparent suffering). Edward Doty made regular appearances in Plymouth Colony Court throughout his life, mostly just being sued for various misdemeanors (failing to pay on a contract; failing to keep his cows fenced; not properly caring for a servant), but occasionally for more serious infractions (twice for assault, once for theft, and once for slander).

15. Francis Eaton.

Francis Eaton was baptized on 11th September 1596 at St. Thomas Bristol, Gloucestershire, the son of John and Dorothy (Smith) Eaton. Nearly all of Francis Eaton's siblings died in 1603/1604, apparently due to a sickness that had spread throughout the household. He and brother Samuel did survive; Francis would name his first son Samuel.

Francis took up the profession of house carpenter. He married his first wife, Sarah, probably around 1618, and they had their first child Samuel in late 1619 or early 1620. Francis, Sarah, and "sucking" child Samuel came on the Mayflower to Plymouth in 1620. Sarah died the first winter at Plymouth, and Francis then remarried to Dorothy, the maidservant of John Carver, sometime before 1623. John Carver had died in April 1621, and his wife Katherine died a few weeks later, so perhaps the marriage occurred not long thereafter. In the 1623 Division of Land at Plymouth, Francis Eaton received four shares: one for himself, one for his deceased first wife Sarah, one for Samuel, and one for his current wife Dorothy, all of whom came on the Mayflower.

Dorothy died sometime shortly thereafter: no children are known from their marriage. Francis then married, about 1626, to Christiana Penn, and they had three children together: Rachel, Benjamin, and a child that was called "an ideote" that was still living in 1651, but whose name has not survived. Francis Eaton himself died between 25th October and 8th November in 1633 at Plymouth, apparently suffering the same fate as his siblings in childhood, dying of a disease that spread through Plymouth that autumn. Francis Eaton's estate included one cow and a calf, two hogs, fifty bushels of corn, a black suit, a white hat and a black hat, boots, saws, hammers, an adze, square, augers, a chisel, boards, fishing lead, and some kitchen items.

16. Thomas English.

Very little is known about Mayflower passenger Thomas English, beyond his name and the fact he died sometime the first winter at Plymouth, probably between January and March 1621. He appears to have been a member of the Leiden church congregation and is likely the man who witnessed the betrothal of Jacob McConkey to Bletgen Peters in Leiden on 31st May 1613.

17. Moses Fletcher.

Moses Fletcher was born about 1565, probably in Canterbury, Kent.. He married Mary Evans on 30th October 1589 at Sandwich in Kent. This suggests he was one of the oldest Mayflower passengers, along with James Chilton who was also from Canterbury/Sandwich in Kent. He and wife Mary had ten children baptized and/or buried at St. Peters in Sandwich. Moses Fletcher, along with James Chilton's wife, were accused of having attended the burial of a child

performed outside of the Church of England, and so excommunication proceedings were commenced. Shortly thereafter he and others from the Sandwich congregation removed to Leiden and took up residence with the Pilgrims. In Leiden, following the death of his wife Mary, he remarried to the widow Sarah Denby on 21st December 1613.

Moses Fletcher came alone on the Mayflower in 1620; perhaps his wife had died by that time. His children were nearing adulthood, and some had even married into Dutch families by the time of his departure (and some would marry a few years thereafter). He died sometime the first winter at Plymouth. None of his children are known to have come to America--his children remained in Holland and married into Dutch families. Several people from the Netherlands have successfully documented descent from Moses Fletcher and have joined the General Society of Mayflower Descendants on the basis of those lineages.

18. Edward Fuller and Mrs. Fuller.

Edward Fuller has been generally identified as the son of Robert and Sara (Dunkhorn) Fuller, baptized on 4th September 1575 at Redenhall, Norfolk. Thomas Morton, writing in 1637, says that Samuel Fuller (brother of Edward Fuller) was the son of a butcher. The name Matthew also occurs in this Redenhall Fuller family. The name of Edward Fuller's wife has not been discovered. In James Savage's Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England (1860-1862), Edward Fuller's wife was given as "Ann". However, there are no American or English records which give her name. I suspect James Savage may have made a simple typographical error: Mayflower passenger Edward Tilley had a wife Ann; or perhaps he was thinking of their sister Ann Fuller. Nonetheless, numerous sources published after 1860 have utilized Savage's Genealogical Dictionary, and so the identification of Ann can be found in numerous other books and online resources. Very little is known about Edward Fuller. What is known is that he, his wife, and his son Samuel came on the Mayflower in 1620 to Plymouth. An older brother, Matthew, had stayed behind, and came to America later.

19. Samuel Fuller.

Samuel Fuller has been generally identified as the son of Robert Fuller, baptized on 20th January 1580 at Redenhall, in Norfolk. The identification is based upon circumstantial evidence only: the fact that the names Samuel, Edward, and Ann occur within the same family; and the fact the father is identified as a Butcher. Thomas Morton, writing in 1637, says that Samuel Fuller was the son of a butcher. The name Matthew also occurs in this Redenhall Fuller family. Samuel Fuller's 1613 Leiden marriage record indicates he had been formerly married to Alice Glascock about 1605; nothing is known of his first wife beyond her name. The name Alice Glascock is found most commonly in Essex, England. His second wife, Agnes Carpenter, was the daughter of Alexander Carpenter. She was baptized at Wrington, Somerset, on 16 December 1593 and they had married on 24th April 1613 in Leiden. His third wife, Bridget Lee, married on 27th May 1617 also in Leiden, was accompanied by her mother Josephine Lee at her marriage, and also had a brother Samuel Lee living in Leiden. Samuel Fuller came on the Mayflower, leaving behind his wife Bridget. She would come later, on the ship Anne in 1623. He was the Colony's Doctor, by occupation, a surgeon, and was a Church Deacon. While in Salem helping during an illness, he consulted with Endicott about the organization and practices of the Plymouth church, a discussion that affected the founding of the Salem church. He went on a similar mission to Massachusetts Bay in 1630. He served as a Plymouth tax assessor in 1633.

His inventory contains about 30 books, mostly Bibles and other religious volumes, but also his medical books, dictionaries, and other practical books. His wife Bridget may have been the church's Deaconess. Samuel Fuller spent time helping the sick at Naumkeag (now Salem) in 1629. He himself became sick in the autumn of 1633, and died, as did a number of other Plymouth residents.

The Last Will & Testament of Samuel Fuller

A true Copy of the last will & Testmt of Samuel ffuller the elder as it was proved in publick Court the 28th of Oct in the ninth year of the raigne of our Soveraigne Lord Charles by the grace of God King of Engl. Scotland. ffrance. & Ireland. Defender of the ffaith &c.

I Samuel ffuller the elder being sick & weak but by the mercie of God in perfect memory ordaine this my last will & Testmt. And first of all I bequeath my soule to God & my body to the earth until the resureccon.

Item - I do bequeath the educacon of my children to my Brother Will Wright & his wife, onely that my daughter Mercy be & remaine with goodwife Wallen so long as she will keep her at a resonable charge. But if it shall please God to recover my wife out of her weake estate of sicknes then my children to be with her or disposed by her. Also whereas there is a child comitted to my charge called Sarah Converse, my wife dying as afore I desire my Brother Wright may have the bringing up of her. And if he refuse then I commend her to my loving neighbour & brother in Christ Thomas Prence desiring that whosoever of them receive her pforme the duty of a step ffather unto her & bring her up in the ffeare of God as their owne wch was a charge laid upon me pr her sick ffather when he freely bestowed her upon me & wch I require of them.

Item - whereas Eliz. Cowles was comitted to my educacon by her ffather & Mother still living at Charles Towne, my will is that she be conveniently apprelled & return to her ffather or mother or either of them. And for George ffoster being placed with me upon the same terms by his prents still living at Sagos my will is that he be restored to his Mother likewise.

Item - I give unto Samuell my son my howse & lands at the Smeltriver to him & his heires for ever.

Item - will is that my howse & garden at towne be sold & all my moveables there & at the Smeltriver (except my Cattle) together wth the prnt Croppe of Corn there standing by my Overseers heerafter to be menconed, except such

as they shall thinke meet in the prnt educacon of my two children Samuell & Mercy my debts being first pd out of them, the overplus to be disposed of towards the encrease of my stock of Cattle for their good at the discretion of my overseers. **Item** - I give two Acres of land that fell unto me by lot on the Sowth side the Towne adjoining to the Acres of Mr. Isaack Allerton to Samuell my son. Also two other Acres of land such were given me by Edward Bircher scituate & being at Strawberry hill if Mr Roger Williams refuse to accept of them as formerly he hath done. Also one other Acre by Mr Heeks his Acres neer the Reed pond, all wch I give to the said Samuell & his heires for ever.

Item - my will is that my Cozen Samuell goe freely away wth his Stock of Cattle & Swine without any further recconing wch swine are the halfe of six sowes Six hogges one boare & fowr shotes Also one Cow & one heyfer.

Item - my will is that not only the other halfe afore menconed but also all other mine owne propr stock of Swine be sold wth other my moveables for the use before expressed except my best hogg wch I would have killed this winter for the prnt comfort of my children.

Item - whereas I have disposed of my children to my Brother Will Wright & Priscilla his wife my will is that in case my wife die he enter upon my howse & land at the Smelt River, & also my Cattle not disposed on together wth my two servts Thomas Symons & Robt Cowles for the Remainder of their several termes to be employed for the good of my children he being allowed for their charge vizt. my children what my Overseers shall think meet. But if in case my said brother Will Wright or Priscilla his wife die then my said Children Samuell & Mercy together wth the said joynt charge comitted to the said Will & Priscilla be void except my Overseers or the survivor of them shall think meet. To whose--godly care in such case I leave them to be disposed of elsewhere as the Law shall direct them. By cattle not disposed on to be employed for the good of my children I meane three Cowes & two steere calves Six old ewes & two ewe lambs two old wethers & three wether lambs together wth such overplus upon this sale of my goods before expressed as my Overseers shall adde heereunto.

Item - I give out of this stock of Cattle the first Cow calfe that my Browne Cow shall have to the Church of God at Plymouth to be employed by the Deacon or Deacons of the said Church for the good of the said Church at the oversight of the ruling Elders.

Item - I give to my sister Alice Bradford twelve shilling to buy her a paire of gloves.

Item - whatsoever is due unto me from Capt. Standish I give unto his Children. It. that a pr of gloves of 5sh be bestowed on Mr John Wynthrop Govr of the Massachusetts.

Item. I give unto my Brother Wright aforesaid one cloath suit not yet fully finished lying in my trunk at Towne wch I give notwithstanding my wife survive.

Item - whereas Capt. John Endecott oweth me two pownds of Beaver I give it to his sonne. It. my will is that when my children come to age of discretion that my Overseers make a full valuacon of that Stock of Cattle & the encrease thereof, & that it be equally devided between my children. And if any die in the meane time the whole to goe to the survivor or survivors.

Item - my will is that they be ruled by my Overseers in marriage. Also I would have them enjoy that smale porcon the Lord shall give them when my Overseers thinke them to be of fit discretion & not at any set time or appointmt of yeares. **Item** - whereas my will is that Overseers shall let out that stock of Cattle wch shall be bought with the Overplus of my goods to halves to such as shall be as well carefull as honest men. My will is that my brother Wright have the refusall of them.

Item - I give unto John Jenny & Joh. Wynslow each of them a paire of gloves of five shillings. **Item** - I give unto Mrs. Heeks the full sum of twenty shillings.

Item - I give to old Mr William Brewster my best hat & band wch I h--- never wore.

Item - my will is that if my children die that then my stock be thus distributed. ffirst that what care or paines or charge hath been by any about my children be fully recompensed. Next at the discretion of the Overseers I thus bequeath the rest so as it may redownd to the Governing Elder or Elders of this Church aforesaid toward the helping of such psons as are members of the same & are ---- as my Overseers shall thinke meet.

Item - I give to Rebecca Prence 2sd 6d to buy her a paire of gloves.

Item - my will is that in case my sonne Samuell & other my children die before such time as they are fit to enter upon my land for inheritance that then my kinsman Sam fuller now in the howse wth me enjoy wtsoever lands I am now possessed of except my dwelling howse at town or whatsoever shall be due to me or them.

Item - I give to him my Rufflet cloake my stufte sute I now weare.

Item - I institute my son Samuell my Executor and because he is young & tender I enjoyne him to be wholly ordered by Edw Wynslow Mr Wil Bradford & Mr Tho. Prence whom I make his Overseers & the Overseers of this my last will & Testmt. so often menconed before in the same. And for their paines I give to each of them twenty shillings apeece.

Item - I give to Mercy my daughter one Bible wth a black Cover with Bezaes

notes. It. I give all the rest of my bookes to my sonne Samuell wch I desire my Brother Wright Will safely preserve for him. **Item** - my will is that when my daughter Mercy is fit to goe to scole that Mrs. Heeks may teach her as well as my sonne.

Item - whatsoever Mr Roger Williams is indebted to me upon my booke for phisick I freely give him. Last of all whereas my wife is sick & weake I have disposed of my children to others my will is if she recover that she have the educacon of them, that the other gifts & legacies I have given may be pformed And if in case any of my Overseers or all of them die before my children be judged by them of age of discretion then my desire is they will before such time when they dispose of their own affairs depute some other of the Church of pforme this duty of care & love towards my

children, wch I allow & binde my children to obedience to them as before. In witnes that this is my last will & Test I have set to my hand & seale the 30th of July Anno 1633.

Samuell fuller

20. Richard Gardinar.

Richard Gardinar's origins are uncertain. He may have been the man baptized 12 February 1582 at Harwich, Essex, into a family that was associated with Mayflower master Christopher Jones. Or he may have been the Richard Gardinar of Holy Trinity, Guildford, Surrey, whose family appears to have ties to Mayflower passenger William Mullins. Governor William Bradford, writing in 1651, states that Richard Gardinar became a seaman, and died at sea or in England. The last conclusive reference to Richard Gardinar comes in a letter written by Emmanuel Althem in May 1624: "And he hath sent me word that he will provide me a sufficient man for master, notwithstanding Richard Gardinar hath earnestly requested it, claiming it as his due by place, but some say not by sufficiency. I will say no more concerning him because I know you shall understand it by others."

21. John Goodman.

Governor William Bradford, in his otherwise nearly flawless recitation of Mayflower passengers made in 1651, states that John Goodman was one of those who "died soon after their arrival in the general sickness that befell." However, that is contradicted by his appearance on the 1623 Division of Land, where he received an acre of land. In any case, Goodman had disappeared by the time of the 1627 Division of Cattle, and presumably died very early on.

In 1905, Henry Martyn Dexter proposed that John Goodman was the man found in Leiden records as John "Codmoer," widower of Mary Backus, who married Sarah Hooper. But this has been disputed by many later researchers as unfounded: "Codmoer" is a pretty significant misspelling of "Goodman" even by Dutch standards. To further complicate the situation, there is an oft-published hoax that surfaced in the 19th century that John Goodman was actually a pseudonym for John Dunham, another member of the Leiden congregation. However, this has been conclusively disproven: John Dunham was still living in Leiden after the Mayflower's departure.

On 12th January 1621, Peter Browne and John Goodman were cutting thatch for house roofing, and went for a short walk to refresh themselves, when their mastiff and spaniel spied a deer and gave chase. Peter and John soon found themselves lost. They spent the night in a tree, in rain and snow, because they thought they heard a lion. They found their way back to Plymouth the following day. Goodman suffered some frostbite. When he was finally able to walk, he took his spaniel out and found himself being followed by a wolf. After a long stare-down and having securing a fence post for defense, the wolf eventually departed.

William Holbeck.

William Holbeck came on the Mayflower as a servant, or apprentice, to the William White family. Since he was termed a servant, and did not sign the "Mayflower Compact," he was likely under the age of 21. A search of English baptism records has turned up at least four candidates named William Holbeck who were baptized between 1600 and 1610, including at Fillongley and Shustoke, Warwickshire and Spofforth, Yorkshire. There is a William Holbeck baptized on 24th April 1603 at Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, son of John. There is also a significant Holbeck family residing in Leiden. It is possible William Holbeck may have been from a Dutch of Walloon family.

John Hooke.

He was Baptised on 18th January 1607 at Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, the son of John and Alice Hooke (nee Thompson). On 7 January 1619/20 in Leiden, Holland, twelve-year old John Hooke was apprenticed to Isaac Allerton for a period of twelve years. The apprenticeship record states that his parents were John Hooke and Alice Thompson. Their marriage record is found on 9 August 1605 at St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, Norfolk, and indicates his father John Hooke was from Great Yarmouth in Norfolk. Isaac Allerton brought John Hooke with him on the Mayflower, but his 13/14 year old apprentice died the first winter at Plymouth.

22. Stephen Hopkins.

Stephen Hopkins was from Hampshire, England. Baptised on 30th April 1581 at Upper Clatford in Hampshire, the son of John and Elizabeth Hopkins (nee Williams). He married his first wife, Mary, the daughter of Robert and Joan Kent of Hursley, before 1604. They resided in the parish of Hursley, Hampshire. They had their children Elizabeth, Constance, and Giles, all baptized there.

Stephen Hopkins went with the ship Sea Venture on a voyage to Jamestown, Virginia in 1609 as a minister's clerk, but the ship wrecked in the "Isle of Devils" (Bermuda). Stranded on an island for ten months, the passengers and crew survived on turtles, birds, and wild pigs. Six months into the castaway, Stephen Hopkins and several others organized a mutiny against the current governor. The mutiny was discovered and Stephen was sentenced to death. However, he pleaded with sorrow and tears. "So penitent he was, and made so much moan, alleging the ruin of his wife and children in this his trespass, as it wrought in the hearts of all the better sorts of the company". He managed to get his sentence commuted.

Eventually the castaways built a small ship and sailed themselves to Jamestown. How long Stephen remained in Jamestown is not known. However, while he was gone, his wife Mary died. She was buried in Hursley on 9 May 1613, and left behind a probate estate which mentions her children Elizabeth, Constance and Giles. Stephen was back in England by 1617, when he married Elizabeth Fisher, at St. Mary Whitechapel Tower Hamlets, but apparently

had every intention of bringing his family back to Virginia. Their first child, Damaris, was born about 1618 followed by Oceanus (born during the voyage), Caleb, Deborah, Damaris, Ruth. In 1620, Stephen Hopkins brought his wife, and children Constance, Giles, and Damaris on the Mayflower (the child Elizabeth apparently had died). Stephen was a fairly active member of the Pilgrim group shortly after arrival, perhaps a result of his being one of the few individuals who had been to Virginia previously. He was a part of all the early exploring missions, and was used as an "expert" on Native Americans for the first few contacts. While out exploring, Stephen recognized and identified an Indian deer trap. And when Samoset walked into Plymouth and welcomed the English, he was housed in Stephen Hopkins' house for the night. Stephen was also sent on several of the ambassadorial missions to meet with the various Indian groups in the region.

Stephen was an assistant to the governor through 1636, and volunteered for the Pequot War of 1637 but was never called to serve. By the late 1630s, however, Stephen began to occasionally run afoul of the Plymouth authorities, as he apparently opened up a shop and served alcohol. In 1636 he got into a fight with John Tisdale and seriously wounded him. In 1637, he was fined for allowing drinking and shuffleboard playing on Sunday. Early the next year he was fined for allowing people to drink excessively in his house: guest William Reynolds was fined, but the others were acquitted. In 1638 he was twice fined for selling beer at twice the actual value, and in 1639 he was fined for selling a looking glass for twice what it would cost if bought in the Bay Colony. Also in 1638, Stephen Hopkins' maidservant got pregnant from Arthur Peach, who was subsequently executed for murdering an Indian. The Plymouth Court ruled he was financially responsible for her and her child for the next two years (the amount remaining on her term of service). Stephen, in contempt of court, threw Dorothy out of his household and refused to provide for her, so the court committed him to custody.

John Holmes stepped in and purchased Dorothy's remaining two years of service from him: agreeing to support her and child. Stephen died in 1644, and made out a will, asking to be buried near his wife, and naming his surviving children.

23. John Howland.

John Howland was born about 1599, the son of Henry and Margaret Howland, probably in Fenstanton, Huntingdonshire. He came on the Mayflower in 1620 as a manservant of Governor John Carver. During the Mayflower's voyage, Howland fell overboard during a storm, and was almost lost at sea, but luckily for his millions of descendants living today (including Presidents George Bush and George W. Bush, and Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt) he managed to grab hold of the topsail halyards, giving the crew enough time to rescue him with a boat-hook.

It has been traditionally reported that John Howland was born about 1592, based on his reported age at death in the Plymouth Church Records. However, ages at death were often overstated, and that is clearly the case here. John Howland came as a servant for John Carver, which means he was under 25 years old at the time (i.e. he was born after 1595). William Bradford, in the falling-overboard incident, refers to Howland as a "lusty young man," a term that would not likely have applied to a 28-year old given that Bradford himself was only 30. Bradford did call 21-year old John Alden a "young man" though. Howland's wife Elizabeth Tilley, daughter of Joan and Joan Tilley (nee Hurst) was born in 1607; a 32-year old marrying a 17-year old is a relatively unlikely circumstance. The children were, Desire, John, Hope, Elizabeth, Lydia, Hannah, Joseph, Jabez, Ruth and Isaac. Howland's last child was born in 1649: a 57-year old Howland would be an unlikely father. All these taken together demonstrate that Howland's age was likely overstated by at least 5 years. Since he signed the "Mayflower Compact", we can assume he was probably at least 18 to 21 years old in 1620. He died on either 23rd or 24th February 1673 at Rocky Nook Plymouth. John Howland had several brothers who also came to New England, namely Henry Howland (an ancestor to both Presidents Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford) and Arthur Howland (an ancestor to Winston Churchill).

John Langmore.

John Langmore came on the Mayflower as a servant to the family of Christopher Martin. Since he was a manservant, he was almost certainly under the age of 25. And since he did not sign the "Mayflower Compact," he was quite probably under 18 or 21. The only other fact that is known about him, is that he died sometime the first winter at Plymouth, probably between January and March 1621. Since he was associated with the Christopher Martin family, it seems probable that he may have come from the same vicinity (Great Burstead near Billericay in Essex.) There is a Langmore/Longmire family found in Alveley and Claverly, Shropshire, and Upper Arley, Worcestershire.

William Latham.

William Latham came on the Mayflower in 1620 as an 11-year old servant/apprentice to the John Carver family. His origins in England have not been determined, but there is a William Latham baptized on 4 February 1608/9 in Eccleston by Chorley, Lancashire, England, son of Hugh and Eline Latham that would be the right age. Eccleston by Chorley is the area Myles Standish came from. After the death of John Carver in April 1621, William Latham appears to have finished out his term of service with William Bradford. He was still in the Bradford household at the time of the May 1627 Division of Cattle. Latham was taxed 9 shillings in both 1633 and 1634, the lowest tax rate. In July 1633, Myles Standish was appointed to mow the land owned by William Latham and Edward Bumpass. In July 1635, William Latham witnessed a deed for Edward Bumpass who was selling his land to John Washborn. In 1636, Myles

Standish was granted the use of land neighboring that owned by Washborn and Latham, provided he mow it but leave enough for Washborn's one cow.

In 1638, William Latham had a couple of brushes with the Plymouth Court. On June 5, he was fined 40 shillings for the "entertaining of John Phillips into his house contrary to the act of the Court" and for "lavish and slanderous speeches." Jonathan Brewster was a witness against him. By September, Latham had only paid half the fine. On December 4th 1638, Latham still owed 11 shillings, and was ordered not to depart Plymouth Colony without first obtaining a license. The debt was paid on 6th January 1639.

On 6th July 1638, William Reynolds sold half of his share of a black cow to John Phillips, and John Phillips then sold William Latham all his crop of Indian corn. On 26th December 1639, William Latham sold his house and property in Duxbury, and apparently moved to Marblehead, in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. In 1641, he deposed he was about 32-years old, and testified in a lawsuit between John Moses and Thomas Keyser. About 1643, he moved to Marshfield, where he is found on the 1643 list of men able to bear arms. He had married before 1643 because on 24th February 1643, a warrant was issued against William Latham's wife Mary for adultery. Governor Edward Winslow of the Plymouth Colony wrote:

"Whereas divers and sundry complaints have come in to me from Weymouth sent and delivered by godly and credible persons against Mary the wife of William Latham late of Marblehead but now at Marshfield for adultery committed upon the body of the said Mary by one James Brittain of Weymouth. And having apprehended the said Mary and examined her, have sent her with the examination according to my duty to that Government where the fact was committed."

On 28th October 1645, William Latham and Roger Cooke sued John and Ann Baker for £20, for Ann's accidental burning of their house. The jury could not reach a verdict, but John Baker agreed to pay 20 shillings for damages. The accidental burning of Latham's house is the last record of him in Plymouth Colony. At some point he became associated with William Sayle's adventure to settle a colony, based on freedom of religion, at Eleuthera, Bahamas, arriving there about 1647. The colony failed after the colonists had a dispute and split up to settle separate islands. William Latham reputedly starved to death there about 1648.

24. Edward Leister.

Edward Leister was one of two servants, or apprentices, brought by Mayflower passenger Stephen Hopkins. Since he was a signer of the "Mayflower Compact," we can assume he was over 18 or 21 years of age, but as servant he was almost certainly under the age of 25. This would place his birth at somewhere between 1595 and 1602. He, along with fellow servant Edward Doty, proved to be somewhat on the rowdy side. They were the last two men to sign the "Mayflower Compact," which has led some to speculate they may have been originally unwilling to sign and required some persuasion. In June 1621, the two servants would engage in a duel, both wounding each other before the fight was broken up. They were sentenced by the Company to have their head and feet tied together for a full day, but the sentence was commuted after an hour due to their apparent suffering and the plea of their master Stephen Hopkins for their release. Leister was enumerated in the 1623 Division of Land, but disappears by the time of the 1627 Division of Cattle. William Bradford indicates that as soon as his contract was up, he headed off to Jamestown, where he later died, possibly on 6th March 1651 in Virginia. It is possible the family originated from the Lancashire/Cheshire area.

25. Edward Margesson.

Edward Margesson came on the Mayflower as an adult, by himself. He signed the "Mayflower Compact." Other than the fact he died sometime the first winter, likely between January and March 1621, nothing else is known about him. A search of baptism records in England has identified one potential candidate, an Edmund Margetson baptized on 23 November 1586 at Swannington, Norfolk, son of Robert. However, with no other supporting details beyond a name, nothing conclusive can be determined.

26. Christopher and Mary Martin. (See Chapter 5).

Desire Minter.

Desire Minter was the daughter of William and Sarah (Willet) Minter, members of the Leiden church congregation who originated from Norwich, Norfolk.

The Minter family appears to have been associated with the family of John Carver of Great Bealings in Suffolk. The family first appears in Leiden records on 3rd May 1613, when William Minter became a citizen. He bought a house from William Jepson on 10th September 1614 on the Groenhasegracht in Leiden. Mrs. Sarah Minter was a midwife for the church and witnessed four betrothals between 1615 and 1617. Her father William Minter died in 1617 or early 1618, and her widowed mother remarried on 18th August 1618 to Roger Simmonson at Leiden. Desire Minter appears to have been placed with another Leiden resident, Thomas Brewer, when her mother was widowed; but Brewer was arrested in 1619 by the University of Leiden at the request of the English Ambassador to the Netherlands, and was charged with printing and distributing illegal books in England.

Desire Minter came on the Mayflower in the care of the John Carver household. William Bradford, writing in 1651 in his "Decreasings and Increases" section of his passenger list, cryptically noted that she "returned to her friend and proved not very well and died in England." Since Desire Minter is not enumerated in the 1623 Division of Land at

Plymouth, she appears to have returned to England prior to that--perhaps on the ship *Fortune* in 1621. Of the hundred Mayflower passengers, Desire Minter and Humility Cooper are the only ones who returned to England in the first decade. No record of Desire Minter in England has yet been found. It is possible she was born around 1605 in Norwich, Norfolk, returned to England and died around 1630. She had not married.

Ellen, Jasper, Richard and Mary More.

The story of the four children is a tragic one, Ellen was Baptized on 24th May 1612 and died in the first winter, Jasper was Baptized 8 August 1613 and Died 6th December 1620 onboard the *Mayflower*, anchored in Provincetown Harbor. Richard was Baptized 13th November 1614, and Mary, Baptized 16 April 1616, all at Shipton in Shropshire, to Samuel and Katherine (More) More, cousins from a wealthy and prominent family that had had their marriage prearranged. It was not a happy marriage, and Katherine had a longstanding but secret extramarital affair with a neighbor by the name of Jacob Blakeway. At some point, husband Samuel More began to notice a resemblance between "his" children, and Jacob Blakeway whom he had come to suspect was with his wife. When he realized his four children were not actually "his", but were bastards, he and his wife engaged in a bitter divorce and Samuel ended up getting custody of the children he claimed were not his. He promptly paid for them to be shipped off to America with a band of "honest and religious" Separatists.

The four children, aged 4 to 8 years old, were placed into the households of some of the most prominent Pilgrims. Richard and Mary More were placed with Elder William Brewster. Jasper was placed with Governor John Carver. And Ellen was placed with Edward Winslow. The voyage was rough on the young and presumably quite traumatized children. Only Richard survived the first winter at Plymouth. Jasper More died in December while the Pilgrims were still exploring Cape Cod trying to find a place to settle, and Ellen and Mary More died sometime likely between January and March 1621.

Richard More was still living with the Brewster's in 1627. He married Christian Hunter on 20th October 1636 in Plymouth, and moved very shortly thereafter to Salem. They had children, Samuel, Thomas, Caleb, Joshua, Richard, Susanna and Christian. Richard More became a seaman and ship captain, and made trips to England, Nova Scotia, West Indies, Manhattan, and Virginia. In February and March 1642/3, he joined the church at Salem and baptized his children there.

His wife Christian died on 18 March 1676, at the age of 60. Richard More then married to Mrs. Jane Crumpton at Salem; she died in October 1686 at Salem, aged 55. In 1688, the Salem Church recorded: "Old Captain More having been for many years under suspicion and common fame of lasciviousness, and some degree at least of inconstancy but for want of proof we could go no further. He was at last left to himself so far as that he was convicted before justices of peace by three witnesses of gross unchastity with another man's wife and was censured by them."

Modern research has shown that a mariner, "Richard More of Salem", had married in England—if this was the same man, then he had wives on both sides of the Atlantic. Richard More died sometime between 1693 and 1696 at Salem, living just long enough to have witnessed the Salem Witchcraft paranoia of 1692. He knew several of the participants personally. In 1678, fourteen years before the witchcraft trials, he gave a deposition in a defamation lawsuit between future Salem witchcraft victims John Proctor and Giles Corey. He noted that Proctor and Corey frequently drank together, presumably at the alehouse that Richard More himself operated.

27. William and Alice Mullins.

William Mullins died at Plymouth in 1627 his wife Alice during 1621. Little is known about Alice, the wife of William Mullins. She is named only once: in the 1621 will of her husband William Mullins. It is not known if she is the mother of all his children, some of his children, or none of them. There is no evidence she had the Atwood or Poretiers surnames (claims that have been previously published). Recent research into her origins has focused on the Browne, Dendy, Gardinar and Wood families of Dorking and Holy Trinity, Guildford.

28. Degory Priest.

Degory Priest deposed that he was 40 years old in a document signed in Leiden in April 1619; this would place his birth at about 1579 in England. On 4 November 1611, he was married, in Leiden, to Sarah (Allerton) Vincent, the widow of John Vincent, and the sister of Mayflower passenger Isaac Allerton; Isaac Allerton was married to his wife Mary Norris on the same date.

It has been suggested that Degory Priest of the *Mayflower* may have been the Degorius Prust, baptized 11th August 1582 in Hartland, Devon, England, the son of Peter Prust. However, given that the baptism appears to be about 3 years too late, and the fact that none of the Leiden Separatists are known to have come from Devonshire, there are doubts this baptism belongs to the *Mayflower* passenger.

Degory Priest was one of the earliest to have arrived in Leiden, so it seems more reasonable to suspect he is from the Nottinghamshire/Yorkshire region, the Sandwich/Canterbury region, the London/Middlesex region, or the Norfolk region: all of the early Separatists in Leiden appear to have come from one of these centres. Degory Priest became a citizen of Leiden on 16 November 1615, and was called a hatter, and perhaps employed with Samuel Lee and Godbert Godbertson, other members of the Leiden congregation who were also hatter. In 1617, Degory Priest had some kind of altercation with a man named John Cripps who was alleged to have been having an adulterous affair with Elizabeth wife of John Mos. He had some friends sign an affidavit stating he hadn't hit Cripps but only "touched his jabot." Degory shared his Leiden residence with a tobacco-pipe maker named Nicholas Claverly. Degory and wife

Sarah had two children, Mary and Sarah. Degory came alone on the Mayflower, planning to bring wife and children later after the colony was better established. His death, on 1st January, the first winter ended those plans. His wife remarried to Godbert Godbertson in Leiden on 13th November 1621, and they had a son Samuel together. Godbert, his wife Sarah, their son Samuel, and his step-children Mary and Sarah Priest all came on the ship Anne to Plymouth in 1623.

Solomon Prower.

Born about 1596 in Great Burstead, Solomon Prower first appears in the records of Great Burstead on 15th September 1619, when an Essex Quarter Sessions presentment reports that young single man, Solomon Prower, was on the King's Watch, and attempted to arrest a drunk blacksmith, John Paprell, who resisted arrest and exclaimed that he "cared neither for the King's Majesty nor for such Jack-an-Apes slaves as he was."

Six months later, on 14 March 1619/20, Solomon Prower was presented by the local vicar in the Archdeaconry Court for "refusing to answer me at all unless I would ask him some questions in some other catechism." A note in Latin indicates Solomon personally appeared. The incident took place during Confirmation, when Solomon was supposed to read a scripted response from the Book of Common Prayer when asked who gave him his name.

Instead of answering "from my godfathers and godmothers in my baptism," he replied that he did not know who gave him his name, as his father was dead and he did not know his godfathers. Like his stepfather Christopher Martin, he was refusing to participate in some of the rituals of the Church of England, expressing his Puritan inclinations.

Solomon Prower came on the Mayflower with his step-father Christopher Martin and his mother Mary. He died the first winter at Plymouth. News of his death would have reached his family back in England in the spring of 1621. On 19th August 1621, Solomon Prower's older brother, Edward, baptized his eldest son, naming him Solomon. When the young infant died, he named his second son Solomon as well, baptizing him on 24th November 1622.

29. John and Alice Rigsdale.

Nothing much is known about John and Alice Rigsdale, other than the fact they both came on the Mayflower and they both died at some time during the first winter at Plymouth, probably between January and March 1621. There is a marriage record of a John Rigsdale and an Alice Gallard at St. Mary, Weston, Lincolnshire on 17th November 1577. If this marriage is actually the Mayflower couple, then they were perhaps among the oldest of the passengers, likely in their 60s or 70s. It is possible she was born in Lincolnshire around or before 1560 and John Rigsdale born around 1555 also in Lincolnshire.

30. Thomas Rogers.

Thomas Rogers was born before 1572 in Watford, then in Northamptonshire, the son of William and Eleanor Rogers. He married Alice Cosford on 24th October 1597 at Watford. All his children were baptized and/or buried in Watford. Thomas and Richard died as infants. He brought his wife and family to Leiden, Holland, where he became a citizen of Leiden on 25 June 1618. His occupation in Leiden records was given as a Camlet merchant. Camlet was a luxury fabric from Asia that was made of camel's hair or angora wool mixed with silk. On 1st April 1620, he sold his house on Barbarasteeg for 300 guilders, apparently in preparation for his voyage on the Mayflower. He came on the Mayflower with eldest son Joseph, leaving behind in Leiden, his younger son John, daughters Elizabeth and Margaret, and wife Alice. Thomas Rogers died the first winter at Plymouth, leaving behind his 18-year old son Joseph. His wife and children that were left behind in Leiden are found in the 1622 poll tax of Leiden, and were termed "poor people" and "without means." Children Elizabeth and Margaret apparently came to New England later, but where they lived or whom they married remains unknown. Son John came to Plymouth about 1630, and there married Anna Churchman on 16th April 1639.

Henry Samson.

Henry Samson was born in Henlow, Bedfordshire, and Baptised on 15 January 1603, the son of James and Martha Samson (nee Cooper). He came on the Mayflower at the age of about 17 with his uncle and aunt, Edward and Ann (Cooper) Tilley. He married Ann Plummer on 6th February 1636 at Plymouth and became a freeman in Plymouth around that time, and volunteered for service in the Pequot War of 1637 (but Plymouth's company was not called into service). By 1643 he had moved to Duxbury, where he became constable in 1661, and tax collector for 1667 and 1668. He was on a large number of juries and grand juries, and was appointed a surveyor on a couple of occasions. His wife Ann died sometime between 1668 and 1684; he died on 24 December 1684 at Duxbury. Their children were Elizabeth, Hannah, John (died 27th January 1712), Mary, Dorcas, James, Stephen and Caleb. There was also an unnamed daughter.

Henry Samson made his will December 24, 1684, which was sworn March 5, 1684/85. In the will he named his sons Stephen, John, James and Caleb, dividing his remaining Dartmouth land holdings between Stephen, John and James. Small sums were given to son Caleb and daughter Elizabeth, wife of Robert Sprout; Hannah, wife of Josias Holmes; Sarah, the wife of John Hanmer; Mary, wife of John Summers; and Dorcas, wife of Thomas Bonney.

31. George Soule.

George Soule's origins have not been discovered. The most promising record found to date is the baptism of a George Soule on 9th February 1595 at Tingrith, Bedford, son of William. However, recent DNA testing has now shown this Bedfordshire Soule family was not the direct ancestor of George Soule. Other Soule families using the name

George can also be found in many other places counties across England in the 16th and 17th centuries. DNA testing has eliminated the predominant Soule families of Gloucester, Worcester, East and West Sussex, and Bedford. Louise Throop has published a reasonable hypothesis that George Soule may have been descendant of the Sol family of Leiden, who were involved in the printing press.

George Soule came on the Mayflower as a servant to the Edward Winslow family, indicating he was under 25 years old at the time; however, he did sign the "Mayflower Compact," suggesting he was over 18, and probably over 21. This puts his birth year at around 1595-1602. This matches well with his apparent marriage date of around 1625 at Plymouth: by the May 1627 Division of Cattle, he was married to Mary Beckett, and they had had children, Zachariah, John, Nathaniel, George, Susanna, Mary, Elizabeth, Patience and Benjamin.

George Soule and family moved to Duxbury very early on, and he was a deputy to the Plymouth Court for a number of years beginning in 1642. He had volunteered for the Pequot War of 1637, but Plymouth's troops were not needed. He was on various committees, juries, and survey teams, during his life in Duxbury. In 1646, for example, he was appointed to the committee to deal with Duxbury's problem of the disorderly smoking of tobacco. George Soule made out his will on 11 August 1677, and added a codicil to it on 20 September 1677. The codicil is quite interesting as it gives a little insight into a family squabble between son John and daughter Patience:

"If my son John Soule above-named, or his heirs or assigns or any of them shall at any time disturb my daughter Patience or her heirs or assigns or any of them in peaceable possession or enjoyment of the lands I have given her at Nemasket alias Middleboro and recover the same from her or her heirs or assigns or any of them; that then my gift to my son John Soule shall be void; and then my will is my daughter Patience shall have all my lands at Duxbury and she shall be my sole executrix of this my last will and testament and enter into my housing lands and meadows at Duxbury."

32. Myles and Rose Standish.

Myles Standish's birthplace has been the subject of great debate at the centre of which is the language in his will, drafted in Plymouth in 1656 and says: *"I give unto my son & heire apparent Alexander Standish all my lands as heire apparent by lawfull decent in Ormskirke [Ormskirk] Borscouge [Burscough] Wrightington Maudsley [Mawdesley] Newburrow [Newburgh] Crowston [Croston] and in the Isle of man [sic] and given to mee as Right heire by lawfull decent but surreptuously detained from mee My great Grandfather being a second or younger brother from the house of Standish of Standish."* All Lancashire with the exception of the Isle of Man.

Those who believe he was from Lancashire point to the following evidence: Nathaniel Morton, writing in his 1669 book *New England's Memorial*, states that Standish was from Lancashire; Myles Standish owned a book about the former head of the Rivington Grammar School in Lancashire; and Standish named his American residence "Duxbury," which may have been a reference to his ancestral home, Duxbury Hall, Lancashire. Those that believe he was from the Isle of Man point to the lands enumerated in his probate will that were "surreptitiously detained" from him (including lands on the Isle of Man itself); these lands all belonged at one time to Thomas Standish, of the branch of the Standish family from the Isle of Man.

The manor of Duxbury belonged to the Duxbury family before the 1300s but, after Henry Duxbury's involvement in the abortive Banastre Rebellion in 1315 and his subsequent imprisonment in Lancaster Castle, ownership of the Duxbury land transferred to the Standish family around 1335. A Peel Tower was said to have been constructed within the area, during or after The Great Raid of 1322 when Chorley was raided by Scotland.

The first Duxbury Hall was built in 1632 in the Elizabethan style and was home to the Standish family for many decades. It is believed to be the birthplace of Mayflower Pilgrim Myles Standish. The family were Puritans and active in politics. Thomas Standish (1594-1642) was MP for Liverpool and Preston. His younger son Richard Standish (1621-1662), who inherited the estate after the death of his elder brother Alexander in 1648, was MP for Liverpool and Preston. His son Richard was created a baronet in 1677 and elected as a Whig for Wigan in 1690. His son Thomas was appointed High Sheriff of Lancashire for 1711 and died in 1746, after which the estates passed to his son, another Thomas (1703-1756). Myles Standish, born around 1584, is alleged to have joined Queen Elizabeth's army and attained the rank of Lieutenant, but the documentation for this claim was lost in the 1920s without having been published or transcribed, so may be suspect. In any case, Standish was certainly a part of Queen Elizabeth's army, and was stationed for a time in Holland where he eventually met and became well acquainted with John Robinson and the Pilgrims who were living in Leiden. Standish was hired by the Pilgrims to be their military captain, to establish and coordinate the Colony's defense against both foreign (French, Spanish, Dutch) and domestic (Native American) threats.

Standish led or participated in all the early exploratory missions sent out to explore Cape Cod, and was heavily involved in selecting the site where the Pilgrims would settle. He was one of the few who did not get sick at all the first winter, and is recorded as having greatly helped and cared for those who were sick. He organized the deployment of the colony's cannons and the construction of the fort at Plymouth. He led both trading expeditions and military expeditions to the various Indian groups in the region. He led the party that went in pursuit of the alleged killers of Squanto (who was later discovered to be safe). He led the revenge attacks on the Indians in the Massachusetts Bay after they were caught in a conspiracy planning to attack and destroy the Plymouth and

Wessagussett colonies; several Indians were killed or executed, for which Standish received some criticism, even from his friends, for being too heavy-handed.

Standish was heavily involved in numerous aspects of Plymouth Colony, from defense to keeping the law. He was on the receiving end of John Billington's verbal wrath in 1621 (Billington refused to follow the captain's orders), and was called a "silly boy" in a letter sent out during the Oldham-Lyford scandal of 1624, and was noted for his short stature and for his quick temper. He was sent to arrest Thomas Morton in 1628, for which he received the nickname "Captain Shrimp" from Morton. William Hubbard reported Standish's temper was like a "chimney soon fired". Despite the heavy criticism by his enemies, Standish was well respected within the Plymouth Colony, and held a number of positions of authority. He made several trips to England to bring trading goods back and to negotiate with the Merchant Adventurers who had financially sponsored the joint-stock company that funded the Pilgrims' voyage. In the mid-1630s, Standish moved his family and helped found the town of Duxbury, which may have been named after his ancestral home. Standish was an heir to a fairly sizeable estate in Lancashire, but his lands were lost during the English Civil War, and neither he nor his son Alexander were ever able to legally regain control of the estate.

Myles Standish's first wife Rose came with him on the Mayflower, and died the first winter. His second wife, Barbara, arrived on the ship Anne in 1623, and they were apparently married before the year was out. Nothing is known about either of his wives: there is absolutely no indication they were his cousins, as has sometimes been claimed. Standish lived out his later years in Duxbury, dying in 1656 "after his suffering of much dolorous pain," apparently from kidney stones. Nothing of note is known about Rose, wife of Myles Standish, beyond the fact she came on the Mayflower with her husband and died on 29 January 1620/1 at Plymouth during the first winter.

Elias Story.

Nothing is known about Mayflower passenger Elias Story, outside of the fact he came in the care of the Edward Winslow family. He did not sign the "Mayflower Compact," suggesting he was likely under the age of 18 or 21. He died the first winter at Plymouth, likely between January and March 1621. It is thought he was born around 1603/4.

Edward Thompson.

He came on the Mayflower in the care of the William White family. He did not sign the Mayflower Compact, indicating he was under the age of 18 or 21. He died on 4 December 1620, making him the first Mayflower passenger to die after the ship had anchored off the tip of Cape Cod, and while the first explorations of the Cape were still underway. Edward Thompson's name is far too common for there to be any hope of a conclusive identification in English records, unless he can somehow be tied to the family of another Mayflower passenger.

33. Edward and Agnes Tilley.

Agnes Cooper was baptized on 7 November 1585 at Henlow, Bedfordshire, the daughter of Edmund and Mary (Wyne) Cooper. On 20th June 1614, she married Edward Tilley. They moved to Leiden, Holland by 1618, and came on the Mayflower to Plymouth in 1620 with Henry Samson and Humility Cooper. Agnes' sister Martha was the mother of Henry Samson, and her brother Robert was the father of Humility Cooper. Some of the lines of Agnes' ancestry have been traced as far back as Wido de Reinbudcourt, the Doomsday Lord of Chipping Warden and Burton, co. Northampton, who lived in the 11th century, but no royal line has yet been found. Agnes died sometime the first winter at Plymouth, between January and March 1621. She and Edward had no known children.

34. John and Joan Tilley.

Joan Hurst was born in 1567/8 in Henlow, Bedford, England and Baptised on 13th March, she was the daughter of William and Rose Hurst. She married first to Thomas Rogers on 18th June 1593 (not related to the Mayflower passenger Thomas Rogers). With her husband Thomas, she had a daughter Joan, baptized on 26 May 1594 in Henlow. Attempts to determine what happened to Joan have so far been unsuccessful. She may have died young. When her first husband Thomas died, likely around 1594 or 1595, she remarried to John Tilley. Their children were Rose (who died young), John, Rose, Robert and Elizabeth. John and Joan (Hurst)(Rogers) Tilley came on the Mayflower in 1620, bringing with them daughter Elizabeth. Joan, along with her husband, died the first winter at Plymouth, orphaning their 13-year old daughter Elizabeth in the New World. Elizabeth would later marry Mayflower passenger John Howland.

35. Thomas Tinker.

Very little is known about the Tinker family. William Bradford, in his Mayflower passenger list, simply noted that "Thomas Tinker and his wife and son all died in the first sickness." Thomas Tinker and his family were members of the Leiden church congregation, and he was granted citizenship there on 6 January 1617. His occupation is given in the citizenship record as a wood sawyer. In 1929, Charles E. Banks in his book, *The English Ancestry and Homes of the Pilgrim Fathers*, suggested that perhaps Thomas Tinker was the carpenter from Neatishead, Norfolk, born around 1581, who married Jane White at Thurne, Norfolk, on 25th June 1609.

Research indicates this Thomas and Jane Tinker subsequently moved to the neighboring parish of Potter Heigham, Norfolk, where they baptized a son Richard on 22nd March 1609/10. Quite possibly this Thomas, wife Jane, and son Richard, are the Mayflower passengers. It is possible they all perished in the first winter.

William Trevore.

He was hired by the Pilgrims to be a labourer for a year, and probably to be a seaman on the 'Speedwell' prior to the decision to leave it behind. Trevore is reported to have accompanied Myles Standish on the first trip by the colonists to Boston Harbour, where an island near Dorchester was named the "Isle Trevore." It later became known as Thompson's Island. After completing his year of service, William Trevore returned to England onboard the Fortune in December 1621. On the return voyage, the Fortune was intercepted by French privateers under direction from the Marquis de Cera, and the crew and passengers were held prisoner on the Ile d'Yeu, Poitou for a period of time before being released.

In 1623, Robert Cushman (one of the Pilgrims' business coordinators back in England) wrote a letter stating that "William Trevore hath lavishly told Thomas Weston, but what he knew or imagined of Capawack, Mohegan and the Narragansetts." He later became master of a ship called the William, and made several trips delivering passengers to America during the 1630s. In 1650, he signed a couple of depositions regarding Thompson's Island.

36. John Turner

Little is known about John Turner and his family--even the names of his two sons that came on the Mayflower remain unknown. They all died the first winter at Plymouth, likely between January and March 1621. John Turner was a merchant living in Leiden, and was granted citizenship there on 27th September 1610, making him one of the earliest members of the Pilgrim congregation to get his citizenship there. On 11th June 1620, the Pilgrims' business agent and fellow church member Robert Cushman wrote a letter saying "I received your letter yesterday, by John Turner ..." and later wrote "You shall hear distinctly by John Turner, who I think shall come hence on Tuesday night." This suggests Turner was travelling between England and Holland. Unfortunately there are far too many men named John Turner living in England for there to be any hope of identifying further details. John Turner had a daughter named Elizabeth who remained behind in Holland, came to New England later, and married there, perhaps in Salem. Unfortunately her identity has not been discovered, and with a common name like Elizabeth it will be extraordinarily difficult to do so with any level of certainty.

37. Richard Warren.

Richard Warren's English origins and ancestry have been the subject of much speculation, possibly born around 1585 in Hertfordshire and countless different ancestries have been published for him, without evidence to support them. Luckily in December 2002, Edward Davies discovered the missing piece of the puzzle. Researchers had long known of the marriage of Richard Warren to Elizabeth Walker on 14th April 1610 at Great Amwell, Hertfordshire. Since we know the Mayflower passenger had a wife named Elizabeth, and a first child born about 1610, this was a promising record. But no children were found for this couple in the parish registers, and no further evidence beyond the names and timing, until the will of Augustine Walker was discovered. In the will of Augustine Walker, dated April 1613, he mentions "my daughter Elizabeth Warren wife of Richard Warren", and "her three children Mary, Ann and Sarah." We know that the Mayflower passenger's first three children were named Mary, Ann, and Sarah (in that birth order) followed by an Elizabeth and Abigail.

Very little is known about Richard Warren's life in America. He came alone on the Mayflower in 1620, leaving behind his wife and five daughters. They came to him on the ship Anne in 1623, and Richard and Elizabeth subsequently had sons Nathaniel and Joseph at Plymouth. He received his acres in the Division of Land in 1623, and his family shared in the 1627 Division of Cattle. But he died a year later in 1628. The only record of his death is found in Nathaniel Morton's 1669 book *New England's Memorial*, in which he writes: "This year, 1628, died Mr. Richard Warren, who was a useful instrument and during his life bare a deep share in the difficulties and troubles of the first settlement of the Plantation of New Plymouth." All of Richard Warren's children survived to adulthood, married, and had large families: making Richard Warren one of the most common Mayflower passengers to be descended from. Richard Warren's descendants include such notables as Civil War general and President Ulysses S. Grant; President Franklin D. Roosevelt; and Alan B. Shepard, Jr. the first American in space and the fifth person to walk on the moon.

38. William White.

Susanna (Jackson) White born around 1592 at Scrooby, Nottinghamshire, England. Her first marriage to William White, probably around 1614 in Amsterdam, based on the estimated age of son Resolved. They also had a son Peregrine.

Her second marriage was to Edward Winslow on 12th May 1621 at Plymouth (the first marriage at Plymouth) and their children included a child who died in infancy, Edward, John, Josiah and Elizabeth.

Susanna White's origins were just discovered in 2017, after more than a century of failed attempts to identify her. The claim she was Susanna Tilley has been disproven, and the William White who married Anna Fuller in Leiden was not the Mayflower passenger either: that particular William White, Woolcomber, witnessed a nuptial agreement of Samuel Lee in Leiden on 10th April 1621, and so couldn't have been the Mayflower passenger (who had already died). The peer-reviewed article on Susanna's English origin was published in: Sue Allan, Caleb Johnson and Simon Neal, "The Origin of Mayflower Passenger Susanna (Jackson)(White) Winslow," *The American Genealogist* 89-4(October 2017):241-264.

Susanna was the daughter of Richard and Mary (nee Pettinger) Jackson, who were married in Doncaster, Yorkshire, in 1591, and later moved to Scrooby. Richard Jackson's father was James Jackson of Braithwell (buried at Spalding, Lincolnshire, in 1602).

Two of James' sons, John and Robert Jackson, moved to Spalding, Lincolnshire, where the elder John was clerk of sewers from 1586 to 1607, and the younger Robert took over in 1607 and continued until his death in 1624/5. Their sister Jane remained in Braithwell, and brother Richard went to Doncaster and later Scrooby.

Susanna, perhaps with her father Richard (an arrest warrant was issued for "Brownism" on 7th December 1607 for both William Brewster and Richard Jackson), presumably moved to Amsterdam about 1608 and joined the Henry Ainsworth congregation, and there met and married William White. William White's mother, Thomasine (Cross)(May) White, considered Margaret, wife of John Jackson of Spalding, her kinswoman, so Susanna Jackson and William White may have known each other via this distant kinship (which appears to come via the Bryan or Bendish families) even before they were married in Amsterdam. She remained, with her husband, as a member of the Henry Ainsworth congregation in Amsterdam, until they decided to come on the Mayflower with the Leiden church congregation. Members of the Amsterdam congregation had contemplated joining with the Leiden group, but most pulled back after financial disputes with Robert Cushman. William and Susanna White, perhaps because of their niece Dorothy (May), wife of William Bradford, chose to continue on.

Susanna came on the Mayflower with husband William White and son Resolved. She was pregnant, and gave birth to son Peregrine while the Mayflower was still anchored off the tip of Cape Cod sometime the last three days of November 1620. Peregrine is the Latin form of the word "Pilgrim" and shares the same root. While the name may have been commemorative, the recent research on William White's origin at Wisbech, Cambridgeshire, shows he had a (female) first cousin also named Peregrine, so it may have been a family name as well. Susanna's husband William died the first winter at Plymouth on 21st February 1620/1, and she remarried a few months later to fellow Mayflower passenger Edward Winslow on 12th May 1621. Their marriage was the first marriage at Plymouth. Susanna was one of only four adult women to have survived to see the "First Thanksgiving" at Plymouth that autumn.

On 30th October 1623, Edward Winslow wrote to Susanna's uncle Robert Jackson, clerk of sewers, enquiring about his father-in-law (i.e. Richard Jackson), his wife's brother (whom we have identified as Thomas Jackson), and his wife's sisters. Several letters written by Richard Jackson to his brother Robert survive in the clerk of sewers records at Spalding dated 1623 and 1624. The signatures on those letters, match the signature of Richard Jackson found on the Scrooby Manor lease of 1604. The letters reveal Richard Jackson had travelled to Holland, was in contact with Puritan ministers in London, and he was writing from Everton (the parish that borders Scrooby Manor). In 1651, her husband Edward Winslow had a portrait done in London. In the portrait, he is holding a letter. Careful examination of this letter reveals the last lines are actually legible--they read "your loving wife, Susanna". Susanna died sometime after 1654, when she is mentioned in her husband's will.

Roger Wilder.

Roger Wilder came on the Mayflower in the care of the John Carver family. The fact he did not sign the "Mayflower Compact" suggests he was then under 18 or 21 years of age. He died the first winter at Plymouth, likely between January and March 1621. Nothing else is known about him.

39. Thomas Williams.

He was Baptised on 12th August 1582 at Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, England, son of John and Judith (nee Short) Williams. He died sometime the first winter at Plymouth, likely between January and March 1621. Thomas Williams and his sister Elizabeth (who did not come on the Mayflower) are found in the records of Leiden, Holland, and belonged to the Pilgrims' church congregation there. On 11th March 1616, Thomas witnessed his sister's marriage to fellow church member Roger Wilson, and in this record they are said to have originally come from Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, England. The parish registers of Great Yarmouth show Thomas' baptism on 12 August 1582, as well as his sister Elizabeth's on 9th January 1591/2.

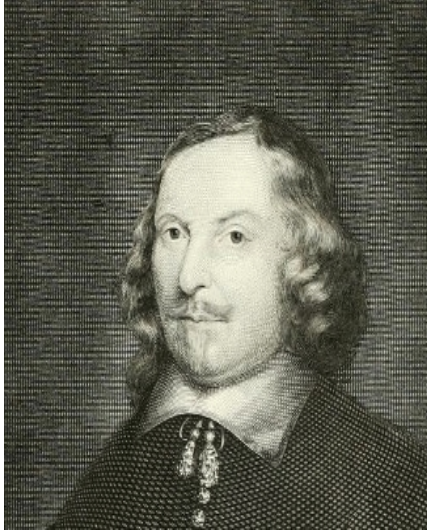
40. Edward Winslow.

He was born on 18th October 1595 at Droitwich, Worcestershire, son of Edward and Magdalene (nee Oliver) Winslow. Baptised on 20th October 1595 at St. Peter's, Droitwich, Worcestershire. He was traveling in the Low Countries, and subsequently became acquainted with the Pilgrims' church in Leiden. He was married in Leiden in 1618 to Elizabeth Barker, and was called a printer of London at the time.

He had been apprenticed to London printer John Beale in 1613 and It is quite possible he was assisting William Brewster and Thomas Brewer in their publication and distribution of religious books that were illegal in England. As mentioned, he was firstly married to Elizabeth Barker, daughter of Samuel and Sarah Barker (nee Bedell), at Leiden, Holland, the Banns being posted on April 28th, May 5th and May 12th, 1618. His second marriage was to Susanna (Jackson) White, widow of William White and daughter of Richard Jackson, on 12th May 1621 at Plymouth. They had the following children, an un-named child who died young; Edward, John, Josiah, and Elizabeth. Edward Winslow died on 8th May 1655 at sea between Hispaniola and Jamaica.

Edward Winslow and wife Elizabeth came on the Mayflower to Plymouth in 1620. Elizabeth died the first winter, and Edward remarried to the widowed Susanna (Jackson) White, on 12th May 1621, the first marriage in the Plymouth Colony. Winslow quickly became one of the more prominent men in the colony.

He was on many of the early explorations of Cape Cod, and led a number of expeditions to meet and trade with the Indians.



He wrote several first-hand accounts of these early years, including portions of *A Relation or Journal of the Proceedings of the Plantation Settled at Plymouth* (London, 1622) and the entirety of *Good News from New England* (London, 1624).

Edward Winslow became involved in defending the Plymouth and later Massachusetts Bay Colonies from their opponents and adversaries in England, and made several trips back and forth between England and Massachusetts, including trips in 1623/4, 1630, and 1634; on one occasion he was arrested and thrown into the Fleet Prison in London by his adversaries, on grounds that he had performed marriage ceremonies without being ordained (the Pilgrims viewed marriage as an event to be handled by the civil magistrates, not by the Church).

Winslow returned to England shortly after the English Civil War, and published a couple of pamphlets in defense of the New England colonies, including *Hypocrisy Unmasked* (1646) and *New England's Salamander Discovered* (1647). He also wrote the introduction to the *Glorious Progress of the Gospel Amongst the Indians in New England* (1649).

In Plymouth, he held a number of political offices, as was routinely elected an assistant to Governor William Bradford; Winslow himself was elected governor of Plymouth on three occasions: 1632/3, 1635/6, and 1644. After Winslow returned to England, he was on several Parliamentary committees. He died in 1655 at sea between Hispaniola and Jamaica, while serving as a commissioner for Oliver Cromwell on a military expedition to retake the island of Hispaniola.

41. Gilbert Winslow.

He also, was Baptised at St. Peters, Droitwich, Worcestershire on 29th October 1600, the son of Edward and Magdelene Winslow (nee Oliver). He did not marry and was buried on 11th October 1631 at Ludlow, Shropshire.

Gilbert Winslow was twenty years old when he came on the Mayflower with his older brother Edward Winslow. Other brothers Kenelm, John, and Josiah, also later came to New England. Gilbert signed the "Mayflower Compact" in November 1620. William Bradford recorded that Gilbert Winslow lived in Plymouth for "divers years," before he "returned into England and died there." Since Gilbert is not recorded in the 1627 Division of Cattle at Plymouth, he had likely left by then. Gilbert's burial and probate administration, which occurred in 1631, were only recently discovered at Ludlow, Shropshire, England, where his estate was valued at just over £30. It was administered by his brother Edward.

In 1663, the Plymouth Court acknowledged Gilbert Winslow, deceased, was a first-comer and his heirs could seek out and purpose a plot of land to the Court. The estate inventory of Kenelm Winslow, another brother who came to New England later, mentions that he and his brother John were granted Gilbert Winslow's land.

Mr. "One Ely"

Mr. Ely's existence on the Mayflower and in early Plymouth is known only by one statement, written by William Bradford on his passenger list: "There were also other two seamen hired to stay a year here in the country, William Trevor, and one Ely. But when their time was out they both returned."

Dorothy, John Carver's maidservant

William Bradford, in his passenger list of the Mayflower, simply enumerated that John Carver's household included a "maidservant," but her name was not stated. Bradford later commented that Carver's maidservant "married, and died a year or two after here in this place." Whom she had married was not stated by Bradford either.

Identifying anything further about John Carver's maidservant has required piecing together a complex puzzle. The first piece of the puzzle is the 1623 Division of Land, in which Francis Eaton received four acres, when he should have only been entitled to three acres (one for himself, one for his wife Sarah, and one for his son Samuel.)

Looking at William Bradford's commentary on Francis Eaton, he states that "Francis Eaton his first wife died in the general sickness; and he married again, and his second wife died, and he married the third and had by her three children." His third wife was Christian Penn, whom he married about 1626. In order for Francis Eaton to have been entitled to four acres of land, his second wife had to have been a Mayflower passenger. And the only known woman on the Mayflower whose marriage cannot be accounted for is John Carver's maidservant. Therefore, Francis Eaton must have married John Carver's maidservant. The final piece of the puzzle comes from a 1626 apprenticeship record from Bristol, England, which mentions Francis Eaton, carpenter in New England, and his wife Dorothy.

Since his first wife's name was Sarah, and his third wife's name was Christian, this record provides the name of his second wife, and thus the name of John Carver's maidservant.

What is however very depressing is that within several months of landing almost half the passengers perished in the cold, harsh unfamiliar New England winter. This unfortunately included our Christopher Martin and his family. It would appear that Solomon was the first to die on the 24th December 1620; Christopher died on the 8th January 1621, the day after he had met with John Carver to discuss business and finance' Mary and servant John Langmore also succumbed to the harsh conditions. Richard Britteridge also died, believed to be first to die on board ship after it had

cast anchor but Peter Browne appears to have survived although it has been suggested he also died before leaving the ship. They were all buried in the New Coles Hill Burial Ground. The family is memorialised on the Pilgrim Memorial Tomb, Coles Hill, Plymouth.

The three entries for them on the Tomb are, Christopher Martin and his wife", "Solomon Prower" and their servant John Langemore/Langerman named as John Langmore".

William Bradford also wrote in his journal that 'Mr Martin, he and all his, dyed in the first infection, not long after the arrival. The death of Christopher Martin removed what might have been a source of future trouble in Plymouth Colony.

Also, Azel Am, M.D. Member of the Pilgrim Society in his book 'The May-Flower and her Log (1907) with reference to Bradford's journey had this to say: *'From collateral data, it appears that he must have been "about forty years old when he joined the Pilgrims' He appears to have been a staunch "independent" and to have drawn upon himself the ire of the Archdeacon of Chelmsford. He seems to have been at all times a self-conceited, arrogant, and unsatisfactory mon. That he was elected treasurer and ship's "governor, and permitted so much unbridled liberty as appears, is incomprehensible. It was probably fortunate that he died early, as he did, evidently in utter poverty. He had a son, in 1620, apparently quite a grown youth, from which it is fair to infer that the father was, at that time, "about forty." of his wife nothing is known. she also died early'.*

Bradford goes on to inform us that Marcin was appointed the treasurer-agent of the Planter Company, presumably about the time of the original conclusions between the Adventurers and the planters, not because he was needed, but to give the English contingent of the planter body, representation in the management, and to allay thereby any suspicion or jealousy.

He was, if we are to judge by the evidence in hand concerning his contention and that of his family with the Archdeacon, the strong testimony that Cushman bears against him in his Dartmouth letter of August 17th, and the fact that there seems to have been early dissatisfaction with him as "governor" on the ship, o very self-sufficient, somewhat arrogant, and decidedly contentious individual. His selection as treasurer seems to have been very unfortunate, as Bradford indicates that his accounts were in unsatisfactory shape, and that he had no means of his own, while his rother surprising selection for the office of "governor" of the larger ship, after the unpleasant experience with him as treasurer-agent, is difficult to account for, except that he was evidently an active opponent of Cushman, and the latter was just then in disfavour with the colonists. He was evidently a man in the prime of life, on "independent" who had the courage of his convictions if tittle discretion, and much of that energy and self-reliance which, properly restrained, ore excellent elements for a colonist. The comment he had no means of his own seem a little strange as he at one time owned a considerable estate in the Billericay/Great Burstead area of three properties. So was Christopher Martin such an unpleasant man or not but whatever, one cannot take it away from him that along with his family and compatriots he was an extremely brave person who wanted to follow his ideals even if it was to the end of the world.

These deaths however did not deter further migrations from Billericay and in 1655 the town of Billerica was established in their honour. In 1920, at the three-hundredth anniversary of the Mayflower sailing, a plaque was unveiled in the United Reformed Church in Billericay, Essex to commemorate the Martin family, Mayflower emigrants from that town.

The plaque names Christopher Martin, Marie Martin, Solomon Prower and John Langerman. Maybe Peter Browne and Richard Britteridge should be added to this plaque. On the 23 August 1998 Billericay, Essex officially twinned with Billerica in New England. In Billericay, Essex there are other historical imagery associated to the Mayflower – Mayflower House, Mayflower Community Home, Mayflower Car Services Ltd, Mayflower Hall and Mayflower High School, Mayflower Morris Dancers, and in the Borough of Basildon there is the Mayflower Retail Park, along with Christopher Martin Road in Basildon. "Next to the fugitives whom Moses led out of Egypt, the little shiplot of outcasts who landed at Plymouth are destined to influence the future of the world."

JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL (American poet from New England).

Chapter 7 - Pilgrims and Officers to America onboard this ship.

Ship's Pilot and Masters' Mate, John Clarke.

John Clarke had been a ship's pilot on a voyage to Jamestown, Virginia in 1611, in the fleet that brought Sir Thomas Dale to govern the colony. He lived and worked ferrying cargo in the bay for about 40 days, until a Spanish ship came into the harbour. He was taken prisoner, tied up, and sailed first to Havana, Cuba, and later to Malaga, Spain, where he would be repeatedly interrogated by Spanish authorities. After five years imprisonment, he was released to the English in 1616. He took a load of cattle to Jamestown again in 1618, and was then hired for the Mayflower's voyage.

Masters' Mate, Robert Coppin.

Not much is known about Robert Coppin, other than he claimed to have been to New England on a previous voyage and claimed to have some experience whaling. He may have come from the vicinity of Harwich, and a man of that same name invested a small sum to purchase a share in the Virginia Company of London in 1609.

Cooper (Barrel-maker), John Alden.

Twenty-one-year-old John Alden was hired in Southampton, England, where the Mayflower took on provisions, but he may also have originally been from Harwich, as there was an Alden family living there that was related, by marriage, to Master Christopher Jones. Alden's job was to build, repair and maintain the ship's barrels. This was a very important job, since everyone's food and drink were stored within those barrels. The Pilgrims' joint-stock company had

agreed to allow him to decide whether he would stay in their Colony, or return to England. John Alden ultimately decided to stay.

Ship's Surgeon, Giles Heale.

Giles Heale was born about 1595, and had just completed his apprenticeship in London as a Barber Surgeon on 3rd August 1619 with Edward Blanie. Just prior to the Mayflower's voyage, on 2nd May 1620, Heale filed his marriage intention to Mary Jarrett of St. Giles in the Fields. The voyage of the Mayflower was quite probably Giles Heale's first "real" job.

Given that half the crew and half the passengers would ultimately die, he may have been quite unprepared for what ultimately played out. In February, during the height of the first winter at Plymouth, Mayflower passenger Isaac Allerton gifted him a book, Annotations Upon the Psalms by Henry Ainsworth. Giles Heale regifted the book to his wife Mary on 28th February 1621/2. The book still survives and is at the Library of Virginia in Richmond. Giles Heale also witnessed in the February of 1622, the will of William Mullins. He returned to London after the voyage and took up residence at St. Anne Blackfriars, where a daughter Mary was baptized on 23rd April 1623 and buried four days later. They had a son William baptized 11th March 1624 at St. John at Wapping, London, but he was buried 21st October 1625 in neighbouring St. Mary at Whitechapel. They had no more children. Heale was admitted to the Lecture Bills of the Barber Surgeons in 1531, and was taxed at Drury Lane in 1641 and 1646. In 1644, he and his wife were involved in a Chancery lawsuit over a debt owed them by William Chamberlain of London, esquire. He was buried 8th April 1653, at St. Giles in the Field, London, producing a will four days earlier that only mentioned his wife Mary.

Master Gunner.

The master gunner was responsible for maintenance and readiness of the ship's guns, powder, and canon. Though his name was not recorded, it is known that the Master Gunner went out on the expedition of 6th December 1620 exploring Cape Cod, where it was reported he was "sick unto death and he died the first winter."

Ship's Carpenter.

The ship's carpenter was responsible for stopping leaks, caulking, splicing masts, and fixing anything ship-related that broke or needed mending.

He was responsible for maintaining his tools and supplies, including nails, cinches, hatchets, saws, and rudder iron.

When the main beam of the Mayflower cracked during the middle of the voyage, the Master Carpenter made the repairs with a giant screw that the passengers happened to have with them. He also assisted in constructing the shallop that the Pilgrims had dismantled and stored betwixt the decks.

The Boatswain.

The boatswain was responsible for the ship's rigging, rope, tackle, and sails, as well as the ship's anchors and the ship's longboat. William Bradford remembered that the Mayflower's boatswain was "a proud young man, who would often curse and scoff at the passengers, but when he grew weak they had compassion on him and helped him." Despite that help, the boatswain died the first winter.

The four Quartermasters.

The quartermasters were in charge of maintaining the cargo hold and setting and maintaining the shift and watch hours. They were also responsible for fishing and maintaining the lines, hooks and harpoons. Though the names of the Mayflower's quartermasters are unknown, it is known that three of the four of them died the first winter at Plymouth.

The Ship's Cook.

The cook was responsible for preparing the meals for the crew, and maintaining the food supplies and the ship's cook room (typically located in the forecastle of the ship). The Mayflower's cook also died the first winter at Plymouth.

Chapter 8 – The Manuscript.

BRADFORD'S HISTORY "OF PLIMOTH PLANTATION."

From the Original Manuscript.

WITH A REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS INCIDENT TO THE RETURN OF THE MANUSCRIPT TO MASSACHUSETTS.

PRINTED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE SECRETARY OF THE
COMMONWEALTH,
BY ORDER OF THE GENERAL COURT.

BOSTON:

WRIGHT & POTTER PRINTING CO., STATE PRINTERS,
18 Post Office Square.
1898.

INTRODUCTION.

To many people the return of the Bradford Manuscript is a fresh discovery of colonial history. By very many it has been called, incorrectly, the log of the "Mayflower." Indeed, that is the title by which it is described in the decree of the Consistorial Court of London. The fact is, however, that Governor Bradford undertook its preparation long after the arrival of the Pilgrims, and it cannot be properly considered as in any sense a log or daily journal of the voyage of the

"Mayflower." It is, in point of fact, a history of the Plymouth Colony, chiefly in the form of annals, extending from the inception of the colony down to the year 1647. The matter has been in print since 1856, put forth through the public spirit of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which secured a transcript of the document from London, and printed it in the society's proceedings of the above-named year. As thus presented, it had copious notes, prepared with great care by the late Charles Deane; but these are not given in the present volume, wherein only such comments as seem indispensable to a proper understanding of the story have been made, leaving whatever elaboration may seem desirable to some future private enterprise.

It is a matter of regret that no picture of Governor Bradford exists. Only Edward Winslow of the Mayflower Company left an authenticated portrait of himself, and that, painted in England, is reproduced in this volume. In those early days Plymouth would have been a poor field for portrait painters. The people were struggling for their daily bread rather than for to-morrow's fame through the transmission of their features to posterity.

The volume of the original manuscript, as it was presented to the Governor of the Commonwealth and is now deposited in the State Library, is a folio measuring eleven and one-half inches in length, seven and seven-eighths inches in width and one and one-half inches in thickness. It is bound in parchment, once white, but now grimy and much the worse for wear, being somewhat cracked and considerably scaled. Much scribbling, evidently by the Bradford family, is to be seen upon its surface, and out of the confusion may be read the name of Mercy Bradford, a daughter of the governor. On the inside of the front cover is pasted a sheet of manilla paper, on which is written the following:—

"Consistory Court of the Diocese of London"

In the matter of the application of The Honourable Thomas Francis Bayard, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary in London of the United States of America, for the delivery to him, on behalf of the President and Citizens of the said States, of the original manuscript book entitled and known as The Log of the Mayflower.

Produced in Court this 25th day of March 1897, and marked with the letter A.

HARRY W. LEE

Registrar.

1 Deans Court, Doctors Commons"

Then come two manilla leaves, on both sides of which is written the decree of the Consistorial Court. These leaves and the manilla sheet pasted on the inside of the front cover were evidently inserted after the decree was passed.

Next comes a leaf (apparently the original first leaf of the book), and on it are verses, signed "A. M.," on the death of Mrs. Bradford. The next is evidently one of the leaves of the original book. At the top of the page is written the following:— This book was rit by Governor William Bradford and given to his son Mager William Bradford and by him to his son Mager John Bradford. rit by me Samuel Bradford March 20, 1705.

At the bottom of the same page the name John Bradford appears in different handwriting, evidently written with the book turned wrong side up. The next is a leaf bearing the following, in the handwriting of Thomas Prince:—

Tuesday, June 4—1728.

Calling at Major John Bradford's at Kingston near Plimouth, son of Major Wm. Bradford formerly Dep Gov'r of Plimouth Colony, who was eldest son of Wm. Bradford Esq their 2nd Gov'r, & author of this History; ye said Major John Bradford gave me several manuscript octavoes who he assured me were written with his said Grandfather Gov'r Bradford's own hand. He also gave me a little Pencil Book wrote with a Blew lead Pencil by his sayd Father ye Dep Gov'r. And He also told me yet He had lent & only lent his sayd Grandfather Gov'r Bradford's History of Plimouth Colony wrote by his own Hand also, to judge Sewall; and desired me to get it of Him or find it out, & take out of it what I thought proper for my New-England Chronology: which I accordingly obtained, and This is ye said History: who I found wrote in ye same Handwriting as ye Octavo manuscripts above said.

Thomas Prince.

N.B. I also mentioned to him my Desire of lodging this History in ye New England Library of Prints & manuscripts, wh I had been then collecting for 23 years, to who He signified his willingness—only yet He might have the Perusal of it while He lived.

Thomas Prince.

Following this, on the same page, is Thomas Prince's printed book-mark, as follows:— This Book belongs to The New-England-Library, Begun to be collected by Thomas Prince, upon his entering Harvard-College, July 6 1703; and was given by - On the lower part of a blank space which follows the word "by" is written:—

It now belongs to the Bishop of London's Library at Fulham.

There are evidence that this leaf did not belong to the original book, but was inserted by Mr. Prince.

At the top of the first page of the next leaf, which was evidently one of the original leaves of the book, is written in Samuel Bradford's hand, "March 20 Samuel Bradford;" and just below there appears, in Thomas Prince's handwriting, the following:—

But major Bradford tells me & assures me that He only lent this Book of his Grandfather's to Mr. Sewall & that it being of his Grandfather's own handwriting He had so high a value of it that he would never Part with ye Property, but would lend it to me & desired me to get it, which I did, & write down this that said Major Bradford and his Heirs may be known to be the right owners.

Below this, also in Thomas Prince's handwriting, appears this line:—"Page 243 missing when ye Book came into my Hands at 1st."

Just above the inscription by Prince there is a line or two of writing, marked over in ink so carefully as to be wholly undecipherable. On the reverse page of this leaf and on the first page of the next are written Hebrew words, with definitions. These are all in Governor Bradford's handwriting. On the next page appears the following:—

Though I am growne aged, yet I have had a long-
ing desire, to see with my own eyes, something of
that most ancient language, and holy tongue,
in which the Law, and oracles of God were
write; and in which God, and angels, spake to
the holy patriarks, of old time; and what
names were given to things, from the
creation. And though I cañot attaine
to much herein, yet I am refreshed,
to have seen some glimpse here-
of; (as Moses saw the Land
of canan afarr of) my aime
and desire is, to see how
the words, and phrases
lye in the holy texte;
and to dicerne some-
what of the same
for my owne
contente.

— — —

Then begins the history proper, the first page of which is produced in facsimile in this volume, slightly reduced. The ruled margins end with page thirteen. From that page to the end of the book the writing varies considerably, sometimes being quite coarse and in other places very fine, some pages containing nearly a thousand words each. As a rule, the writing is upon one side of the sheet only, but in entering notes and subsequent thoughts the reverse is sometimes used.

The last page number is 270, as appears from the facsimile reproduction in this volume of that page. Page 270 is followed by two blank leaves; then on the second page of the next leaf appears the list of names of those who came over in the "Mayflower," covering four pages and one column on the fifth page.

The arrangement of this matter is shown by the facsimile reproduction in this volume of the first page of these names. Last of all there is a leaf of heavy double paper, like the one in the front of the book containing the verses on the death of Mrs. Bradford, and on this last leaf is written an index to a few portions of the history.

For copy, there was used the edition printed in 1856 by the Massachusetts Historical Society. The proof was carefully compared, word for word, with the photographic facsimile issued in 1896 in both London and Boston. The value of this comparison is evident in that a total of sixteen lines of the original, omitted in the original first copy, is supplied in this edition. As the work of the Historical Society could not be compared, easily, with the original manuscript in London, these omissions, with sundry minor errors in word and numeral, are not unreasonable. The curious will be pleased to learn that the supplied lines are from the following pages of the manuscript, viz.: page 122, eight lines; page 129, two lines; the obverse of page 201, found on the last page of Appendix A, two lines; page 219, two lines; pages 239 and 258, one line each. The pages of the manuscript are indicated in these printed pages by numerals in parentheses.

There are several errors in the paging of the original manuscript. Pages 105 and 106 are marked 145 and 146, and pages 219 and 220 are marked 119 and 120, respectively. Page 243 is missing.

Such as it is, the book is put forth that the public may know what manner of men the Pilgrims were, through what perils and vicissitudes they passed, and how much we of to-day owe to their devotion and determination.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE LEGISLATURE.

JOURNAL OF THE SENATE.

MONDAY, MAY 24, 1897.

The following message from His Excellency the Governor came up from the House, to wit:—
Boston, May 22, 1897.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives.

I have the honor to call to your attention the fact that Wednesday, May 26, at 11 a.m., has been fixed as the date of the formal presentation to the Governor of the Commonwealth of the Bradford Manuscript History, recently ordered by

decree of the Consistory Court of the Diocese of London to be returned to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts by the hands of the Honorable Thomas F. Bayard, lately Ambassador at the Court of St. James; and to suggest for the favorable consideration of your honorable bodies that the exercises of presentation be held in the House of Representatives on the day and hour above given, in the presence of a joint convention of the two bodies and of invited guests and the public.

Roger Wolcott.

Thereupon, on motion of Mr. Roe,—

Ordered, That, in accordance with the suggestion of His Excellency the Governor, a joint convention of the two branches be held in the chamber of the House of Representatives, on Wednesday, May the twenty-sixth, at eleven o'clock a.m., for the purpose of witnessing the exercises of the formal presentation, to the Governor of the Commonwealth, of the Bradford Manuscript History, recently ordered by decree of the Consistory Court of the Diocese of London to be returned to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts by the hands of the Honorable Thomas F. Bayard, lately Ambassador at the Court of St. James; and further

Ordered, That the clerks of the two branches give notice to His Excellency the Governor of the adoption of this order. Sent down for concurrence. (It was concurred with same date.)

JOURNAL OF THE SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 26, 1897.

Joint Convention.

At eleven o'clock a.m., pursuant to assignment, the two branches met in the chamber of the House of Representatives.

Convention

On motion of Mr. Roe,—

Ordered, That a committee, to consist of three members of the Senate and eight members of the House of Representatives, be appointed, to wait upon His Excellency the Governor and inform him that the two branches are now in convention for the purpose of witnessing the exercises of the formal presentation, to the Governor of the Commonwealth, of the Bradford Manuscript History.

Messrs. Roe, Woodward and Gallivan, of the Senate, and Messrs. Pierce of Milton, Bailey of Plymouth, Brown of Gloucester, Fairbank of Warren, Bailey of Newbury, Sanderson of Lynn, Whittlesey of Pittsfield and Bartlett of Boston, of the House, were appointed the committee.

Mr. Roe, from the committee, afterwards reported that they had attended to the duty assigned them, and that His Excellency the Governor had been pleased to say that he received the message and should be pleased to wait upon the Convention forthwith for the purpose named.

His Excellency the Governor, accompanied by His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor and the Honorable Council, and by the Honorable Thomas F. Bayard, lately Ambassador of the United States at the Court of St. James's, the Honorable George F. Hoar, Senator from Massachusetts in the Congress of the United States, and other invited guests, entered the chamber.

The decree of the Consistorial and Episcopal Court of London, authorizing the return of the manuscript and its delivery to the Governor, was read.

The President then presented the Honorable George F. Hoar, who gave an account of the manuscript and of the many efforts that had been made to secure its return.

The Honorable Thomas F. Bayard was then introduced by the President, and he formally presented the manuscript to His Excellency the Governor, who accepted it on behalf of the Commonwealth.

On motion of Mr. Bradford, the following order was adopted:—

Whereas, In the presence of the Senate and of the House of Representatives in joint convention assembled, and in accordance with a decree of the Consistorial and Episcopal Court of London, the manuscript of Bradford's "History of the Plimouth Plantation" has this day been delivered to His Excellency the Governor of the Commonwealth by the Honorable Thomas F. Bayard, lately Ambassador of the United States at the Court of St. James's; and

Whereas, His Excellency the Governor has accepted the said manuscript in behalf of the Commonwealth; therefore, be it **Ordered,** That the Senate and the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts place on record their high appreciation of the generous and gracious courtesy that prompted this act of international good-will, and express their grateful thanks to all concerned therein, and especially to the Lord Bishop of London, for the return to the Commonwealth of this precious relic; and be it further ...

Ordered, That His Excellency the Governor be requested to transmit an engrossed and duly authenticated copy of this order with its preamble to the Lord Bishop of London.

His Excellency, accompanied by the other dignitaries, then withdrew, the Convention was dissolved, and the Senate returned to its chamber.

Subsequently a resolve was passed (approved June 10, 1897) providing for the publication of the history from the original manuscript, together with a report of the proceedings of the joint convention, such report to be prepared by a

committee consisting of one member of the Senate and two members of the House of Representatives, and to include, so far as practicable, portraits of His Excellency Governor Roger Wolcott, William Bradford, the Honorable George F. Hoar, the Honorable Thomas F. Bayard, the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Bishop of London; facsimiles of pages from the manuscript history, and a picture of the book itself; copies of the decree of the Consistorial and Episcopal Court of London, the receipt of the Honorable Thomas F. Bayard for the manuscript, and the receipt sent by His Excellency the Governor to the Consistorial and Episcopal Court; an account of the legislative action taken with reference to the presentation and reception of the manuscript; the addresses of the Honorable George F. Hoar, the Honorable Thomas F. Bayard and His Excellency Governor Roger Wolcott; and such other papers and illustrations as the committee might deem advisable;

the whole to be printed under the direction of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, and the book distributed by him according to directions contained in the resolve.

Senator Alfred S. Roe of Worcester and Representatives Francis C. Lowell of Boston and Walter L. Bouvé of Hingham were appointed as the committee.

**DECREE OF THE
Consistorial and Episcopal Court of London.
DECREE.**

MANDELL by Divine Permission LORD BISHOP OF LONDON—To The Honorable Thomas Francis Bayard Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria at the Court of Saint James's in London and To The Governor and Commonwealth of Massachusetts in the United States of America Greeting -

WHEREAS a Petition has been filed in the Registry of Our Consistorial and Episcopal Court of London by you the said Honorable Thomas Francis Bayard as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria at the Court of Saint James's in London on behalf of the President and Citizens of the United States of America wherein you have alleged that there is in Our Custody as Lord Bishop of London a certain Manuscript Book known as and entitled "The Log of the Mayflower" containing an account as narrated by Captain William Bradford who was one of the Company of Englishmen who left England in April 1620 in the ship known as "The Mayflower" of the circumstances leading to the prior Settlement of that Company at Leyden in Holland their return to England and subsequent departure for New England their landing at Cape Cod in December 1620, their Settlement at New Plymouth and their later history for several years they being the Company whose Settlement in America is regarded as the first real Colonisation of the New England States and wherein you have also alleged that the said Manuscript Book had been for many years past and was then deposited in the Library attached to Our Episcopal Palace at Fulham in the County of Middlesex and is of the greatest interest importance and value to the Citizens of the United States of America inasmuch as it is one of the earliest records of their national History and contains much valuable information in regard to the original Settlers in the States their family history and antecedents and that therefore you earnestly desired to acquire possession of the same for and on behalf of the President and Citizens of the said United States of America **AND WHEREIN** you have also alleged that you are informed that We as Lord Bishop of London had fully recognised the value and interest of the said Manuscript Book to the Citizens of the United States of America and the claims which they have to its possession and that We were desirous of transferring it to the said President and Citizens.

AND WHEREIN you have also alleged that you are advised and believe that the Custody of documents in the nature of public or ecclesiastical records belonging to the See of London is vested in the Consistorial Court of the said See and that any disposal thereof must be authorised by an Order issued by the Judge of that Honorable Court And that you therefore humbly prayed that the said Honorable Court would deliver to you the said Manuscript Book on your undertaking to use every means in your power for the safe transmission of the said Book to the United States of America and its secure deposit and custody in the Pilgrim Hall at New Plymouth or in such other place as may be selected by the President and Senate of the said United States and upon such conditions as to security and access by and on behalf of the English Nation as that Honorable Court might determine

AND WHEREAS the said Petition was set down for hearing on one of the Court days in Hilary Term to wit Thursday the Twenty fifth day of March One thousand eight hundred and ninety seven in Our Consistorial Court in the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul in London before The Right Worshipful Thomas Hutchinson Tristram Doctor of Laws and one of Her Majesty's Counsel learned in the Law Our Vicar General and Official Principal the Judge of the said Court and you at the sitting of the said Court appeared by Counsel in support of the Prayer of the said Petition and during the hearing thereof the said Manuscript Book was produced in the said Court by Our legal Secretary and was then inspected and examined by the said Judge and evidence was also given before the Court by which it appeared that the Registry at Fulham Palace was a Public Registry for Historical and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to the Diocese of London and to the Colonial and other possessions of Great Britain beyond the Seas so long as the same remained by custom within the said Diocese

AND WHEREAS it appeared on the face of the said Manuscript Book that the whole of the body thereof with the exception of part of the last page thereof was in the handwriting of the said William Bradford who was elected Governor of New Plymouth in April 1621 and continued Governor thereof from that date excepting between the years 1635 and 1637 up to 1650 and that the last five pages of the said Manuscript which is in the handwriting of the said William Bradford contain what in Law is an authentic Register between 1620 and 1650 of the fact of the Marriages of the Founders of the Colony of New England with the names of their respective wives and the names of their Children

the lawful issue of such Marriages and of the fact of the Marriages of many of their Children and Grandchildren and of the names of the issue of such marriages and of the deaths of many of the persons named therein And after hearing Counsel in support of the said application the Judge being of opinion that the said Manuscript Book had been upon the evidence before the Court presumably deposited at Fulham Palace sometime between the year 1729 and the year 1785 during which time the said Colony was by custom within the Diocese of London for purposes Ecclesiastical and the Registry of the said Consistorial Court was a legitimate Registry for the Custody of Registers of Marriages Births and Deaths within the said Colony and that the Registry at Fulham Palace was a Registry for Historical and other Documents connected with the Colonies and possessions of Great Britain beyond the Seas so long as the same remained by custom within the Diocese of London and that on the Declaration of the Independence of the United States of America in 1776 the said Colony had ceased to be within the Diocese of London and the Registry of the Court had ceased to be a public registry for the said Colony and having maturely deliberated on the Cases precedents and practice of the Ecclesiastical Court bearing on the application before him and having regard to the Special Circumstances of the Case Decreed as follows—

(1) That a Photographic facsimile reproduction of the said Manuscript Book verified by affidavit as being a true and correct Photographic reproduction of the said Manuscript Book be deposited in the Registry of Our said Court by or on behalf of the Petitioner before the delivery to the Petitioner of the said original Manuscript Book as hereinafter [xxvi]ordered—(2) That the said Manuscript Book be delivered over to the said Honorable Thomas Francis Bayard by the Lord Bishop of London or in his Lordship's absence by the Registrar of the said Court on his giving his undertaking in writing that he will with all due care and diligence on his arrival from England in the United States convey and deliver in person the said Manuscript Book to the Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in the United States of America at his Official Office in the State House in the City of Boston and that from the time of the delivery of the said Book to him by the said Lord Bishop of London or by the said Registrar until he shall have delivered the same to the Governor of Massachusetts he will retain the same in his own Personal custody—(3) That the said Book be deposited by the Petitioner with the Governor of Massachusetts for the purpose of the same being with all convenient speed finally deposited either in the State Archives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in the City of Boston or in the Library of the Historical Society of the said Commonwealth in the City of Boston as the Governor shall determine—(4) That the Governors of the said Commonwealth for all time to come be officially responsible for the safe custody of the said Manuscript Book whether the same be deposited in the State Archives at Boston or in the Historical Library in Boston aforesaid as well as for [xxvii]the performance of the following conditions subject to a compliance wherewith the said Manuscript Book is hereby decreed to be deposited in the Custody of the aforesaid Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and his Successors to wit:—(a) That all persons have such access to the said Manuscript Book as to the Governor of the said Commonwealth for the time being shall appear to be reasonable and with such safeguard as he shall order—(b) That all persons desirous of searching the said Manuscript Book for the bona fide purpose of establishing or tracing a Pedigree through persons named in the last five pages thereof or in any other part thereof shall be permitted to search the same under such safeguards as the Governor for the time being shall determine on payment of a fee to be fixed by the Governor—(c) That any person applying to the Official having the immediate custody of the said Manuscript Book for a Certified Copy of any entry contained in proof of Marriage Birth or Death of persons named therein or of any other matter of like purport for the purpose of tracing descents shall be furnished with such certificate on the payment of a sum not exceeding one Dollar —(d) That with all convenient speed after the delivery of the said Manuscript Book to the Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts the Governor shall transmit to the Registrar of the Court a Certificate of the delivery of the same to him by the Petitioner and that he accepts the Custody of the same subject to the terms and conditions herein named

AND the Judge lastly decreed that the Petitioner on delivering the said Manuscript Book to the Governor aforesaid shall at the same time deliver to him this Our Decree Sealed with the Seal of the Court

WHEREFORE WE the Bishop of London aforesaid well weighing and considering the premises DO by virtue of Our Authority Ordinary and Episcopal and as far as in Us lies and by Law We may or can ratify and confirm such Decree of Our Vicar General and Official Principal of Our Consistorial and Episcopal Court of London IN TESTIMONY whereof We have caused the Seal of Our said Vicar General and Official Principal of the Consistorial and Episcopal Court of London which We use in this behalf to be affixed to these Presents

DATED AT LONDON this Twelfth day of April One thousand eight hundred and ninety seven and in the first year of Our Translation.

Harry W. Lee - Exd. H.E.T. Registrar (L.S.)

**RECEIPT OF AMBASSADOR BAYARD.
In the Consistory Court of London**

In the Matter of the Original Manuscript of the Book entitled and known as "The Log of the Mayflower."

I the Honourable THOMAS FRANCIS BAYARD lately Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America at the Court of Saint James's London Do hereby undertake, in compliance with the Order of this Honourable Court dated the twelfth day of April 1897 and made on my Petition filed in the said Honourable Court, that I will with all due care and diligence on my arrival from England in the United States of America safely convey over the Original Manuscript Book Known as and entitled "The Log of the Mayflower" which has been this twenty ninth day of April 1897 delivered over to me by the Lord Bishop of London, to the City of Boston in the United States of America

and on my arrival in the said City deliver the same over in person to the Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts at his Official Office in the State House in the said City of Boston AND I further hereby undertake from the time of the said delivery of the said Book to me by the said Lord Bishop of London until I shall have delivered the same to the Governor of Massachusetts, to retain the same in my own personal custody.

(Signed) T. F. Bayard
29 April 1897.

RECEIPT of His Excellency ROGER WOLCOTT.

RECEIPT OF GOVERNOR WOLCOTT.

His Excellency Roger Wolcott, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in the United States of America.

To the Registrar of the Consistorial and Episcopal Court of London.

Whereas, The said Honorable Court, by its decree dated the twelfth day of April, 1897, and made on the petition of the Honorable Thomas Francis Bayard, lately Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America at the Court of Saint James in London, did order that a certain original manuscript book then in the custody of the Lord Bishop of London, known as and entitled "The Log of the Mayflower," and more specifically described in said decree, should be delivered over to the said Honorable Thomas Francis Bayard by the Lord Bishop of London, on certain conditions specified in said decree, to be delivered by the said Honorable Thomas Francis Bayard in person to the Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, thereafter, to be kept in the custody of the aforesaid Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and his successors, subject to a compliance with certain conditions, as set forth in said decree;

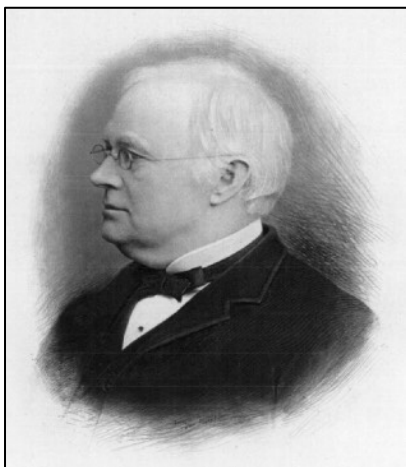
And Whereas, The said Honorable Court by its decree aforesaid did further order that, with all convenient speed after the delivery of the said manuscript book to the Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, [xxxvi]the Governor should transmit to the Registrar of the said Honorable Court a certificate of the delivery of the same to him by the said Honorable Thomas Francis Bayard, and his acceptance of the custody of the same, subject to the terms and conditions named in the decree aforesaid;

Now, Therefore, In compliance with the decree aforesaid I do hereby certify that on the twenty-sixth day of May, 1897, the said Honorable Thomas Francis Bayard delivered in person to me, at my official office in the State House in the city of Boston, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in the United States of America, a certain manuscript book which the said Honorable Thomas Francis Bayard then and there declared to be the original manuscript book known as and entitled "The Log of the Mayflower," which is more specifically described in the decree aforesaid; and I do further certify that I hereby accept the custody of the same, subject to the terms and conditions named in the decree aforesaid.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto signed my name and caused the seal of the Commonwealth to be affixed, at the Capitol in Boston, this twelfth day of July in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven.

Roger Wolcott.
By His Excellency the Governor,
Wm. M. Olin,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

ADDRESS OF THE Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR.



The first American Ambassador to Great Britain, at the end of his official service, comes to Massachusetts on an interesting errand. He comes to deliver to the lineal successor of Governor Bradford, in the presence of the representatives and rulers of the body politic formed by the compact on board the "Mayflower," Nov. 11, 1620, the only authentic history of the founding of their Commonwealth; the only authentic history of what we have a right to consider the most important political transaction that has ever taken place on the face of the earth.

Mr. Bayard has sought to represent to the mother country, not so much the diplomacy as the good-will of the American people. If in this anybody be tempted to judge him severely, let us remember what his great predecessor, John Adams, the first minister at the same court, representing more than any other man, embodying more than any other man, the spirit of Massachusetts, said to George III., on the first day of June, 1785, after the close of our long and bitter struggle for independence: "I shall esteem myself the happiest of men if I can be instrumental

in restoring an entire esteem, confidence and affection, or, in better words, the old good-nature and the old good-humor between people who, though separated by an ocean and under different governments, have the same language, a similar religion and kindred blood." And let us remember, too, the answer of the old monarch, who, with all his faults, must have had something of a noble and royal nature stirring in his bosom, when he replied: "Let the circumstances of language, religion and blood have their natural and full effect."

It has long been well known that Governor Bradford wrote and left behind him a history of the settlement of Plymouth. It was quoted by early chroniclers. There are extracts from it in the records at Plymouth. Thomas Prince used it when he compiled his annals. Hubbard depended on it when he wrote his "History of New England." Cotton Mather had read it, or a copy of a portion of it, when he wrote his "Magnalia." Governor Hutchinson had it when he published the second volume of his history in 1767. From that time it disappeared from the knowledge of everybody on this side of the water. All our historians speak of it as lost, and can only guess what had been its fate. Some persons suspected that it was destroyed when Governor Hutchinson's house was sacked in 1765, others that it was carried off by some officer or soldier when Boston was evacuated by the British army in 1776.

In 1844 Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, afterward Bishop of Winchester, one of the brightest of men, published one of the dullest and stupidest of books. It is entitled "The History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America." It contained extracts from manuscripts which he said he had discovered in the library of the Bishop of London at Fulham.

The book attracted no attention here until, about twelve years later, in 1855, John Wingate Thornton, whom many of us remember as an accomplished antiquary and a delightful gentleman, happened to pick up a copy of it while he was lounging in Burnham's bookstore.

He read the bishop's quotations, and carried the book to his office, where he left it for his friend, Mr. Barry, who was then writing his "History of Massachusetts," with passages marked, and with a note which is not preserved, but which, according to his memory, suggested that the passages must have come from Bradford's long-lost history. That is the claim for Mr. Thornton. On the other hand, it is claimed by Mr. Barry that there was nothing of that kind expressed in Mr. Thornton's note, but in reading the book when he got it an hour or so later, the thought struck him for the first time that the clew had been found to the precious book which had been lost so long. He at once repaired to Charles Deane, then and ever since, down to his death, as President Eliot felicitously styled him, "the master of historical investigators in this country."

Mr. Deane saw the importance of the discovery. He communicated at once with Joseph Hunter, an eminent English scholar. Hunter was high authority on all matters connected with the settlement of New England. He visited the palace at Fulham, and established beyond question the identity of the manuscript with Governor Bradford's history, an original letter of Governor Bradford having been sent over for comparison of handwriting.

How the manuscript got to Fulham nobody knows. Whether it was carried over by Governor Hutchinson in 1774; whether it was taken as spoil from the tower of the Old South Church in 1775; whether, with other manuscripts, it was sent to Fulham at the time of the attempts of the Episcopal churches in America, just before the revolution, to establish an episcopate here,—nobody knows. It would seem that Hutchinson would have sent it to the colonial office; that an officer would naturally have sent it to the war office; and a private would have sent it to the war office, unless he had carried it off as mere private booty and plunder,—in which case it would have been unlikely that it would have reached a public place of custody. But we find it in the possession of the church and of the church official having, until independence was declared, special jurisdiction over Episcopal interests in Massachusetts and Plymouth. This may seem to point to a transfer for some ecclesiastical purpose.

The bishop's chancellor conjectures that it was sent to Fulham because of the record annexed to it of the early births, marriages and deaths, such records being in England always in ecclesiastical custody. But this is merely conjecture.

I know of no incident like this in history, unless it be the discovery in a chest in the castle of Edinburgh, where they had been lost for one hundred and eleven years, of the ancient regalia of Scotland,—the crown of Bruce, the sceptre and sword of state. The lovers of Walter Scott, who was one of the commissioners who made the search, remember his intense emotion, as described by his daughter, when the lid was removed. Her feelings were worked up to such a pitch that she nearly fainted, and drew back from the circle.

As she was retiring she was startled by his voice exclaiming, in a tone of the deepest emotion, "something between anger and despair," as she expressed it: "By God, no!" One of the commissioners, not quite entering into the solemnity with which Scott regarded this business, had, it seems, made a sort of motion as if he meant to put the crown on the head of one of the young ladies near him, but the voice and the aspect of the poet were more than sufficient to make this worthy gentleman understand his error; and, respecting the enthusiasm with which he had not been taught to sympathize, he laid down the ancient diadem with an air of painful embarrassment. Scott whispered, "Pray forgive me," and turning round at the moment observed his daughter deadly pale and leaning by the door. He immediately drew her out of the room, and when she had somewhat recovered in the fresh air, walked with her across Mound to Castle Street. "He never spoke all the way home," she says, "but every now and then I felt his arm tremble, and from that time I fancied he began to treat me more like a woman than a child. I thought he liked me better, too, than he had ever done before."

There have been several attempts to procure the return of the manuscript to this country. Mr. Winthrop, in 1860, through the venerable John Sinclair, archdeacon, urged the Bishop of London to give it up, and proposed that the Prince of Wales, then just coming to this country, should take it across the Atlantic and present it to the people of Massachusetts. The Attorney-General, Sir Fitzroy Kelley, approved the plan, and said it would be an exceptional act of grace, a most interesting action, and that he heartily wished the success of the application. But the bishop refused. Again, in 1869, John Lothrop Motley, then minister to England, who had a great and deserved influence there,

repeated the proposition, at the suggestion of that most accomplished scholar, Justin Winsor. But his appeal had the same fate. The bishop gave no encouragement, and said, as had been said nine years before, that the property could not be alienated without an act of Parliament. Mr. Winsor planned to repeat the attempt on his visit to England in 1877. When he was at Fulham the bishop was absent, and he was obliged to come home without seeing him in person.

In 1881, at the time of the death of President Garfield, Benjamin Scott, chamberlain of London, proposed again in the newspapers that the restitution should be made. But nothing came of it.

Dec. 21st 1895, I delivered an address at Plymouth, on the occasion of the two hundred and seventy-fifth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims upon the rock. In preparing for that duty, I read again, with renewed enthusiasm and delight, the noble and touching story, as told by Governor Bradford. I felt that this precious history of the Pilgrims ought to be in no other custody than that of their children. But the case seemed hopeless. I found myself compelled by a serious physical infirmity to take a vacation, and to get a rest from public cares and duties, which was impossible while I stayed at home. When I went abroad I determined to visit the locality, on the borders of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, from which Bradford and Brewster and Robinson, the three leaders of the Pilgrims, came, and where their first church was formed, and the places in Amsterdam and Leyden where the emigrants spent thirteen years. I longed especially to see the manuscript of Bradford at Fulham, which then seemed to me, as it now seems to me, the most precious manuscript on earth, unless we could recover one of the four gospels as it came in the beginning from the pen of the Evangelist.

The desire to get it back grew and grew during the voyage across the Atlantic. I did not know how such a proposition would be received in England. A few days after I landed I made a call upon John Morley. I asked him whether he thought the thing could be done. He inquired carefully into the story, took down from his shelf the excellent though brief life of Bradford in Leslie Stephen's "Biographical Dictionary," and told me he thought the book ought to come back to us, and that he should be glad to do anything in his power to help. It was my fortune, a week or two after, to sit next to Mr. Bayard at a dinner given to Mr. Collins by the American consuls in Great Britain. I took occasion to tell him the story, and he gave me the assurance, which he has since so abundantly and successfully fulfilled, of his powerful aid. I was compelled, by the health of one of the party with whom I was travelling, to go to the continent almost immediately, and was disappointed in the hope of an early return to England. So the matter was delayed until about a week before I sailed for home, when I went to Fulham, in the hope at least of seeing the manuscript.

I had supposed that it was a quasi-public library, open to general visitors. But I found the bishop was absent. I asked for the librarian, but there was no such officer, and I was told very politely that the library was not open to the public, and was treated in all respects as that of a private gentleman. So I gave up any hope of doing anything in person. But I happened, the Friday before I sailed for home, to dine with an English friend who had been exceedingly kind to me. As he took leave of me, about eleven o'clock in the evening, he asked me if there was anything more he could do for me. I said, "No, unless you happen to know the Lord Bishop of London. I should like to get a sight at the manuscript of Bradford's history before I go home." He said, "I do not know the bishop myself, but Mr. Grenfell, at whose house you spent a few days in the early summer, married the bishop's niece, and will gladly give you an introduction to his uncle. He is in Scotland. But I will write to him before I go to bed."

Sunday morning brought me a cordial letter from Mr. Grenfell, introducing me to the bishop. I wrote a note to his lordship, saying I should be glad to have an opportunity to see Bradford's history; that I was to sail for the United States the next Wednesday, but would be pleased to call at Fulham Tuesday, if that were agreeable to him. I got a note in reply, in which he said if I would call on Tuesday he would be happy to show me "The Log of the Mayflower," which is the title the English, without the slightest reason in the world, give the manuscript. I kept the appointment, and found the bishop with the book in his hand. He received me with great courtesy, showed me the palace, and said that that spot had been occupied by a bishop's palace for more than a thousand years.

After looking at the volume and reading the records on the flyleaf, I said: "My lord, I am going to say something which you may think rather audacious. I think this book ought to go back to Massachusetts. Nobody knows how it got over here. Some people think it was carried off by Governor Hutchinson, the Tory governor; other people think it was carried off by British soldiers when Boston was evacuated; but in either case the property would not have changed.

Or, if you treat it as a booty, in which last case, I suppose, by the law of nations ordinary property does change, no civilized nation in modern times applies that principle to the property of libraries and institutions of learning."

"Well," said the bishop, "I did not know you cared anything about it."

"Why," said I, "if there were in existence in England a history of King Alfred's reign for thirty years, written by his own hand, it would not be more precious in the eyes of Englishmen than this manuscript is to us."

"Well," said he, "I think myself it ought to go back, and if it had depended on me it would have gone back before this. But the Americans who have been here—many of them have been commercial people—did not seem to care much about it except as a curiosity. I suppose I ought not to give it up on my own authority. It belongs to me in my official capacity, and not as private or personal property. I think I ought to consult the Archbishop of Canterbury. And, indeed," he added, "I think I ought to speak to the Queen about it. We should not do such a thing behind Her Majesty's back."

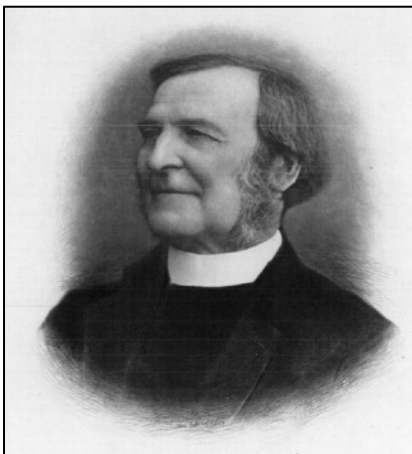
I said: "Very well. When I go home I will have a proper application made from some of our literary societies, and ask you to give it consideration."

I saw Mr. Bayard again and told him the story. He was at the train when I left London for the steamer at Southampton. He entered with great interest into the matter and told me again he would gladly do anything in his power to forward it. When I got home I communicated with Secretary Olney about it, who took a kindly interest in the matter, and wrote to Mr. Bayard that the administration desired he should do everything in his power to promote the application. The matter was then brought to the attention of the council of the American Antiquarian Society, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Pilgrim Society of Plymouth and the New England Society of New York. These bodies appointed committees to unite in the application. Governor Wolcott was also consulted, who gave his hearty approbation to the movement, and a letter was dispatched through Mr. Bayard. Meantime Bishop Temple, with whom I had my conversation, had himself become Archbishop of Canterbury, and in that capacity Primate of all England. His successor, Rev. Dr. Creighton, had been the delegate of John Harvard's College to the great celebration at Harvard University on the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its foundation, in 1886. He had received the degree of Doctor of Laws from the university, had been a guest of President Eliot, and had received President Eliot as his guest in England.

He is an accomplished historical scholar, and very friendly in sentiment to the people of the United [li]States. So, by great fortune, the two eminent ecclesiastical personages who were to have a powerful influence in the matter were likely to be exceedingly well disposed. Dr. Benjamin A. Gould, the famous mathematician, was appointed one of the committee of the American Antiquarian Society. He died suddenly, just after a letter to the Bishop of London was prepared and about to be sent to him for signing. He took a very zealous interest in the matter. The letter formally asked for the return of the manuscript, and was signed by the following-named gentlemen: George F. Hoar, Stephen Salisbury, Edward Everett Hale, Samuel A. Green, for the American Antiquarian Society; Charles Francis Adams, William Lawrence, Charles W. Eliot, for the Massachusetts Historical Society; Arthur Lord, William M. Evarts, William T. Davis, for the Pilgrim Society of Plymouth; Charles C. Beaman, Joseph H. Choate, J. Pierpont Morgan, for the New England Society of New York; Roger Wolcott, Governor of Massachusetts. The rarest good fortune seems to have attended every step in this transaction.

I was fortunate in having formed the friendship of Mr. Grenfell, which secured to me so cordial a reception from the Bishop of London. It was also fortunate that the Bishop of London was Dr. Temple, an eminent scholar, kindly disposed toward the people of the United States, and a man thoroughly capable of understanding and respecting the deep and holy sentiment which a compliance with our desire would gratify. It was fortunate, too, that Bishop Temple, who thought he must have the approbation of the archbishop before his action, when the time came had himself become Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England.

It was fortunate that Dr. Creighton had succeeded to the see of London. He is, himself, as I have just said, an eminent historical scholar. He has many friends in America. He was the delegate of Emmanuel, John Harvard's College, at the



great Harvard centennial celebration in 1886. He received the degree of Doctor of Laws at Harvard and is a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. He had, as I have said, entertained President Eliot as his guest in England. It was fortunate, too, that the application came in a time of cordial good-will between the two countries, when the desire of John Adams and the longing of George III. have their ample and complete fulfilment. This token of the good-will of England reached Boston on the eve of the birthday of the illustrious sovereign, who is not more venerated and beloved by her own subjects than by the kindred people across the sea.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

It comes to us at the time of the rejoicing of the English people at the sixtieth anniversary of a reign more crowded with benefit to humanity than any other known in the annals of the race.

Upon the power of England, the sceptre, the trident, the lion, the army and the fleet, the monster ships of war, the all-shattering guns, the American people are strong enough now to look with an entire indifference. We encounter her commerce and her manufacture in the spirit of a generous emulation. The inheritance from which England has gained these things is ours also. We, too, are of the Saxon strain.

In our halls is hung Armory of the invincible knights of old.

Our temple covers a continent, and its porches are upon both the seas. Our fathers knew the secret to lay, in Christian liberty and law, the foundations of empire. Our young men are not ashamed, if need be, to speak with the enemy in the gate. But to the illustrious lady, type of gentlest womanhood, model of mother and wife and friend, who came at eighteen to the throne of George IV. and William; of purer eyes than to behold iniquity; the maiden presence before which everything unholy shrank; the sovereign who, during her long reign, "ever knew the people that she ruled;" the royal nature that disdained to strike at her kingdom's rival in the hour of our sorest need; the heart which even in the bosom of a queen beat with sympathy for the cause of constitutional liberty; who, herself not unacquainted with grief, laid on the coffin of our dead Garfield the wreath fragrant with a sister's sympathy,—to her our republican manhood does not disdain to bend.

**The eagle, lord of land and sea,
Will stoop to pay her fealty.**

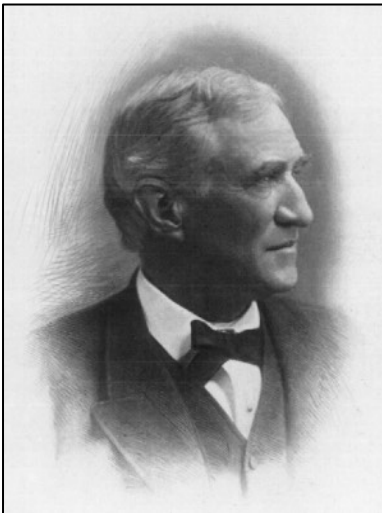
But I am afraid this application might have had the fate of its predecessors but for our special good fortune in the fact that Mr. Bayard was our ambassador at the Court of St. James. He had been, as I said in the beginning, the ambassador not so much of the diplomacy as of the good-will of the American people. Before his powerful influence every obstacle gave way. It was almost impossible for Englishmen to refuse a request like this, made by him, and in which his own sympathies were so profoundly enlisted. You are entitled, sir, to the gratitude of Massachusetts, to the gratitude of every lover of Massachusetts and of every lover of the country. You have succeeded where so many others have failed, and where so many others would have been likely to fail. You may be sure that our debt to you is fully understood and will not be forgotten.

The question of the permanent abiding-place of this manuscript will be settled after it has reached the hands of His Excellency. Wherever it shall go it will be an object of reverent care. I do not think many Americans will gaze upon it without a little trembling of the lips and a little gathering of mist in the eyes, as they think of the story of suffering, of sorrow, of peril, of exile, of death and of lofty triumph which that book tells,—which the hand of the great leader and founder of America has traced on those pages.

There is nothing like it in human annals since the story of Bethlehem. These Englishmen and English women going out from their homes in beautiful Lincoln and York, wife separated from husband and mother from child in that hurried embarkation for Holland, pursued to the beach by English horsemen; the thirteen years of exile; the life at Amsterdam "in alley foul and lane obscure;" the dwelling at Leyden; the embarkation at Delfshaven; the farewell of Robinson; the terrible voyage across the Atlantic; the compact in the harbor; the landing on the rock; the dreadful first winter; the death roll of more than half the number; the days of suffering and of famine; the wakeful night, listening for the yell of wild beast and the war-whoop of the savage; the building of the State on those sure foundations which no wave or tempest has ever shaken; the breaking of the new light; the dawning of the new day; the beginning of the new life; the enjoyment of peace with liberty,—of all these things this is the original record by the hand of our beloved father and founder. Massachusetts will preserve it until the time shall come that her children are unworthy of it; and that time shall come,—never.

ADDRESS OF THE Hon. THOMAS F. BAYARD.

Your Excellency, Gentlemen of the two Houses of the Legislature of Massachusetts, Ladies and Gentlemen, Fellow Countrymen: The honorable and most gratifying duty with which I am charged is about to receive its final act of execution, for I have the book here, as it was placed in my hands by the Lord Bishop of London on April 29, intact then and now; and I am about to deliver it according to the provisions of the decree of the Chancellor of London, which has been read in your presence, and the receipt signed by me and registered in his court that I would obey the provisions of that decree.



I have kept my trust; I have kept the book as I received it; I shall deliver it into the hands of the representative of the people who are entitled to its custody.

And now, gentlemen, it would be superfluous for me to dwell upon the historical features of this remarkable occasion, for it has been done, as we all knew it would be done, with ability, learning, eloquence and impressiveness, by the distinguished Senator who represents you so well in the Congress of the United States. For all that related to myself, and for every gracious word of recognition and commendation that fell from his lips in relation to the part that I have taken in the act of restoration, I am profoundly grateful. It is an additional reward, but not the reward which induced my action.

To have served your State, to have been instrumental in such an act as this, was of itself a high privilege to me. The Bradford manuscript was in the library of Fulham palace, and if, by lawful means, I could have become possessed of the volume, and have brought it here and quietly deposited it, I should have gone to my home with the great satisfaction of knowing that I had performed an act of justice, an act of right between two countries. Therefore the praise, however grateful, is additional, and I am very thankful for it.

It may not be inappropriate or displeasing to you should I state in a very simple manner the history of my relation to the return of this book, for it all has occurred within the last twelve months.

I knew of the existence of this manuscript, and had seen the reproduction in facsimile. I knew that attempts had been made, unsuccessfully, to obtain the original book. At that time Senator Hoar made a short visit to England, and in passing through London I was informed by him of the great interest that he, in common with the people of this State, had in the restoration of this manuscript to the custody of the State.

We discussed the methods by which it might be accomplished, and after two or three concurrent suggestions he returned to the United States, and presently I received, under cover from the Secretary of State,—a distinguished citizen of your own State, Mr. Olney,—a formal note, suggesting rather than instructing that in an informal manner I

should endeavor to have carried out the wishes of the various societies that had addressed themselves to the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury, in order to obtain the return of this manuscript.

It necessarily had to be done informally. The strict regulations of the office I then occupied forbade my correspondence with any member of the British government except through the foreign office, unless it were informal. An old saying describes the entire case, that "When there's a will there's a way." There certainly was the will to get the book, and there certainly was also a will and a way to give the book, and that way was discovered by the legal custodians of the book itself.

At first there were suggestions of difficulty, some technical questions; and following a very safe rule, the first thought was, What is the law? and the case was submitted to the law officers of the Crown. Then there arose the necessity of a formal act of permission.

There could be entertained no question as to the title to the manuscript in the possession of the British government. There was no authority to grant a claim, founded on adverse title, and the question arose as to the requisite form of law of a permissive rather than of a mandatory nature, in order to be authoritative with those who had charge of the document.

But, as I have said, when there was a will there was found a way. By personal correspondence and interviews with the Bishop of London, I soon discovered that he was as anxious to find the way as I was that he should find it. In March last it was finally agreed that I should employ legal counsel to present a formal petition in the Episcopal Consistorial Court of London, and there before the Chancellor to represent the strong desire of Massachusetts and her people for the return of the record of her early Governor.

Accordingly, the petition was prepared, and by my authority signed as for me by an eminent member of the bar, and it was also signed by the Bishop of London, so that there was a complete consensus. The decree was ordered, as is published in the London "Times" on March 25th last, and nothing after that remained but formalities, in which, as you are well aware, the English law is not lacking, especially in the ecclesiastical tribunals. These formalities were carried out during my absence from London on a short visit to the Continent, and the decree which you have just heard read was duly entered on April 12th last, consigning the document to my personal custody, to be delivered by me in this city to the high official therein named, subject to those conditions which you have also heard. Accordingly, on the 29th of April last I was summoned to the court, and there, having signed the receipt, this decree was read in my presence. Then the Bishop of London arose, and, taking the book in his hands, delivered it with a few gracious words into my custody, and here it is to-day.

The records of those proceedings will no doubt be preserved here as accompanying this book, as they are in the Episcopal Consistorial Court in London, and they tell the entire story. But that is but part. The thing that I wish to impress upon you, and upon my fellow countrymen throughout the United States, is that this is an act of courtesy and friendship by another government—the government of what we once called our "mother country" to the entire people of the United States. You cannot limit it to the Governor of this Commonwealth; nor to the Legislature; nor even to the citizens of this Commonwealth. It extends in its courtesy, its kindness and comity to the entire people of the United States. From first to last there was the ready response of courtesy and kindness to the request for the restoration of this manuscript record. I may say to you that there has been nothing that I have sought more earnestly than to place the affairs of these two great nations in the atmosphere of mutual confidence and respect and goodwill. If it be a sin to long for the honor of one's country, for the safety and strength of one's country, then I have been a great sinner, for I have striven to advance the honor and the safety and the welfare of my country, and believed it was best accomplished by treating all with justice and courtesy, and doing those things to others which we would ask to have done to ourselves.

When the Chancellor pronounced his decree in March last, he cited certain precedents to justify him in restoring this volume to Massachusetts. One precedent which powerfully controlled his decision, and which in the closing portion of his judgment he emphasizes, was an act of generous liberality upon the part of the American Library Society in Philadelphia in voluntarily returning to the British government some volumes of original manuscript of the period of James I, which by some means not very clearly explained had found their way among the books of that institution.

Those books were received by a distinguished man, Lord Romilly, Master of the Rolls, who took occasion to speak of the liberality and kindness which dictated the action of the Philadelphia library. Gentlemen, I am one of those who believe that a generous and kindly act is never unwise between individuals or nations. The return of this book to you is an echo of the kindly act of your countrymen in the city of Philadelphia in 1866.

It is that, not, as Mr. Hoar has said, any influence or special effort of mine; but it is international good feeling and comity which brought about to you the pleasure and the joy of having this manuscript returned, and so it will ever be. A generous act will beget a generous act; trust and confidence will beget trust and confidence; and so it will be while the world shall last, and well will it be for the man or for the people who shall recognize this truth and act upon it.

Now, gentlemen, there is another coincidence that I may venture to point out. It is history repeating itself. More than three hundred years ago the ancestors from whom my father drew his name and blood were French Protestants, who had been compelled to flee from the religious persecutions of that day, and for the sake of conscience to find an asylum in Holland. Fifty years after they had fled and found safety in Holland, the little congregation of Independents

from the English village of Scrooby, under the pastorate of John Robinson, was forced to fly, and with [lxvi]difficulty found its way into the same country of the Netherlands, seeking an asylum for consciences' sake.

Time passed on. The little English colony removed, as this manuscript of William Bradford will tell you, across the Atlantic, and soon after the Huguenot family from whom I drew my name found their first settlement in what was then the New Netherlands, now New York. Both came from the same cause; both came with the same object, the same purpose,—“soul freedom,” as Roger Williams well called it. Both came to found homes where they could worship God according to their own conscience and live as free men. They came to these shores, and they have found the asylum, and they have strengthened it, and it is what we see to-day,—a country of absolute religious and civil freedom,—of equal rights and toleration.

And is it not fitting that I, who have in my veins the blood of the Huguenots, should present to you and your Governor the log of the English emigrants, who left their country for the sake of religious freedom? They are blended here, their names, their interests. No man asks and no man has a right to ask or have ascertained by any method authorized by law what is the conscientious religious tenet or opinion of any man, of any citizen, as a prerequisite for holding an office of trust or power in the United States.

I think it well on this occasion to make, as I am sure you are making, acknowledgment to that heroic little country, the Lowlands as they call it, the Netherlands, the country without one single feature of military defence except the brave hearts of the men who live in it and defend it. Holland was the anvil upon which religious and civil liberty was beaten out in Europe at a time when the clang was scarcely heard anywhere else.

We can never forget our historical debt to that country and to those people. Puritan, Independent, Huguenot, whoever he may be, forced to flee for conscience's sake, will not forget that in the Netherlands there was found in his time of need the asylum where conscience, property and person might be secure. And now my task is done. I am deeply grateful for the part that I have been enabled to take in this act of just and natural restitution. In Massachusetts or out of Massachusetts there is no one more willing than I to assist this work; and here, sir [addressing Governor Wolcott], I fulfil my trust in placing in your hands the manuscript.

To you, as the honored representative of the people of this Commonwealth, I commit this book, in pursuance of my obligations, gladly undertaken under the decree of the Episcopal Consistorial Court of London.



ADDRESS OF HIS EXCELLECY ROGER WOLCOTT.

On receiving the volume, Governor Wolcott, addressing Mr. Bayard, spoke as follows: “I thank you, sir, for the diligent and faithful manner in which you have executed the honorable trust imposed upon you by the decree of the Consistorial and Episcopal Court of London, a copy of which you have now placed in my hands. It was fitting that one of your high distinction should be selected to perform so dignified an office.”

The gracious act of international courtesy which is now completed will not fail of grateful appreciation by the people of this Commonwealth and of the nation. It is honorable alike to those who hesitated not to prefer the request and to those whose generous liberality has prompted compliance with it. It may be that the story of the departure of this precious relic from our shores may never in its every detail be revealed; but the story of its return will be read of all men, and will become a part of the history of the Commonwealth. There are places and objects so intimately associated with the world's greatest men or with mighty deeds that the soul of him who gazes upon them is lost in a sense of reverent awe, as it

listens to the voice that speaks from the past, in words like those which came from the burning bush, “Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.”

On the sloping hillside of Plymouth, that bathes its feet in the waters of the Atlantic, such a voice is breathed by the brooding genius of the place, and the ear must be dull that fails to catch the whispered words. For here not alone did godly men and women suffer greatly for a great cause, but their noble purpose was not doomed to defeat, but was carried to perfect victory. They stablished what they planned.

Their feeble plantation became the birthplace of religious liberty, the cradle of a free Commonwealth. To them a mighty nation owns its debt. Nay, they have made the civilized world their debtor. In the varied tapestry which pictures our national life, the richest spots are those where gleam the golden threads of conscience, courage and faith, set in the web by that little band. May God in his mercy grant that the moral impulse which founded this nation may never cease to control its destiny; that no act of any future generation may put in peril the fundamental principles on which it is based,—of equal rights in a free state, equal privileges in a free church and equal opportunities in a free school.

In this precious volume which I hold in my hands—the gift of England to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts—is told the noble, simple story “of Pliñoth Plantation.” In the midst of suffering and privation and anxiety the pious hand of William Bradford here set down in ample detail the history of the enterprise from its inception to the year 1647.

From him we may learn "that all great and honourable actions are accompanied with great difficulties, and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable courage's."

The sadness and pathos which some might read into the narrative are to me lost in victory. The triumph of a noble cause even at a great price is theme for rejoicing, not for sorrow, and the story here told is one of triumphant achievement, and not of defeat.

As the official representative of the Commonwealth, I receive it, sir, at your hands. I pledge the faith of the Commonwealth that for all time it shall be guarded in accordance with the terms of the decree under which it is delivered into her possession as one of her chiefest treasures. I express the thanks of the Commonwealth for the priceless gift. And I venture the prophecy that for countless years to come and to untold thousands these mute pages shall eloquently speak of high resolve, great suffering and heroic endurance made possible by an absolute faith in the over-ruling providence of Almighty God."

ACKNOWLEDGMENT BY THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

Fulham Palace, S.W.

Oct. 16, 1897.

Dear Sir,

I would ask you to express to the Convention of the two branches of the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts my grateful thanks for the copy of their resolution of May 26, which was presented to me by Mr. Adams. I consider it a great privilege to have been associated with an act of courtesy, which was also an act of justice, in restoring to its proper place a document which is so important in the records of your illustrious Commonwealth.

I am

Yours faithfully,

M. LONDON.

H.D. Coolidge, Esq.

Clerk of the Convention.

Of Plimoth Plantation.

And first of ye occasion and indūsments ther unto; the which that I may truly unfould, I must begine at ye very roote & rise of ye same. The which I shall endeavor to manefest in a plaine stile, with singular regard unto ye simple trueth in all things, at least as near as my slender judgmente can attaine the same.

1. Chapter.

It is well known unto ye godly and judicious, how ever since ye first breaking out of ye light of ye gospel in our Honourable Nation of England, (which was ye first of nations whom ye Lord adorned ther with, after yt gross darknes of popery which had covered & overspred ye Christian world,) what wars & opposissions ever since, Satan hath raised, maintained, and continued against the Saincts, from time to time, in one sort or other. Sometimes by bloody death and cruel torments; other whiles imprisonments, banishments, & other hard usages; as being loath his kingdom should goe down, the trueth prevail, and ye churches of God revert to their ancient puritie, and recover their primitive order, libertie, & bewtie. But when he could not prevail by these means, against the main trueths of ye gospel, but that they began to take rooting in many places, being watered with ye blood of ye martires, and blessed from heaven with a gracious encrease; He then began to take him to his ancient stratagems', used of old against the first Christians. That when by ye bloody & barbarous persecutions of ye Heathen Emperours, he could not stop & subuerte the course of ye gospel, but that it speedily overspred with a wounderfull celeritie the then best known parts of ye world, He then began to sow errors, heresies, and wounderfull dissentions amongst ye professors themselves, (working upon their pride & ambition, with other corrupt passions incident to all mortal men, yea to ye saints themselves in some measure,) by which wofull effects followed; as not only bitter contentions, & hartburnings, schismes, with other horrible confusions, but Satan took occasion & advantage thereby to foyst in a number of vile ceremoneys, with many unprofitable cannons & decrees, which have since been as snares to many poor & peaceable souls even to this day. So as in ye ancient times, the persecutions by ye heathen & their Emperours, was not greater than of the Christians one against other; the Arians & other their complices against ye orthodoxe & true Christians. As witneseth Socrates in his 2nd booke. His words are these; The violence truly (saith he) was no less than that of ould practised towards ye Christians when they were compelled & drawn to sacrifice to idoles; for many indured sundrie kinds of torment, often rackings, & dismembering of their joynts; confiscating of ther goods; some bereaved of their native soyle; others departed this life under ye hands of ye tormentor; and some died in banishment, & never saw ther Countrie againe, &c.

The like method Satan hath seemed to hold in these later times, since ye trueth began to springe & spread after ye great defection made by Antichrist, yt man of siñe.

For to let pass ye infinite examples in sundrie nations and several places of ye world, and instance in our owne, when as yt old serpent could not prevail by those firie flames & other his cruel tragedies, which he by his instruments put in ure everywhere in ye days of Queen Mary & before, he then began another kind of warre, & went more closely to

work; not only to oppuggen, but even to ruinate & destroy ye kingdom of Christ, by more secrete & subtil means, by kindling ye flames of contention and sowing ye seeds of discord & bitter enmitie amongst ye professors & seeming reformed themselves. For when he could not prevail by ye former means against the principal doctrines of faith, he bent his force against the holy discipline & outward regiment of the kingdom of Christ, by which those holy doctrines should be conserved, & true pietie maintained amongst the saints & people of God.

Mr. Foxe recordeth how yt besides those worthy martires & confessors which were burned in queen Marys days & otherwise tormented, many (both students & others) fled out of ye land, to ye number of 800. And became several congregations.

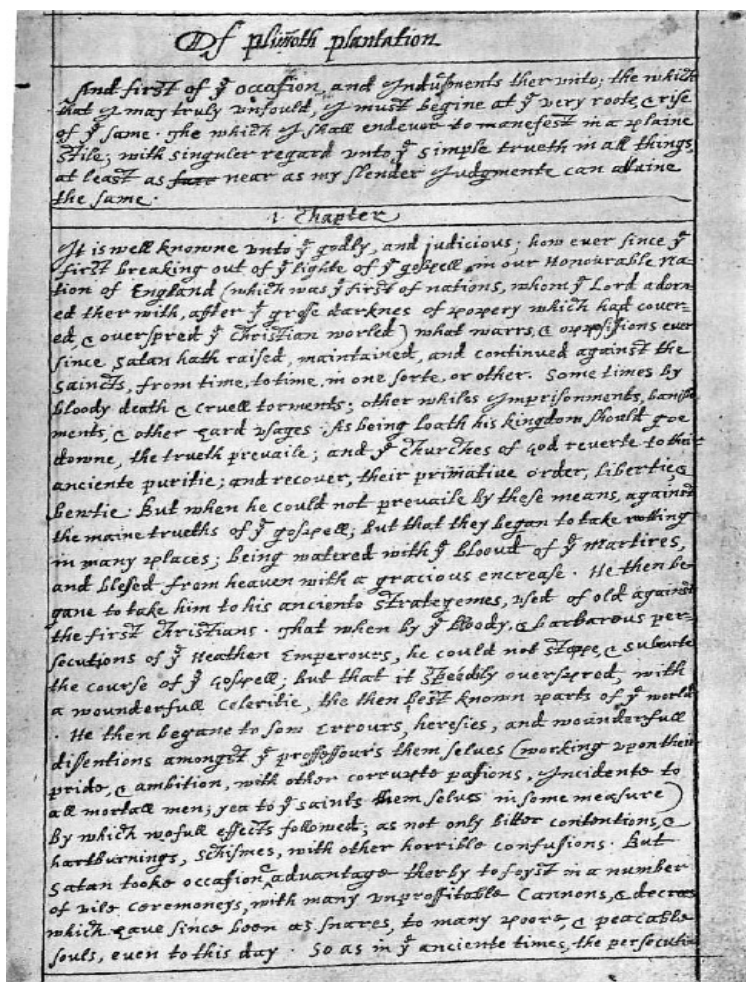
At Wesell, Frankford, Bassill, Emden, Markpurge, Strausborugh, & Geneva, &c. Amongst whom (but especially those at Frankford) began yt bitter war of contention & persecution about ye ceremonies, & servise-booke, and other popish and antichristian stuffe, the plague of England to this day, which are like ye high places in Israel, wch the prophets cried out against, & were their ruine; which ye better part sought, according to ye puritie of ye gospel, to root out and utterly to abandon. And the other pare (under veiled pretences) for their own ends &

advancement's, sought as stiffly to continue, maintaine, & defend. As appeareth by ye discourse therof published in print, Anno: 1575; a booke yt deserves better to be known and considered.

The one side laboured to have ye right worship of God & discipline of Christ established in ye church, according to ye simplicitie of ye gospel, without the mixture of men's inventions, and to have & to be ruled by ye laws of God's word, dispensed in those offices, & by those officers of Pastors, Teachers, & Elders, &c. according to ye Scriptures. The other partie, though under many colours & pretences, endeavored to have ye episcopal dignitie (after ye popish mañer) with their large power & jurisdiction still retained; with all those courts, cannons, & ceremonies, togeather with all such livings, revenues, & subordinate officers, with other such means as formerly upheld their antichristian greatness, and enabled them with lordly & tyranous power to persecute ye poor servants of God. This contention was so great, as neither ye honour of God, the commone persecution, nor ye mediation of Mr. Calvin & other worthies of ye Lord in those places, could prevail with those thus episcopally minded, but they proceeded by all means to disturb ye peace of this poor persecuted church, even so far as to charge (very unjustly, & ungodlily, yet prelatelike) some of their cheefe opposers, with rebellion & high treason against ye Emperor, & other such crimes.

And this contētion dyed not with queen Mary, nor was left beyond ye seas, but at her death these people returning into England under gracious queen Elizabeth, many of them being preferred to bishoprics' & other promotions, according to their aims and desires, that inveterate hatred against ye holy discipline of Christ in his church hath continued to this day. Insomuch that for fear it should preveile, all plots & devices have been used to keep it out, incensing ye queen & state against it as dangerous for ye commonwealth; and that it was most needful yt ye fundamental poynts of Religion should be preached in those ignorante & superstitious times; and to wiñe ye weak & ignorante, they might retain diverse harmless ceremoneis; and though it were to be wished yet diverse things were reformed, yet this was not a season for it. And many the like, to stop ye mouthes of ye more godly, to bring them over to yeeld to one ceremony after another, and one corruption after another; by these wile's begyleing some & corrupting others till at length they began to persecute all ye zealous professors in ye land (though they knew little what this discipline mente) both by word & deed, if they would not submitte to their ceremonies, & become slaves to them & their popish trash, which have no ground in ye word of God, but are reliques of yet man of sine. And the more ye light of ye gospel grew, ye more yey urged their subscriptions to these corruptions.

So as (notwithstanding all their former pretences & fair colures) they whose eyes God had not justly blinded might easily see where to these things tended. And to cast contempte the more upon ye sincere servants of God, they opprobriously & most injuriously gave unto, & imposed upon them, that name of Puritans, which is said the Novatians out of pride did assume & take unto themselves. And lamentable it is to see ye effects which have followed. Religion hath been disgraced, the godly grieved, afflicted, persecuted, and many exiled, sundrie have lost their lives in



prisoners & other ways. On the other hand, sin hath been countenanced, ignorance, profaneness, & atheism increased, & the papists encouraged to hope againe for a day.

This made that holy man Mr. Perkins crie out in his exhortation to repentance, upon Zeph. 2. Religion (saith he) hath been amongst us this 35 years; but the more it is published, the more it is contemned & reproached of many, &c. Thus not profaneness nor wickedness, but Religion itself is a byword, a mocking-stock, & a matter of reproach; so that in England at this day the man or woman yt begins to profess Religion, & to serve God, must resolve with himself to sustain mocks & injuries even as though he lived amongst ye enemies of Religion. And this common experience hath confirmed & made too apparente. A late observation, as it were by the way, worthy to be noted.

Full little did I thinke, yt the downfall of ye Bishops, with their courts, cannons, & ceremonies, &c. had been so near, when I first began these scribled writings (which was about ye year 1630, and so peeced up at times of leasure afterward), or that I should have lived to have seen or heard of ye same; but it is ye Lords doing, and ought to be marvellous in our eyes! Every plant which mine heavenly father hath not planted (saith our Saviour) shall be rooted up. Mat: 15. 13. I have snared the, and thou art taken, O Babel (Bishops), and thou wast not aware; thou art found, and also caught, because thou hast striven against the Lord. Jer. 50. 24. But will they needs strive against ye truth, against ye servants of God; what, & against the Lord him selfe? Doe they provoke the Lord to anger. Are they stronger than he? 1. Cor: 10. 22. No, no, they have met with their match. Behold, I come unto ye, O proud man, saith the Lord God of hosts; for thy day is come, even the time that I will visit the. Jer: 50.31. May not the people of God now say (and these pore people among ye rest), The Lord hath brought forth our righteousness; come, let us declare in Sion the work of the Lord our God. Jer: 51.10. Let all flesh be still before the Lord; for he is raised up out of his holy place. Zach: 2.13.

In this case, these poor people may say (among ye thousands of Israll), When the Lord brought againe the captivite of Zion, we were like them that dream. Psalm: 126.1. The Lord hath done great things for us, wherof we rejoyce. v. 3. They that sow in tear, shall reap in joy. They wente weeping, and carried precious seed, but they shall returne with joy, and bring their sheaves, v. 5, 6.

Doe you not now see ye fruits of your labours, O all yee servants of ye Lord that have suffered for his truth, and have been faithful witness of ye same, and yee little handful amongst ye rest, ye least amongst ye thousands of Israll?

You have not only had a seed time, but many of you have seen ye joyfull harvest; should you not then rejoyse, yea, and againe rejoyce, and say Halleluiah, salvation, and glorie, and honour, and power, be to ye Lord our God; for true and righteous are his judgments. Rev. 19. 1, 2.

But thou wilt ask what is ye matter? What is done? Why, art thou a stranger in Israll, that thou shouldest not know what is done? Are not those Jebusites overcome that have vexed the people of Israll so long, even holding Jerusalem till David's days, and been as thorns in their sides, so many ages; and now began to scorn that any David should meade with them; they began to fortifie their tower, as that of the old Babylonian's; but those proud Anakimes are thrown down, and their glory laid in ye dust. The tiranous bishops are ejected, their courts dissolved, their cannons forceless, their service cashiered, their ceremonies useless and despised; their plots for popery prevented, and all their superstitions discarded & returned to Roome from whence they came, and ye monuments of idolatrie rooted out of ye land. And the proud and profane supporters, and cruel defenders of these (as bloody papists & wicked athists, and their malignant consorts) marvellously overthrown. And are not these great things? Who can deny it?

Anno Dom: 1646. But who hath done it? Who, even he that sitteth on ye white horse, who is called faithful, & true, and judgeth and fighteth righteously, Rev: 19. 11. whose garments are dipte in blood, and his name was called the word of God, v. 13. for he shall rule them with a rode of iron; for it is he that treadeth the winepress of the feircenes and wrath of God almighty. And he hath upon his garment, and upon his thigh, a name written, The King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, v. 15, 16.

Halleluiah.

But that I may come more near my intendmente; when as by the travel & diligence of some godly & zealous preachers, & God's blessing on their labours, as in other places of ye land, so in ye North parts, many became inlightened by the word of God, and had their ignorance & 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 ye prophane multitude, and ye ministers urged with ye yoak of subscription, or else must be silenced; and ye poor people were so vexed with apparators, & pursuants, & ye comissarie courts, as truly their affliction was not smale; which, notwithstanding, they bore sundrie years with much patience, till they were occasioned (by ye continuance & encrease of these troubles, and other means which the Lord raised up in those days) to see further into things by the light of ye word of God. How not only these base and beggerly ceremonies were unlawful, but also that ye lordly & tiranous power of ye prelates ought not to be submitted unto; which thus, contrary to the freedom of the gospel, would load & burden men's consciences, and by their compulsive power make a prophane mixture of persons & things in the worship of God. And that their offices & callings, courts & cannons, &c. were unlawful and antichristian; being such as have no warrant in ye word of God; but the same yet were used in poperie, & still retained.

Of which a famous author thus writeth in his Dutch co[m]m[un]ities. At the coming of king James into England; The new king (saith he) found their established ye reformed religion, according to ye reformed religion of king Edward ye 6. Retaining, or keeping still ye spiritual state of ye Bishops, &c. after yeould maner, much varying & differing from ye reformed churches in Scotland, France, & ye Netherlands, Embden, Geneva, &c. whose reformation is cut, or shapen much nearer ye first Christian churches, as it was used in ye Apostles times.

So many therefore of these proffessors as saw ye evil of these things, in these parts, and whose harts ye Lord had touched wth heavenly zeal for his trueth, they shook of this yoake of antichristian bondage, and as ye Lords free people, joynd themselves (by a covenant of the Lord) into a church estate, in ye fellowship of ye gospel, to walk in all his wayes, 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 historie will declare.

These people became 2. distinct bodys or churches, & in regard of distance of place did congregate severally; for they were of sundrie towns & villages, some in Nottinghamshire, some of Lincolnshire, and some of Yorkshire, where they border nearest togeather. In one of these churches (besides others of note) was Mr. John Smith, a man of able gifts, & a good preacher, who afterwards was chosen their pastor. But these afterwards falling into some errors in ye Low Countries, ther (for ye most part) buried themselves, & their names.

But in this other church (wch must be ye subject of our discourse) besides other worthy men, was Mr. Richard Clifton, a grave and reverēd preacher, who by his paines and diligence had done much good, and under God had been a means of ye conversion of many. And also that famous and worthy man Mr. John Robinson, who afterwards was their pastor for many years, till ye Lord took him away by death. Also Mr. William Brewster a reverent man, who afterwards was chosen an elder of ye church and lived with them till old age.

But after these things they could not long continue in any peaceable condition, but were hunted & persecuted on every side, so as their former afflictions were but as flea-biting's in comparison of these which now came upon them. For some were taken & clapt up in prison, others had their houses besett & watcht night and day, & hardly escaped their hands; and ye most were faine to flie & leave their howses & habitations, and the means of their livelehood. Yet these & many other sharper things which afterward befell them, were no other then they looked for, and therefore were ye better prepared to bear them by ye assistance of God's grace & spirit. Yet seeing themselves thus molested, and that ther was no hope of their continuance there, by a joynte consente they resolved to goe into ye Low-Countries, where they heard was freedom of Religion for all men; as also how sundrie from London, & other parts of ye land, had been exiled and persecuted for ye same cause, & were gone thither, and lived at Amsterdam, & in other places of ye land. So after they had continued togeather aboute a year, and kept their meetings every Sabath in one place or other, exercising the worship of God amongst themselves, notwithstanding all ye dilligence & malice of their adversaries, they seeing they could no longer continue in yet condition, they resolved to get over into Holland as they could; which was in ye year 1607. & 1608; of which more at large in ye next chapter.

2. Chapter.

Of their departure into Holland and their troubles ther aboute, with some of the many difficulties they found and mete withal.

Ano. 1608.

Being thus constrained to leave their native soyle and countrie, their lands & livings, and all their friends & familiar acquaintance, it was much, and thought marvellous by many. But to goe into a countrie they knew not (but by hearsay), where they must learn a new language, and get their livings they knew not how, it being a dear place, & subject to ye miseries of war, it was by many thought an adventure almost desperate, a case intolerable, & a misserie worse than death. Espetially seeing they were not aquainted with trades nor traffique, (by which yt countrie doth subsist,) but had only been used to a plaine countrie life, & ye innocent trade of husbandry. But these things did not dismay them (though they did sometimes trouble them) for their desires were set on ye ways of God, & to injoye his ordinances; but they rested on his providence, & knew whom they had beleevēd. Yet this was not all, for though they could not stay, yet were ye not suffered to goe, but ye ports and havens were shut against them, so as they were faine to seeke secrete means of conveyance, & to bribe & fee ye mariners, & give exterordinarie rates for their passages. And yet were they often times betrayed (many of them), and both they & their goods intercepted & surprised, and thereby put to great trouble & charge, of which I will give an instance or tow, & omitte the rest.

Ther was a large companie of them purposed to get passage at Boston in Lincoln-shire, and for that end had hired a ship wholly to themselves, & made agreement with the maister to be ready at a certain day, and take them and their goods in, at a convenient place, where they accordingly would all attend in readiness. So after long waiting, & large expenses, though he kept not day with them, yet he came at length & took them in, in ye night. But when he had them & their goods abord, he betrayed them, having beforehand complotted with ye searchers & other officers so to do; who took them, and put them into open boats, & there rifled & ransacked them, searching them to their shirts for money, yea even ye women funder then became modestie; and then caried them back into ye towne, & made them a spectacle & wonder to the multitude, which came flocking on all sides to behould them. Being thus first, by the chatch-poule officers, rifled, & stripte of their money, books, and much other goods, they were presented to ye magistrates, and messengers sente to inform ye lords of ye Counsell of them; and so they were committed to ward. Indeed ye magistrates used them courteously, and shewed them what favour they could; but could not deliver them, till order came from ye Counsell-table. But ye issue was that after a month's imprisonment, ye greatest part were

dismiste, & sent to ye places from whence they came; but 7 of ye principal were still kept in prison, and bound over to ye Assises.

The next spring after, ther was another attempt made by some of these & others, to get over at another place. And it so fell out, that they light of a Dutchman at Hull, having a ship of his own belonging to Zealand; they made agreement with him, and acquainted him with their condition, hoping to find more faithfulness in him, then in ye former of their own nation. He bad them not fear, for he would do well enough. He was by appointment to take them in between Grimsbe & Hull, where was a large coōne a good way distant from any towne.

Now against the prefixed time, the women & children, with ye goods, were sent to ye place in a small barke, which they had hired for yt end; and ye men were to meet them by land. But it so fell out, that they were ther a day before ye ship came, & ye sea being rough, and ye women very sick, prevailed with ye seamen to put into a creek hardby, where they lay on ground at low water. The next morning ye ship came, but they were fast, & could not stir till aboute noon. In ye mean time, ye ship maister, perceiving how ye matter was, sente his boat to be getting ye men aboard whom he saw ready, walking aboute ye shore. But after ye first boat full was got aboard, & she was ready to goe for more, the master espied a great company, both horse & foot, with bills, & guns, & other weapons; for ye countrie was raised to take them. Ye Dutch-man seeing yt, swore his countries oath, "sacrament," and having ye wind faire, waiged his Anchor, hoysed Sayle's, & away.

But ye poor men which were got aboard, were in great distress for their wives and children, which they saw thus to be taken, and were left destitute of their helps; and themselves also, not having a cloath to shift them with, more than they had on their backs, & some scarce a penny aboute them, all they had being aboard ye barke. It drew tears from their eyes, and anything they had they would have given to have been a shore againe; but all in vaine, there was no remedy, they must thus sadly part. And afterward endured a fearfull storm at sea, being 14. days or more before yey arrived at their port, in 7. wherof they neither saw son, moon, nor stars, & were driven near ye coast of Norway; the mariners themselves often despairing of life; and once with shriks & cries gave overall, as if ye ship had been foundred in ye sea, & they sinking without recoverie. But when man's hope & help wholly failed, ye Lords power & mercie appeared in their recoverie; for ye ship rose againe, & gave ye mariners courage againe to manage her. And if modestie would suffer me, I might declare with what fervent prayres they cried unto ye Lord in this great distres, (espetially some of them,) even without any great distraction, when ye water rane into their mouthes & ears; & the mariners cried out, We sink, we sink; they cried (if not with mirakelous, yet with a great hight or degree of devine faith), Yet Lord thou canst save, yet Lord thou canst save; with such other expressions as I will forbear.

Upon which ye ship did not only recover, but shortly after ye violence of ye storm began to abate, and ye Lord filed their afflicted minds with such comforts as everyone cannot understand, and in ye end brought them to their desired Haven, where ye people came flockeing admiring their deliverance, the storm having been so long & sore, in which much hurt had been don, as ye masters friends related unto him in their congratulations.

But to returne to ye others where we left. The rest of ye men yt were in greatest danger, made shift to escape away before ye troop could surprise them; those only staying yt best might, to be assistant unto ye women. But pitiful it was to see ye heavie case of these poor women in this distress; what weeping & crying on every side, some for their husbands, that were caried away in ye ship as is before related; others not knowing what should become of them, & their little ones; others againe melted in teares, seeing their poor little ones hanging aboute them, crying for fear, and quaking with could. Being thus aprehended, they were hurried from one place to another, and from one justice to another, till in ye end they knew not what to do with them; for to imprison so many women & innocent children for no other cause (many of them) but that they must goe with their husbands, seemed to be unreasonable and all would crie out of them; and to send them home againe was as difficult, for they alleged, as ye trueth was, they had no homes to goe to, for they had either sould, or otherwise disposed of their houses & livings. To be short, after they had been thus turmolyed a good while, and conveyed from one constable to another, they were glad to be rid of them in ye end upon any termes; for all were wearied & tired with them. Though in ye mean time they (poor soules) indured miserie enough; and thus in the end necessitie forste a way for them.

But yt I be not tedious in these things, I will omitte ye rest, though I might relate many other notable passages and troubles which they endured & underwent in these their wanderings & travels both at land & sea; but I hast to other things. Yet I may not omitte ye fruit that came hearby, for by these so publick troubles, in so many eminent places, their cause became famous, & occasioned many to look into ye same; and their godly carriage & Christian behaviour was such as left a deep impression in the minds of many. And though some few shrunk at these first conflicts & sharp beginnings, (as it was no marvel,) yet many more came on with fresh courage, & greatly animated others. And in ye end, notwithstanding all these stormes of opposition, they all gat over at length, some at one time & some at another, and some in one place & some in another, and mette togeather againe according to their desires, with no small rejoicing.

The 3. Chapter.

Of their settling in Holland, & their maner of living, & entertainment there.

Being now come into ye Low Countries, they saw many goodly & fortified cities, strongly walled and garded with troops of armed men. Also they heard a strange & uncouth language, and beheld ye differente māñers & customs of ye people, with their strange fashions and attires; all so far differing from yt of their plain countrie villages (wherein they were bred, & had so long lived) as it seemed they were come into a new world. But these were not ye things they

much looked on, or long took up their thoughts; for they had other work in hand, & another kind of war to wage & maintaine. For though they saw faire & bewtifull cities, flowing with abundance of all sorts of wealth & riches, yet it was not long before they saw the grieme & grisly face of povertie coming upon them like an armed man, with whom they must bukle & incounter, and from whom they could not flye; but they were armed with faith & patience against him, and all his encounters; and though they were sometimes foyled, yet by Gods assistance they prevailed and got ye victorie.

Now when Mr. Robinson, Mr. Brewster, & other principal members were come over, (for they were of ye last, & stayed to help ye weakest over before them,) such things were thought on as were necessarie for their settling and best ordering of ye church affairs. And when they had lived at Amsterdam about a year, Mr. Robinson, their pastor, and some others of best discerning, seeing how Mr. John Smith and his companie was already fallen in to contention with ye church yt was ther before them, & no means they could use would doe any good to cure ye same, and also that ye flames of contention were like to break out in yt ancient church itself (as afterwards lamentably came to pass); which things they prudently foreseeing, thought it was best to remove, before they were any way engaged with ye same; though they well knew it would be much to ye prejudice of their outward estates, both at present & in likelihood in ye future; as indeed it proved to be.

Their remoovall to Leyden.

For these & some other reasons they removed to Leyden, a fair & bewtifull citie, and of a sweet situation, but made more famous by ye universitie wherewith it is adorned, in which of late had been so many learned men. But wanting that traffike by sea which Amsterdam injoyes, it was not so beneficial for their outward means of living & estates. But being now hear pitchet they fell to such trades & employments as they best could; valewing peace & their spiritual comfort above any other riches whatsoever. And at length they came to raise a competente & comforteable living, but with hard and continual labor.

Being thus settled (after many difficulties) they continued many years in a comfortable condition, injoying much sweet & delightfull societie & spiritual comfort togeather in ye wayes of God, under ye able ministrie, and prudent government of Mr. John Robinson, & Mr. William Brewster, who was an assistant unto him in ye place of an Elder, unto which he was now called & chosen by the church. So as they grew in knowledge & other gifts & graces of ye spirit of God, & lived togeather in peace, & love, and holines; and many came unto them from diverse parts of England, so as they grew a great congregation. And if at any time any differences arose, or offences broak out (as it cannot be, but some time ther will, even amongst ye best of men) they were ever so mete with, and nipt in ye head betims, or otherwise so well composed, as still love, peace, and communion was continued; or else ye church purged of those that were incurable & incorrigible, when, after much patience used, no other means would serve, which seldom came to pass.

Yea such was ye mutual love, & reciprocal respect that this worthy man had to his flock, and his flock to him, that it might be said of them as it once was of yt famouse Emperor Marcus Aurelius, and ye people of Rome, that it was hard to judge whether he delighted more in having such a people, or they in having such a pastor.

His love was great towards them, and his care was all ways bent for their best good, both for soul and body; for besides his singular abilities in devine things (wherein he excelled), he was also very able to give directions in civil affairs, and to foresee dangers & inconveniences; by wch means he was very helpful to their outward estates, & so was every way as a commone father unto them. And none did more offend him then those that were close and cleaving to themselves, and retired from ye common good; as also such as would be stiffe & rigged in matters of outward order, and invey against ye evils of others, and yet be remisse in themselves, and not so carefull to express a vertuous conversation. They in like maner had ever a reverent regard unto him, & had him in precious estimation, as his worth & wisdom did deserve; and though they esteemed him highly whilst he lived & laboured amongst them, yet much more after his death, when they came to feel ye want of his help, and saw (by woeful experience) what a treasure they had lost, to ye greefe of their hearts, and wounding of their sowls; yea such a loss as they saw could not be repaired; for it was as hard for them to find such another leader and feeder in all respects, as for ye Taborits to find another Ziska. And though they did not call themselves orphans, as the other did, after his death, yet they had cause as much to lamente, in another regard, their present condition, and after usage. But to returne; I know not but it may be spoken to ye honour of God, & without prejudice to any, that such was ye true pietie, ye humble zeal, & fervent love, of this people (whilst they thus lived together) towards God and his waies, and ye single hartednes & sinceir affection one towards another, that they came as near ye primitive patterne of ye first churches, as any other church of these later times have done, according to their rank & qualitie.

But seeing it is not my purpose to treat of ye several passages that befell this people whilst they thus lived in ye Low Countries, (which might worthily require a large treatise of it selfe,) but to make way to shew ye beginning of this plantation, which is that I aime at; yet because some of their adversaries did, upon ye rumour of their removal, cast out slanders against them, as if that state had been wearie of them, & had rather driven them out (as ye heathen historians did faine of Moyses & ye Isralits when they went out of Egipte), then yt it was their own free choyse & motion, I will therefore mention a perticuler or too to shew ye contrary, and the good acceptation they had in ye place where they lived. And first though many of them were poor, yet there was none so poor, but if they were known to be of yt congregation, the Dutch (either bakers or others) would trust them in any reasonable matter when yey wanted

money. Because they had found by experience how careful they were to keep their word, and saw them so painful & diligent in their callings; yea, they would strive to get their custom, and to imploy them above others, in their work, for their honestie & diligence.

Againe; ye magistrates of ye citie, about ye time of their coming away, or a little before, in ye publick place of justice, gave this commendable testimony of them, in ye reproofe of the Wallons, who were of ye French church in yt citie. These English, said they, have lived amongst us now this 12. years, and yet we never had any sute or accusation came against any of them; but your strifs & quarrels are continuall, &c. In these times also were ye great troubles raised by ye Armenians, who, as they greatly molested ye whole state, so this citie in particuler, in which was ye cheefe universitie; so as ther were dayly & hote disputes in ye schools ther about; and as ye students & other learned were devided in their opinions herein, so were ye 2. proffessors or devinitie readers themselves; the one daly teaching for it, ye other against it. Which grew to that pass, that few of the disciples of ye one would hear ye other teach. But Mr. Robinson, though he taught thrise a week himself, & write sundrie books, besides his manyfould pains otherwise, yet he went constantly to hear ther readings, and heard ye one as well as ye other; by which means he was so well grounded in ye controversie, and saw ye force of all their arguments, and knew ye shifts of ye adversarie, and being him selfe very able, none was fitter to buckle with them then himself, as appeared by sundrie disputes; so as he began to be terrible to ye Armenians; which made Episcopius (ye Arminian professor) to put forth his best strength, and set forth sundrie Theses, which by publick dispute he would defend against all men. Now Poliander ye other professor, and ye cheefe preachers of ye citie, desired Mr. Robinson to dispute against him; but he was loath, being a stranger; yet the other did importune him, and tould him yt such was ye abilitie and nimblnes of ye adversarie, that ye truth would suffer if he did not help them. So as he condescended, & prepared him selfe against the time; and when ye day came, the Lord did so help him to defend ye truth & foyle this adversarie, as he put him to an apparent nonplus, in this great & publike audience. And ye like he did a 2. or 3. time, upon such like occasions. The which as it caused many to praise God yt the trueth had so famous victory, so it procured him much honour & respect from those learned men & others which loved ye trueth.

Yea, so far were they from being weary of him & his people, or desiring their absence, as it was said by some, of no mean note, that were it not for giveing offence to ye state of England, they would have preferred him otherwise if he would, and allowed them some publike favour. Yea when ther was speech of their remoovall into these parts, sundrie of note & eminencie of yt nation would have had them come under them, and for yt end made them large offers. Now though I might allege many other perticulers & examples of the like kind, to shew ye untruth & unlicklyhode of this slander, yet these shall suffice, seeing it was beleevd of few, being only raised by ye malice of some, who laboured their disgrace.

The 4. Chapter.

Showing ye reasons & causes of their remoovall.

After they had lived in this citie about some 11. or 12. years, (which is ye more observable being ye whole time of yt famose truce between that state & ye Spaniards,) and sundrie of them were taken away by death, & many others began to be well stricken in years, the grave mistris Experience having taught them many things, those prudent governours with sundrie of ye sagest members began both deeply to apprehend their present dangers, & wisely to foresee ye future, & think of timely remedy. In ye agitation of their thoughts, and much discours of things hear aboute, at length they began to incline to this conclusion, of remoovall to some other place. Not out of any newfanglednes, or other such like giddie humor, by which men are oftentimes transported to their great hurt & danger, but for sundrie weightie & solid reasons; some of ye cheefe of which I will hear breefly touch. And first, they saw & found by experience the hardness of ye place & countrie to be such, as few in comparison would come to them, and fewer that would bide it out, and continew with them. For many yt came to them, and many more yt desired to be with them, could not endure yt great labor and hard fare, with other inconveniences which they underwent & 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 & borne with, though they could not all be Catoes. For many, though they desired to injoye ye ordinances of God in their puritie, and ye libertie of the gospel with them, yet alas, they admitted of bondage, with danger of conscience, rather than to indure these hardships; yea, some preferred & chose ye prisons in England, rather than this libertie 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, & take away these discouragments. Yea, their pastor would often say, that many of those wo both wrate & preached now against them, if they were in a place where they might have libertie and live comfortably, they would then practise as they did.

They saw that though ye people generally bore all these difficulties very cherfully, & with a resolute courage, being in ye best & strength of their years, yet old age began to steal on many of them, (and their great & continuall labours, with other crosses and sorrows, hastened it before ye 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 ye devine proverb, yt a wise man seeth ye plague when it cometh, & hideth himself, Pro. 22. 3., so they like skilful & beaten souldiers were fearfull either to be intrapped or surrounded by their enimies, so as they should neither be able to fight nor flie; and therefor thought it better to dislodge betimes to some place of better advantage & less danger, if any such could be found. Thirdly; as necessitie 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 ye tender hearts of many a loving father & mother, so it produced likewise sundrie sad & sorrowful effects. For many of their children, that were of best dispositions and gracious inclinations, having learned to bear ye yoake in their youth, and willing to bear part of their parents burden, were, often times, so oppressed with their hevie labours, that though their minds were free and willing, yet their bodies bowed under ye weight of ye same, and became decreped in their early youth; the vigor of nature being consumed in ye very budd as it were. But that which was more lamentable, and of all sorrows most hevie to be borne, was that many of their children, by these occasions, and ye great licentiousness of youth in yt countrie, and ye manifold temptations of the place, were drawn away by evil examples into extravagante & dangerous courses, getting ye raines off their neks, & departing from their parents. Some became souldiers, others took upon them far viages by sea, and other some worse courses, tending to dissolutnes & the danger of their soules, to ye great greefe of their parents and dishonour of God. So that they saw their posteritie would be in danger to degenerate & be corrupted. Lastly, (and which was not least,) a great hope & inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for ye propagating & advancing ye gospel of ye kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of ye world; yea, though they should be but even as stepping-stones unto others for ye performing of so great a work. These, & 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 & unpeopled countries of America, which are frutfull & fit for habitation, being devoyd of all civil inhabitants, where ther are only salvage & brutish men, which range up and down, little otherwise then ye wild beasts of the same. This proposition being made publike and coming to ye scanning of all, it raised many variable opinions amongst men, and caused many fears & doubts amongst themselves. Some, from their reasons & hops conceived, laboured to stir up & incourage the rest to undertake & prosecute ye same; others, againe, out of their fears, objected against it, & sought to divert from it, alleging many things, and those neither unreasonable nor unprobable; as that it was a great design, and subject to many unconceivable perils & dangers; as, besides the casualties of ye seas (which none can be freed from) the length of ye vioage was such, as ye weak bodys of women and other persons worn out with age & traville (as many of them were) could never be able to endure. And yet if they should, the miseries of ye land which they should be exposed unto, would be too hard to be borne; and llickly, some or all of them together, to consume & utterly to ruinate them. For ther they should be liable to famine, and nakednes, & ye want, in a maner, of all things.

The change of air, diate, & drinking of water, would infect their bodies with sore sicknesses, and greevous diseases. And also those which should escape or overcome these difficulties, should yet be in continuall danger of ye salvage people, who are cruel, barbarous, & most treacherous, being most furious in their rage, and merciless where they overcome; not being contente only to kill, & take away life, but delight to torment men in ye most bloodie mañer that may be; fleaing some alive with ye shells of fishes, cutting of ye members & joynts of others by peesmeale, and broiling on ye coles, eat ye 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 ye very hearing of these things could not but move ye very bowels of men to grate within them, and make ye weak to quake & tremble. It was funder objected, that it would require greater sumes of money to furnish such a voiage, and to fit them with necessaries, then their consumed estates would amount too; and yet they must as well look to be seconded with supplies, as presently to be transported.

Also many presidents of ill success, & lamentable miseries befalne others in the like designs, were easie to be found, and not forgotten to be alleged; besides their own experience, in their former troubles & 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 neighbour countrie, & a civil and rich comone wealth.

It was answered that all great & honourable actions are accompanied with great difficulties, and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable courage's. It was granted ye 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 sundrie of ye things feared might never befale; others by providente care & ye use of good means, might in a great measure be prevented; and all of them, through ye 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 & reason; not rashly or lightly as many have done for curiositie or hope of gain, &c. But their condition was not ordinarie; their ends were good & honourable; their calling lawfull, & urgent; and therefore they might expect ye 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, & in a poor condition; and as great miseries might possibly befale them in this place, for ye 12. years of truce were now out, & ther was nothing but beating of drums, and preparing for war, the events wherof are always uncertaine. Ye Spaniard might prove as cruel as the salvages of America, and ye famine and pestilence as sore hear as ther, & their libertie less to look out for remedie. After many other perticuler things answered & alleged on both sides, it was fully concluded by ye major part, to put this design in execution, and to prosecute it by the best means they could.

The 5. Chapter.

Shewing what means they used for preparation to this waigtie vioag.

And first after their humble praiers unto God for his direction & assistance, & a general conference held hear aboute, they consulted what perticuler place to pitch upon, & prepare for. Some (& none of ye meanest) had thoughts & were earnest for Guiana, or some of those fertile places in those hot climates; others were for some parts of Virginia, where

ye English had already made entrance, & beginning. Those for Guiana alleged that the countrie was rich, fruitful, & blessed with a perpetual spring, and a flourishing greenes; where vigorous nature brought forth all things in abundance & plentie without any great labour or art of man. So as it must needs make ye inhabitants rich, seeing less provisions of clothing and other things would serve, then in more coulde & less frutfull countries must be had. As also yt the Spaniards (having much more than they could possess) had not yet planted there, nor anywhere very near ye same. But to this it was answered, that out of question ye countrie was both frutfull and pleasant, and might yeeld riches & maintenance to ye possessors, more easily then ye other; yet, other things considered, it would not be so fit for them. And first, yt such hot countries are subject to greenvous diseases, and many noysome impediments, which other more temperate places are freer from, and would not so well agree with our English bodys. Againe, if they should there live, & doe well, the jealous Spaniard would never suffer them long, but would displante or overthrow them, as he did ye French in Florida, who were seated furdre from his richest countries; and the sooner because they should have none to protect them, & their own strength would be too smale to resist so potent an enemy, & so near a neighbor.

On ye other hand, for Virginia it was objected, that if they lived among ye English wch wear ther planted, or so near them as to be under their government, they should be in as great danger to be troubled and persecuted for the cause of religion, as if they lived in England, and it might be worse. And if they lived too far off, they should neither have succour, nor defence from them. But at length ye conclusion was, to live as a distinct body by themselves, under ye general Government of Virginia; and by their friends to sue to his majestie that he would be pleased to grant them freedom of Religion; and yt this might be obtained, they wear putt in good hope by some great persons, of good rank & qualitie, that were made their friends.

Whereupon 2. were chosen & sent in to England (at ye charge of ye rest) to sollicite this matter, who found the Virginia Company very desirous to have them goe thither, and willing to grant them a patent, with as ample privileges as they had, or could grant to any, and to give them the best furdurance they could. And some of ye cheefe of yt company doubted not to obtain their suite of ye king for liberty in Religion, and to have it confirmed under ye kings broad seale, according to their desires. But it proved a harder peece of work then they took it for; for though many means were used to bring it aboute, yet it could not be effected; for ther were diverse of good worth laboured with the king to obtain it, (amongst whom was one of his cheefe secretaries, and some other wrought with ye archbishop to give way thereunto; but it proved all in vaine. Yet thus far they prevailed, in sounding his majesties mind, that he would connive at them, & not molest them, provided they carried themselves peaceably. But to allow or tolerate them by his publick authoritie, under his seale, they found it would not be. And this was all the cheefe of ye Virginia companie or any other of their best friends could doe in the case. Yet they perswaded them to goe on, for they presumed they should not be troubled. And with this answer ye messengers returned, signified what diligence had bene used, and to what issue things were come.

But this made a damp in ye busines, and caused some distraction, for many were afraid that if they should unsettle themselves, & put of their estates, and goe upon these hopes, it might prove dangerous, and but a sandie foundation. Yea, it was thought they might better have presumed hear upon without making any suite at all, then, having made it, to be thus rejected. But some of ye cheefest thought otherwise, and yt they might well proceed hereupon, & that ye kings majestie was willing enough to suffer them without molestation, though for other reasons he would not confirme it by any publick act.

And furdremore, if ther was no securitie in this promise intimated, ther would be no great certainty in a furdre confirmation of ye same; for if after wards ther should be a purpose or desire to wrong them, though they had a seale as broad as ye house flore, it would not serve ye turn; for ther would be means anew found to recall or reverse it. Seeing therefore the course was probable, they must rest herein on Gods providence, as they had done in other things.

Upon this resolution, other messengers were dispatched, to end with ye Virginia Company as well as they could. And to procure a patent with as good and ample conditions as they might by any good means obtain. As also to treat and conclude with such merchants and other friends as had manifested their forwardness to provoke too and adventure in this vioage. For which end they had instructions given them upon what conditions they should proceed with them, or else to conclude nothing without further advice. And here it will be requisite to insert a letter or too that may give light to these proceedings.

A coppie of leter from Sir Edwin Sands, directed to Mr. John Robinson & Mr. William Brewster.

"After my hartie salutations. The agents of your congregation, Robert Cushman & John Carver, have been in communication with diverse select gentlemen of his Majesties Counsell for Virginia; and by ye writing of 7. Articles subscribed with your names, have given them yt good degree of satisfaction, which hath caried them on with a resolution to set forward your desire in ye best sort yt may be, for your own & the publick good. Divers perticulers wherof we leave to their faithful report; having carried themselves here with that good discretion, as is both to their own and their credit from whence they came. And whereas being to treat for a multitude of people, they have requested further time to confer with them that are to be interested in this action, aboute ye several particularities which in ye prosecution therof will fall out considerable, it hath been very willingly assented too. And so they do now return unto you. If therefore it may please God so to direct your desires as that on your parts ther fall out no just impediments, I trust by ye same direction it shall likewise appear, that on our part, all forwardness to set you forward

shall be found in the best sort which with reason may be expected. And so I betake you with this design (wch I hope verily is ye work of God), to the gracious protection and blessing of the Highest.”

Your very loving friend

Edwin Sandys.

London, November 12. Ano 1617.

Their answer was as followeth.

Right Worshipful:

Our humble duties remembered, in our own, our messengers, and our churches name, with all thankful acknowledgment of your singular love, expressing itself, as otherwise, so more spetially in your great care and earnest endeavor of our good in this weightie bussines aboute Virginia, which ye less able we are to requite, we shall thinke ourselves the more bound to commend in our prayers unto God for recompence; whom, as for ye present you rightly behould in our indeavors, so shall we not be wanting on our parts (the same God assisting us) to returne all answerable fruit, and respect unto ye labour of your love bestowed upon us. We have with ye best speed and consideration with all that we could, set down our requests in writing, subscribed, as you willed, with the hands of ye greatest part of our congregation, and have sente ye same unto ye Counsell by our agent, & a deacon of our church, John Carver, unto whom we have also requested a gentleman of our company to adyone himself; to the care & discretion of which two, we doe refer ye prosecuting of ye bussines. Now we perswade ourselves Right Worshipful: that we need not provoke your godly & loving mind to any further or more tender care of us, since you have pleased so far to interest us in yourself, that, under God, above all persons and things in the world, we relye upon you, expecting the care of your love, counsell of your wisdom, & the help & countenance of your authority. Notwithstanding, for your encouragmente in ye work, so far as probabilities may lead, we will not forbear to mention these instances of indusmente.

1. We verily beleeeve & trust ye Lord is with us, unto whom & whose service we have given ourselves in many trials; and that he will graciously prosper our indeavours according to ye simplicitie of our hearts therein.

2ly. We are well weaned from ye delicate milke of our mother countrie, and endured to ye difficulties of a strange and hard land, which yet in a great part we have by patience overcome.

3ly. The people are for the body of them, industrious, & frugal, we think we may safely say, as any company of people in the world.

4ly. We are knite togeather as a body in a most stricte & sacred bond and covenant of the Lord, of the violation wherof we make great conscience, and by vertue wherof we do hould ourselves straitly tied to all care of each-others good, and of ye whole by everyone and so mutually.

5. Lastly, it is not with us as with other men, whom small things can discourage, or small discontentments cause to wish themselves at home againe. We know our entertainment in England, and in Holland; we shall much prejudice both our arts & means by removal; who, if we should be driven to returne, we should not hope to recover our present helps and comforts, neither indeed look ever, for ourselves, to attain unto ye like in any other place during our lives, wch are now drawing towards their periods.

These motives we have been bould to tender unto you, which you in your wisdom may also impart to any other our worshipful: friends of ye Counsell with you; of all whose godly disposition and loving towards our despised persons, we are most glad, & shall not fail by all good means to continue & increase ye same.

We will not be further troublesome, but doe, with ye renewed remembrance of our humble duties to your Worshipful: and (so far as in modestie we may be bould) to any other of our wellwillers of the Counsell with you, we take our leaves, committing your persons and counsels to ye guidance and direction of the Almighty.

Yours much bounden in all duty,

John Robinson,

William Brewster.

Leyden, December: 15. Ano: 1617.

For further light in these proceedings see some other letters & notes as followeth.

The copy of a letter sent to Sr. John Worstenholme.

Right Worshipful: with due acknowledgment of our thankfullnse for your singular care & pains in the bussines of Virginia, for our, & we hope, the comone good, we doe remember our humble dutys unto you, and have sent inclosed, as is required, a further explanation of our judgments in the 3. points specified by some of his majesties Honorable Privie Counsell; and though it be greevius unto us that such unjust insinuations are made against us, yet we are most glad of ye occasion of making our just purgation unto so honourable personages. The declarations we have sent inclosed, the one more breefe & general, which we think ye fitter to be presented; the other something more large, and in which we express some smale accidental differances, which if it seem good unto you and other of our worshipful friends, you may send instead of ye former. Our prayers unto God is, yt your Worshipful may see the fruit of your worthy endeavours, which on our parts we shall not fail to further by all good means in us. And so praing yt you would please with ye convenientest speed yt may be, to give us knowledge of ye success of ye bussines with his

majesties Privie Counsell, and accordingly what your further pleasure is, either for our direction or furtherance in ye same, so we rest

Your Worshipful in all duty,

John Robinson,

William Brewster.

Leyden, Jan: 27. Ano: 1617. old stile.

The first breefe note was this.

Touching ye Ecclesiastical ministrie, namely of pastors for teaching, elders for ruling, & deacons for distributing ye churches contribution, as also for ye too Sacraments, baptism, and ye Lords supper, we doe wholly and in all points agree with ye French reformed churches, according to their publick confession of faith.

The oath of Supremacie we shall willingly take if it be required of us, and that conveniente satisfaction be not given by our taking ye oath of Allegiance.

John Rob:

William Brewster.

Ye 2. was this.

Touching ye Ecclesiastical ministrie, & c. as in ye former, we agree in all things with the French reformed churches, according to their publick confession of faith; though some small differences be to be found in our practises, not at all in ye substance of the things, but only in some accidental circumstances.

1. As first, their ministers doe pray with their heads covered; ours uncovered.
2. We chose none for Governing Elders, but such as are able to teach; which abilitie they do not require.
3. Their elders & deacons are annual, or at most for 2. or 3. years; ours perpetual.
4. Our elders doe administer their office in admonitions & excommunications for publick scandals, publicly & before ye congregation; theirs more privately, & in their consistories.
5. We doe administer baptism only to such infants as wherof ye one parent, at ye least, is of some church, which some of ther churches doe not observe, though in it our practice accords with their publick confession and ye judgment of ye most learned amongst them.

Other differences, worth mentioning, we know none in these points. Then about ye oath, as in ye former.

Subscribed,

John R. - W. B.

Part of another letter from him that delivered these.

London. Feb: 14. 1617.

Your letter to Sr. John Worstenholme I delivered almost as soon as I had it, to his own hands, and staid with him ye opening & reading. Ther were 2. papers inclosed, he read them to him selfe, as also ye letter, and in ye reading he spoke to me & said, Who shall make them? viz. ye ministers; I answered his Worship that ye power of making was in ye church, to be ordained by ye imposition of hands, by ye fittest instruments they had. It must either be in ye church or from ye pope, & ye pope is Antichrist.

Ho! said Sr. John, what ye pope holds good, (as in ye Trinitie,) that we do well to assent too; but, said he, we will not enter into dispute now. And as for your letters he would not show them at any hand, least he should spoyle all. He expected you should have been of ye Archbps: mind for ye calling of ministers, but it seems you differed. I could have wished to have known ye contents of your tow inclosed, at wch he stuck so much, espetially ye larger. I asked his Worship what good news he had for me to write tomorrow. He tould me very good news, for both the kings majestie and ye bishops have consented. He said he would goe to Mr. Chancellor, Sr. Fulk Grivell, as this day, & next week I should know more. I met Sr. Edwin Sands on Wednesday night; he wished me to be at the Virginia Courte ye next Wednesday, where I purpose to be. Thus loath to be troublesome at present, I hope to have somewhat next week of certentie concerning you. I cõmitte you to ye Lord. **Yours, S. B.**

These things being long in agitation, & messengers passing too and againe aboute them, after all their hopes they were long delayed by many rubs that fell in ye way; for at ye returne of these messengers into England they found things far otherwise then they expected. For ye Virginia Counsell was now so disturbed with factions and quarrels amongst themselves, as no bussines could well goe forward. The which may the better appear in one of the messengers letters as followeth.

To his loving friends, & c.

I had thought long since to have write unto you, but could not effect yt which I aimed at, neither can yet sett things as I wished; yet, notwithstanding, I doubt not but Mr. B. hath written to Mr. Robinson. But I thinke my selfe bound also to doe something, least I be thought to neglect you. The main hinderance of our proseedings in ye Virginia bussines, is the dissentions and factions, as they term it, amongst ye Counsell & Company of Virginia; which are such, as that ever since we came up no busines could by them be dispatched. The occasion of this trouble amongst them is, for

that a while since Sr. Thomas Smith, repining at his many offices & troubles, wished ye Company of Virginia to ease him of his office in being Treasurer & Governor. of ye Virginia Company. Whereupon ye Company took occasion to dismiss him, and chose Sr. Edwin Sands Treasurer & Governor of ye Company. He having 60. voyces, Sr. John Worstenholme 16. voices, and Alderman Johnson^e,²⁴. But Sr. Thomas Smith, when he saw some part of his honour lost, was very angrie, & raised a faction to cavill & contend about ye election, and sought to tax Sir. Edwin with many things that might both disgrace him, and also put him by his office of Governor. In which contentions they yet stick, and are not fit nor readie to intermedle in any bussines; and what issue things will come to, we are not yet certain. It is most like Sir. Edwin will carrie it away, and if he doe, things will goe well in Virginia; if otherwise, they will goe ill enough always. We hope in some 2. or 3. Court days things will settle. Mean space I think to goe down into Kent, & come up againe aboute 14. days, or 3. weeks hence; except either by these afforesaid contentions, or by ye ill tidings from Virginia, we be wholly discouraged, of which tidings I am now to speake.

Captain Argoll is come home this week (he upon notice of ye intent of ye Counsell, came away before Sr. Georg Yeardley came ther, and so ther is no sall dissention). But his tidings are ill, though his person be welcome. He saith Mr. Blackwell's ship came not ther till March, but going towards winter, they had still Norwest winds, which carried them to the southward beyond their course. And ye master of ye ship & some 6. of ye mariners dieing, it seemed they could not find ye bay, till after long seeking & beating aboute. Mr. Blackwell is dead, & Mr. Maggner, ye Captain; yea, ther are dead, he saith, 130. persons, one & other in yt ship; it is said there was in all a 180. persons in ye ship, so as they were packed togeather like herrings. They had amongst them ye fluxe, and also want of fresh water; so as it is hear rather wondered at yt so many are alive, then that so many are dead. The merchants hear say it was Mr. Blackwell's fault to pack so many in ye ship; yea, & ther were great mutterings & repining's amongst them, and upbraiding of Mr. Blackwell, for his dealing and disposing of them, when they saw how he had dispossessed of them, & how he insulted over them. Yea, ye streets at Gravesend runge of their extreme quarrelings, crying out one of another, Thou hast brought me to this, and I may thank thee for this. Heavie news it is, and I would be glad to hear how far it will discourage. I see none hear discouraged much, but rather desire to learn to beware by other men's harms, and to amend that wherein they have failed. As we desire to serve one another in love, so take heed of being enthralled by any imperious person, espetially if they be discerned to have an eye to themselves. It doth often trouble me to thinke that in this bussines we are all to learn and none to teach; but better so, then to depend upon such teachers as Mr. Blackwell was. Such a stratagem he once made for Mr. Johnson & his people at Emden, wch was their subversion. But though he ther clenlily (yet unhonstly) plucked his neck out of ye collar, yet at last his foot is caught.

Here are no letters come, ye ship captain Argole came in is yet in ye west parts; all yt we hear is but his report; it seemeth he came away secretly. The ship yt Mr. Blackwell went in will be hear shortly. It is as Mr. Robinson once said; he thought we should hear no good of them.

Mr. B. is not well at this time; whether he will come back to you or goe into ye north, I yet know not. For my selfe, I hope to see an end of this bussines ere I come, though I am sorie to be thus from you; if things had gone roundly forward, I should have been with you within these 14. days. I pray God direct us, and give us that spirit which is fitting for such a bussines. Thus having su^mmarily pointed at things wch Mr. Brewster (I think) hath more largely write off to Mr. Robinson, I leave you to the Lords protection.

Yours in all readiness, &c. London, May 8. Ano: 1619.
Robert Cushman.

A word or two by way of digression touching this Mr. Blackwell; he was an elder of ye church at Amsterdam, a man well known of most of them. He declined from ye trueth wth Mr. Johnson & ye rest, and went with him when yey parted asunder in yt woeful maner, wch brought so great dishonour to God, scandal to ye trueth, & outward ruine to themselves in this world. But I hope, notwithstanding, through ye mercies of ye Lord, their souls are now at rest with him in ye heavens, and yt they are arrived in ye Haven of happiness; though some of their bodies were thus buried in ye terrible seas, and others sunk under ye burthen of bitter afflictions. He with some others had prepared for to goe to Virginia. And he, with sundrie godly citizens, being at a private meeting (I take it a fast) in London, being discovered, many of them were apprehended, wherof Mr. Blackwell was one; but he so glosed wth ye b^ps, and either dissembled or flatly denied ye trueth which formerly he had maintained; and not only so, but very unworthily betrayed and accused another godly man who had escaped, that so he might slip his own neck out of ye collar, & to obtain his own freedom brought others into bonds. Whereupon he so wone ye b^ps favour (but lost ye Lord's) as he was not only dymiste, but in open court ye arch-bishop gave him great applause and his sollemne blessing to proceed in his vioage. But if such events follow ye b^ps blessing, happie are they yt miss ye same; it is much better to keep a good conscience and have ye Lords blessing, whether in life or death.

But see how ye man thus apprehended by Mr. Blackwell's means, writs to a friend of his.

Right dear friend & Christian brother, Mr. Carver, I salute you & yours in ye Lord, &c. As for my own present condition, I doubt not but you well understand it ere this by our brother Maistersone, who should have tasted of ye same cup, had his place of residence & his person been as well-known as my selfe. Some what I have written to Mr. Cushman how ye matter still continues. I have petitioned twise to Mr. Sherives, and once to my Lord Cooke, and have used

such reasons to move them to pittie, that if they were not overruled by some others, I suppose I should soon gain my libertie; as that I was a yonge man living by my credit, indebted to diverse in our citie, living at more than ordinarie charges in a close & tedious prison; besides great rents abroad, all my bussines lying still, my only servant lying lame in ye countrie, my wife being also great with child. And yet no answer till ye lords of his majesties Counsell gave consente. Howbeit, Mr. Blackwell, a man as deep in this action as I, was delivered at a cheaper rate, with a great deal less adoe; yea, with an addition of ye Archþ: blessing. I am sorie for Mr. Blackwell's weakness, I wish it may prove no worse. But yet he & some others of them, before their going, were not sorie, but thought it was for ye best that I was nominated, not because ye Lord sanctifies evil to good, but that ye action was good, yea for ye best. One reason I well remember he used was, because this trouble would encrease ye Virginia plantation, in that now people began to be more generally inclined to goe; and if he had not nominated some such as I, he had not bene free, being it was known that diverse citizens besides themselves were ther. I expect an answer shortly what they intend concerning me; I purpose to write to some others of you, by whom you shall know the certaintie. Thus not having further at present to acquaint you withal, commending myself to your prairs, I cease, & coꝛmitte you and us all to ye Lord.

**From my chamber in Wood Street Compter.
Your friend, & brother in bonds,
Sabin Staesmore. September: 4. Ano: 1618.**

But thus much by ye way, which may be of instruction & good use.

But at last, after all these things, and their long attendance, they had a patent granted them, and confirmed under ye Companies seale; but these divisions and distractions had shaken of many of ther pretended friends, and disappointed them of much of their hoped for & proffered means. By the advice of some friends this patent was not taken in ye name of any of their own, but in ye name of Mr. John Wincob (a religious gentleman then belonging to ye Countess of Lincoln), who intended to goe with them. But God so disposed as he never went, nor they ever made use of this patent, which had cost them so much labour and charge, as by ye sequell will appear. This patent being sente over for them to view & consider, as also the passages about ye propositions between them & such marchants & friends as should either goe or adventure with them, and espetially with those on whom yey did cheefly depend for shipping and means, whose proffers had been large, they were requested to fit and prepare themselves with all speed. A right emblime, it may be, of ye uncertain things of this world; yt when men have toyl'd themselves for them, they vanish into smoke.

The 6. Chapter.

Concerning ye agreements and artickles between them, and such marchants & others as adventured moneys; with other things falling out aboute making their provissions.

Upon ye receipt of these things by one of their messengers, they had a sollemne meeting and a day of humiliation to seek ye Lord for his direction; and their pastor took this text, 1 Sam. 23. 3, 4. And David's men said unto him, see, we be afraid hear in Judah, how much more if we come to Keilah against the host of the Philistines? Then David asked counsell of ye Lord againe, &c. From which text he taught many things very aptly, and befitting ther present occasion and condition, strengthening them against their fears and perplexities, and encouraging them in their resolutions.

After which they concluded both what number and what persons should prepare themselves to goe with ye first; for all yt were willing to have gone could not get ready for their other affairs in so short a time; neither if all could have been ready, had ther been means to have transported them altogether. Those that staid being ye greater number required ye pastor to stay with them; and indeed for other reasons he could not then well goe, and so it was ye more easilie yeelded unto. The other then desired ye elder, Mr. Brewster, to goe with them, which was also condescended unto.

It was also agreed on by mutual consente and covenante, that those that went should be an absolute church of themselves, as well as those yt staid; seeing in such a dangerous vioage, and a removal to such a distance, it might come to pass they should (for ye body of them) never meet againe in this world; yet with this proviso, that as any of ye rest came over to them, or of ye other returned upon occasion, they should be reputed as members without any further dismission or testimonial. It was also promised to those yt wente first, by ye body of ye rest, that if ye Lord gave them life, & meãs, & opportunitie, they would come to them as soon as they could.

Aboute this time, whilst they were perplexed with ye proseedings of ye Virginia Company, & ye ill news from thence aboute Mr. Blackwell & his company, and making inquiry about ye hiring & buying of shipping for their vioage, some Dutchmen made them faire offers about goeing with them. Also one Mr. Thomas Weston, a merchant of London, came to Leyden aboute ye same time, (who was well acquainted with some of them, and a furtherer of them in their former proceedings,) having much conferance wth Mr. Robinson & other of ye cheefe of them, perswaded them to goe on (as it seems) & not to meddle with ye Dutch, or too much to depend on the Virginia Company; for if that failed, if they came to resolution, he and such marchants as were his friends (togeather with their own means) would set them forth; and they should make ready, and neither fear want of shipping nor money; for what they wanted should be provided. And, not so much for him selfe as for ye satisfying of such friends as he should procure to adventure in this bussines, they were to draw such articles of agreement, and make such propositions, as might ye better induce his friends to venture. Upon which (after ye former conclusion) articles were drawn & agreed unto, and were shown unto him, and approved by him; and afterwards by their messenger (Mr. John Carver) sent into England, who, togeather with Robart Cushman, were to receive ye moneys & make provision both for shipping & other things for ye vioage;

with this charge, not to exceed their commission, but to proceed according to ye former articles. Also some were chosen to doe ye like for such things as were to be prepared there; so those that were to goe, prepared themselves with all speed, and sould of their estates and (such as were able) put in their moneys into ye commone stock, which was disposed by those appointed, for ye making of general provissions. About this time also they had heard, both by Mr. Weston and others, yt sundrie Honorable: Lords had obtained a large grant from ye king, for ye more northerly parts of that countrie, derived out of ye Virginia patente, and wholly secluded from their Government, and to be called by another name, viz. New-England. Unto which Mr. Weston, and ye cheefe of them, began to incline it was best for them to goe, as for other reasons, so chiefly for ye hope of present profite to be made by ye fishing that was found in yt countrie.

But as in all businesses ye acting part is most difficult, espetially where ye work of many agents must concur, so it was found in this; for some of those yt should have gone in England, fell off & would not goe; other marchants & friends yt had offered to adventure their moneys withdrew, and pretended many excuses. Some disliking they wente not to Guiana; others againe would adventure nothing except they wente to Virginia. Some againe (and those that were most relied on) fell in utter dislike with Virginia, and would do nothing if they wente thither. In ye midds of these distractions, they of Leyden, who had put of their estates, and laid out their moneys, were brought into a great streight, fearing what issue these things would come too; but at length ye generalitie was swaid to this latter opinion.

But now another difficultie arose, for Mr. Weston and some other that were for this course, either for their better advantage or rather for ye drawing on of others, as they pretended, would have some of those conditions altered yt were first agreed on at Leyden. To which ye 2. agents sent from Leyden (or at least one of them who is most charged with it) did consente; seeing else yt all was like to be dashte, & ye opportunitie lost, and yt they which had put of their estates and paid in their moneys were in hazard to be undone. They presumed to conclude with ye marchants on those terms, in some things contrary to their order & commission, and without giving them notice of ye same; yea, it was conceled least it should make any further delay; which was ye cause afterward of much trouble & contention.

It will be meet I here insert these conditions, which are as followeth.

Ano: 1620. July 1.

1. The adventurers & planters doe agree, that every person that goeth being aged 16. years & upward, be rated at 10li., and ten pounds to be accounted a single share.
2. That he that goeth in person, and furnisheth himself out with 10li. either in money or other provissions, be accounted as haveing 20li. in stock, and in ye devission shall receive a double share.
3. The persons transported & ye adventurers shall continue their joynt stock & partnership togeather, ye space of 7. years, (except some unexpected impedimente doe cause ye whole company to agree otherwise,) during which time, all profits & benefits that are got by trade, traffick, trucking, working, fishing, or any other means of any person or persons, remaine still in ye common stock until ye division.
4. That at their coming there, they chose out such a number of fit persons, as may furnish their ships and boats for fishing upon ye sea; imploying the rest in their several faculties upon ye land; as building houses, tilling, and planting ye ground, & making such comodities as shall be most useful for ye collonie.
5. That at ye end of ye 7. years, ye capital & profits, viz. the houses, lands, goods and chattel's, be equally devided betwixt ye adventurers, and planters; which done, every man shall be free from other of them of any debt or detriment concerning this adventure.
6. Whosoever cometh to ye colonie hereafter, or putteth any into ye stock, shall at the end of ye 7. years be allowed proportionably to ye time of his so doing.
7. He that shall carie his wife & children, or servants, shall be allowed for everie person now aged 16. years & upward, a single share in ye division, or if he provide them necessaries, a double share, or if they be between 10. year old and 16., then 2. of them to be reckoned for a person, both in transportation and division.
8. That such children as now goe, & are under ye age of ten years, have noe other shar in ye division, but 50. acers of unmanured land.
9. That such persons as die before ye 7. years be expired, their executors to have their part or share at ye division, proportionably to ye time of their life in ye collonie.
10. That all such persons as are of this collonie, are to have their meat, drink, apparel, and all provissions out of ye common stock & goods of ye said collonie.

The cheefe & principal differences between these & the former conditions, stood in those 2. points; that ye houses, & lands improved, espetially gardens & home lots should remaine undivided wholly to ye planters at ye 7. years end. 2ly, yt they should have had 2. days in a week for their own private imployment, for ye more comfort of themselves and their families, espetially such as had families. But because letters are by some wise men counted ye best part of histories, I shall shew their greevances here about by their own letters, in which ye passages of things will be more truly discerned.

**A letter of Mr. Robinsons to John Carver.
June 14. 1620. N. Stile.**

My dear friend & brother, whom with yours I alwise remember in my best affection, and whose welfare I shall never cease to commend to God by my best & most earnest praieres. You doe throwly understand by our general letters ye estate of things hear, which indeed is very pitiful; espetially by want of shipping, and not seeing means lickly, much less certain, of having it provided; though withal ther be great want of money & means to doe needful things. Mr. Pickering, you know before this, will not defray a penny hear; though Robart Cushman presumed of I know not how many 100li. from him, & I know not whom. Yet it seems strange yt we should be put to him to receive both his & his partners adven-ter, and yet Mr. Weston write unto him, yt in regard of it, he hath drawn upon him a 100li. more. But ther is in this some misterie, as indeed it seems ther is in ye whole course. Besides, whereas diverse are to pay in some parts of their moneys yet behind, they refuse to do it, till they see shipping provided, or a course taken for it. Neither do I think is ther a man hear would pay anything, if he had againe his money in his purse. You know right well we depended on Mr. Weston alone, and upon such means as he would procure for this commone bussines; and when we had in hand another course with ye Dutchmen, broke it of at his motion, and upon ye conditions by him shortly after propounded. He did this in his love I know, but things appeare not answerable from him hitherto. That he should have first, have put in his moneys, is thought by many to have been but fit, but yt I can well excuse, he being a marchante and haveing use of it to his benefit; whereas others, if it had been in their hands, would have consumed it. But yt he should not but have had either shipping ready before this time, or at least certain means, and course, and ye same known to us for it, or have taken other order otherwise, cannot in my conscience be excused. I have heard yt when he hath been moved in the bussines, he hath put it off from himself, and referred it to ye others; and would come to Georg Morton, & enquire news of him aboute things, as if he had scarce been some accessarie unto it. Whether he hath failed of some helps from others which he expected, and so be not well able to goe through with things, or whether he hath feared least you should be ready too soon & so encrease ye charge of shipping above yt is meet, or whether he have thought by withoulding to put us upon straits, thinking yt thereby Mr. Brewer and Mr. Pickering would be drawn by importunitie to do more, or what other misterie is in it, we know not; but sure we are yt things are not answerable to such an occasion. Mr. Weston makes himself merry with our endeavors about buying a ship, but we have done nothing in this but with good reason, as I am perswaded, nor yet that I know in anything else, save in those tow; ye one, that we imployed Robart Cushman, who is known (though a good man, & of spetiall abilities in his kind, yet) most unfit to deal for other men, by reason of his singularitie, and too great indifferancie for any conditions, and for (to speak truly) that we have had nothing from him but termes & presumptions. The other, yt we have so much relyed, by implicite faith as it were, upon generalities, without seeing ye perticuler course & means for so waghtie an affair set down unto us. For shipping, Mr. Weston, it should seem, is set upon hiring, which yet I wish he may presently effect; but I see little hope of help from hence if so it be. Of Mr. Brewer you know what to expect. I do not think Mr. Pickering will ingage, except in ye course of buying, in former letters specified. Aboute ye conditions, you have our reasons for our judgments of what is agreed. And let this spetially be borne in mind, yt the greatest part of ye Collonie is like to be imployed constantly, not upon dressing ther perticuler land & building houses, but upon fishing, trading, &c. So as ye land & house will be but a trifell for advantage to ye adventurers, and yet the devisiion of it a great discouragement to ye planters, who would with singular care make it comfortable with borrowed hours from their sleep. The same consideration of comone employmente constantly by the most is a good reason not to have ye 2. daies in a week denyed ye few planters for private use, which yet is subordinate to comone good. Consider also how much unfit that you & your likes must serve a new prentishipe of 7. years, and not a daies freedom from task.

Send me word what persons are to goe, who of useful faculties, & how many, & perticulerly of everything. I know you want not a mind. I am sorie you have not been at London all this while, but ye provissions could not want you. Time will suffer me to write no more; fare you & yours well always in ye Lord, in whom I rest.

Yours to use, John Robinson.

Another letter from sundrie of them at ye same time.

To their loving friends John Carver and Robart Cushman, these, &c.

Good brethren, after salutations, &c. We received diverse letters at ye coming of Mr. Nash & our pilot, which is a great incouragmente unto us, and for whom we hop after times will minister occasion of praising God; and indeed had you not sente him, many would have been ready to faint and goe back. Partly in respect of ye new conditions which have bene taken up by you, which all men are against, and partly in regard of our own inabilitie to do any one of those many waightie businesses you refer to us here. For ye former wherof, whereas Robart Cushman desir- se reasons for our dislike, promising thereupon to alter ye same, or else saing we should thinke he hath no brains, we desire him to exercise them therein, referring him to our pastors former reasons, and them to ye censure of ye godly wise. But our desires are that you will not entangle yourselves and us in any such unreasonable courses as those are, viz. yt the marchants should have ye half of men's houses and lands at ye dividente; and that persons should be deprived of ye 2. days in a week agreed upon, yea every moment of time for their own perticuler; by reason wherof we cannot conceive why any should carie servants for their own help and comfort; for that we can require no more of them then all men one of another. This we have only by relation from Mr. Nash, & not from any writing of your own, & therefore hope you have not proceeded far in so great a thing without us. But requiring you not to exceed the bounds of your comission, which was to proceed upon ye things or conditions agreed upon and expressed in writing (at your going over about it), we leave it, not without marvelling, that yourself, as you write, knowing how smale a thing troubleth our

consultations, and how few, as you fear, understands the business aright, should trouble us with such matters as these are, &c.

Salute Mr. Weston from us, in whom we hope we are not deceived; we pray you make known our estate unto him, and if you thinke good shew him our letters, at least tell him (yt under God) we much relie upon him & put our confidence in him; and, as your selves well know, that if he had not been an adventurer with us, we had not taken it in hand; presuming that if he had not seen means to accomplish it, he would not have begun it; so we hope in our extremitie he will so far help us as our expectation be no way made frustrate concerning him. Since therefore, good brethren, we have plainly opened ye state of things with us in this matter, you will, &c. Thus beseeching ye Allmightie, who is allsufficiente to raise us out of this depth of difficulties, to assist us herein; raising such means by his providence and fatherly care for us, his pore children & servants, as we may with comfort behould ye hand of our God for good towards us in this our bussines, which we undertake in his name & fear, we take leave & remaine

June 10. New Stille, Ano: 1620.

Your perplexed, yet hopfull bretheren,

S. F. E. W. W. B. J. A.

A letter of Robart Cushman to them.

Brethren, I understand by letters & passages yt have come to me, that ther are great discontents, & dislike of my proceedings amongst you. Sorie I am to hear it, yet content to bear it, as not doubting but yt partly by writing, and more principally by word when we shall come togetheer, I shall satisfie any reasonable man. I have been perswaded by some, espetially this bearer, to come and clear things unto you; but as things now stand I cannot be absent one day, except I should hazard all ye viage. Neither conceive I any great good would come of it. Take then, brethren, this as a step to give you content. First, for your dislike of ye alteration of one clause in ye conditions, if you conceive it right, ther can be no blame lye on me at all. For ye articles first brought over by John Carver were never seen of any of ye adventurers hear, except Mr. Weston, neither did any of them like them because of that clause; nor Mr. Weston him selfe, after he had well considered it. But as at ye first ther was 500li. withdrawn by Sr. Georg Farrer and his brother upon that dislike, so all ye rest would have withdrawn (Mr. Weston excepted) if we had not altered yt clause. Now whilst we at Leyden conclude upon points, as we did, we reckoned without our host, which was not my falte. Besides, I shewed you by a letter ye equitie of yt condition, & our inconveniences, which might be set against all Mr. Rob: inconveniences, that without ye alteration of yt clause, we could neither have means to get thither, nor supplie whereby to subsist when we were ther. Yet notwithstanding all those reasons, which were not mine, but other men's wiser then my selfe, without answer to any one of them, here cometh over many quirimonies, and complaints against me, of lording it over my brethren, and making conditions fitter for thieves & bondslaves then honest men, and that of my own head I did what I list. And at last a paper of reasons, framed against yt clause in ye conditions, which as yey were delivered me open, so my answer is open to you all. And first, as they are no other but inconveniences, such as a man might frame 20. as great on ye other side, and yet prove nor disprove nothing by them, so they miss & mistake both ye very ground of ye article and nature of ye project. For, first, it is said, that if ther had been no division of houses & lands, it had been better for ye poor. True, and yt showeth ye inequalitye of ye condition; we should more respect him yt ventureth both his money and his person, then him yt ventureth but his person only.

2. Consider whereabout we are, not giveing almes, but furnishing a store house; no one shall be poorer then another for 7. years, and if any be rich, none can be pore. At ye least, we must not in such bussines crie, Pore, pore, mercie, mercie. Charitie hath it life in wraks, not in ventures; you are by this most in a hopeful pitie of making, therefore complain not before you have need.

3. This will hinder ye building of good and faire houses, contrarie to ye advise of pollitiks. A. So we would have it; our purpose is to build for ye present such houses as, if need be, we may with little greefe set a fire, and rune away by the light; our riches shall not be in pomp, but in strength; if God send us riches, we will imploye them to provide more men, ships, munition, &c. You may see it amongst the best pollitiks, that a coṃonwele is readier to ebe then to flow, when once fine houses and gay cloaths come up.

4. The Governor may prevent excess in building. A. But if it be on all men beforehand resolved on, to build mean houses, ye Governors labour is spared.

5. All men are not of one condition. A. If by condition you mean wealth, you are mistaken; if you mean by condition, qualities, then I say he that is not contente his neighbour shall have as good a house, fare, means, &c. as him selfe, is not of a good qualitie. 2ly. Such retired persons, as have aneie only to themselves, are fitter to come where catching is, then closing; and are fitter to live alone, then in any societie, either civil or religious.

6. It will be of little value, scarce worth 5li. A. True, it may be not worth halfe 5li. If then so smale a thing will content them, why strive we thus aboute it, and give them occasion to suspect us to be worldly & covetous? I will not say what I have heard since these complaints came first over.

7. Our friends with us yt adventure mind not their own profite, as did ye old adventurers. A. Then they are better than we, who for a little matter of profite are readie to draw back, and it is more apparence bretheren look too it, that make profite your main end; repent of this, else goe not least you be like Jonas to Tarshis. 2ly. Though some of them mind not their profite, yet others doe mind it; and why not as well as we? ventures are made by all sorts of men, and we must labour to give them all contente, if we can.

8. It will break ye course of comunitie, as may be showed by many reasons. A. That is but said, and I say againe, it will best foster communion, as may be showed by many reasons.

9. Great profite is like to be made by trucking, fishing, &c. A. As it is better for them, so for us; for halfe is ours, besides our living still upon it, and if such profite in yt way come, our labour shall be ye less on ye land, and our houses and lands must & will be of less value.

10. Our hazard is greater than theirs. A. True, but do they put us upon it? do they urge or egg us? hath not ye motion & resolution been always in ourselves? do they any more then in seeing us resolute if we had means, help us to means upon equal terms & conditions? If we will not goe, they are content to keep their moneys. Thus I have pointed at a way to lose those knots, which I hope you will consider seriously, and let me have no more stir about them.

Now further, I hear a noise of slavish conditions by me made; but surly this is all that I have altered, and reasons I have sent you. If you mean it of ye 2. days in a week for perticuler, as some insinuate, you are deceived; you may have 3. days in a week for me if you will. And when I have spoken to ye adventurers of times of working, they have said they hope we are men of discretion & conscience, and so fit to be trusted ourselves with that. But indeed ye ground of our proceedings at Leyden was mistaken, and so here is nothing but tottering every day, &c.

As for them of Amsterdam I had thought they would as soon have gone to Rome as with us; for our libertie is to them as rats bane, and their rigour as bad to us as ye Spanish Inquisition. If any practise of mine discourage them, let them yet draw back; I will undertake they shall have their money againe presently paid hear. Or if the company thinke me to be ye Jonas, let them cast me of before we goe; I shall be content to stay with good will, having but the cloaths on my back; only let us have quietness, and no more of these clamours; full little did I expect these things which are now come to pass, &c.

Yours, Robert Cushman.

But whether this letter of his ever came to their hands at Leyden I well know not; I rather think it was staid by Mr. Carver & kept by him, forgiving offence. But this which follows was ther received; which I thought pertenant to recite.

Another of his to ye aforesaid, June 11. 1620.

Salutations, &c. I received your letter. yesterday, by John Turner, with another ye same day from Amsterdam by Mr. W. savouring of ye place whence it came. And indeed the many discouragements I find her, togeather with ye demurs and retiring ther, had made me to say, I would give up my accounts to John Carver, & at his coming acquaint him fully with all courses, and so leave it quite, with only ye pore cloaths on my back. But gathering up my selfe by further consideration, I resolved yet to make one trial more, and to acquaint Mr. Weston with ye fainted state of our bussines; and though he hath been much discontented at something amongst us of late, which hath made him often say, that save for his promise, he would not meadle at all with ye bussines any more, yet considering how far we were plunged into maters, & how it stood both on our credits & undoing, at ye last he gathered up him selfe a little more, & coming to me 2. hours after, he tould me he would not yet leave it. And so advising togeather we resolved to hire a ship, and have took liking of one till Monday, about 60. last, for a greater we cannot get, except it be tow great; but a fine ship it is. And seeing our neer friends ther are so streite lased, we hope to assure her without troubling them any further; and if ye ship fale too small, it fitteth well yt such as stumble at straws already, may rest them ther a while, least worse blocks come in ye way ere 7. years be ended. If you had beaten this bussines so thoroughly a month agoe, and write to us as now you do, we could thus have done much more conveniently. But it is as it is; I hope our friends ther, if they be quitted of the ship hire, will be induced to venture ye more. All yt I now require is yt salt and nets may ther be bought, and for all ye rest we will here provide it; yet if that will not be, let them but stand for it a month or two, and we will take order to pay it all. Let Mr. Reinholds tarie ther, and bring ye ship to Southampton. We have hired another pilot here, one Mr. Clarke, who went last year to Virginia with a ship of kin.

You shall here distinctly by John Turner, who I thinke shall come hence on Tewsdays night. I had thought to have come with him, to have answered to my complaints; but I shall learn to pass little for their censors; and if I had more mind to goe & dispute & expostulate with them, then I have care of this waightie bussines, I were like them who live by clamours & jangling. But neither my mind nor my body is at libertie to do much, for I am fettered with bussines, and had rather study to be quiet, then to make answer to their exceptions.

If men be set on it, let them beat ye eair; I hope such as are my sincere friends will not think but I can give some reason of my actions. But of your mistaking aboute ye mater, & other things tending to this bussines, I shall next inform you more distinctly. Mean space entreat our friends not to be too bussie in answering matters, before they know them.

If I do such things as I cannot give reasons for, it is like you have set a fool about your bussines, and so turn ye reproofe to yourselves, & send another, and let me come againe to my Combes. But setting a side my natural infirmities, I refuse not to have my cause judged, both of God, & all indifferent men; and when we come togeather I shall give account of my actions hear. The Lord, who judgeth justly without respect of persons, see into ye equitie of my cause, and give us quiet, peacable, and patient minds, in all these turmoil's, and sanctifie unto us all crosses whatsoever. And so I take my leave of you all, in all love & affection.

I hope we shall get all hear ready in 14. days.

Your pore brother,

Robart Cushman.
June 11. 1620.

Besides these things, ther fell out a differance amongst those 3. that received the moneys & made ye provissions in England; for besides these tow formerly mentioned sent from Leyden for this end, viz. Mr. Carver & Robart Cushman, ther was one chosen in England to be joyned with them, to make ye provisions for ye vioage; his name was Mr. Martin, he came from Billirike in Essex, from which parts came sundrie others to goe with them, as also from London & other places; and therefore it was thought meet & conveniente by them in Holland that these strangers that were to goe with them, should apointe one thus to be joyned with them, not so much for any great need of their help, as to avoyd all suspicion, or jelosie of any partialitie. And indeed their care for giving offence, both in this & other things afterward, turned to great inconvenience unto them, as in ye sequell will appear; but however it shewed their equal & honest minds. The provissions were for ye most part made at Southhamton, contrarie to Mr. Weston's & Robert Cushman's mind (whose counsells did most concur in all things). A touch of which things I shall give in a letter of his to Mr. Carver, and more will appear afterward.

To his loving friend Mr. John Carver, these, &c.

Loving friend, I have received from you some letters, full of affection & complaints, and what it is you would have of me I know not; for your crieing out, Negligence, negligence, negligence, I marvel why so negligent a man was used in ye bussines. Yet know you yt all that I have power to doe hear, shall not be one hower behind, I warent you. You have reference to Mr. Weston to help us with money, more than his adventure; where he protesteth but for his promise, he would not have done anything. He saith we take a heady course, and is offended yt our provissions are made so far of; as also that he was not made acquainted with our quantitie of things; and saith yt in now being in 3. places, so far remote, we will, with going up & down, and wrangling & expostulating, pass over ye soñer before we will goe. And to speake ye trueth, ther is fallen already amongst us a flat schisme; and we are redier to goe to dispute, then to set forward a voiage. I have received from Leyden since you wente 3. or 4. letters directed to you, though they only concern me. I will not trouble you with them. I always feared ye event of ye Amsterdammers striking in with us. I trow you must excommunicate me, or else you must goe without their companie, or we shall want no quarrelling; but let them pass. We have reckoned, it should seem, without our host; and, counting upon a 150. persons, ther cannot be found above 1200li. & odd moneys of all ye ventures you can reckon, besides some cloath, stockings, & shoes, which are not counted; so we shall come short at least 3. or 400li. I would have had something shortened at first of beere & other provissions in hope of other adventures, & now we could have, both in Amsterdam: & Kent, beere inough to serve our turn, but now we cannot accept it without prejudice. You fear we have begun to build & shall not be able to make an end; indeed, our courses were never established by counsell, we may therefore justly fear their standing. Yea, ther was a schisme amongst us 3. at ye first. You wrote to Mr. Martin, to prevent ye making of ye provissions in Kent, which he did, and set down his resolution how much he would have of everything, without respect to any counsell or exception. Surely he yt is in a societie & yet regards not counsell, may better be a king then a consort. To be short, if ther be not some other dispossession settled unto then yet is, we yt should be partners of humilitie and peace, shall be examples of jangling & insulting. Yet your money which you ther must have, we will get provided for you instantly. 500li. you say will serve; for ye rest which hear & in Holland is to be used, we may goe scratch for it. For Mr. Crabe, of whom you write, he hath promised to goe with us, yet I tell you I shall not be without fear till I see him shipped, for he is much opposed, yet I hope he will not fail. Thinke ye best of all, and bear with patience what is wanting, and ye Lord guid us all.

Your loving friend,
Robart Cushman.
London, June 10. Ano: 1620.

I have bene ye larger in these things, and so shall crave leave in some like passages following, (though in other things I shall labour to be more contract,) that their children may see with what difficulties their fathers wrestled in going through these things in their first beginnings, and how God brought them along notwithstanding all their weaknesses & infirmities. As also that some use may be made hereof in after times by others in such like waightie imployments; and herewith I will end this chapter.

The 7. Chapter.

Of their departure from Leyden, and other things ther about, with their arrival at South hampton, were they all mete together, and took in ther provissions.

At length, after much travel and these debates, all things were got ready and provided. A small ship was bought, & fitted in Holland, which was intended as to serve to help to transport them, so to stay in ye countrie and attend upon fishing and such other affairs as might be for ye good & benefit of ye colonie when they came ther. Another was hired at London, of burden about 9. score; and all other things got in readiness. So being ready to depart, they had a day of solleme humiliation, their pastor taking his text from Ezra 8. 21. And ther at ye 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 ye day very profitably, and suitable to their present occasion. The rest of the time was spent in powering out prairs to ye Lord with great fervencie, mixed with abundance of tears. And ye time being come that they must depart, they were accompanied with most of their brethren out of ye citie, unto a towne sundrie miles of called Delfshaven, where the ship lay ready to receive them. So they left yt goodly & pleasant

citie, which had been ther resting place near 12 years; but they knew they were pilgrims, & looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to ye heavens, their dearest cuntry, and quieted their spirits. When they came to ye place they found ye ship and all things ready; and such of their friends as could not come with them followed after them, and sundrie also came from Amsterdame to see them shipte and to take their leave of them. That night was spent with little sleepe by ye most, but with friendly entertainment & Christian discourse and other real expressions of true Christian love.

The next day, the wind being faire, they wente aboard, and their friends with them, where truly doleful was ye sight of that sade and mournfull parting; to see what sighs and sobs and praies did sound amongst them, what tears did gush from every eye, & pithy speeches peirst each harte; that sundry of ye Dutch strangers yt stood on ye key as spectators, could not refrain from tears. Yet comfortable & sweet it was to see such lively and true expressions of clear & unfained love. But the tide (which stays for no man) calling them away yt were thus loath to depart, their Revēd: pastor falling down on his knees, (and they all with him,) with watrie cheeks comēded them with most fervent praies 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 ye last leave to many of them.

Thus hoysing saile, with a prosperous wind they came in short time to Southhamton, where they found the bigger ship come from London, lying ready, wth all the rest of their company. After a joyful welcome, and mutual congratulations, with other friendly entertainments, they fell to parley about their bussines, how to dispatch with ye best expedition; as also with their agents, about ye alteration of ye conditions. Mr. Carver pleaded he was imployed hear at Hamton, and knew not well what ye other had don at London. Mr. Cushman answered, he had done nothing but what he was urged too, partly by ye grounds of equity, and more espetially by necessitie, otherwise all had bene dasht and many undon. And in ye beginning he aquainted his fellow agents here with, who consented unto him, and left it to him to execute, and to receive ye money at London and send it down to them at Hamton, where they made ye provissions; the which he accordingly did, though it was against his mind, & some of ye marchants, yt they were their made. And for giveing them notice at Leyden of this change, he could not well in regard of ye shortness of ye time; againe, he knew it would trouble them and hinder ye bussines, which was already delayed overlong in regard of ye season of ye year, which he feared they would find to their cost. But these things gave not content at present. Mr. Weston, likewise, came up from London to see them dispatch and to have ye conditions confirmed; but they refused, and answered him, that he knew right well that these were not according to ye first agreement, neither could they yeeld to them without ye consente of the rest that were behind. And indeed they had spetiall charge when they came away, from the cheefe of those that were behind, not to do it. At which he was much offended, and tould them, they must then look to stand on their own legs. So he returned in displeasure, and this was ye first ground of discontent between them. And whereas ther wanted well near 100li. to clear things at their going away, he would not take order to disburse a penie, but let them shift as they could. So they were forst to sell off some of their provissions to stop this gape, which was some 3. or 4. score firkins of butter, which comoditie they might best spare, having provided too large a quantitie of yt kind. Then they write a leter to ye marchants & adventures about ye diferances concerning ye conditions, as followeth.

Aug. 3. Ano: 1620.

Beloved friends, sorry we are that ther should be occasion of writing at all unto you, partly because we ever expected to see ye most of you hear, but espetially because ther should any differance at all be conceived between us. But seeing it faleth out that we cannot confer togeather, we think it meet (though briefly) to show you ye just cause & reason of our differing from those articles last made by Robart Cushman, without our comission or knowledge. And though he might propound good ends to himself, yet it no way justifies his doing it. Our main difference is in ye 5. & 9. article, concerning ye dividing or holding of house and lands; the injoying wherof some of yourselves well know, was one spetiall motive, amongst many other, to provoke us to goe. This was thought so reasonable, yt when ye greatest of you in adventure (whom we have much cause to respect), when he propounded conditions to us freely of his own accord, he set this down for one; a copy wherof we have sent unto you, with some additions then added by us; which being liked on both sides, and a day set for ye paimente of moneys, those of Holland paid in theirs. After yt, Robart Cushman, Mr. Peirce, & Mr. Martine, brought them into a better form, & write them in a booke now extante; and upon Robarts shewing them and delivering Mr. Mullins a copy therof under his hand (which we have), he payd in his money. And we of Holland had never seen other before our coming to Hamton, but only as one got for himself a private copy of them; upon sight wherof we manifested utter dislike, but had put of our estates & were ready to come, and therefore was too late to reject ye vioage. Judge therefore we beseech you indifferently of things, and if a fault have bene comitted, lay it where it is, & not upon us, who have more cause to stand for ye one, then you have for ye other. We never gave Robart Cushman comission to make any one article for us, but only sent him to receive moneys upon articles before agreed on, and to further ye provissions till John Carver came, and to assist him in it. Yet since you conceive yourselves wronged as well as we, we thought meet to add a branch to ye end of our 9. article, as will almost heal that wound of itself, which you conceive to be in it. But that it may appeare to all men yt we are not lovers of our selves only, but desire also ye good & inriching of our friends who have adventured your moneys with our persons, we have added our last article to ye rest, promising you againe by leters in ye behalf of the whole company, that if large profits should not arise within ye 7. years, yt we will continue togeather longer with you, if ye Lord give a blessing. This we hope is sufficient to satisfie any in this case, espetially friends, since we are assured yt if the whole charge was devided into 4. parts, 3. of them will not stand upon it, nether doe regard it, &c. We are in such a streate at presente, as we are forced to sell away 60li. worth of our provissions to clear ye Haven, & withal put ourselves

upon great extremities, scarce having any butter, no oyle, not a sole to mend a shoe, nor every man a sword to his side, wanting many muskets, much armour, &c. And yet we are willing to expose ourselves to such eminent dangers as are like to insue, & trust to ye good providence of God, rather than his name & truth should be evil spoken of for us. Thus saluting all of you in love, and beseeching the Lord to give a blessing to our endeavore, and keep all our hearts in ye bonds of peace & love, we take leave & rest,

Yours, &c.

Aug. 3. 1620.

It was subscribed with many names of ye cheefest of ye company.

At their parting Mr. Robinson write a leter to ye whole company, which though it hath already bene printed, yet I thought good here likewise to insert it; as also a breefe leter writ at ye same time to Mr. Carver, in which ye tender love & godly care of a true pastor appears.

My dear Brother,—I received inclosed in your last leter ye note of information, wch I shall carefully keep & make use of as ther shall be occasion. I have a true feeling of your perplexitie of mind & toyle of body, but I hope that you who have always been able so plentifully to administer comfort unto others in their trials, are so well furnished for yourself as that far greater difficulties then you have yet undergone (though I conceive them to have been great enough) cannot oppress you, though they press you, as ye Aspostle speaks. The spirit of a man (sustained by ye spirit of God) will sustain his infirmitie, I doubt not so will yours. And ye better much when you shall injoye ye presence & help of so many godly & wise bretheren, for ye bearing of part of your burthen, who also will not admit into their hearts ye least thought of suspicion of any ye least negligence, at least presumption, to have been in you, whatsoever they think in others. Now what shall I say or write unto you & your goodwife my loving sister? even only this, I desire (& always shall) unto you from ye Lord, as unto my own soul; and assure yourself yt my harte is with you, and that I will not forslowe my bodily coming at ye first oppertunitie. I have written a large leter to ye whole, and am sorie I shall not rather speak then write to them; & the more, considering ye want of a preacher, which I shall also make sune spur to my hastening after you.

I do ever commend my best affection unto you, which if I thought you made any doubt of, I would express in more, & ye same more ample & full words. And ye Lord in whom you trust & whom you serve ever in this bussines & journey, guid you with his hand, protect you with his wing, and shew you & us his salvation in ye end, & bring us in ye mean while together in ye place desired, if such be his good will, for his Christs sake.

Amen.

Yours, &c. Jo: R.

July 27. 1620.

This was ye last letter yt Mr. Carver lived to see from him. The other follows.

Lovinge Christian friends, I do hartily & in ye Lord salute you all, as being they with whom I am presente in my best affection, and most earnest longings after you, though I be constrained for a while to be bodily absent from you. I say constrained, God knowing how willingly, & much rather then otherwise, I would have borne my part with you in this first brunt, were I not by strong necessitie held back for ye present. Make account of me in ye meanwhile, as of a man devided in myself with great pain, and as (natural bonds set a side) having my better part with you. And though I doubt not but in your godly wisdoms, you both foresee & resolve upon yt which concerneth your presente state & condition, both severally & joyntly, yet have I thought it but my duty to add some furdur spur of provocation unto them, who rune already, if not because you need it, yet because I owe it in love & dutie. And first, as we are daly to renew our repentance with our God, espetially for our sines known, and generally for our unknown trespasses, so doth ye Lord call us in a singular maner upon occasions of such difficultie & danger as lieth upon you, to a both more narrow search & careful reformation of your ways in his sight; least he, calling to remembrance our sines forgotten by us or unrepented of, take advantage against us, & in judgmente leave us for ye same to be swallowed up in one danger or other; whereas, on the contrary, sine being taken away by earnest repentance & ye pardon therof from ye Lord sealed up unto a man's conscience by his spirit, great shall be his securitie and peace in all dangers, sweet his comforts in all distresses, with hapie deliverance from all evil, whether in life or in death.

Now next after this heavenly peace with God & our own consciences, we are carefully to provide for peace with all men what in us lieth, espetially with our associates', & for ye watchfullnes must be had, that we neither at all in our selves doe give, no nor easily take offence being given by others.

Woe be unto ye world for offences, for though it be necessarie (considering [80]ye malice of Satan & man's corruption) that offences come, yet woe unto ye man or woman either by whom ye offence cometh, saith Christ, Mat. 18. 7. And if offences in ye unseasonable use of things in themselves indifferent, be more to be feared then death itself, as ye Apostle teacheth, 1. Cor. 9. 15. how much more in things simply evil, in which neither honour of God nor love of man is thought worthy to be regarded. Neither yet is it sufficiente yt we keep ourselves by ye grace of God from giveing offence, except withal we be armed against ye taking of them when they be given by others. For how imperfect & lame is ye work of grace in yt person, who wants charritie to cover a multitude of offences, as ye scriptures speake. Neither are you to be exhorted to this grace only upon ye coṃone grounds of Christianitie, which are, that persons ready to take offence, either want charitie, to cover offences, of wisdom duly to waigh humane

frailtie; or lastly, are gross, though close hypocrites, as Christ our Lord teacheth, Mat. 7. 1, 2, 3, as indeed in my own experience, few or none have bene found which sooner give offence, then such as easily take it; neither have they ever proved sound & profitable members in societies, which have nurished this touchy humor. But besides these, ther are diverse motives provoking you above others to great care & conscience this way: As first, you are many of you strangers, as to ye persons, so to ye infirmities one of another, & so stand in need of more watchfulness this way, least when such things fall out in men & women as you suspected not, you be inordinatly affected with them; which doth require at your hands much wisdom & charitie for ye covering & preventing of incident offences that way. And lastly, your intended course of civil comunitie will minister continual occasion of offence, & will be as fuel for that fire, except you dilligently quench it with brotherly forbearance. And if taking of offence causelessly or easilie at men's doings be so carefully to be avoyded, how much more heed is to be taken yt we take not offence at God himself, which yet we certainly do so oftē as we do murmur at his providence in our crosses, or bear impatiently such afflictions as wherewith he pleaseth to visit us. Store up therefore patience against ye evil day, without which we take offence at ye Lord himself in his holy & just works.

A 4. thing ther is carefully to be provided for, to witte, that with your comone imployments you joyne comone affections truly bent upon ye general good, avoyding as a deadly plague of your both comone & spetiall comfort all retirednes of mind for proper advantage, and all singularly affected any maner of way; let every man represe in himself & ye whole body in each person, as so many rebels against ye commone good, all private respects of men's selves, not sorting with ye general conveniencie. And as men are careful not to have a new house shaken with any violence before it be well settled & ye parts firmly knite, so be you, I beseech you, brethren, much more careful, yt the house of God which you are, and are to be, be not shaken with unnecessarie novelties or other oppositions at ye first settling therof.

Lastly, whereas you are become a body politik, using amongst your selves civil government, and are not furnished with any persons of spetiall eminencie above ye rest, to be chosen by you into office of government, let your wisdom & godliness appeare, not only in choosing such persons as doe entirely love and will promote ye comone good, but also in yeelding unto them all due honour & obedience in their lawfull administrations; not beholding in them ye ordinarinesse of their persons, but Gods ordinance for your good, not being like ye foolish multitude who more honour ye gay coate, then either ye vertuous mind of ye man, or glorious ordinance of ye Lord. But you know better things, & that ye image of ye Lords power & authoritie which ye magistrate beareth, is honourable, in how meane persons soever. And this dutie you both may ye more willingly and ought ye more conscionably to perform, because you are at least for ye present to have only them for your ordinarie governours, which your selves shall make choyse of for that work.

Sundrie other things of importance I could put you in mind of, and of those before mentioned, in more words, but I will not so far wrong your godly minds as to think you heedless of these things, ther being also diverce among you so well able to admonish both themselves & others of what concerneth them. These few things therefore, & ye same in few words, I do earnestly comend unto your care & conscience, joyning therewith my daily incessante prayers unto ye Lord, yt he who hath made ye heavens & ye earth, ye sea and all rivers of waters, and whose providence is over all his works, espetially over all his dear children for good, would so guide & guard you in your wayes, as inwardly by his Spirit, so outwardly by ye hand of his power, as yt both you & we also, for & with you, may have after matter of praising his name all ye days of your and our lives. Fare you well in him in whom you trust, and in whom I rest.

**An unfained wellwiller of your hapie success in this hopeful voyage,
John Robinson.**

This letter, though large, yet being so frutfull in itself, and suitable to their occasion, I thought meete to insert in this place.

All things being now ready, & every bussines dispatched, the company was called together, and this letter read amongst them, which had good acceptation with all, and after fruit with many. Then they ordered & distributed their company for either ship, as they conceived for ye best. And chose a Governor & 2. or 3. assistants for each ship, to order ye people by ye way, and see to ye disposing of there provissions, and such like affairs. All which was not only with ye liking of ye maisters of ye ships, but according to their desires. Which being done, they set sayle from thence aboute ye 5. of August; but what befell them further upon ye coast of England will appeare in ye next chapter.

The 8. Chapter.

Off the troubles that befell them on the coaste, and at sea being forced, after much trouble, to leave one of ther ships & some of their companie behind them.

Being thus put to sea they had not gone far, but Mr. Reinolds ye master of ye lesser ship complained that he found his ship so leak as he durst not put further to sea till she was mended. So ye master. of ye bigger ship (called Mr. Jonas) being consulted with, they both resolved to put into Dartmouth & have her ther searched & mended, which accordingly was done, to their great charge & loss of time and a faire wind. She was hear thorowly searcht from stern to stern, some leaks were found & mended, and now it was conceived by the workmen & all, that she was sufficiente, & they might proceede without either fear or danger. So with good hopes from hence, they put to sea againe, conceiving they should goe comfortably on, not looking for any more lets of this kind; but it fell out otherwise, for after they were gone to sea againe above 100. leagues without the Lands' End, holding company together all this while,

the master of ye small ship complained his ship was so leak as he must bear up or sink at sea, for they could scarce free her with much pumping. So they came to consultation againe, and resolved both ships to bear up back againe & put into Pliimoth, which accordingly was done. But no spetiall leak could be found, but it was judged to be ye general weakness of ye ship, and that she would not prove sufficiente for the voiage. Upon which it was resolved to dismiss her & part of ye companie, and proceede with ye other ship. The which (though it was greevous, & caused great discouragement) was put in execution. So after they had took out such provision as ye other ship could well stow, and concluded both what number and what persons to send back, they made another sad parting, ye one ship going back for London, and ye other was to proceede on her viage. Those that went back were for the most part such as were willing so to doe, either out of some discontent, or fear they conceived of ye ill success of ye vionage, seeing so many crosses befale, & the year time so far spent; but others, in regard of their own weakness, and charge of many yonge children, were thought least useful, and most unfit to bear ye brunt of this hard adventure; unto which work of God, and judgmente of their brethren, they were contented to submit. And thus, like Gideon's armie, this small number was devided, as if ye Lord by this work of his providence thought these few to many for ye great work he had to do. But here by the way let me show, how afterward it was found yt the weakness of this ship was partly by being over masted, and too much pressed with sayles; for after she was sould & put into her old trim, she made many viages & performed her service very sufficiently, to ye great profite of her owners. But more espetially, by the cunning & deceit of ye master & his company, who were hired to stay a whole year in ye countrie, and now fancying dislike & fearing want of victuals, they plotted this strategem to free themselves; as afterwards was known, & by some of them confessed. For they apprehended yt the greater ship, being of force, & in whom most of ye provissions were stowed, she would retain enough for herself, what soever became of them or ye passengers; & indeed such speeches had bene cast out by some of them; and yet, besides other incouragments, ye cheefe of them that came from Leyden wente in this ship to give ye master contente. But so strong was self-love & his fears, as he forgot all duty and former kindnesses, & delt thus falsely with them, though he pretended otherwise. Amongest those that returned was Mr. Cushman & his familie, whose hart & courage was gone from them before, as it seems, though his body was with them till now he departed; as may appear by a passionate letter he write to a friend in London from Dartmouth, whilst ye ship lay ther a mending; the which, besides ye expressions of his own fears, it shows much of ye providence of God working for their good beyond man's expectation, & other things concerning their condition in these streets. I will hear relate it. And though it discover some infirmities in him (as who under temptation is free), yet after this he continued to be a spetiall instrument for their good, and to doe ye offices of a loving friend & faithful brother unto them, and pertaker of much comfort with them.

The letter is as followeth.

**To his loving friend Ed: S. at Henige House in ye Dukes Place,
these, &c.
Dartmouth, Aug. 17.**

Loving friend, my most kind remembrance to you & your wife, with loving E. M. &c. whom in this world I never look to see againe. For besides ye eminent dangers of this viage, which are no less then deadly, an infirmitie of body hath ceased me, which will not in all lieclyhoode leave me till death. What to call it I know not, but it is a bundle of lead, as it were, crushing my harte more & more these 14. days, as that although I do ye actions of a living man, yet I am but as dead; but ye will of God be done. Our pinass will not cease leaking, else I think we had been halfway at Virginia, our viage hither hath been as full of crosses, as ourselves have been of crokednes. We put in hear to triim her, & I think, as others also, if we had stayed at sea but 3. or 4. howers more, she would have sunk right down. And though she was twice trimmed at Hamton, yet now she is open and leakie as a sieve; and ther was a borde, a man might have pulled off with his fingers, 2 foot long, where ye water came in as at a mole hole. We lay at Hamton 7. days, in fair weather, waiting for her, and now we lye hear waiting for her in as faire a wind as can blow, and so have done these 4. days, and are like to lye 4. more, and by yt time ye wind will happily turn as it did at Hampton. Our victuals will be halfe eaten up, I thinke, before we goe from the coaste of England, and if our viage last long, we shall not have a month's victuals when we come in ye countrie. Near 700li. hath bene bestowed at Hampton, upon what I know not. Mr. Martin saith he neither can, nor will give any account of it, and if he be called upon for accounts he crieth out of unthankfulness for his paines & care, that we are suspicious of him, and flings away, & will end nothing. Also he so insulteh over our poor people, with such scorn & contempte, as if they were not good enough to wipe his shoes. It would break your heart to see his dealing, and ye mourning of our people. They complaine to me, & alas! I can do nothing for them; if I speake to him, he flies in my face, as mutinous, and saith no complaints shall be heard or received but by himself, and saith they are forward, & waspish, discontented people, & I do ill to hear them.

There are others yt would lose all they have put in, or make satisfaction for what they have had, that they might depart: but he will not hear them, nor suffer them to goe ashore, least they should run away.

The sailors also are so offended at his ignorant boldness, in meddling & controlling in things he knows not what belongs too, as yt some threaten to misscheefe him, others say they will leave ye ship & goe their way. But at ye best this cometh of it, yt he makes himself a scorn & laughingstock unto them. As for Mr. Weston, except grace doe greatly sway with him, he will hate us ten times more than ever he loved us, for not confirming ye conditions. But now, since some pinches have taken them, they begine to reveile ye trueth, & say Mr. Robinson was in ye falte who charged them never to consente to those conditions, nor choose me into office, but indeed appointed them to choose them

they did chose. But he & they will rue too late, they may now see, & all be ashamed when it is too late, that they were so ignorant, yea, & so inordinate in their courses. I am sure as they were resolved not to seal those conditions.

I was not so resolute at Hampton to have left ye whole bussines, except they would seal them, & better ye vioage to have bene broken off then, then to have brought such miserie to ourselves, dishonour to God, & detriment to our loving friends, as now it is like to do. 4. or 5. of ye cheefe of them which came from Leyden, came resolved never to goe on those conditions. And Mr. Martine, he said he never received no money on those conditions, he was not beholden to ye marchants for a pine, they were bloodsuckers, & I know not what. Simple man, he indeed never made any conditions wth the marchants, nor ever spake with them. But did all that money flie to Hampton, or was it his own? Who will goe & lay out money so rashly & lavishly as he did, and never know how he comes by it, or on what conditions? 2ly. I tould him of ye alteration long agoe, & he was contente; but now he dominires, & said I had betrayed them into ye hands of slaves; he is not beholden to them, he can set out 2. ships himself to a viage. When, good man? He hath but 50li. in, & if he should give up his accounts he would not have a penie left him, as I am persuaded, &c. Friend, if ever we make a plantation, God works a miracle; especially considering how scant we shall be of victualls, and most of all ununited amongst ourselves, & devoyd of good tutors & regiment. Violence will break all. Where is ye meek & humble spirit of Moyses? & of Nehemiah who reedified ye walls of Jerusalem, & ye state of Israel? Is not ye sound of Rehoboams braggs daly hear amongst us? Have not ye philosophers and all wise men observed yt, even in settled comōne welths, violent governours bring either themselves, or people, or both, to ruin; how much more in ye raising of comōne wealths, when ye morter is yet scarce tempered yt should bind ye wales. If I should write to you of all things which promiscuously forerune our ruin, I should over charge my weak head and greeve your tender hart; only this, I pray you prepare for evil tidings of us every day. But pray for us instantly, it may be ye Lord will be yet entreated one way or other to make for us.

I see not in reason how we shall escape even ye gasping of hunger starved persons; but God can do much, & his will be done. It is better for me to dye, then now for me to bear it, which I do daly, & expect it howerly; haveing received ye sentence of death, both within me & without me. Poore William King & myself doe strive who shall be meat first for ye fishes; but we look for a glorious resurrection, knowing Christ Jesus after ye flesh no more, but looking unto ye joye yt is before us, we will endure all these things and account them light in comparison of yt joye we hope for. Remember me in all love to our friends as if I named them, whose praiers I desire earnestly, & wish againe to see, but not till I can with more comfort look them in ye face. The Lord give us that true comfort which none can take from us. I had a desire to make a breefe relation of our estate to some friend. I doubt not but your wisdom will teach you seasonably to utter things as here after you shall be called to it. That which I have written is true, & many things more which I have forborne. I write it as upon my life, and last confession in England. What is of use to be spoken of presently, you may speake of it, and what is fit to conceile, conceal. Pass by my weak maner, for my head is weak, & my body feeble, ye Lord make me strong in him, & keep both you & yours.

**Your loving friend,
Robart Cushman.
Dartmouth, Aug. 17. 1620.**

These being his conceptions & fears at Dartmouth, they must needs be much stronger now at Plimoth.

The 9. Chapter.

Of their vioage, & how they passed ye sea, and of their safe arrival at Cape Codd.

September: 6. These troubles being blowne over, and now all being compact togeather in one ship, they put to sea againe with a prosperous wind, which continued diverce days togeather, which was some incouragmente unto them; yet according to ye usual maner many were afflicted with sea-sicknes. And I may not omit hear a spetiall worke of Gods providence. Ther was a proud & very profane yonge man, one of ye sea-men, of a lustie, able body, which made him the more haughty; he would always be contemning ye poor people in their sicknes, & cursing them dayly with greēous execrations, and did not let to tell them, that he hoped to help to cast halfe of them over board before they came to their journeys 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 halfe seas over, to smite this young man with a greevous disease, of which he dyed in a desperate maner, and so was himself ye first yt 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 ye just hand of God upon him.

After they had injoyed faire winds and weather for a season, they were encountered many times with crosse winds, and mette with many fierce stormes, with which ye ship was shroudly shaken, and her upper works made very leakie; and one of the main beames in ye midships was bowed & craked, which put them in some fear that ye ship could not be able to perform ye vioage. So some of ye cheefe of ye company, perceiving ye mariners to fear ye suffisiencie of ye ship, as appeared by their mutterings, they entered into serious consultation with ye master & other officers of ye ship, to consider in time of ye danger; and rather to returne then to cast themselves into a desperate & inevitable peril.

And truly ther was great distraction & differance of opinion amongst ye mariners themselves; faine would they do what could be done for their wages sake, (being now halfe the seas over,) and on ye other hand they were loath to hazard their lives too desperately. But in examening of all opinions, the master & others affirmed they knew ye ship to be strong & firm under water; and for the buckling of ye main beame, ther was a great iron scrue ye passengers brought out of Holland, which would raise ye beame into his place; ye which being done, the carpenter & master affirmed that with a post put under it, set firm in ye lower deck, & other ways bound, he would make it sufficiente. And as for ye decks & upper works they would calke them as well as they could, and though with ye working of ye ship they would not long keep stanch, yet ther would otherwise be no great danger, if they did not over press her with sails. So they comitted themselves to ye will of God, & resolved to proseede. In sundrie of these stormes the winds were so fierce, & ye seas so high, as they could not bear a knot of saile, but were forced to hull, for diuerce days together.

And in one of them, as they thus lay at hull, in a mighty storm, a lustie yonge man (called John Howland) coming upon some occasion above ye grattings, was, with a seele of the ship thrown into [ye] sea; but it pleased God yt he caught hould of ye top-saile halliards, which hung over board, & rane out at length; yet he held his hould (though he was sundrie fadomes under water) till he was hald up by ye same rope to ye brime of ye water, and then with a boat hook & other means got into ye ship againe, & 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 & coṃone wealth. In all this viage ther died but one of ye passengers, which was William Butten, a youth, servant to Samuell Fuller, when they drew near ye coast. But to omit other things, (that I may be breefe,) after long beating at sea they fell with that land which is called Cape Cod; the which being made & certainly known to be it, they were not a little joyfull. After some deliberation had amongst themselves & with ye master of ye ship, they tacked aboute and resolved to stand for ye southward (ye wind & weather being faire) to find some place about Hudson's river for their habitation. But after they had sailed yt course aboute halfe ye day, they fell amongst dangerous shoulds and roring breakers, and they were so far intangled ther with as they conceived themselves in great danger; & ye wind shrinking upon them withal, they resolved to bear up againe for the Cape, and thought themselves happy to get out of those dangers before night overtook them, as by Gods providence they did. And ye next day they got into ye Cape-harbor where they ridd in saftie. A word or too by ye way of this cape; it was thus first named by Capten Gosnole & his company, Anno: 1602, and after by Capten Smith was called Cape James; but it retains ye former name amongst seamen.

Also yt pointe which first shewed those dangerous shoulds unto them, they called Pointe Care, & Tuckers Terrour; but ye French & Dutch to this day call it Malabarr, by reason of those perilous shoulds, and ye losses they have suffered there.

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

But hear I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amased at this poor people's presente condition; and so I thinke will the reader too, when he well considers ye same. Being thus passed ye vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation (as may be remembered by yt which wente before), they had now no friends to welcome them, nor inns to entertaine or refresh their weather beaten bodys, no houses or much less towns to repair too, to seek for succour. It is recorded in scripture as a mercie to ye apostle & his shipwraked company, yt the barbarians shewed them no smale kindness in refreshing them, but these savage barbarians, when they mette with them (as after will appeare) were readier to fill their sides full of arrows then otherwise. And for ye season it was winter, and they that know ye winters of yt countrie know them to be sharp & violent, & subject to cruel & feirce stormes, deangerous to travill to known places, much more to search an unknown coast. Besides, what could they see but a hideous & desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts & wild men? and what multitudes ther might be of them they knew not. Neither could they, as it were, goe up to ye tope of Pisgah, to vew from this wilderness a more goodly countrie to feed their hops; for which way soever they turned their eyes (save upward to ye heavens) they could have little solace or content in respect of any outward objects. For suṃer being done, all things stand upon them with a weather-beaten face; and ye whole countrie, full of woods & thickets, represented a wild & savage heiw. If they looked behind them, ther was ye mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a main barr & goulfe to separate them from all ye civil parts of ye world. If it be said they had a ship to succour them, it is trew; but what heard they daly from ye master & company? but yt with speed they should look out a place with their shallop, where they would be at some near distance; for ye season was such as he would not stir from thence till a safe harbor was discovered by them where they would be, and he might goe without danger; and that victells consumed apace, but he must & would keep sufficient for themselves & their returne. Yea, it was muttered by some, that if they got not a place in time, they would turn them & their goods ashore & leave them. Let it also be considred what weake hopes of supply & succour they left behind them, yt might bear up their minds in this sade condition and trials they were under; and they could not but be very smale. It is true, indeed, ye affections & love of their brethren at Leyden was cordial & entire towards them, but they had little power to help them, or themselves; and how ye case stode between them & ye marchants at their coming away, hath already been declared. What could now sustain them but the spirit of God & his grace? May not & ought not the children of these fathers rightly say: Our faithers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean,

and were ready to perish in this wilderness; but they cried unto ye Lord, and he heard their voyce, and looked on their adversitie, &c. Let them theretofore praise ye Lord, because he is good, & his mercies endure for ever. Yea, let them which have been redeemed of ye Lord, shew how he hath delivered them from ye hand of ye oppressour. When they wandered in ye desert wilderness out of ye way, and found no citie to dwell in, both hungrie, & thirstie, their sowle was overwhelmed in them. Let them confess before ye Lord his loving kindness, and his wonderfull works before ye sons of men.

The 10. Chapter.

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

Being thus arrived at Cap-Cod ye 11. of November, and necessitie calling them to look out a place for habitation, (as well as the maisters & mariners importunitie,) they having brought a large shalop with them out of England, stowed in quarters in ye ship, they now got her out & set their carpenters to work to trim her up; but being much brused & shatered in ye ship wth foule weather, they saw she would be long in mending. Whereupon a few of them tendered themselves to goe by land and discovere those nearest places, whilst ye shallop was in mending; and ye rather because as they wente into yt harbor ther seemed to be an opening some 2. or 3 leagues of, which ye maister judged to be a river.

It was conceived ther might be some danger in ye attempt, yet seeing them resolute, they were permitted to goe, being 16. of them well armed, under ye conduct of Captain Standish, having such instructions given them as was thought meete. They set forth ye 15. of November: and when they had marched aboute the space of a mile by ye sea side, they espied 5. or 6. persons with a dog coming towards them, who were salvages; but they fled from them, & ran up into ye woods, and ye English followed them, partly to see if they could speake with them, and partly to discover if ther might not be more of them lying in ambush. But ye Indeans seeing themselves thus followed, they againe forsook the woods, & ran away on ye sands as hard as they could, so as they could not come near them, but followed them by ye tracte of their feet sundrie miles, and saw that they had come the same way. So, night coming on, they made their rendezvous & set out their sentinels, and rested in quiet yt night, and the next morning followed their tracte till they had headed a great creak, & so left the sands, & turned another way into ye woods. But they still followed them by geuss, hoping to find their dwellings; but they soon lost both them & themselves, falling into such thickets as were ready to tear their cloaths & armore in peeces, but were most distressed for want of drink. But at length they found water & refreshed themselves, being ye 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 ye other shore, for they knew it was a neck of land they were to crosse over, and so at length got to ye sea-side, and marched to this supposed river, & by ye way found a pond of clear fresh water, and shortly after a good quantitie of clear ground where ye Indeans had formerly set corn, and some of their graves.

And proceeding further they saw new-stubble where corn had been set ye 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 diverce faire Indean baskets filled with corn, and some in eares, faire and good, of diverce colours, which seemed to them a very goodly sight, (haveing never seen any such before). This was near ye place of that supposed river they came to seeck; unto which they wente and found it to open itself into 2. armes with a high cliffe of sand in ye entrance, but more like to be crikes of salt water then any fresh, for ought they saw; and that ther was good harborige for their shallope; leaving it further to be discovered by their shalop when she was ready. So their time limited them being expired, they returned to ye ship, least they should be in fear of their saftie; and took with them part of ye corn, and buried up ye rest, and so like ye men from Eshcoll carried with them of ye fruits of ye land, & showed their breethren; of which, & their returne, they were marvelously glad, and their hearts encouraged.

After this, ye shalops being got ready, they set out againe for ye better discovery of this place, & ye master of ye ship desired to goe himself, so ther went some 30. men, but found it to be no harbor for ships but only for boats; ther was also found 2. of their houses covered with matts, & sundrie of their implements in them, but ye people were rune away & could not be seen; also ther was found more of their corn, & of their beans of various colours. The corn & beans they brought away, purposing to give them full satisfaction when they should meete with any of them (as about some 6. months afterward they did, to their good contente). And here is to be noted a spetiall providence of God, and a great mercie to this poor people, that hear they got seed to plant them corn ye next year, or else they might have starved, for they had none, nor any likelihood to get any till ye season had been past (as ye sequell did manifest). Neither is it likly they had had this, if ye first viage had not been made, for the ground was now all covered with snow, & hard frozen. But the Lord is never wanting unto his in their greatest needs; let his holy name have all ye praise.

The month of November being spent in these affairs, & much foule weather falling in, the 6. of December: they sente out their shallop againe with 10. of their principal men, & some sea men, upon further discovery, intending to circulate that deep bay of Cap-Codd. The weather was very could, & it frose so hard as ye sprea of ye sea lighting on their coats, they were as if they had been glased; yet that night betimes they got down into ye botome of ye bay, and as they drue nere ye shore they saw some 10. or 12. Indeans very busie about something. They landed aboute a league or 2. from them, and had much a doe to put a shore anywhere, it lay so full of flats.

Being landed, it grew late, and they made themselves a barricade with logs & bows as well as they could in ye time, & set out their sentinel & betooke them to rest, and saw ye smoke of ye fire ye savages made yt night. When morning was come they devided their company, some to coaste along ye shore in ye boat, and the rest marched throw ye woods to see ye land, if any fit place might be for their dwelling. They came also to ye place where they saw the Indeans ye night before, & found they had been cutting up a great fish like a grampus, being some 2. inches thick of fate like a hogg, some peeces whereof they had left by ye way; and ye shallop found 2. more of these fishes dead on ye sands, a thing usual after storms in yt place, by reason of ye great flats of sand that lye of. So they ranged up and doune all yt day, but found no people, nor any place they liked. When ye sun grue low, they hasted out of ye woods to meete with their shallop, to whom they made signes to come to them into a creek hardby, the which they did at highwater; of which they were very glad, for they had not seen each other all yt day, since ye morning. So they made them a barricado (as usually they did every night) with logs, stakes, & thick pine bowes, ye height of a man, leaving it open to leeward, partly to shelter them from ye could & wind (making their fire in ye middle, & lying round aboute it), and partly to defend them from any sudden assaults of ye savages, if they should surround them. So being very weary, they betooke them to rest. But aboute midnight, they heard a hideous & great crie, and their sentinel called, "Arme, arme"; so they bestired them & stood to their armes, & shote of a couple of muskets, and then the noys seased. They concluded it was a companie of wolves, or such like wild beasts; for one of ye sea men tould them he had often heard such a noyse in New-found land. So they rested till about 5. of ye clock in the morning; for ye tide, & ther purposs to goe from thence, made them be stirring betimes. So after praier they prepared for breakfast, and it being day dawning, it was thought best to be carrying things down to ye boat. But some said it was not best to carrie ye armes down, others said they would be the readier, for they had lapped them up in their coats from ye dew.

But some 3. or 4. would not carry theirs till they wente themselves, yet as it fell out, ye water being not high enough, they layed them down on ye bank side, & came up to breakfast. But presently, all on ye sudain, they heard a great & strange crie, which they knew to be the same voyces they heard in ye night, though they varied their notes, & one of their company being abroad came running in, & cried, "Men, Indeans, Indeans"; and withal, their arowes came flying amongst them. Their men rane with all speed to recover their armes, as by ye good providence of God they did. In ye mean time, of those that were ther ready, tow muskets were discharged at them, & 2. more stood ready in ye entrance of ther randevoue, but were commanded not to shoot till they could take full aime at them; & ye other 2. charged againe with all speed, for ther were only 4. had armes ther, & defended ye baricado which was first assaulted. The crie of ye Indeans was dreadful, espetially when they saw ther men run out of ye randevoue towards ye shallop, to recover their armes, the Indeans wheeling aboute upon them. But some running out with coats of malle on, & cutlasses in their hands, they soon got their armes, & let flye amongst them, and quickly stopped their violence. Yet ther was a lustie man, and no less valiant, 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 ye barke or splinters of ye tree fly about his ears, after which he gave an extraordinary shriek, and away they wente all of them. They left some to keep ye shalop, and followed them aboute a quarter of a mille, and shouted once or twise, and shot of 2. or 3. peces, & so returned. This they did, that they might conceive that they were not afraid 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 hurt, or hit, though their arrows came close by them, & on every side them, and sundry of their coats, which hung up in ye barricado, were shot throw & throw. Afterwards they gave God sollamne thanks & praise for their deliverance, & gathered up a bundle of their arrows, & sente them into England afterward by ye master of ye ship, and called that place ye first encounter. From hence they departed, & costed all along, but discerned no place likely for harbor; & therefore hasted to a place that their pillote, (one Mr. Coppin who had bine in ye countrie 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 began to be foule weather. After some hours sailing, it began to snow & raine, & about ye middle of ye afternoon, ye wind increased, & ye sea became very rough, and they broake their rudder, & it was as much as 2. men could do to steere her with a couple of oares. But their pilot bad them be of good cheere, for he saw ye harbor; but ye storm increasing, & night drawing on, they bore what saile they could to get in, while they could see. But herewith they broake their mast in 3. peeces, & their sail fell over bord, in a very grown sea, so as they had like to have been cast away; yet by Gods mercie they recovered themselves, & having ye floud with them, struck into ye harbor. But when it came too, ye pilot was deceived in ye place, and said, ye Lord be merciful unto them, for his eyes never saw yt place before; & he & the master & mate would have rune her ashore, in a cove full of breakers, before ye winde. But a lusty seaman which steered, bad those which rowed, if they were men, about with her, or ells they were all cast away; the which they did with speed. So he bid them be of good cheere & row lustily, for ther was a faire sound before them, & he doubted not but they should find one place or other where they might ride in saftie. And though it was very dark, and rained sore, yet in ye end they got under ye lee of a small island, and remained ther all yt night in saftie. But they knew not this to be an island till morning, but were devided in their minds; some would keep ye boat for fear they might be amongst ye Indians; others were so weake and could, they could not endure, but got a shore, & with much adoe got fire, (all things being so wet,) and ye rest were glad to come to them; for after midnight ye wind shifted to the north-west, & it frose hard. But though this had been a day & night of much trouble & danger unto them, yet God gave them a morning of comfort & refreshing (as usually he doth to his children), for ye next day was a faire sunshinīg day, and they found themselves to be on an island secure from ye Indeans, where they might drie their stufe, fixe their peeces, & rest themselves, and gave God thanks for his mercies,

in their manifold deliverances. And this being the last day of ye week, they prepared ther to keep ye Sabath. On Munday they sounded ye harbor, and found it fit for shipping; and marched into ye land, & found diverse cornfields, & little running brooks, a place (as they supposed) fit for situation; at least it was ye best they could find, and ye season, & their presente necessitie, made them glad to accept of it. So they returned to their ship againe with this news to ye rest of their people, which did much comfort their hearts.

On ye 15. of Desemr: they wayed anchor to goe to ye place they had discovered, & came within 2. leagues of it, but were faine to bear up againe; but ye 16. day ye winde came faire, and they arrived safe in this harbor. And after wards took better view of ye place, and resolved where to pitch their dwelling; and ye 25. day began to erect ye first house for comone use to receive them and their goods.

The 2. Booke.

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

The remainder of Ano: 1620.

I shall a little returne back and begine with a combination made by them before they came ashore, being ye first foundation of their government in this place; occasioned partly by ye discontented & mutinous speeches that some of the strangers amongst them had let fall from them in ye ship—That when they came ashore they would use their own libertie; for none had power to command them, the patent they had being for Virginia, and not for New-England, which belonged to another Government, with which ye Virginia Company had nothing to doe. And partly that such an act by them done (this their condition considered) might be as firm as any patent, and in some respects more sure.

The forme was as followeth.

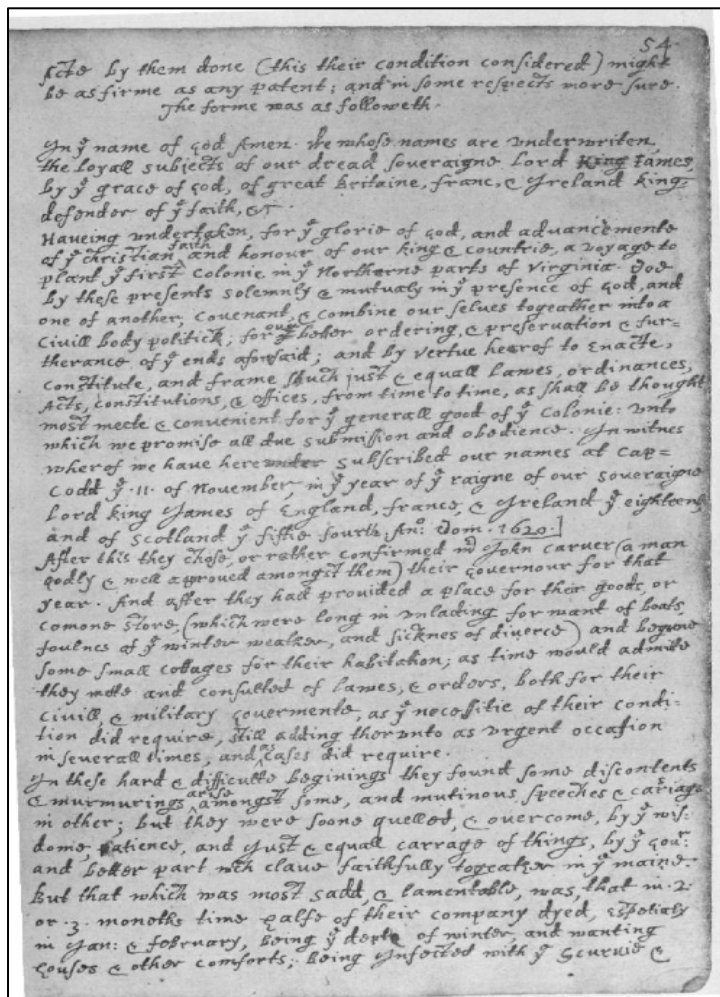
In ye name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by ye grace of God, of Great Britain, France, & Ireland, king, defender of ye faith, &c., haveing undertaken, for ye glorie of God, and advancemente of ye Christian faith, and honour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

After this they chose, or rather confirmed, Mr. John Carver (a man godly & 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, foulness of winter weather, and sicknes of diverce,) and begun some small cottages for their habitation, as time would admitte, they mette and consulted of lawes & orders, both for their civil & military Governement, as ye necessitie of their condition did require, still adding thereunto as urgent occasion in several times, and as cases did require.

In these hard & difficulte beginnings they found some discontents & murmurings arise amongst some, and mutinous speeches & carriages in other; but they were soone quelled & overcome by ye wisdom, patience, and just & equal carriage of things by ye Govr and better part, wch clave faithfully together in ye maine. But that which was most sad & lamentable was, that in 2. or 3. months' time halfe of their company dyed, espetially in Jan: & February, being ye depth of winter, and wanting houses & other comforts; being infected with ye scurvie & other diseases, which this long vioage & their incomodate condition had brought upon them; so as ther dyed sometimes 2. or 3. of a day, in ye foresaid time; that of 100. & odd persons, scarce 50. remained. And of these in ye time 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 own health, fetched them woode, made them fires, drest them meat, made their beads, washed their lothsome cloaths, cloathed & uncloathed them; in a word, did all ye homly & necessarie offices for them wch dainty & quessie stomachs cannot endure to hear named; and all this willingly & cherfully, without any grudging in ye least, shewing herein their true love unto their friends & bretheren. A rare example & worthy to be remembred. Two of these 7. were Mr. William Brewster, ther reverend Elder, & Myles Standish, ther Captein & military comander, unto whom myself, & many others, were much beholden in our low & sicke condition.

And yet the Lord so upheld these persons, as in this general 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 general vissitation, & 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 ye Lord.

But I may not hear pass by another remarkable passage not to be forgotten. As this calamitie fell among ye passengers that were to be left here to plant, and were hasted a shore and made to drink water, that ye sea-men might have ye more bear, and one in his sicknes desiring but a small can of beere, it was answered, that if he were their own father he should have none; the disease began to fall amongst them also, so as almost halfe of their



company dyed before they went away, and many of their officers and lustiest men, as ye boatson, gunner, 3. quarter-maisters, the cook, & others. At wch ye master was something stricken and sent to ye sick a shore and tould ye Govr he should send for beer for them that had need of it, though he drunk water homeward bound. But now amongst his company ther was far another kind of carriage in this miserie then amongst ye passengers; for they that before had been boone companions in drinking & joyllity in ye time of their health & welfare, began now to desert one another in this calamitie, saing they would not hazard ther lives for them, they should be infected by coming to help them in their cabins, and so, after they came to dye by it, would do little or nothing for them, but if they dyed let them dye. But such of ye passengers as were yet aboard shewed them what mercy they could, wch made some of their hearts relent, as ye boatson (& some others), who was a prowde yonge man, and would often curse & scoff at ye passengers; 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 & deed. O! saith he, you, I now see, shew your love like Christians indeed one to another, but we let one another lye & dye like dogs.

Another lay cursing his wife, saing if it had not been for her he had never come this unlucky viage, and anone cursing his fellows, saing he had done this & that, for some of them, he had spente so much, & 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 him in his weakness; he went and got a little spise & made him a mess of meat once or twise, and because he dyed not so soone as he expected, he went amongst his fellows, & swore ye rogue would cousen him, he would see him choaked before he made him any more meat; and yet ye pore fellow dyed before morning.

All this while ye Indians came skulking about them, and would sometimes show themselves aloofe of, but when any approached near them, they would run away. And once they stoale away their tools where they had been at worke, & were gone to diner.

But about ye 16. of March a certain 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 ye eastrene parts, where some English-ships came to fhish, with whom he was aquainted, & could name sundrie of them by their names, amongst whom he had got his language. He became profitable to them in acquainting them with many things concerning ye state of ye country in ye east-parts where he lived, which was afterwards profitable unto them; as also of ye people hear, of their names, number, & strength; of their situation & distance from this place, and who was cheefe amongst them. His name was Samaset; he tould them also of another Indian whose name was Squanto, a native of this place, who had been in England & could speake better English then himself. Being, after some time of entertainment & gifts, dismiss, a while after he came againe, & 5. more with him, & they brought againe all ye tools that were stolen away before, and made way for ye coming of their great Sachem, called Massasoyt; who, about 4. or 5. days after, came with the cheefe of his friends & other attendance, with the aforesaid Squanto. With whom, after friendly entertainment, & 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 hurt to any of their people.
2. That if any of his did any hurt to any of theirs, he should send ye offender, that they might punish him.
3. That if anything were taken away from any of theirs, he should cause it to be restored; and they should doe ye like to his.
4. If any did unjustly war against him, they would aide him; if any did war against them, he should aide them.
5. He should send to his neighbours confederates, to certifie them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might be likewise comprised in ye conditions of peace.
6. That when ther men came to them, they should leave their bows & arrows behind them.

After these things he returned to his place called Sowams, some 40. mile from this place, but Squanto continued with them, and was their interpreter, and was a special instrument sent of God for their good beyond their expectation. He directed them how to set their corn, where to take fish, and to procure other commodities, and was also their pilot to bring them to unknown places for their profit, and never left them till he dyed. He was a native of this place, & scarce any left alive besides himself. He was carried away with diverse others by one Hunt, a master 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, & imployed to New-Foundland & other parts, & lastly brought hither into these parts by one Mr. Dermer, a gentle-man imployed by Sr. Ferdinando Gorges & others, for discovery, & other designs in these parts.

Of whom I shall say something, because it is mentioned in a booke set forth Ano: 1622. by the President & Counsell for New-England, that he made ye peace between ye salvages of these parts & ye English; of which this plantation, as it is intimated, had ye benefit. But what a peace it was, may appear by what befell him & his men.

This Mr. Dermer was hear the same year that these people came, as appears by a relation written by him, & given me by a friend, bearing date June 30. Ano: 1620. And they came in November: following, so ther was but 4. months difference. In which relation to his honored friend, 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; wch in Cap: Smiths map is called Plimoth: and I would that Plimoth had ye 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 ye savages are lese to be feared. The Pocanawkits, which live to ye west of Plimoth, bear an inveterate malice to ye English, and are of more strength then all ye savages 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 & 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 beleeeve they were, for ye Frenche have so possesst them; for which cause Squanto cannot deny but they would have killed me when I was at Namasket, had he not entreated hard for me. The soyle of ye borders of this great bay, may be compared to most of ye plantations which I have seen in Virginia. The land is of diverse sorts; for Patuxite is a hardy but strong soyle, Nawsel & Saughtughtett are for ye most part a blakish & deep mould, much like that where groweth ye best Tobacco in Virginia. In ye bottom of yt great bay is store of Codd & Basse, or mullet, &c.

But above all he commends Pacanawkite for ye richest soyle, and much open ground fit for English graine, &c. Massachusetts is about 9. leagues from Plimoth, & situate in ye mids between both, is full of islands & peninsules very fertill for ye most part. With sundrie such relations which I forbear to transcribe, being now better known then they were to him.

He was taken prisoner by ye Indeans at Manamoiak (a place not far from hence, now well known). He gave them what they demanded for his liberty, but when they had got what they desired, they kept him still & indeavored 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 corn. Of which, see Purch: lib. 9. fol. 1778. But this was Ano: 1619.

After ye writing of ye former relation he came to ye Ile of Capawack (which lyes south of this place in ye way to Virginia), and ye foresaid Squanto wth him, where he going a shore amongst ye Indeans to trad, as he used to doe, was betrayed & assaulted by them, & all his men slain, but one that kept the boat; but himself got aboard very sore wounded, & they had cut of his head upon ye cudy of his boat, had not ye man reskued him with a sword. And so they got away, & made shift to get into Virginia, where he dyed; whether of his wounds or ye diseases of ye countrie, or both together, is uncertain.

By all which it may appeare how far these people were from peace, and with what danger this plantation was begun, save as ye powerfull hand of the Lord did protect them. These things were partly the reason why they kept aloofe & were so long before they came to the English. Another reason (as after themselves made know) was how aboute 3. years before, a French-ship was cast away at Cap-Codd, but ye men got ashore, & saved their lives, and much of their victails, & other goods; but after ye Indeans heard of it, they geathered together from these parts, and never left watching & dogging them till they got advantage, and kild them all but 3. or 4. which they kept, & sent from one Sachem to another, to make sport with, and used them worse than slaves; (of which ye foresaid Mr. Dermer redeemed 2. of them;) and they conceived this ship was now come to revenge it.

Also, (as after was made known,) before they came to ye English to make friendship, they got all the Powachs of ye countrie, for 3. days together, in a horrid and divellish maner to curse & execrate them with their conjurations, which assembly & service they held in a dark & dismale swampe. But to returne. The spring now approaching, it pleased God the mortalitie begane to cease amongst them, and ye sick and lame recovered apace, which put as it were new life into them; though they had borne their sadd affliction with much patience & contentednes, as I thinke any people could do. But it was ye Lord which upheld them, and had beforehand prepared them; many having long borne ye yoake, yea from their youth. Many other smaller maters I omit, sundrie of them having been already published in a Journall made by one of the company; and some other passages of jurneys and relations already published, to which I refer those that are willing to know them more perticularly. And being now come to ye 25. of March I shall begin ye year 1621.

Anno. 1621.

They now began to dispatch ye ship away which brought them over, which lay till about this time, or ye beginning of April. The reason on their parts why she stayed so long, was ye necessitie and danger that lay upon them, for it was well towards ye ende of December before she could land anything hear, or they able to receive any thing ashore. Afterwards, ye 14. of Jan: the house which they had made for a general randevoze by casulty fell afire, and some were faine to retire aboard for shelter. Then the sicknes began to fall sore amongst them, and ye weather so bad as they could not make much sooner any dispatch. Againe, the Govr & cheefe of them, seeing so many dye, and fall down sick dayly, thought it no wisdom to send away the ship, their condition considered, and ye danger they stood in from ye Indeans, till they could procure some shelter; and therefore thought it better to draw some more charge upon themselves & friends, then hazard all.

The master and sea-men likewise, though before they hasted ye passengers a shore to be gone, now many of their men being dead, & of ye ablest of them, (as is before noted,) and of ye rest many lay sick & weak, ye master. durst not put to sea, till he saw his men begin to recover, and ye hart of winter over.

Afterwards they (as many as were able) began to plant ther corn, in which servise Squanto stood them in great stead, showing them both ye maner how to set it, and after how to dress & tend it. Also he tould them except they got fish & set with it (in these old grounds) it would come to nothing, and he showed them yt in ye middle of April they should have store enough come up ye brooke, by which they begane to build, and taught them how to take it, and where to get other provissions necessary for them; all which they found true by trial & experience. Some English seed they sew, as wheat & pease, but it came not to good, either by ye badnes of ye seed, or latenes of ye season, or both, or some other defect.

In this month of April whilst they were bussie about their seed, their Governor (Mr. John Carver) came out of ye field very sick, it being a hot day; he complained greatly of his head, and lay down, and within a few howers his sences failed, so as he never spake more till he dyed, which was within a few days after. Whose death was much lamented, and caused great heavines amongst them, as ther was cause. He was buried in ye best maner they could, with some vollies of shott by all that bore armes; and his wife, being a weak woman, dyed within 5. or 6. weeks after him. Shortly after William Bradford was chosen Govern in his stead, and being not yet recovered of his illness, in which he had been near ye point of death, Isaak Allerton was chosen to be an Assistant unto him, who, by renewed election every year, continued sundry years togeather, which I hear note once for all.

May 12. was ye first marriage in this place, which, according to ye laudable custom of the Low-Countries, in which they had lived, was thought most requisite to be performed by the magistrate, as being a civil thing, upon which many questions aboute inheritances doe depend, with other things most proper to their cognizans, and most consonante to ye scriptures, Ruth 4. and nowhere found in ye gospel to be layed on ye ministers as a part of their office. "This decree or law about marriage was published by ye Stats of ye Low-Countries Ano: 1590.

That those of any religion, after lawfull and open publication, coming before ye magistrates, in ye Town or Stat-house, were to be orderly (by them) married one to another." Petets Hist, fol: 1029. And this practise hath continued amongst, not only them, but hath been followed by all ye famous churches of Christ in these parts to this time,—Ano: 1646.

Having in some sort ordered their bussines at home, it was thought meete to send some abroad to see their new friend Massasoyet, and to bestow upon him some gratuitie to bind him ye faster unto them; as also that hearby they might view ye countrie, and see in what maner he lived, what strength he had aboute him, and how ye ways were to his place, if at any time they should have occasion. So ye 2. of July they sente Mr. Edward Winslow & Mr. Hopkins, with ye foresaid Squanto for ther guid, who gave him a suite of cloaths, and a horsemans coate, with some other small things, which were kindly accepted; but they found but short comons, and came both weary & hungrie home. For ye Indeans used then to have nothing so much corn as they have since ye English have stored them with their hows, and seen their industrie in breaking up new grounds therewith. They found his place to be 40. miles from hence, ye soyle good, & ye people not many, being dead & abundantly wasted in ye late great mortalitie which fell in all these parts aboute three years before ye coming of ye English, wherein thousands of them dyed, they not being able to burie one another; ther sculs and bones were found in many places lying still above ground, where their houses & dwellings had been;

a very sad spectacle to behould. But they brought word that ye Narighansets lived but on ye other side of that great bay, & were a strong people, & many in number, living compacted togeather, & had not been at all touched with this wasting plague.

Aboute ye later end of this month, one John Billington lost him selfe in ye woods, & wandered up & down some 5. days, living on berries & what he could find. At length he light on an Indean plantation, 20. mils south of this place, called Manamet, they conveid him further of, to Nawsett, among those people that had before set upon ye English when they were costing, whilst ye ship lay at ye Cape, as is before noted. But ye Governor caused him to be enquired for among ye Indeans, and at length Massassoyt sent word where he was, and ye Governor sent a shalop for him, & had him delivered. Those people also came and made their peace; and they gave full satisfaction to those whose come they had found & taken when they were at Cap-Codd.

Thus ther peace & acquaintance was pretty well establisht wth the natives aboute them; and ther was another Indean called Hobamack come to live amongst them, a proper lustie man, and a man of account for his valour & parts

amongst ye Indeans, and continued very faithful and constant to ye English till he dyed. He & Squanto being gone upon bussines among ye Indeans, at their returne (whether it was out of envie to them or malice to the English) ther was a Sachem called Corbitant, allied to Massassoyte, but never any good friend to ye English to this day, met with them at an Indean towne called Namassakett 14 miles to ye west of this place, and began to quarrel wth them, and offered to stab Hobamack; but being a lusty man, he cleared him selfe of him, and came running away all sweating and tould ye Govr what had befallne him, and he feared they had killed Squanto, for they threatened them both, and for no other cause but because they were friends to ye English, and serviceable unto them. Upon this ye Governor taking counsell, it was conceived not fit to be borne; for if they should suffer their friends & messengers thus to be wronged, they should have none would cleave unto them, or give them any intelligence, or doe them serviss afterwards; but next they would fall upon themselves.

Whereupon it was resolved to send ye Captain & 14. men well-armed, and to goe & fall upon them in ye night; and if they found that Squanto was kild, to cut of Corbitants head, but not to hurt any but those that had a hand in it. Hobamack was asked if he would goe & be their guid, & bring them ther before day. He said he would, & bring them to ye house where the man lay, and show them which was he. So they set forth ye 14. of August, and beset ye house round; the Captain giving charge to let none pass out, entered ye house to search for him. But he was gone away that day, so they mist him; but understood yt Squanto was alive, & that he had only threatened to kill him, & made an offer to stab him but did not. So they withheld and did no more hurt, & ye people came trembling, & brought them the best provissions they had, after they were acquainted by Hobamack what was only intended. Ther was 3. sore wounded which broak out of ye house, and asaid to pass through ye garde. These they brought home with them, & they had their wounds drest & cured, and sente home. After this they had many gratulations from diverce sachims, and much firmer peace; yea, those of ye lles of Capawack sent to make friendship; and this Corbitant him selfe used ye mediation of Massassoyte to make his peace, but was shie to come near them a long while after.

After this, ye 18. of September: they sente out ther shalop to the Massachusetts, with 10. men, and Squanto for their guid and interpreter, to discover and view that bay, and trade with ye natives; the which they performed, and found kind entertainment. The people were much afraid of ye Tarentins, a people to ye eastward which used to come in harvest time and take away their corn, & many times kill their persons. They returned in saftie, and brought home a good quantity of beaver, and made report of ye place, wishing they had been ther seated; (but it seems ye Lord, who assignes to all men ye bounds of their habitations, had apoynted it for another use). And thus they found the Lord to be with them in all their ways, and to blesse their outgoings & incomings, for which let his holy name have ye praise for ever, to all posteritie.

They begane now to gather in ye small harvest they had, and to fit up their houses and dwellings against winter, being all well recovered in health & strength, and had all things in good plenty; for as some were thus imployed in affairs abroad, others were exercised in fishing, about Codd, & bass, & other fish, of which yey took good store, of which every family had their portion. All ye soñer ther was no want. And now begane to come in store of foule, as winter approached, of which this place did abound when they came first (but afterward decreased by degrees).

And besides water foule, ther was great store of wild Turkies, of which they took many, besides venison, &c. Besides they had aboute a peck a meal a week to a person, or now since harvest, Indean corn to yt proportion. Which made many afterwards write so largely of their plenty hear to their friends in England, which were not fained, but true reports.

In November, about ye time twelfe month that themselves came, ther came in a small ship to them unexpected or looked for, in which came Mr. Cushman (so much spoken of before) and with him 35. persons to remaine & live in ye plantation, which did not a little rejoyce them. And they when they came ashore and found all well, and saw plenty of vitails in every house, were no less glade. For most of them were lusty yonge men, and many of them wild enough, who little considered whither or aboute what they wente, till they came into ye harbore at Cap-Codd, and ther saw nothing but a naked and barren place. They then begane to thinke what should become of them, if the people here were dead or cut off by ye Indeans. They began to consult (upon some speeches that some of ye sea-men had cast out) to take ye sayls from ye yeard least ye ship should get away and leave them ther. But ye master hearing of it, gave them good words, and tould them if anything but well should have befallen ye people hear, he hoped he had vitails enough to carry them to Virginia, and whilst he had a bitt they should have their part; which gave them good satisfaction. So they were all landed; but ther was not so much as bisket-cake or any other victuals for them, neither had they any bedding, but some sorry things they had in their cabins, nor pot, nor pan, to dress any meat in; nor over many cloaths, for many of them had brusht away their coats & cloaks at Plimoth as they came.

But ther was sent over some burching-lane suits in ye ship, out of which they were supplied. The plantation was glad of this addition of strength, but could have wished that many of them had been of better condition, and all of them better furnished with provissions; but yt could not now be helpte.

In this ship Mr. Weston sent a large leter to Mr. Carver, ye late Governor, now deceased, full of complaints & expostulations about former passages at Hampton; and ye keeping ye ship so long in ye country, and returning her without lading, &c., which for brevitie I omit. The rest is as followeth.

Part of Mr. Weston's letter.

I durst never aquainte ye adventurers with ye alteration of ye conditions first agreed on between us, which I have since been very glad of, for I am well assured had they known as much as I do, they would not have adventured a halfe-penny of what was necessary for this ship. That you sent no lading in the ship is wonderfull, and worthily distasted. I know your weakness was the cause of it, and I beleeve more weakness of judgmente, then weakness of hands. A quarter of ye time you spente in discoursing, arguing, & consulting, would have done much more; but that is past, &c. If you mean, bona fide, to perform the conditions agreed upon, doe us ye favore to copy them out faire, and subscribe them with ye principal of your names. And likewise give us account as perticularly as you can how our moneys were laid out. And then I shall be able to give them some satisfaction, whom I am now forsed with good words to shift of. And consider that ye life of the bussines depends on ye lading of this ship, which, if you do to any good purpose, that I may be freed from ye great sums I have disbursed for ye former, and must do for the later, I promise you I will never quit ye bussines, though all the other adventurers should.

We have procured you a Charter, the best we could, which is better than your former, and with less limitation. For anything yt is else worth writing, Mr. Cushman can inform you. I pray write instantly for Mr. Robinson to come to you. And so praying God to bless you with all graces necessary both for this life & that to come, I rest

Your very loving friend,

Tho. Weston.

London, July 6. 1621.

This ship (called ye Fortune) was speedily dispatcht away, being laden with good clapbord as full as she could stow, and 2. hogshead's of beaver and otter skins, which they got with a few trifling comodities brought with them at first, being altogether unprovided for trade; neither was ther any amongst them that ever saw a beaver skin till they came here, and were informed by Squanto. The freight was estimated to be worth near 500li. Mr. Cushman returned back also with this ship, for so Mr. Weston & ye rest had apoynted him, for their better information. And he doubted not, nor themselves neither, but they should have a speedy supply; considering also how by Mr. Cushman's perswation, and letters received from Leyden, wherein they willed them so to do, they yeelded to ye afforesaid conditions, and subscribed them with their hands. But it proved otherwise, for Mr. Weston, who had made ye large promise in his leter, (as is before noted,) that if all ye rest should fall of, yet he would never quit ye bussines, but stick to them, if they yeelded to ye conditions, and sente some lading in ye ship; and of this Mr. Cushman was confident, and confirmed ye same from his mouth, & serious protestations to him selfe before he came.

But all proved but wind, for he was ye first and only man that forsook them, and that before he so much as heard of ye returne of this ship, or knew what was done; (so vaine is the confidence in man.) But of this more in its place.

A leter in answer to his write to Mr. Carver, was sente to him from ye Govr, of which so much as is pertenente to ye thing in hand I shall hear insert.

Sir: Your large letter written to Mr. Carver, and dated ye 6. of July, 1621, I have received ye 10. of November, wherein (after ye apology made for your selfe) you lay many heavie imputations upon him and us all. Touching him, he is departed this life, and now is at rest in ye Lord from all those troubles and incoumbrances with which we are yet to strive. He needs not my apology; for his care and pains was so great for ye commone good, both ours and yours, as that therewith (it is thought) he oppressed him selfe and shortened his days; of whose loss we cannot sufficiently complaine. At great charges in this adventure, I confess you have been, and many losses may sustain; but ye loss of his and many other honest and industrious men's lives, cannot be vallewied at any price. Of ye one, ther may be hope of recovery, but ye other no recompence can make good. But I will not insist in generals, but come more perticularly to ye things themselves. You greatly blame us for keeping ye ship so long in ye countrie, and then to send her away emptie. She lay 5. weeks at Cap-Codd, whilst with many a weary step (after a long journey) and the indurance of many a hard brunt, we sought out in the foule winter a place of habitation. Then we went in so tedious a time to make provision to shelter us and our goods, aboute wch labour, many of our arms & legs can tell us to this day we were not negligent. But it pleased God to visit us then, with death dayly, and with so general a disease, that the living were scarce able to burie the dead; and ye well not in any measure sufficiente to tend ye sick. And now to be so greatly blamed, for not fraighting ye ship, doth indeed goe near us, and much discourage us. But you say you know we will pretend weakness; and do you think we had not cause? Yes, you tell us you beleeve it, but it was more weakness of judgmente, then of hands. Our weaknes herein is great we confess, therefore we will bear this check patiently amongst ye rest, till God send us wiser men. But they which tould you we spent so much time in discoursing & consulting, &c., their hearts can tell their tongues, they lye. They cared not, so they might salve their owne sores, how they wounded others. Indeed, it is our callamitie that we are (beyond expectation) yoked with some ill conditioned people, who will never doe good, but corrupt and abuse others, &c.

The rest of ye letter declared how they had subscribed those conditions according to his desire, and sente him ye former accounts very perticularly; also how ye ship was laden, and in what condition their affairs stood; that ye coming of these people would bring famine upon them unavoydably, if they had not supply in time (as Mr. Cushman could more fully inform him & ye rest of ye adventurers). Also that seeing he was now satisfied in all his demands, that offences would be forgotten, and he remember his promise, &c.

After ye departure of this ship, (which stayed not above 14. days,) the Governor & his assistant haveing disposed these late comers into several families, as yey best could, took an exact account of all their provissions in store, and proportioned ye same to ye number of persons, and found that it would not hould out above 6. months at halfe allowance, and hardly that. And they could not well give less this wintertime till fish came in againe. So they were presently put to half allowance, one as well as another, which begane to be hard, but they bore it patiently under hope of supply.

Sone after this ships departure, ye great people of ye Narigansetts, in a braving maner, sente a messenger unto them with a bundle of arrows tyed aboute with a great sneak-skin; which their interpretours tould them was a threatening & a challenge. Upon which ye Govr, with ye advice of others, sente them a round answer, that if they had rather have warre then peace, they might begine when they would; they had done them no wrong, neither did yey fear them, or should they find them unprovided. And by another messenger sente ye sneake-skine back with bullets in it; but they would not receive it, but sent it back againe. But these things I do but mention, because they are more at large already put forth in print, by Mr. Winslow, at ye request of some friends.

And it is like ye reason was their owne ambition, who, (since ye death of so many of ye Indeans,) thought to dominire & lord it over ye rest, & conceived ye English would be a barr in their way, and saw that Massasoyt took shelter already under their wings.

But this made them ye more carefully to look to themselves, so as they agreed to enclose their dwellings with a good strong pale, and make flankers in convenient places, with gates to shut, which were every night locked, and a watch kept, and when neede required ther was also warding in ye day time. And ye company was by ye Captain and ye Govr advise, devided into 4. squadrons, and everyone had ther quarter apoynted them, unto which they were to repair upon any suddane alarme. And if ther should be any crie of fire, a company were appointed for a gard, with muskets, whilst others quenchet ye same, to prevent Indean treachery. This was accomplished very cherfully, and ye towne impayled round by ye beginning of March, in which every family had a pretty garden plot secured. And herewith I shall end this year. Only I shall remember one passage more, rather of mirth then of waight. One ye day called Christmas day, ye Govr called them out to worke, (as was used,) but ye most of this new-company excused themselves and said it wente against their consciences to work on yt day. So ye Govr tould them that if they made it matter of conscience, he would spare them till they were better informed. So he led-away ye rest and left them; but when they came home at noon from their work, he found them in ye street at play, openly; some pitching ye barr, & some at stool-ball, and such like sports. So he went to them, and took away their implements, and tould them that was against his conscience, that they should play & others worke. If they made ye keeping of it mater of devotion, let them keep their houses, but ther should be no gaming or revelling in ye streets. Since which time nothing hath been attempted that way, at least openly.

Anno 1622.

At ye spring of ye year they had appointed ye Massachusetts to come againe and trade with them, and begane now to prepare for that viog about ye later end of March. But upon some rumours heard, Hobamak, their Indean, tould them upon some jealousies he had, he feared they were joyned with ye Narighansets and might betray them if they were not careful. He intimated also some jealousie of Squanto, by what he gathered from some private whisperings between him and other Indeans. But they resolved to proseede, and sente out their shalop with 10. of their cheefe men about ye beginning of April, and both Squanto & Hobamake with them, in regard of ye jelocie between them. But they had not bene gone long, but an Indean belonging to Squantos family came running in seeming great fear, and tould them that many of ye Narragansett, with Corbytant, and he thought also Massasoyte, were coming against them; and he got away to tell them, not without danger. And being examined by ye Govr, he made as if they were at hand, and would still be looking back, as if they were at his heels. At which the Governor caused them to take armes & stand on their garde, and supposing ye boat to be still within hearing (by reason it was calm) caused a warning peece or 2. to be shote of, the which yey heard and came in. But no Indeans appeared; watch was kept all night, but nothing was scene. Hobamak was confidante for Massasoyt, and thought all was false; yet ye Govr caused him to send his wife privately, to see what she could observe (pretending other occasions), but ther was nothing found, but all was quiet. After this they proceeded on their vioge to ye Massachusetts, and had good trade, and returned in saftie, blessed be God.

But by the former passages, and other things of like nature, they begane to see yt Squanto sought his owne ends, and plaid his owne game, by putting ye Indeans in fear, and drawing gifts from them to enrich him selfe; making them beleieve he could sturr up war against whom he would, & make peece for whom he would. Yea, he made them beleieve they kept ye plague buried in ye ground, and could send it amongst whom they would, which did much terrifie the Indeans, and made them depend more on him, and seeke more to him then to Massasoyte, which procured him envie, and had like to have cost him his life. For after ye discovery of his practises, Massasoyt sought it both privatly and openly; which caused him to stick close to ye English, & never durst goe from them till he dyed. They also made good use of ye emulation yt grue between Hobamack and him, which made them carry more squarely. And ye Govr seemed to countenance ye one, and ye Captain ye other, by which they had better intelligence, and made them both more diligent.

Now in a maner their provissions were wholly spent, and they looked hard for supply, but none came. But about ye later end of May, they spied a boat at sea, which at first they thought had been some Frenchman; but it proved a shalop which came from a ship which Mr. Weston & another had set out a fishing, at a place called Damarins-cove, 40. leagues to ye eastward of them, where were yt year many more ships come a fishing. This boat brought 7. passengers and some letters, but no vitails, nor any hope of any. Some part of which I shall set down.

Mr. Carver, in my last letters by ye Fortune, in whom Mr Cushman wente, and who I hope is with you, for we daly expect ye ship back againe. She departed hence, ye beginning of July, with 35. persons, though not over well provided with necessaries, by reason of ye parsemonie of ye adventurers. I have solicited them to send you a supply of men and provissions before shee come. They all answer they will do great maters, when they hear good news. Nothing before; so faithful, constant, & careful of your good, are your old & honest friends, that if they hear not from you, they are like to send you no supplie, &c. I am now to relate ye occasion of sending this ship, hoping if you give credit to my words, you will have a more favourable opinion of it, then some hear, wherof Pickering is one, who taxed me to mind my owne ends, which is in part true, &c. Mr. Beachamp and myself bought this little ship, and have set her out, partly, if it may be, to uphold ye plantation, as well to doe others good as ourselves; and partly to get up what we are formerly out; though we are otherwise censured, &c. This is ye occasion we have sent this ship and these passengers, on our owne account; whom we desire you will friendly entertain & supply with such necessaries as you can spare, and they want, &c. And among other things we pray you lend or sell them some seed corn, and if you have ye salt remaining of ye last year, that yu will let them have it for their presente use, and we will either pay you for it, or give you more when we have set our salt-pan to worke, which we desire may be set up in one of ye little islands in your bay, &c. And because we intend, if God please, (and ye generallitie doe it not,) to send within a month another ship, who, having discharged her passengers, shall goe to Virginia, &c. And it may be we shall send a small ship to abide with you on ye coast, which I conceive may be a great help to ye plantation. To ye end our desire may be effected, which, I assure my selfe, will be also for your good, we pray you give them entertainment in your houses ye time they shall be with you, that they may lose no time, but may presently goe in hand to fell trees & cleave them, to ye end lading may be ready and our ship stay not.

Some of ye adventurers have sent you herewith all some directions for your furtherance in ye comōne bussines, who are like those St. James speaks of, yt bid their brother eat, and warm him, but give him nothing; so they bid you make salt, and uphold ye plantation, but send you no means wherewithal to do it, &c. By ye next we purpose to send more people on our owne account, and to take a patente; that if your people should be as unhumane as some of ye adventurers, not to admit us to dwell with them, which were extreme barbarism, and which will never enter into my head to thinke you have any such Pickerings amongst you. Yet to satisfie our passengers I must of force do it; and for some other reasons not necessary to be written, &c. I find ye general so backward, and your friends at Leyden so could, that I fear you must stand on your legs, and trust (as they say) to God and your selves.

**Subscribed,
your loving friend,
Tho: Weston.
Jan: 12. 1621.**

Sundry other things I pass over, being tedious & impertinent.

All this was but could comfort to fill their hungrie bellies, and a slender performance of his former late promise; and as little did it either fill or warm them, as those ye Apostle James spake of, by him before mentioned. And well might it make them remember what ye psalmist saith, Psa. 118. 8. It is better to trust in the Lord, then to have confidence in man. And Psa. 146. Put not you trust in princes (much less in ye marchants) nor in ye sone of man, for ther is no help in them. v. 5. Blessed is he that hath ye God of Jacob for his help, whose hope is in ye Lord his God. And as they were now fayled of supply by him and others in this their greatest neede and wants, which was caused by him and ye rest, who put so great a company of men upon them, as ye former company were, without any food, and came at such a time as they must live almost a whole year before any could be raised, except they had sente some; so, upon ye pointe they never had any supply of vitals more afterwards (but what the Lord gave them otherwise); for all ye company sent at any time was always too short for those people yt came with it.

Ther came also by ye same ship other letters, but of later date, one from Mr. Weston, another from a part of ye adventurers, as followeth.

Mr. Carver, since my last, to ye end we might ye more readily proceed to help ye general, at a meeting of some of ye principal adventurers, a proposition was put forth, & allowed by all present (save Pickering), to adventure each man ye third part of what he formerly had done. And ther are some other yt follow his example, and will adventure no further. In regard wherof ye greater part of ye adventurers being willing to uphold ye bussines, finding it no reason that those yt are willing should uphold ye bussines of those that are unwilling, whose backwardness doth discourage those that are forward, and hinder other new-adventurers from coming in, we having well considered therof, have resolved, according to an article in ye agreement, (that it may be lawfull by a general consente of ye adventurers & planters, upon just occasion, to break of their joynte stock,) to break it of; and doe pray you to ratifie, and confirme ye same on your parts. Which being done, we shall ye more willingly goe forward for ye upholding of you with all things necesarie. But in any case you must agree to ye artickls, and send it by ye first under your hands & seals. So I end

**Your loving friend,
Tho: Weston. Jan: 17. 1621.**

Another letter was write from part of ye company of ye adventurers to the same purpose, and subscribed with 9. of their names, wherof Mr. Weston's & Mr. Beauchamp's were two. These things seemed strange unto them, seeing this unconstancie & shuffling; it made them to thinke ther was some misterie in ye matter. And therefore ye Govr concealed these letters from ye publick, only imparted them to some trustie friends for advice, who concluded with him, that this tended to disband & scatter them (in regard of their straits); and if Mr. Weston & others, who seemed to run in a perticuler way, should come over with shipping so provided as his letters did intimate, they most would fall to him, to ye prejudice of themselves & ye rest of the adventurers, their friends, from whom as yet they heard nothing. And it was doubted whether he had not sente over such a company in ye former ship, for such an end. Yet they took

compassion of those 7. men which this ship, which fished to ye eastward, had kept till planting time was over, and so could set no corn; and also wanting vitals, (for yey turned them off without any, and indeed wanted for themselves,) neither was their salt-pan come, so as yey could not perform any of those things which Mr. Weston had appointed, and might have starved if ye plantation had not succoured them; who, in their wants, gave them as good as any of their owne. The ship wente to Virginia, where they sould both ship & fish, of which (it was conceived) Mr. Weston had a very slender account.

After this came another of his ships, and brought letters dated ye 10. of April, from Mr. Weston, as followeth.

Mr. Bradford, these, &c. The Fortune is arrived, of whose good news touching your estate & proceedings, I am very glad to hear. And how soever he was robed on ye way by ye Frenchmen, yet I hope your loss will not be great, for ye conceit of so great a returne doth much animate ye adventurers, so yt I hope some matter of importance will be done by them, &c. As for my selfe, I have sould my adventure & debts unto them, so as I am quit of you, & you of me, for that matter, &c. Now though I have nothing to pretend as an adventurer amongst you, yet I will advise you a little for your good, if you can apprehend it. I perceive & know as well as another, ye dispositions of your adventurers, whom ye hope of gain hath drawn on to this they have done; and yet I fear yt hope will not draw them much further. Besides, most of them are against the sending of them of Leyden, for whose cause this bussines was first begun, and some of ye most religious (as Mr. Greene by name) excepts against them. So yt my advice is (you may follow it if you please) that you forthwith break of your joynte stock, which you have warrant to doe, both in law & conscience, for ye most part of ye adventurers have given way unto it by a former letter. And ye means you have ther, which I hope will be to some purpose by ye trade of this spring, may, with ye help of some friends hear, bear ye charge of transporting those of Leyden; and when they are with you I make no question but by Gods help you will be able to subsist of your selves. But I shall leave you to your discretion.

I desired diverce of ye adventurers, as Mr. Peirce, Mr. Greene, & others, if they had anything to send you, either vitails or leters, to send them by these ships; and marvelling they sent not so much as a letter, I asked our passengers what leters they had, and with some dificultie one of them tould me he had one, which was delivered him with great charge of secrecie; and for more securitie, to buy a paire of new-shoes, & sow it between ye soles for fear of intercepting. I, taking ye leter, wondering what mistrie might be in it, broke it open, and found this treacherous letter subscribed by ye hands of Mr. Pickering & Mr. Greene. Which leter had it come to your hands without answer, might have caused ye hurt, if not ye ruine, of us all. For assuredly if you had followed their instructions, and shewed us that unkindness which they advise you unto, to hold us in distruste as enimise, &c., it might have been an occasion to have set us togeather by ye eares, to ye destruction of us all. For I do beleieve that in such a case, they knowing what bussines hath been between us, not only my brother, but others also, would have been violent, and heady against you, &c. I mente to have settled ye people I before and now send, with or near you, as well for their as your more securitie and defence, as help on all occasions. But I find ye adventurers so jealous & suspicious, that I have altered my resolution, & given order to my brother & those with him, to doe as they and himself shall find fit. Thus, &c.

Your loving friend,

Tho: Weston.

April 10. 1621.

Some part of Mr. Pickerings letter before mentioned.

To Mr. Bradford & Mr. Brewster, &c.

My dear love remembred unto you all, &c. The company hath bought out Mr. Weston, and are very glad they are freed of him, he being judged a man yt thought himself above ye general, and not expressing so much ye fear of God as was meete in a man to whom such trust should have been reposed in a matter of so great importance. I am sparing to be so plaine as indeed is clear against him; but a few words to ye wise.

Mr. Weston will not permitte leters to be sent in his ships, nor any thing for your good or ours, of which ther is some reason in respect of himself, &c. His brother Andrew, whom he doth send as principal in one of these ships, is a heady young man, & violent, and set against you ther, & ye company hear; plotting with Mr. Weston their owne ends, which tend to your & our undoing in respect of our estates ther, and prevention of our good ends. For by credible testimoney we are informed his purpose is to come to your colonie, pretending he comes for and from ye adventurers, and will seeke to get what you have in readynes into his ships, as if they came from ye company, & possessing all, will be so much profite to him selfe. And further to inform themselves what spetiall places or things you have discovered, to ye end that they may suppress & deprive you, &c.

The Lord, who is ye watchman of Israll & slepeth not, preserve you & deliver you from unreasonable men. I am sorie that ther is cause to admonish you of these things concerning this man; so I leave you to God, who bless and multiply you into thousands, to the advancemente of ye glorious gospel of our Lord Jesus. Amen. Fare well.

Your loving friends,

Edward Pickering.

William Greene.

I pray conceal both ye writing & deliverie of this leter, but make the best use of it. We hope to set forth a ship ourselves with in this month.

The heads of his answer.

Mr. Bradford, this is ye leter yt I wrote unto you of, which to answer in every perticuler is needles & tedious. My owne conscience & all our people can and I think will testifie, yt my end in sending ye ship Sparrow was your good, &c. Now I will not deny but ther are many of our people rude fellows, as these men term them; yet I presume they will be

governed by such as I set over them. And I hope not only to be able to reclaim them from yt profaneness that may scandalise ye viaoge, but by degrees to draw them to God, &c. I am so far from sending rude fellows to deprive you either by fraud or violence of what is yours, as I have charged ye master of ye ship Sparrow, not only to leave with you 2000. of bread, but also a good quantitie of fish, &c. But I will leave it to you to consider what evil this leter would or might have done, had it come to your hands & taken ye effecte ye other desired.

Now if you be of ye mind yt these men are, deal plainly with us, & we will seeke our residence elsewhere. If you are as friendly as we have thought you to be, give us ye entertainment of friends, and we will take nothing from you, neither meat, drink, nor lodging, but what we will, in one kind or other, pay you for, &c. I shall leave in ye countrie a little ship (if God send her safe thither) with mariners & fisher-men to stay ther, who shall coast, & trade with ye savages, & ye old plantation. It may be we shall be as helpful to you, as you will be to us. I thinke I shall see you ye next spring; and so I commend you to ye protection of God, whoever keep you.

**Your loving friend,
Tho: Weston.**

Thus all ther hops in regard of Mr. Weston were layed in ye dust, and all his promised help turned into an empttie advice, which they apprehended was neither lawfull nor profitable for them to follow. And they were not only thus left destitute of help in their extreme wants, haveing neither vitails, nor anything to trade with, but others prepared & ready to glean up what ye countrie might have afforded for their releefe. As for those harsh censures & suspicions intimated in ye former and following leters, they desired to judge as charitably and wisely of them as they could, waighing them in ye balance of love and reason; and though they (in part) came from godly & loving friends, yet they conceived many things might arise from over deep jealocie and fear, togeather with unmeete provocations, though they well saw Mr. Weston pursued his owne ends, and was imbittered in spirit. For after the receipt of ye former leters, the Govr received one from Mr. Cushman, who went home in ye ship, and was always intimate with Mr. Weston, (as former passages declare), and it was much marvelled that nothing was heard from him, all this while. But it should seem it was ye difficulty of sending, for this leter was directed as ye leter of a wife to her husband, who was here, and brought by him to ye Govr. It was as followeth.

Beloved Sir: I hartily salute you, with trust of your health, and many thanks for your love. By Gods providence we got well home ye 17. of Feb. Being robbed by ye French-men by ye way, and carried by them into France, and were kept ther 15. days, and lost all yt we had that was worth taking; but thanks be to God, we escaped with our lives & ship. I see not yt it worketh any discouragment hear. I purpose by God's grace to see you shortly, I hope in June next, or before. In ye mean space know these things, and I pray you be advertised a little. Mr. Weston hath quite broken off from our company, through some discontents yt arose betwext him and some of our adventurers, & hath sould all his adventures, & hath now sent 3. smale ships for his perticuler plantation. The greatest wherof, being 100. tune, Mr. Reynolds goeth master and he with ye rest purposeth to come him selfe; for what end I know not.

The people which they carry are no men for us, wherefore I pray you entertaine them not, neither exchange man for man with them, except it be some of your worst. He hath taken a patente for him selfe. If they offer to buy anything of you, let it be such as you can spare, and let them give ye worth of it. If they borrow anything of you, let them leave a good pawn, &c. It is like he will plant to ye southward of ye Cape, for William Trevore hath lavishly tould but what he knew or imagined of Capewack, Mohiggen, & ye Narigansetts. I fear these people will hardly deal so well with ye savages as they should. I pray you therefore signifie to Squanto, that they are a distincte body from us, and we have nothing to do with them, neither must be blamed for their faults, much less can warrant their fidelitie. We are aboute to recover our losses in France. Our friends at Leyden are well, and will come to you as many as can this time. I hope all will turn to ye best, wherefore I pray you be not discouraged, but gather up yourself to goe thorow these difficulties cherfully & with courage in yt place wherein God hath sett you, until ye day of refreshing come. And ye Lord God of sea & land bring us comfortably togeather againe, if it may stand with his glorie.

**Yours,
Robert Cushman.**

On ye other side of ye leaf, in ye same leter, came these few lines from Mr. John Peirce, in whose name the patente was taken, and of whom more will follow, to be spoken in its place.

Worthy Sir: I desire you to take into consideration that which is written on ye other side, and not any way to damnifie your own colony, whose strength is but weaknes, and may thereby be more infeeble. And for ye leters of association, by ye next ship we send, I hope you shall receive satisfaction; in ye mean time whom you admit I will approve. But as for Mr. Weston's company, I thinke them so base in condition (for ye most part) as in all appearance not fit for an honest man's company.

I wish they prove otherwise. My purpose is not to enlarge my selfe, but cease in these few lines, and so rest

**Your loving friend,
John Peirce.**

All these things they pondered and well considered, yet concluded to give his men friendly entertainment; partly in regard of Mr. Weston him selfe, considering what he had been unto them, & done for them, & to some, more espetially; and partly in compassion to ye people, who were now come into a wilderness, (as themselves were,) and were by ye ship to be presently put a shore, (for she was to carry other passengers to Virginia, who lay at great charge,) and they were all togeather unacquainted & knew not what to do. So as they had received his former company of 7. men, and vitailed them as their owne hitherto, so they also received these (being aboute 60. lusty men), and gave housing for themselves and their goods; and many being sicke, they had ye best means ye place could afford them. They stayed hear ye most part of ye soñer till ye ship came back againe from Virginia. Then, by his direction, or those whom he set over them, they removed into ye Massachusetts Bay, he having got a patente for

some part ther, (by light of ther former discovery in letters sent home). Yet they left all ther sick folk hear till they were settled and housed. But of ther victails they had not any, though they were in great want, nor anything else in recompence of any courtesie done them; neither did they desire it, for they saw they were an unruly company, and had no good government over them, and by disorder would soone fall into wants if Mr. Weston came not ye sooner amongst them; and therefore, to prevent all after occasion, would have nothing of them.

Amids these streights, and ye desertion of those from whom they had hoped for supply, and when famine begane now to pinch them sore, they not knowing what to do, the Lord, (who never fails his,) presents them with an occasion, beyond all expectation. This boat which came from ye eastward brought them a letter from a stranger, of whose name they had never heard before, being a captain of a ship come ther a fishing. This letter was as followeth. Thus inscribed.

To all his good friends at Plimoth, these, &c.

Friends, countrimen, & neighbours: I salute you, and wish you all health and hapines in ye Lord. I make bould with these few lines to trouble you, because unless I were unhumane, I can do no less. Bad news doth spread itself too far; yet I will so far inform you that my selfe, with many good friends in ye south-collonie of Virginia, have received such a blow, that 400. persons large will not make good our losses. Therefore I do intreat you (although not knowing you) that ye old rule which I learned when I went to school, may be sufficiente.

That is, Hapie is he whom other men's harms doth make to beware. And now againe and againe, wishing all those yt willingly would serve ye Lord, all health and happiness in this world, and everlasting peace in ye world to come. And so I rest,

Yours,

John Hudlston.

By this boat ye Govr returned a thankful answer, as was meete, and sent a boat of their owne with them, which was piloted by them, in which Mr. Winslow was sente to procure what provissions he could of ye ships, who was kindly received by ye foresaid gentile-man, who not only spared what he could, but writ to others to doe ye like. By which means he got some good quantitie and returned in saftie, by which ye plantation had a duple benefit, first, a present refreshing by ye food brought, and secondly, they knew ye way to those parts for their benefit hereafter. But what was got, & this small boat brought, being divided among so many, came but to a little, yet by God's blessing it upheld them till harvest. It arose but to a quarter of a pound of bread a day to each person; and ye Govr caused it to be dayly given them, otherwise, had it been in their owne custody, they would have eat it up & then starved. But thus, with what else they could get, they made pretie shift till corn was ripe.

This somer they built a fort with good timber, both strong & comely, which was of good defence, made with a flat rofe & battlements, on which their ordnance were mounted, and where they kept constante watch, espetially in time of danger. It served them also for a meeting house, and was fitted accordingly for that use. It was a great worke for them in this weaknes and time of wants; but ye deanger of ye time required it, and both ye continual rumours of ye fears from ye Indeans hear, espetially ye Narigansetts, and also ye hearing of that great massacre in Virginia, made all hands willing to despatch ye same.

Now ye wellcome time of harvest approached, in which all had their hungrie bellies filled. But it arose but to a little, in comparison of a full years supplie; partly by reason they were not yet well acquainted with ye maner of Indean corn, (and they had no other,) also their many other employments, but cheefly their weaknes for want of food, to tend it as they should have done. Also much was stolen both by night & day, before it became scarce eatable, & much more afterward. And though many were well whipt (when they were taken) for a few ears of corn, yet hunger made others (whom conscience did not restrain) to venture. So as it well appeared ye famine must still insue ye next year also, if not some way prevented, or supplie should fail, to which they durst not trust. Markets there was none to goe too, but only ye Indeans, and they had no trading comodities. Behold now another providence of God; a ship comes into ye harbor, one Captain Jons being cheefe therein. They were set out by some marchants to discover all ye harbors between this & Virginia, and ye shoulds of Cap-Cod, and to trade along ye coast where they could. This ship had store of English-beads (which were then good trade) and some knives, but would sell none but at dear rates, and also a good quantie togeather. Yet they were glad of ye occasion, and faine to buy at any rate; they were faine to give after ye rate of cento per cento, if not more, and yet pay away coat-beaver at 3s. peril, which in a few years after yeelded 20s. By this means they were fitted againe to trade for beaver & other things, and intended to buy what corn they could.

But I will hear take liberty to make a little digression. Ther was in this ship a gentle-man by name Mr. John Poory; he had been secretarie in Virginia, and was now going home passenger in this ship. After his departure he write a letter to ye Govr in the postscrite wherof he hath these lines.

To yourself and Mr. Brewster, I must acknowledge myself many ways indebted, whose books I would have you thinke very well bestowed on him, who esteemeth them such juells. My hast would not suffer me to remember (much less to beg) Mr. Ainsworth's elaborate worke upon ye 5. books of Moyses. Both his & Mr. Robinsons doe highly commend the authors, as being most conversant in ye scriptures of all others. And what good (who knows) it may please God to worke by them, through my hands, (though most unworthy,) who finds such high contente in them. God have you all in his keeping.

Your unfained and firme friend,

John Pory.

Aug. 28. 1622.

These things I hear insert for honour sake of ye authors memorie, which this gentle-man doth thus ingeniously acknowledge; and himself after his returne did this poor-plantation much credit amongst those of no mean ranck. But to returne.

Shortly after harvest Mr. Weston's people who were now seated at ye Massachusetts, and by disorder (as it seems) had made havock of their provissions, begane now to perceive that want would come upon them. And hearing that they hear had bought trading comodities & intended to trade for corn, they write to ye Govr and desired they might joyne with them, and they would imploy their small ship in ye servise; and further requested either to lend or sell them so much of their trading comodities as their part might come to, and they would undertake to make payment when Mr. Weston, or their supply, should come. The Governor condessed upon equal terms of agreement, thinking to goe about ye Cap to ye southward with ye ship, where some store of corn might be got. All things being provided, Captain Standish was appointed to goe with them, and Squanto for a guid & interpreter, about ye latter end of September; but ye winds put them in againe, & putting out ye 2. time, he fell sick of a feavor, so ye Govr wente him selfe. But they could not get aboute ye should of Cap-Cod, for flats & breakers, neither could Squanto direct them better, nor ye master durst venture any further, so they put into Manamoyack Bay and got wt they could ther. In this place Squanto fell sick of an Indean feavor, bleeding much at ye nose (which ye Indeans take for a simptom of death), and within a few days dyed there; desiring ye Govr to pray for him, that he might goe to ye Englishmen's God in heaven, and bequeathed sundrie of his things to sundry of his English friends, as remembrances of his love; of whom they had a great loss. They got in this vioage, in one place & other, about 26. or 28. hogsheads of corn & beans, which was more than the Indeans could well spare in these parts, for ye set but a little till they got English hows. And so were faine to returne, being sorry they could not get about the Cap, to have been better laden. Afterward ye Govr took a few men & wente to ye inland places, to get what he could, and to fetch it home at ye spring, which did help them something.

After these things, in Feb: a messenger came from John Sanders, who was left cheefe over Mr. Weston's men in ye bay of Massachusetts, who brought a letter shewing the great wants they were fallen into; and he would have borrowed a hogshead of corn of ye Indeans, but they would lend him none. He desired advice whether he might not take it from them by force to succour his men till he came from ye eastward, whither he was going. The Govr & rest dissuaded him by all means from it, for it might so exasperate the Indeans as might endanger their saftie, and all of us might smart for it; for they had already heard how they had so wronged ye Indeans by stealing their corn, &c. as they were much incensed against them. Yea, so base were some of their own company, as they wente & tould ye Indeans yt their Govr was purposed to come and take their corn by force. The which with other things made them enter into a conspiracie against ye English, of which more in ye next. Hear with I end this year.

Anno Dom: 1623.

It may be thought strange that these people should fall to these extremities in so short a time, being left competently provided when ye ship left them, and had an addition by that moyetie of corn that was got by trade, besides much they got of ye Indeans where they lived, by one means & other. It must needs be their great disorder, for they spent excesseivly whilst they had, or could get it; and, it may be, wasted part away among ye Indeans (for he yt was their cheef was taxed by some amongst them for keeping Indean women, how truly I know not). And after they begane to come into wants, many sould away their cloathes and bed coverings; others (so base were they) became servants to ye Indeans, and would cut them wood & fetch them water, for a cap full of corn; others fell to plaine stealing, both night & day, from ye Indeans, of which they greevosly complained. In ye end, they came to that misery, that some starved & dyed with cold & hunger. One in geathering shell-fish was so weake as he stuck fast in ye mud, and was found dead in ye place. At last most of them left their dwellings & scattered up & down in ye woods, & by ye water sides, where they could find ground nuts & clams, hear 6. and ther ten. By which their carriages they became contemned & scorned of ye Indeans, and they begane greatly to insult over them in a most insolent maner; insomuch, many times as they lay thus scattered abroad, and had set on a pot with ground nuts or shell-fish, when it was ready the Indeans would come and eat it up; and when night came, whereas some of them had a sorie blanket, or such like, to lappe themselves in, the Indeans would take it and let ye other lye all night in the cold; so as their condition was very lamentable. Yea, in ye end they were faine to hang one of their men, whom they could not reclaim from stealing, to give ye Indeans contente.

Whilst things wente in this maner with them, ye Govr & people hear had notice yt Massasoyte ther friend was sick & near unto death.

They sent to vissete him, and withal sente him such comfortable things as gave him great contente, and was a means of his recovery; upon which occasion he discovers ye conspiracie of these Indeans, how they were resolved to cut of Mr. Weston's people, for the continual injuries they did them, & would now take opportunitie of their weaknes to do it; and for that end had conspired with other Indeans their neighbours ther aboute. And thinking the people hear would revenge their death, they therefore thought to doe ye like by them, & had solicited him to joyne with them. He advised them therefore to prevent it, and that speedily by taking of some of ye cheefe of them, before it was too late, for he assured them of ye truth hereof.

This did much trouble them, and they took it into serious deliberation, and found upon examination other evidence to give light hear unto, to long hear to relate. In ye mean time, came one of them from ye Massachusetts, with a small pack at his back; and though he knew not a foot of ye way, yet he got safe hither, but lost his way, which was well for him, for he was pursued, and so was mist. He tould them hear how all things stood amongst them, and that he durst stay no longer, he apprehended they (by what he observed) would be all knokt in ye head shortly. This made them make ye more hast, & dispatched a boat away wth Captain Standish & some men, who found them in a miserable condition, out of which he rescued them, and helped them to some releef, cut of some few of ye cheefe conspirators, and, according to his order, offered to bring them all hither if they thought good; and they should fare no worse than themselves, till Mr. Weston or some supplie came to them. Or, if any other course liked them better, he was to do

them any helpfulness he could. They thanked him & ye rest. But most of them desired he would help them with some corn, and they would goe with their smale ship to ye eastward, where hapily they might here of Mr. Weston, or some supply from him, seeing ye time of ye year was for fishing ships to be in ye land. If not, they would worke among ye fishermen for their living, and get ther passage into England, if they heard nothing from Mr. Weston in time. So they shipped what they had of any worth, and he got them all ye corn he could (scarce leaving to bring him home), and saw them well out of the bay, under saile at sea, and so came home, not taking ye worth of a penny of anything that was theirs. I have but touched these things briefly, because they have already been published in print more at large.

This was ye end of these that some time boasted of their strength, (being all able lustie men,) and what they would do & bring to pass, in comparison of ye people hear, who had many women & children and weak ones amongst them; and said at their first arrival, when they saw the wants hear, that they would take another course, and not to fall into such a condition, as this simple people were come too. But a man's way is not in his owne power; God can make ye weak to stand; let him also that standeth take heed lest he fall.

Shortly after, Mr. Weston came over with some of ye fishermen, under another name, and ye disguise of a black-smith, were he heard of ye ruine and dissolution of his colony. He got a boat and with a man or 2. came to see how things were. But by ye way, for want of skill, in a storm, he cast away his shalop in ye botome of ye bay between Meremek river & Pascataquack, & hardly escaped with life, and afterwards fell into the hands of ye Indeans, who pillaged him of all he saved from the sea, & striped him out of all his cloaths to his shirt. At last he got to Pascataquack, & borrowed a suite of cloaths, and got means to come to Plimoth. A strange alteration ther was in him to such as had seen & known him in his former flourishing condition; so uncertain are ye mutable things of this unstable world. And yet men set their hearts upon them, though they dayly see ye vanity therof.

After many passages, and much discourse, (former things boyling in his mind, but bit in as was discerned,) he desired to borrow some beaver of them; and tould them he had hope of a ship & good supply to come to him, and then they should have anything for it they stood in neede of. They gave little credit to his supplie, but pitied his case, and remembered former curtesies. They tould him he saw their wants, and they knew not when they should have any supply; also how ye case stood between them & their adventurers, he well knew; they had not much beaver, & if they should let him have it, it were enough to make a mutinie among ye people, seeing ther was no other means to procure their food which they so much wanted, & cloaths also. Yet they tould him they would help him, considering his necessitie, but must do it secretly for ye former reasons. So they let him have 100. beaver-skins, which waighed 170li. odd pounds. Thus they helpt him when all ye world failed him, and with this means he went againe to ye ships, and stayed his small ship & some of his men, & bought provissions and fitted himself; and it was ye only foundation of his after course. But he requited them ill, for he proved after a bitter enemie unto them upon all occasions, and never repayed them anything for it, to this day, but reproches and evil words. Yea, he divulged it to some that were none of their best friends, whilst he yet had ye beaver in his boat; that he could now set them all togeather by ye ears, because they had done more than they could answer, in letting him have this beaver, and he did not spare to do what he could. But his malice could not prevaile.

All this while no supply was heard of, neither knew they when they might expect any. So they begane to thinke how they might raise as much corn as they could, and obtain a better crop then they had done, that they might not still thus languish in miserie. At length, after much debate of things, the Govr (with ye advise of ye cheefest amongst them) gave way that they should set corn every man for his owne perticuler, and in that regard trust to themselves; in all other things to goe on in ye general way as before. And so assigned to every family a parcel of land, according to the proportion of their number for that end, only for present use (but made no devission for inheritance), and ranged all boys & youth under some familie. This had very good success; for it made all hands very industrious, so as much more corn was planted then other waise would have bene by any means ye Govr or any other could use, and saved him a great deal of trouble, and gave far better contente. The women now wente willingly into ye field, and took their little ones with them to set corn, which before would alleged weaknes, and inabilitie; whom to have compelled would have bene thought great tiranie and oppression.

The experience that was had in this comone course and condition, tried sundrie years, and that amongst godly and sober men, may well evince the vanitie of that conceit of Plato's & other ancients, applauded by some of later times;— that ye taking away of propertie, and bringing in comunitie into a comone wealth, would make them happy and flourishing; as if they were wiser then God. For this comunitie (so far as it was) was found to breed much confusion & discontent, and retard much employment that would have been to their benefit and comfort. For ye young-men that were most able and fit for labour & service did repine that they should spend their time & strength to work for other men's wives and children, without any recompence. The strong, or man of parts, had no more in devission of victails & cloaths, then he that was weake and not able to do a quarter ye other could; this was thought injustice. The aged and graver men to be ranked and equalised in labours, and victails, cloaths, &c., with ye meaner & younger sort, thought it some indignite & disrespect unto them. And for men's wives to be commanded to doe servise for other men, as dressing their meat, washing their cloaths, &c., they deemed it a kind of slaverie, neither could many husbands well brooke it. Upon ye poynte all being to have alike, and all to doe alike, they thought themselves in ye like condition, and one as good as another; and so, if it did not cut of those relations that God hath set amongst men, yet it did at least much diminish and take of ye mutual respects that should be preserved amongst them. And would have bene worse if they had been men of another condition. Let none object this is men's corruption, and nothing to ye course it selfe. I answer, seeing all men have this corruption in them, God in his wisdom saw another course fitter for them.

But to returne. After this course settled, and by that their co^{re} was planted, all ther victails were spente, and they were only to rest on Gods providence; at night not many times knowing where to have a bit of anything ye next day. And so, as one well observed, had need to pray that God would give them their dayly brade, above all people in ye world. Yet

they bore these wants with great patience & allacritie of spirit, and that for so long a time as for ye most part of 2. years; which makes me remember what Peter Martire writs, (in magnifying ye Spaniards) in his 5. Decade, page 208. They (saith he) led a miserable life for 5. days together, with ye parched graine of maize only, and that not to saturitie; and then concludes, that such pains, such labours, and such hunger, he thought none living which is not a Spaniard could have endured. But alas! these, when they had maize (yt is, Indean corn) they thought it as good as a feast, and wanted not only for 5. days together, but sometime 2. or 3. months together, and neither had bread nor any kind of corn.

Indeed, in another place, in his 2. Decade, page 94. he mentions how others of them were worse put to it, where they were faine to eat dogs, toads, and dead men, and so dyed almost all. From these extremities the Lord in his goodnes kept these his people, and in their great wants preserved both their lives and healthes; let his name have ye praise. Yet let me hear make use of his conclusion, which in some sort may be applied to this people: That with their miseries they opened a way to these new-lands; and after these stormes, with what ease other men came to inhabit in them, in respect of ye calamities these men suffered; so as they seem to goe to a bride feast where all things are provided for them.

They having but one boat left and she not over well fitted, they were devided into several companies, 6. or 7. to a gang or company, and so wente out with a nett they had bought, to take bass & such like fish, by course, every company knowing their turn. No sooner was ye boat discharged of what she brought, but ye next company took her and wente out with her.

Neither did they returne till they had caught something, though it were 5. or 6. days before, for they knew ther was nothing at home, and to goe home emptie would be a great discouragement to ye rest. Yea, they strive who should do best. If she stayed long or got little, then all went to seeking of shellfish, which at low-water they digged out of ye sands. And this was their living in ye somer time, till God sente ym better; & in winter they were helped with ground-nuts and foule. Also in ye somer they got now & then a deer; for one or 2. of ye fittest was apoynted to range ye woods for yt end, & what was got that way was devided amongst them.

At length they received some leters from ye adventurers, too long and tedious hear to record, by which they heard of their further crosses and frustrations; beginning in this maner.

Loving friends, as your sorrows & afflictions have been great, so our crosses & interceptions in our proceedings hear, have not been small. For after we had with much trouble & charge sente ye Parragon away to sea, and thought all ye pain past, within 14. days after she came againe hither, being dangerously leaked, and brused with tempestuous stormes, so as shee was faine to be had into ye dock, and an 100li. bestowed upon her. All ye passengers lying upon our charge for 6. or 7. weeks, and much discontent and distemper was occasioned hereby, so as some dangerous event had like to insewed. But we trust all shall be well and worke for ye best and your benefit, if yet with patience you can waite, and but have strength to hold in life. Whilst these things were doing, Mr. Weston's ship came and brought diverce leters from you, &c. It rejoyseth us much to hear of those good reports yt diverce have brought home from you, &c.

These letters were dated December 21: 1622.

So far of this leter.

This ship was brought by Mr. John Peirce, and set out at his owne charge, upon hope of great maters. These passengers, & ye goods the company sent in her, he took in for fraught, for which they agreed with him to be delivered hear. This was he in whose name their first patente was taken, by reason of acquaintance, and some aliance that some of their friends had with him. But his name was only used in trust. But when he saw they were hear hopefully thus seated, and by ye success God gave them had obtained ye favour of ye Counsell of New-England, he goes and sues to them for another patent of much larger extent (in their names), which was easily obtained. But he mente to keep it to himself and allow them what he pleased, to hold of him as tenants, and sue to his courts as cheefe Lord, as will appear by that which follows.

But ye Lord marvellously crost him; for after this first returne, and ye charge above mentioned, when shee was againe fitted, he pesters himself and takes in more passengers, and those not very good to help to bear his losses, and sets out ye 2. time. But what ye event was will appear from another leter from one of ye cheefe of ye company, dated ye 9. of April, 1623. writ to ye Govr hear, as followeth.

Loving friend, when I write my last leter, I hope to have received one from you well-nigh by this time. But when I write in Des: I little thought to have seen Mr. John Peirce till he had brought some good tidings from you. But it pleased God, he brought us ye woeful tidings of his returne when he was half-way over, by extraine tempest, wherein ye goodnes & mercie of God appeared in sparing their lives, being 109. souls. The loss is so great to Mr. Peirce, &c., and ye companie put upon so great charge, as verily, &c.

Now with great trouble & loss, we have got Mr. John Peirce to assign over ye grand patente to ye companie, which he had taken in his owne name, and made quite voyd our former grant. I am sorie to writ how many hear thinke yt the hand of God was justly against him, both ye first and 2. time of his returne; in regard he, whom you and we so confidently trusted, but only to use his name for ye company, should aspire to be lord over us all, and so make you & us tenants at his will and pleasure, our assurance or patent being quite voyd & disanuled by his means. I desire to judge charitably of him. But his unwillingness to part with his royal Lordship, and ye high-rate he set it at, which was 500li. which cost him but 50li., makes many speake and judge hardly of him. The company are out for goods in his ship, with charge aboute ye passengers, 640li., &c.

We have agreed with 2. marchants for a ship of 140. tunes, called ye Anne, which is to be ready ye last of this month, to bring 60. passengers & 60. tune of goods, &c.

This was dated April 9. 1623.

These were ther owne words and judgmente of this man's dealing & proceedings; for I thought it more meete to render them in theirs then my owne words. And yet though ther was never got other recompence then the resignation of this patente, and ye shares he had in adventure, for all ye former great sumes, he was never quiet, but sued them in most of ye cheefe courts in England, and when he was still cast, brought it to ye Parlemente. But he is now dead, and I will leave him to ye Lord.

This ship suffered ye greatest extremitie at sea at her 2. returne, that one shall lightly hear of, to be saved; as I have been informed by Mr. William Peirce who was then master of her, and many others that were passengers in her. It was about ye middle of Feb: The storm was for ye most part of 14. days, but for 2. or 3. days & nights togeather in most violent extremitie. After they had cut down their mast, ye storm beat of their round house and all their upper works; 3. men had worke enough at ye helm, and he that cund ye ship before ye sea, was faine to be bound fast for washing away; the seas did so over-rake them, as many times those upon ye deck knew not whether they were within bord or without; and once she was so foundered in ye sea as they all thought she would never rise againe. But yet ye Lord preserved them, and brought them at last safe to Ports-mouth, to ye wonder of all men yt saw in what a case she was in, and heard what they had endured.

About ye later end of June came in a ship, with Captain Francis West, who had a comission to be Admiral of New-England, to restrain interlopers, and such fishing ships as came to fish & trade without a licence from ye Counsell of New-England, for which they should pay a round sume of money. But he could do no good of them, for they were too strong for him, and he found ye fisher men to be stuberne fellows. And their owners, upon complaint made to ye Parlemente, procured an order yt fishing should be free. He tould ye Govr they spook with a ship at sea, and were aboard her, yt was coming for this plantation, in which were sundrie passengers, and they marvelled she was not arrived, fearing some miscarriage; for they lost her in a storm that fell shortly after they had been aboard. Which relation filled them full of fear, yet mixed with hope. The master of this ship had some 2. hñ of pease to sell, but seeing their wants, held them at 9li. sterling a hoggshead, & under 8li. he would not take, and yet would have beaver at an under rate. But they tould him they had lived so long without, and would do still, rather than give so unreasonably. So they went from hence to Virginia.

About 14. days after came in this ship, called ye Anne, wherof Mr. William Peirce was master, and about a week or 10. days after came in ye pinass which in foule weather they lost at sea, a fine new vessel of about 44. tune, which ye company had built to stay in the countrie. They brought about 60. persons for ye general, some of them being very useful persons, and became good members to ye body, and some were ye wives and children of such as were hear already. And some were so bad, as they were faine to be at charge to send them home againe ye next year. Also, besides these ther came a company, that did not belong to ye general body, but came one their perticuler, and were to have lands assigned them, and be for themselves, yet to be subject to ye general Government; which caused some difference and disturbance amongst them, as will after appeare. I shall hear againe take libertie to insert a few things out of such leters as came in this ship, desiring rather to manefest things in ther words and apprehensions, then in my owne, as much as may be, without tediousness.

Beloved friends, I kindly salute you all, with trust of your health's & welfare, being right sorie yt no supplie hath been made to you all this while; for defence whereof, I must refer you to our general leters. Neither indeed have we now sent you many things, which we should & would, for want of money. But persons, more then inough, (though not all we should,) for people come flying in upon us, but monys come creeping in to us. Some few of your old friends are come, as, &c. So they come dropping to you, and by degrees,

I hope ere long you shall enjoye them all. And because people press so hard upon us to goe, and often such as are none of ye fittest, I pray you write earnestly to ye Treasurer and direct what persons should be sente. It greeveth me to see so weake a company sent you, and yet had I not been hear they had been weaker. You must still call upon the company hear to see yt honest men be sente you, and threaten to send them back if any other come, &c. We are not any way so much in danger, as by corrupt and naughty persons. Such, and such, came without my consente; but ye importunitie of their friends got promise of our Treasurer in my absence. Neither is ther need we should take any lewd men, for we may have honest men anew, &c.

**Your assured friend,
R. Cushman.**

The following was from ye General.

Loving friends, we most hartily salute you in all love and harty affection; being yet in hope yt the same God which hath hitherto preserved you in a marvellous maner, doth yet continue your lives and health, to his owne praise and all our comforts. Being right sorry that you have not been sent unto all this time, &c. We have in this ship sent such women, as were willing and ready to goe to their husbands and friends, with their children, &c. We would not have you discontent, because we have not sent you more of your old friends, and in special, him on whom you most depend. Farr be it from us to neglect you, or contemne him. But as ye intent was at first, so ye event at last shall shew it, that we will deal fairly, and squarely answer your expectations to the full. Ther are also come unto you, some honest men to plant upon their particular's besides you. A thing which if we should not give way unto, we should wrong both them and you. Them, by putting them on things more inconvenient, and you, for that being honest men, they will be a strengthening to ye place, and good neighbours unto you. Two things we would advise you of, which we have likewise signified them hear. First, ye trade for skins to be retained for the general till ye devidente; 2ly. yt their settling by you, be with such distance of place as is neither inconvenient for ye lying of your lands, nor hurtful to your speedy & easie assembling togeather.

We have sente you diverse fisher men, with salt, &c. Diverse other provissions we have sente you, as will appear in your bill of lading, and though we have not sent all we would (because our cash is small), yet it is yt we could, &c.

And although it seemeth you have discovered many more rivers and fertill grounds then yt where you are, yet seeing by Gods providence yt place fell to your lot, let it be accounted as your portion; and rather fixe your eyes upon that which may be done ther, then languish in hops after things elsewhere. If your place be not ye best, it is better, you shall be ye less envied and encroached upon; and such as are earthly minded, will not settle too near your border. If ye land afford you bread, and ye sea yeeld you fish, rest you a while contented, God will one day afford you better fare.

And all men shall know you are neither fugetives nor discontents. But can, if God so order it, take ye worst to your selves, with content, & leave ye best to your neighbours, with cherfullnes. Let it not be greeveous unto you yt you have been instruments to break ye ice for others who come after with less difficulty, the honour shall be yours to ye worlds end, &c.

We bear you always in our breasts, and our harty affection is towards you all, as are ye harts of hundreds more which never saw your faces, who doubtles pray for your saftie as their owne, as we ourselves both doe & ever shall, that ye same God which hath so marvellously preserved you from seas, foes, and famine, will still preserve you from all future dangers, and make you honourable amongst men, and glorious in blise at ye last day.

And so ye Lord be with you all & send us joyful news from you, and inable us with one shoulder so to accomplish & perfect this work, as much glorie may come to Him yt confoundeth ye mighty by the weak, and maketh small things great. To whose greatens, be all glorie for ever & ever.

This leter was subscribed with 13. of their names.

These passengers, when they saw their low & poor condition a shore, were much danted and dismayed, and according to their diverse humours were diversely affected; some wished themselves in England againe; others fell a weeping, fancying their own miserie in what yey saw now in others; other some pitying the distress they saw their friends had been long in, and still were under; in a word, all were full of sadness. Only some of their old friends rejoysed to see them, and yt it was no worse with them, for they could not expect it should be better, and now hoped they should injoye better days togeather. And truly it was no marvel they should be thus affected, for they were in a very low condition, many were ragged in apparel, & some little better then halfe naked; though some yt were well stored before, were well enough in this regard. But for food they were all alike, save some yt had got a few pease of ye ship yt was last hear. The best dish they could presente their friends with was a lobster, or a peece of fish, without bread or anything else but a cup of fair spring water. And ye long continuance of this diate, and their labours abroad, had something abated ye freshness of their former complexion. But God gave them health and strength in a good measure; and shewed them by experience ye truth of yt word, Deut. 8. 3. Yt man liveth not by bread only, but by every word yt proceedeth out of ye mouth of ye Lord doth a man live.

When I think how sadly ye scripture speaks of the famine in Jaakobs time, when he said to his sonns, Goe buy us food, that we may live and not dye. Gen. 42. 2. and 43. 1, that the famine was great, or heavie in the land; and yet they had such great herds, and store of cattle of sundrie kinds, which, besides flesh, must needs produse other food, as milke, butter & cheese, &c., and yet it was counted a sore affliction; theirs hear must needs be very great, therefore, who not only wanted the staff of bread, but all these things, and had no Egipte to goe too. But God fed them out of ye sea for ye most part, so wonderful is his providence over his in all ages; for his mercie endureth for ever. On ye other hand the old planters were afraid their corn, when it was ripe, should be imparted to ye newcomers, whose provissions which they brought with them they feared would fall short before ye year went about (as indeed it did).

They came to ye Govr and besought him that as it was before agreed that they should set corn for their perticuler, and accordingly they had taken extraordinary pains ther aboute, that they might freely injoye the same, and they would not have a bitte of ye victails now come, but waite till harvest for their owne, and let ye newcomers injoye what they had brought; they would have none of it, except they could purchase any of it of them by bargain or exchange. Their request was granted them, for it gave both sides good contente; for ye newcomers were as much afraid that ye hungrie planters would have eat up ye provissions brought, and they should have fallen into ye like condition.

This ship was in a short time laden with claboard, by ye help of many hands. Also they sente in her all ye beaver and other furs they had, & Mr. Winslow was sent over with her, to inform of all things, and procure such things as were thought needful for their presente condition. By this time harvest was come, and instead of famine, now God gave them plentie, and ye face of things was changed, to ye rejoysing of ye hearts of many, for which they blessed God. And ye effect of their particuler planting was well seen, for all had, one way & other, pretty well to bring ye year aboute, and some of ye abler sort and more industrious had to spare, and sell to others, so as any general want or famine hath not been amongst them since to this day.

Those that come on their perticuler looked for greater matters then they found or could attaine unto, about building great houses, and such pleasant situations for them, as themselves had fancied; as if they would be great men & rich, all of a sudaine; but they proved castles in ye aire. These were ye conditions agreed on between ye colony and them.

First, that ye Govr, in ye name and with ye consente of ye company, doth in all love and friendship receive and imbrace them; and is to allot them competente places for habitations within ye towne. And promiseth to shew them all such other curtesies as shall be reasonable for them to desire, or us to perform.

2. That they, on their parts, be subject to all such laws & orders as are already made, or hear after shall be, for ye publick good.

3. That they be freed and exempt from ye general employments of the said company, (which their presente condition of comunitie requireth,) except commune defence, & such other employments as tend to ye perpetual good of ye colony.

4ly. Towards ye maintenance of Goŕrt, & publick officers of ye said colony, every male above ye age of 16. years shall pay a bushel of Indean wheat, or ye worth of it, into ye commone store.

5ly. That (according to ye agreement ye marchants made with ym before they came) they are to be wholly debarred from all trade with the Indeans for all sorts of furs, and such like commodities, till ye time of ye comunallitie be ended.

About ye middle of September arrived Captain Robart Gorges in ye Bay of ye Massachusetts, with sundrie passengers and families, intending ther to begine a plantation; and pitched upon ye place Mr. Weston's people had forsaken. He had a coŕmission from ye Counsell of New-England, to be general Governor of ye countrie, and they appoynted for his counsell & assistance, Captain Francis West, ye aforesaid admiral, Christopher Levite, Esquire, and ye Govr of Plimoth for ye time being, etc. Also, they gave him authoritie to chuse such other as he should find fit. Also, they gave (by their coŕmission) full power to him and his assistants, or any 3. of them, wherof himself was always to be one, to doe and execute what to them should seem good, in all cases, Capital, Criminal, and Civil, etc., with diverce other instructions. Of which, and his coŕmission, it pleased him to suffer ye Governor hear to take a copy.

He gave them notice of his arrival by letter, but before they could visit him he went to ye eastward with ye ship he came in; but a storm arising, (and they wanting a good pilot to harbor them in those parts,) they bore up for this harbor. He and his men were hear kindly entertained; he stayed hear 14. days. In ye mean time came in Mr. Weston with his small ship, which he had now recovered. Captaine Gorges took hold of ye opportunitie, and acquainted ye Govr hear, that one occasion of his going to ye eastward was to meete with Mr. Weston, and call him to account for some abuses he had to lay to his charge. Whereupon he called him before him, and some other of his assistants, with ye Govr of this place; and charged him, first, with ye ille carriage of his men at ye Massachusetts; by which means the peace of ye countrie was disturbed, and him selfe and the people which he had brought over to plant in that bay were thereby much prejudiced. To this Mr. Weston easily answered, that what was that way done, was in his absence, and might have befallen any man; he left them sufficiently provided, and conceived they would have been well governed; and for any error committed he had sufficiently smarted. This particuler was passed by. A 2d. was, for an abuse done to his father, Sr. Ferdinando Gorges, and to ye State. The thing was this; he used him & others of ye Counsell of New-England, to procure him a licence for ye transporting of many peeces of great ordnance for New-England, pretending great fortification hear in ye countrie, & I know not what shipping. The which when he had obtained, he went and sould them beyond seas for his private profite; for which (he said) ye State was much offended, and his father suffered a shrowd check, and he had order to apprehend him for it. Mr. Weston excused it as well as he could, but could not deny it; it being one maine thing (as was said) for which he with-drew himself. But after many passages, by ye mediation of ye Govr and some other friends hear, he was inclined to gentleness (though he aprehended ye abuse of his father deeply); which, when Mr. Weston saw, he grew more presumptuous, and gave such provocking & cutting speeches, as made him rise up in great indignation & distemper, and vowed yt he would either curb him, or send him home for England. At which Mr. Weston was something danted, and came privatly to ye Govr hear, to know whether they would suffer Captaine Gorges to apprehend him. He was tould they could not hinder him, but much blamed him, yt after they had pacified things, he should thus break out, by his owne folly & rashness, to bring trouble upon him selfe & them too. He confest it was his passion, and prayd ye Govr to entreat for him, and pacifie him if he could. The which at last he did, with much adoe; so he was called againe, and ye Govr was contente to take his owne bond to be ready to make further answer, when either he or ye lords should send for him. And at last he took only his word, and ther was a friendly parting on all hands.

But after he was gone, Mr. Weston in lue of thanks to ye Govr and his friends hear, gave them this quib (behind their backs) for all their pains. That though they were but yonge justices, yet they wear good beggers. Thus they parted at this time, and shortly after ye Govr took his leave and went to ye Massachusetts by land, being very thankful for his kind entertainment. The ship stayed here, and fitted her selfe to goe for Virginia, having some passengers ther to deliver; and with her returned sundrie of those from hence which came over on their perticuler, some out of discontent and dislike of ye countrie; others by reason of a fire that broke out, and burnt ye houses they lived in, and all their provisions so as they were necessitated thereunto. This fire was occasioned by some of ye sea-men that were roystering in a house where it first began, making a great fire in very cold weather, which broke out of ye chimney into ye thatch, and burnt down 3. or 4. houses, and consumed all ye goods & provissions in ym. The house in which it begane was right against their store-house, which they had much adoe to save, in which were their coŕmone store & all their provissions; ye which if it had been lost, ye plantation had been over-thrown. But through Gods mercie it was saved by ye great dilligence of ye people, & care of the Govr & some aboute him.

Some would have had ye goods thrown out; but if they had, ther would much have been stolen by the rude company yt belonged to these 2. ships, which were almost all ashore. But a trusty company was placed within, as well as those that with wet-cloaths & other means kept of ye fire without, that if necessitie required they might have them out with all speed. For yey suspected some malicious dealing, if not plaine treacherie, and whether it was only suspection or no, God knows; but this is certain, that when ye tumulte was greatest, ther was a voyce heard (but from whom it was not known) that bid them look well about them, for all were not friends yt were near them. And shortly after, when the vemencie of ye fire was over, smoke was seen to arise within a shed yt was joynd to ye end of ye storehouse, which was watled up with bowes, in ye withered leaves wherof ye fire was kindled, which some, running to quench, found a long firebrand of an ell long, lying under ye wale on ye inside, which could not possibly come there by cassualtie, but must be laid ther by some hand, in ye judgmente of all that saw it. But God kept them from this deanger, whatever was intended.

Shortly after Captain Gorges, ye general Govr, was come home to ye Massachusetts, he sends a warrant to arrest Mr. Weston & his ship, and sends a master to bring her away thither, and one Captain Hanson (that belonged to him) to conduct him along. The Govr & others hear were very sorry to see him take this course, and took exception at ye warrant, as not legal nor sufficient; and withal write to him to dissuade him from this course, shewing him yt he would but entangle and burthen him selfe in doing this; for he could not doe Mr. Weston a better turn, (as things stood with him); for he had a great many men that belonged to him in this brake, and was deeply ingaged to them for wages, and was in a manner out of victails (and now winter); all which would light upon him, if he did arrest his barke. In ye mean time Mr. Weston had notice to shift for him selfe; but it was conceived he either knew not whither to goe, or how to mend him selfe, but was rather glad of ye occasion, and so stirred not. But ye Govr would not be perswaded, but sent a very formal warrente under his hand & seal, with strict charge as they would answer it to ye state; he also wrote that he had better considered of things since he was hear, and he could not answer it to let him goe so; besides other things that were come to his knowledge since, which he must answer too. So he was suffered to proceede, but he found in the end that to be true that was tould him; for when an inventorie was taken of what was in ye ship, there was not vitailles found for above 14. days, at a pare allowance, and not much else of any great worth, & the men did so crie out of him for wages and diate, in ye mean time, as made him soone weary. So as in conclusion it turned to his loss, and ye expense of his owne provissions; and towards the spring they came to agreement, (after they had bene to ye eastward,) and ye Governor restored him his vessel againe, and made him satisfaction, in basket, meal, and such like provissions, for what he had made use of that was his, or what his men had any way wasted or consumed. So Mr. Weston came hither againe, and afterward shaped his course for Virginie, & so for present I shall leave him.

The Governor and some yet depended upon him returned for England, haveing scarcely saluted ye countrie in his Government, not finding the state of things here to answer his quallitie & condition. The people dispersed themselves, some went for England, others for Virginia, some few remained, and were helped with supplies from hence. The Govr brought over a minister with him, one Mr. Morell, who, about a year after ye Govr returned, took shipping from hence. He had I know not what power and authority of superintendancie over other churches granted him, and sundrie instructions for that end; but he never shewed it, or made any use of it; (it should seem he saw it was in vaine;) he only speake of it to some hear at his going away. This was in effect ye end of a 2. plantation in that place. Ther were also this year some scattering beginnings made in other places, as at Paskataway, by Mr. David Thomson, at Monhigen, and some other places by sundrie others.

It rests now yet I speake a word about ye piñass spoken of before, which was sent by ye adventurers to be employed in ye countrie. She was a fine vessel, and bravely set out, and I fear ye adventurers did over pride themselves in her, for she had ill success. However, they erred grossly in tow things aboute her; first, though she had a sufficiente maister, yet she was rudely manned, and all her men were upon shares, and none was to have any wages but ye master 2ly, whereas they mainly lookt at trade, they had sent nothing of any value to trade with. When the men came here, and met with ill counsell from Mr. Weston & his crue, with others of ye same stamp, neither master nor Govr could scarce rule them, for they exclaimed that they were abused & deceived, for they were tould they should goe for a man of war, and take I know not whom, French & Spaniards, &c. They would neither trade nor fish, except they had wages; in fine, they would obey no command of ye maisters; so it was apprehended they would either rune away with ye vessel, or get away with ye ships, and leave her; so as Mr. Peirce & others of their friends perswaded the Govr to chaing their condition, and give them wages; which was accordingly done. And she was sente about ye Cape to ye Narigansetts to trade, but they made but a poor vioage of it. Some corn and beaver they got, but ye Dutch used to furnish them with cloath & better commodities, they haveing only a few beads & knives, which were not ther much esteemed. Also, in her returne home, at ye very entrance into ther owne harbore, she had like to have been cast away in a storm, and was forced to cut her maine mast by ye bord, to save herself from driving on ye flats that lye without, called Browns llands, the force of ye wind being so great as made her anchors give way and she drive right upon them; but her mast & tackling being gone, they held her till ye wind shifted.

Anno Dom: 1624.

The time of new election of ther officers for this year being come, and ye number of their people increased, and their troubles and occasions therewith, the Govr desired them to chainge ye persons, as well as renew ye election; and also to add more Assistants to ye Govr for help & counsell, and ye better carrying on of affairs. Showing that it was necessarie it should be so. If it was any honour or benefit, it was fit others should be made pertakers of it; if it was a burthen, (as doubtles it was,) it was but equal others should help to bear it; and yt this was ye end of Annual Elections. The issue was, that as before ther was but one Assistant, they now chose 5. giving the Govr a double voyce; and afterwards they increased them to 7. which course hath continued to this day.

They having with some trouble & charge new-masted and rigged their pinass, in ye beginning of March they sent her well vitaled to the eastward on fishing. She arrived safely at a place near Damarins cove, and was there well harbored in a place where ships used to ride, ther being also some ships already arrived out of England. But shortly after ther arose such a violent & extraordinarie storm, as ye seas broak over such places in ye harbor as was never seen before, and drive her against great rocks, which beat such a hole in her bulk, as a horse and carte might have gone in, and after drive her into deep-water, where she lay sunk. The master was drowned, the rest of ye men, all save one, saved their lives, with much a doe; all her provision, salt, and what else was in her, was lost. And here I must leave her to lye till afterward.

Some of those that still remained hear on their perticuler, began privatly to nourish a faction, and being privie to a strong faction that was among ye adventurers in England, on whom sundry of them did depend, by their private whispering they drew some of the weaker sort of ye company to their side, and so filled them with discontent, as nothing would satisfie them except they might be suffered to be in their perticuler also; and made great offers, so they might be freed from ye general. The Govr consulting with ye ablest of ye general body what was best to be done hear

in, it was resolved to permitte them so to doe, upon equal conditions. The conditions were the same in effect with ye former before related. Only some more added, as that they should be bound here to remain till ye general partnership was ended. And also that they should pay into ye store, ye on halfe of all such goods and comodities as they should any waise raise above their food, in consideration of what charge had been layed out for them, with some such like things. This liberty granted, soone stopt this gape, for ther was but a few that undertook this course when it came too; and they were as sone weary of it. For the other had perswaded them, & Mr. Weston togeather, that ther would never come more supply to ye general body; but ye perticulers had such friends as would carry all, and doe for them I know not what.

Shortly after, Mr. Winslow came over, and brought a pretty good supply, and the ship came on fishing, a thing fatal to this plantation.

He brought 3. heifers & a bull, the first beginning of any cattle of that kind in ye land, with some cloathing & other necessaries, as will further appear; but withal ye report of a strong faction amongst ye adventurers against them, and espetially against ye coming of ye rest from Leyden, and with what difficulty this supply was procured, and how, by their strong & long opposition, bussines was so retarded as not only they were now falne too late for ye fishing season, but the best men were taken up of ye fishermen in the west countrie, and he was forct to take such a master & company for that employment as he could procure upon ye present. Some letters from them shall better declare these things, being as followeth.

Most worthy & loving friends, your kind & loving leters I have received, and render you many thanks, &c. It hath pleased God to stir up ye harts of our adventurers to raise a new stock for the setting forth of this ship, called the Charitie, with men & necessaries, both for the plantation and the fishing, though accomplished with very great difficulty; in regard we have some amongst us which undoubtedly aime more at their owne private ends, and the thwarting & opposing of some hear, and other worthy instruments, of Gods glory elsewhere, then at the general good and furtherance of this noble & laudable action. Yet againe we have many other, and I hope the greatest part, very honest Christian men, which I am perswaded their ends and intents are wholly for the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, in the propagation of his gospel, and hope of gaining those poor salvages to the knowledge of God. But, as we have a proverb, One scabbed sheep may mar a whole flock, so these malcontent persons, & turbulent spirits, doe what in them lyeth to withdraw men's harts from you and your friends, yea, even from the general bussines; and yet under show and pretence of godliness and furtherance of the plantation. Whereas the quite contrary doth plainly appeare; as some of the honester harted men (though of late of their faction) did make manifest at our late meeting. But what should I trouble you or myself with these restless opposers of all goodnes, and I doubt will be continual disturbers of our friendly meetings & love. On Thurs-day the 8. of Jan: we had a meeting about the artickls between you & us; where they would reject that, which we in our late leters prest you to grant, (an addition to the time of our joynt stock). And their reason which they would make known to us was, it troubled their conscience to exact longer time of you then was agreed upon at the first. But that night they were so followed and crost of their perverse courses, as they were even wearied, and offered to sell their adventures; and some were willing to buy. But I, doubting they would raise more scandal and false reports, and so diverse waise doe us more hurt, by going off in such a furie, then they could or can by continuing adventurers amongst us, would not suffer them. But on ye 12. of Jan: we had another meeting, but in the interim diverse of us had talked with most of them privatly, and had great combats & reasoning, pro & con. But at night when we mete to read ye general letter, we had ye loveingest and friendlyest meeting that ever I knew and our greatest enemie offered to lend us 50li.

So I sent for a pottle of wine, (I would you could do ye like,) which we drank friendly together. Thus God can turn ye harts of men when it pleaseth him, &c. Thus loving friends, I hartily salute you all in ye Lord, hoping ever to rest,

Yours to my power,

James Sherley. Jan: 25. 1623.

Another leter.

Beloved Sir., &c. We have now sent you, we hope, men & means, to settle these 3. things, viz. fishing, salt making, and boat making; if you can bring them to pass to some perfection, your wants may be supplied. I pray you bend you selfe what you can to settle these bussinesses. Let ye ship be fraught away as soone as you can, and sent to Bilbow. You must send some discreet man for factor, whom, once more, you must also authorise to confirme ye conditions. If Mr. Winslow could be spared, I could wish he came againe. This ship carpenter is thought to be the fittest man for you in the land, and will no doubt do you much good. Let him have an absolute command over his servants & such as you put to him. Let him build you 2. catches, a lighter, and some 6. or 7. shalops, as soone as you can. The salt-man is a skilful & industrious man, put some to him, that may quickly apprehend ye misterie of it. The preacher we have sent is (we hope) an honest plaine man, though none of ye most eminente and rare. About chusing him into office use your owne liberty & discretion; he knows he is no officer amongst you, though perhaps custom & universalitie may make him forget him selfe. Mr. Winslow & my selfe gave way to his going, to give contente to some hear, and we see no hurt in it, but only his great charge of children.

We have took a patent for Cap Anne, &c. I am sorry ther is no more discretion used by some in their leters hither. Some say you are starved in body & soul; others, yt you eat pigs & dogs, that dye alone; others, that ye things hear spoaken of, ye goodnes of ye country, are gross and palpable lyes; that ther is scarce a foule to be seen, or a fish to be taken, and many such like. I would such discontented men were hear againe, for it is a miserie when ye whole state of a plantation shall be thus exposed to ye passionate humours of some discontented men. And for myself I shall hinder for hereafter some yt would goe, and have not better composed their affections; mean space it is all our crosses, and we must bear them.

I am sorie we have not sent you more and other things, but in truth we have run into so much charge, to victaile ye ship, provide salte & other fishing implements, &c. as we could not provide other comfortable things, as butter, sugar, &c. I hope the returne of this ship, and the James, will put us in cash againe.

The Lord make you full of courage in this troublesome bussines, which now must be stuck unto, till God give us rest from our labours. Fare well in all harty affection.

**Your assured friend,
Robart Cushman
January 24th 1623.**

With ye former letter write by Mr. Sherley, there were sente sundrie objections concerning which he thus writeth. "These are the cheefe objections which they that are now returned make against you and the countrie. I pray you consider them, and answer them by the first conveniencie." These objections were made by some of those that came over on their peticuler and were returned home, as is before mentioned, and were of ye same suite with those yt this other letter mentions.

I shall here set them down, with ye answers then made unto them, and sent over at ye returne of this ship; which did so confound ye objecters, as some confessed their falte, and others deneyed what they had said, and eat their words, & some others of them have since come over againe and here lived to convince themselves sufficiently, both in their owne & other men's judgments.

1. Object: was diversitie aboute Religion.

Answer: We know no such matter, for here was never any controversie or opposition, either publicke or private, (to our knowledge,) since we came.

2. Object: Neglect of familie duties, one ye Lords day.

Answer: We allow no such thing, but blame it in our selves & others; and they that thus report it, should have shewed their Christian love the more if they had in love tould ye offenders of it, rather than thus to reproach them behind their backs. But (to say no more) we wish themselves had given better example.

3. Object: Want of both the sacrament's.

Answer: The more is our greefe, that our pastor is kept from us, by whom we might injoye them; for we used to have the Lords Supper every Sabath, and baptism as often as ther was occasion of children to baptise.

4. Object: Children not catechised nor taught to read.

Answer: Neither is true; for diverse take pains with their owne as they can; indeed, we have no comone school for want of a fit person, or hitherto means to maintaine one; though we desire now to begin.

5. Object: Many of ye peticuler members of ye plantation will not work for ye general.

Answer: This also is not wholly true; for though some doe it not willingly, & other not honestly, yet all do it; and he that doth worst gets his owne food & something besides. But we will not excuse them, but labour to reform them ye best we can, or else to quite ye plantation of them.

6. Object: The water is not wholesome.

Answer: If they mean, not so wholesome as ye good beere and wine in London, (which they so dearly love,) we will not dispute with them; but else, for water, it is as good as any in the world, (for ought we know,) and it is wholesome enough to us that can be contente therewith.

7. Object: The ground is barren and doth bear no grass.

Answer: It is hear (as in all places) some better & some worse; and if they well consider their words, in England they shall not find such grass in them, as in their fields & meadows. The cattle find grass, for they are as fat as need be; we wish we had but one for every hundred that hear is grass to keep. Indeed, this objection, as some other, are ridiculous to all here which see and know ye contrary.

8. Object: The fish will not take salt to keep sweete.

Answer: This is as true as that which was written, that ther is scarce a foule to be seene or a fish to be taken. Things likely to be true in a countrie where so many sayle of ships come yearly a fishing; they might as well say, there can no aile or beere in London be kept from sowering.

9. Object: Many of them are theevish and steal on from another.

Answer: Would London had been free from that crime, then we should not have been troubled with these here; it is well known sundrie have smarted well for it, and so are ye rest like to do, if they be taken.

10. Object: The countrie is annoyed with foxes and wolves.

Answer: So are many other good countries too; but poyson, traps, and other such means will help to destroy them.

11. Object: The Dutch are planted nere Hudson's Bay, and are likely to overthrow the trade.

Answer: They will come and plant in these parts, also, if we and others do not, but goe home and leave it to them. We rather commend them, then condemn them for it.

12. Object: The people are much annoyed with muskeetoos.

Answer: They are too delicate and unfit to begin new-plantations and collonies, that cannot enduer the biting of a muskeeto; we would wish such to keep at home till at least they be muskeeto prooffe. Yet this place is as free as any, and experience teacheth that ye more ye land is tild, and ye woods cut down, the fewer ther will be, and in the end scarce any at all.

Having thus dispatcht these things, that I may handle things togeather, I shall here insert 2. other letters from Mr. Robinson their pastor; the one to ye Govr, ye other to Mr. Brewster their Elder, which will give much light to ye former things, and express the tender love & care of a true pastor over them.

His leter to ye Governor.

My loving & much beloved friend, whom God hath hitherto preserved, preserve and keep you still to his glorie, and ye good of many; that his blessing may make your godly and wise endeavours answerable to ye valuation which they ther have, & set upon ye same. Of your love too and care for us here, we never doubted; so are we glad to take knowledge of it in that fullness we do. Our love & care to and for you, is mutual, though our hopes of coming unto you be small, and weaker than ever. But of this at large in Mr. Brewster's letter, with whom you, and he with you, mutually, I know, communicate your letters, as I desire you may do these, &c.

Concerning ye killing of those poor Indeans, of which we heard at first by report, and since by more certain relation, oh! how happy a thing had it been, if you had converted some, before you had killed any; besides, where blood is one begun to be shed, it is seldom stanchd of a long time after. You will say they deserved it. I grant it; but upon what provocations and invitments by those heathenish Christians? Besides, you, being no magistrates over them, were to consider, not what they deserved, but what you were by necessitie constrained to inflict. Necessitie of this, espetially of killing so many, (and many more, it seems, they would, if they could,) I see not. Methinks one or two principals should have been full enough, according to that approved rule, The punishmente to a few, and ye fear to many. Upon this occasion let me be bould to exhort you seriously to consider of ye dispossession of your Captain, whom I love, and am perswaded ye Lord in great mercie and for much good hath sent you him, if you use him aright. He is a man humble and meek amongst you, and towards all in ordinarie course. But now if this be merely from a humane spirit, ther is cause to fear that by occasion, espetially of provocation, ther may be wanting yt tenderness of ye life of man (made after Gods image) which is meete. It is also a thing more glorious in men's eyes, then pleasing in Gods, or conveniente for Christians, to be a terror to poor barbarous people; and indeed I am afraid least, by these occasions, others should be drawn to affect a kind of rufing course in the world. I doubt not but you will take in good part these things which I write, and as ther is cause make use of them. It were to us more comfortable and convenient, that we communicated our mutual helps in presence, but seeing that cannot be done, we shall always long after you, and love you, and waite Gods apoynted time. The adventurers it seems have neither money nor any great mind of us, for ye most part. They deny it to be any part of ye covenants betwixte us, that they should transport us, neither do I look for any further help from them, till means come from you. We hear are strangers in effecte to ye whole course, and so both we and you (save as your owne wisdoms and worth's have intressed you further) of principals intended in this bussines, are scarce accessories, &c. My wife, with me, resalute you & yours. Unto him who is ye same to his in all places, and nere to them which are far from one another, I comend you and all with you, resting,

Yours truly loving,

John Robinson.

Leyden, December: 19th 1623.

His to Mr. Brewster.

Loving and dear friend and brother: That which I most desired of God in regard of you, namely, ye continuance of your life and health, and the safe coming of these sent unto you, that I most gladly hear of, and praise God for the same. And I hope Mrs. Brewster's weak and decayed state of body will have some repairing by the coming of her daughters, and the provisions in this and former ships, I hear is made for you; which makes us with more patience bear our languishing state, and ye deferring of our desired transportation;

which I call desired, rather than hoped for, whatsoever you are borne in hand by any others. For first, ther is no hope at all, that I know, or can conceive of, of any new stock to be raised for that end; so that all must depend upon returns from you, in which are so many uncertainties, as that nothing with any certaintie can thence be concluded. Besides, howsoever for ye presente the adventurers allege nothing but want of money, which is an invincible difficulty, yet if that be taken away by you, others without doubt will be found. For the better clearing of this, we must dispose ye adventurers into 3. parts; and of them some 5. or 6. (as I conceive) are absolutely bent for us, above any others. Other 5. or 6. are our bitter professed adversaries. The rest, being the body, I conceive to be honestly minded, & lovingly also towards us; yet such as have others (namely ye forward preachers) nearer unto them, then us, and whose course so far as ther is any differance, they would rather advance then ours. Now what a hanck these men have over ye professors, you know. And I perswade myself, that for me, they of all others are unwilling I should be transported, espetially such of them as have an eye that way themselves; as thinking if I come ther, ther market will be mard in many regards. And for these adversaries, if they have but halfe ye witte to their malice, they will stope my course when they see it intended, for which this delaying serveth them very opportunely. And as one restie jade can hinder, by hanging back, more than two or 3. can (or will at least, if they be not very free) draw forward, so will it be in this case. A notable experimete of this, they gave in your messengers presence, constraining ye company to promise that none of the money now gathered should be expended or employed to ye help of any of us towards you. Now touching ye question propounded by you, I judge it not lawfull for you, being a ruling Elder, as Rom. 12. 7. 8. & 1. Tim. 5. 17. opposed to the Elders that teach & exhort and labore in ye word and doctrine, to which ye sacrament's are annexed, to administer them, nor convenient if it were lawfull. Whether any learned man will come unto you or not, I know not; if any doe, you must Consiliū capere in arena. Be you most hartily saluted, & your wife with you, both from me & mine. Your God & ours, and ye God of all his, bring us together if it be his will, and keep us in the mean while, and always to his glory, and make us servisable to his majestie, and faithful to the end. Amen.

Your very loving brother,

John Robinson.

Leyden, December: 20th 1623.

These things premised, I shall now prosecute ye proceedings and affairs here. And before I come to other things I must speak a word of their planting this year; they having found ye benefit of their last year's harvest, and setting corn for their particuler, having thereby with a great deal of patience overcome hunger & famine. Which makes me remember a saing of Senecas, Epis: 123. That a great part of libertie is a well governed belly, and to be patient in all wants. They began now highly to prise corn as more pretious then silver, and those that had some to spare began to

trade one with another for smale things, by ye quarte, potle, & peck, &c.; for money they had none, and if any had, corn was preferred before it. That they might therefore encrease their tillage to better advantage, they made suite to the Govr to have some portion of land given them for continuance, and not by yearly lotte, for by that means, that which ye more industrious had brought into good culture (by much pains) one year, came to leave it ye next, and often another might injoye it; so as the dressing of their lands were the more sleighted over, & to lese profite. Which being well considered, their request was granted. And to every person was given only one acre of land, to them & theirs, as nere ye towne as might be, and they had no more till ye 7. years were expired. The reason was, that they might be kept close together both for more saftie and defence, and ye better improvement of ye general employments. Which condition of theirs did make me often thinke, of what I had read in Plinie of ye Romans first beginnings in Romulus time. How every man contented him selfe with 2. Acres of land, and had no more assigned them. And chap. 3. It was thought a great reward, to receive at ye hands of ye people of Rome a pint of corn. And long after, the greatest presente given to a Captain yt had got a victory over their enemise, was as much ground as they could till in one day. And he was not counted a good, but a dangerous man, that would not contente himself with 7. Acres of land. As also how they did pound their corn in morters, as these people were forcte to do many years before they could get a mile.

The ship which brought this supply, was speedily discharged, and with her master & company sente to Cap-Anne (of which place they had got a patent, as before is shewed) on fishing, and because the season was so far spent some of ye planters were sent to help to build their stage, to their owne hinderance. But partly by ye latenes of ye year, and more espetially by ye basnes of ye master one Baker, they made a poor viage of it. He proved a very drunken beast, and did nothing (in a maner) but drink, & gusle, and consume away ye time & his victails; and most of his company followed his example; and though Mr. William Peirce was to oversee the busines, & to be master of ye ship home, yet he could do no good amongst them, so as ye loss was great, and would have bene more to them, but that they kept one a trading ther, which in those times got some store of skins, which was some help unto them.

The ship-carpenter that was sent them, was an honest and very industrious man, and followed his labour very dilligently, and made all that were employed with him doe ye like; he quickly built them 2. very good & strong shalops (which after did them great service), and a great and strong lighter, and had hewne timber for 2. catches; but that was lost, for he fell into a feaver in ye hote season of the year, and though he had the best means ye place could afford, yet he dyed; of whom they had a very great loss, and were very sorie for his death. But he whom they sent to make salte was an ignorante, foolish, self-willd fellow; he bore them in hand he could do great matters in making salt-works, so he was sente to seek out fit ground for his purpose; and after some search he tould ye Govr that he had found a sufficient place, with a good botome to hold water, and otherwise very conveniente, which he doubted not but in a short time to bring to good perfection, and to yeeld them great profite; but he must have 8. or ten men to be constantly employed. He was wisht to be sure that ye ground was good, and other things answerable, and yt he could bring it to perfection; otherwise he would bring upon them a great charge by employing him selfe and so many men.

But he was, after some triall, so confidante, as he caused them to send carpenters to rear a great frame for a large house, to receive ye salte & such other uses. But in ye end all proved vaine. Then he layed fault of ye ground, in which he was deceived; but if he might have the lighter to carry clay, he was sure then he could do it. Now though ye Govr & some other foresaw that this would come too little, yet they had so many malignant spirits amongst them, that would have laid it upon them, in their letters of complaint to the adventurers, as to be their falte yt would not suffer him to goe on to bring his work to perfection; for as he by his bould confidence & large promises deceived them in England that sente him, so he had wound him selfe in to these men's high esteem hear, so as they were faine to let him goe on till all men saw his vanity. For he could not do anything but boyle salt in pans, & yet would make them yt were joynd with him believe ther was so great a misterie in it as was not easie to be attained, and made them doe many unnecessary things to blind their eyes, till they discerned his suttlie. The next yere he was sente to Cap-Anne, and ye pans were set up ther where the fishing was; but before soffer was out, he bufte the house, and the fire was so vehemente as it spoyld the pans, at least some of them, and this was the end of that chargable bussines.

The 3d. eminente person (which ye letters before mention) was ye minister which they sent over, by name Mr. John Lyford, of whom & whose doing I must be more large, though I shall abridge things as much as I can. When this man first came ashore, he saluted them with that reverence & humilitie as is seldom to be seen, and indeed made them ashamed, he so bowed and cringed unto them, and would have kissed their hands if they would have suffered him; yea, he wept & shed many tears, blessing God that had brought him to see their faces; and admiring ye things they had done in their wants, &c. as if he had been made all of love, and ye humblest person in the world. And all the while (if we may judge by his after carriages) he was but like him mentioned in Psa: 10. 10. That croucheth & boweth, that heaps of poor may fall by his might. Or like to that dissembling Ishmaell, who, when he had slain Gedelia, went out weeping and mette them yt were coming to offer incense in ye house of ye Lord; saing, Come to Gedelia, when he meant to slay them. They gave him ye best entertainment yey could, (in all simplisitie,) and a larger alowans of food out of ye store than any other had, and as the Governor had used in all waightie affairs to consult with their Elder, Mr. Brewster, (together with his assistants,) so now he called Mr. Liford also to counsell with them in their waightiest bussineses. After some short time he desired to joyne himself a member to ye church hear, and was accordingly received. He made a large confession of his faith, and an acknowledgement of his former disorderly walking, and his being intangled with many corruptions, which had been a burthen to his conscience, and blessed God for this opportunitie of freedom & libertie to injoye ye ordinances of God in puritie among his people, with many more such like expressions. I must hear speake a word also of Mr. John Oldom, who was a co-partner with him in his after courses. He had bene a cheefe sticler in ye former faction among ye perticulers, and an intelligencer to those in England. But now, since the coming of this ship and he saw the supply that came, he took occasion to open his mind to some of ye cheefe amongst them here, and confessed he had done them wrong both by word & deed, & writing into England; but he now saw the eminente hand of God to be with them, and his blessing upon them, which made

his hart smite him, neither should those in England ever use him as an instrument any longer against them in anything; he also desired former things might be forgotten, and that they would look upon him as one that desired to close with them in all things, with such like expressions. Now whether this was in hipocrisie, or out of some sudden pang of conviction (which I rather thinke), God only knows. Upon it they shew all readynesse to imbrace his love, and carry towards him in all frendlynnes, and called him to counsell with them in all cheefe affairs, as ye other, without any distrust at all.

Thus all things seemed to goe very comfortably and smoothly on amongst them, at which they did much rejoyce; but this lasted not long, for both Oldom and he grew very perverse, and shewed a spirit of great malignancie, drawing as many into faction as they could; were they never so vile or profane, they did nourish & back them in all their doings; so they would but cleave to them and speak against ye church hear; so as ther was nothing but private meetings and whisperings amongst them; they feeding themselves & others with what they should bring to pass in England by the faction of their friends their, which brought others as well as themselves into a fool's paradise. Yet they could not carry so closely but much of both their doings & sayings were discovered, yet outwardly they still set a faire face of things.

At length when ye ship was ready to goe, it was observed Lyford was long in writing, & sente many letters, and could not forbear to communicate to his intimates such things as made them laugh in their sleeves, and thought he had done ther errand sufficiently. The Govr and some other of his friends knowing how things stood in England, and what hurt these things might doe, took a shalop and wente out with the ship a league or 2. to sea, and called for all Lyford's & Oldams letters. Mr. William Peirce being master of ye ship, (and knew well their evil dealing both in England & here,) afforded him all ye assistance he could. He found above 20. of Lyford's letters, many of them large, and full of slanders, & false accusations, tending not only to their prejudice, but to their ruine & utter subversion. Most of the letters they let pas, only took copys of them, but some of ye most material they sent true copies of them, and kept ye originals, least he should deny them, and that they might produce his owne hand against him. Amongst his letters they found ye coppys of two letters which he sent inclosed in a leter of his to Mr. John Pemberton, a minster, and a great opposite of theirs. These 2. letters of which he took the coppys were one of them write by a gentle-man in England to Mr. Brewster here, the other by Mr. Winslow to Mr. Robinson, in Holland, at his coming away, as ye ship lay at Gravesend. They lying sealed in ye great cabin, (whilst Mr. Winslow was bussie aboute the affairs of ye ship,) this slye marchante takes & opens them, takes these coppys, & seals them up againe; and not only sends the coppys of them thus to his friend and their adversarie, but adds thereto in ye margente many scurrilous and flouting annotations. This ship went out towards evening, and in the night ye Governor returned. They were somewhat blank at it, but after some weeks, when they heard nothing, they then were as brisk as ever, thinking nothing had been known, but all was gone current, and that the Govr went but to dispatch his owne letters. The reason why the Govr & rest concealed these things the longer, was to let things ripen, that they might ye better discover their intents and see who were their adherents.

And ye rather because amongst ye rest they found a letter of one of their confederates, in wch was written that Mr. Oldam & Mr. Lyford intended a reformation in church and commone wealth; and, as soon as the ship was gone, they intended to joyne togeather, and have the sacraments, &c.

For Oldam, few of his leters were found, (for he was so bad a scribe as his hand was scarce legible,) yet he was as deep in ye mischeefe as the other. And thinking they were now strong enough, they began to pick quarrels at everything. Oldam being called to watch (according to order) refused to come, fell out with ye Captain, called him raskell, and beggerly raskell, and resisted him, drew his knife at him; though he offered him no wrong, nor gave him no little termes, but with all fairness required him to do his duty. The Govr, hearing ye tumulte, sent to quiet it, but he ramped more like a furious beast then a man, and called them all treatours, and rebels, and other such foul language as I am ashamed to remember; but after he was clapt up a while, he came to him selfe, and with some slight punishmente was let goe upon his behaviour for further censure.

But to cut things short, at length it grew to this esseue, that Lyford with his complices, without ever speaking one word either to ye Govr, Church, or Elder, withdrew themselves & set up a publick meeting apart, on ye Lord's day; with sundry such insolent carriages, too long here to relate, beginning now publikly to act what privately they had been long plotting.

It was now thought high time (to prevent further mischeefe) to call them to account; so ye Govr called a courte and summoned the whole company to appeare. And then charged Lyford & Oldom with such things as they were guilty of. But they were stiff, & stood resolutely upon ye deneyall of most things, and required proof. They first alleged what was write to them out of England, compared with their doings & pactises hear; that it was evident they joyned in plotting against them, and disturbing their peace, both in respect of their civil & church state, which was most injurious; for both they and all ye world knew they came hither to injoye ye libertie of their conscience and ye free use of Gods ordinances; and for yt end had ventured their lives and passed throwgh so much hardshipe hitherto, and they and their friends had borne the charge of these beginnings, which was not small. And that Lyford for his part was sent over on this charge, and that both he and his great family was maintained on ye same, and also was joyned to ye church, & a member of them; and for him to plot against them & seek their ruine, was most unjust & perfidious. And for Oldam or any other that came over at their owne charge, and were on ther perticuler, seeing they were received in curtesie by the plantation, when they came only to seek shelter & protection under their wings, not being able to stand alone, that they, (according to ye fable,) like the Hedgehog whom ye conny in a stormy day in pittie received into her borrow, would not be content to take part with her, but in the end with her sharp pricks forst the poor conny to forsake her owne borrow; so these men with the like injustice indeavored to doe ye same to those that entertained them.

Lyford denied that he had anything to do with them in England, or knew of their courses, and made other things as strange that he was charged with. Then his letters were produced & some of them read, at which he was struck mute.

But Oldam begane to rage furiously, because they had intercepted and opened his letters, threatening them in very high language, and in a most audacious and mutinous maner stood up & I upon ye people, saying, My maisters, where is your harts? now shew your courage, you have oft complained to me so & so; now is ye time, if you will do anything, I will stand by you, &c. Thinking yt every one (knowing his humor) that had soothed and flattered him, or otherwise in their discontent uttered anything unto him, would now side wth him in open rebellion. But he was deceived, for not a man opened his mouth, but all were silent, being stricken with the injustice of ye thing. Then ye Govr turned his speech to Mr. Lyford, and asked him if he thought they had done evil to open his letters; but he was silent, & would not say a word, well knowing what they might reply. Then ye Govr shewed the people he did it as a magistrate, and was bound to it by his place, to prevent ye mischeefe & ruine that this conspiracie and plots of theirs would bring on this poor colony. But he, besides his evil dealing hear, had delte trecherusly with his friends yt trusted him, & stole their letters & opened them, and sent copies of them, with disgraceful annotations, to his friends in England. And then ye Govr produced them and his other letters under his owne hand, (which he could not deny,) and caused them to be read before all ye people; at which all his friends were blank, and had not a word to say.

It would be too long & tedious here to insert his letters (which would almost fill a volume), though I have them by me. I shall only note a few of ye cheefe things collected out of them, with ye answers to them as they were then given; and but a few of those many, only for instance, by which the rest may be judged of.

1. First, he saith, the church would have none to live hear but themselves. 2ly. Neither are any willing so to do if they had company to live elsewhere.

Answer: Their answer was, that this was false, in both ye parts of it; for they were willing & desirous yt any honest men may live with them, that will carry themselves peaceably, and seek ye comone good, or at least doe them no hurt. And againe, ther are many that will not live elsewhere so long as they may live with them.

2. That if ther come over any honest men that are not of ye separation, they will quickly distance them, &c.

Answer: Their answer was as before, that it was a false calumination, for they had many amongst them that they liked well of, and were glad of their company; and should be of any such like that should come amongst them.

3. That they excepted against him for these 2. doctrines raised from 2. Sam: 12. 7. First, that ministers must some times perticularly apply their doctrine to spetiall persons; 2ly, that great men may be reprov'd as well as meaner.

Answer: Their answer was, that both these were without either truth or colour of ye same (as was proved to his face), and that they had taught and beleev'd these things long before they knew Mr. Liford.

4. That they utterly sought ye ruine of ye perticulers; as appeareth by this, that they would not suffer any of ye general either to buy or sell with them, or to exchaing one comoditie for another.

Answer: This was a most malicious slander and voyd of all truth, as was evidently proved to him before all men; for any of them did both buy, sell, or exchaing with them as often as they had any occation. Yea, and also both lend & give to them when they wanted; and this the perticuler persons themselves could not deny, but freely confest in open court. But ye ground from whence this arose made it much worse, for he was in counsell with them. When one was called before them, and questioned for receiving powder and bisket from ye gunner of the small ship, which was ye companys, and had it put in at his window in the night, and also for buying salt of one, that had no right to it, he not only stood to back him (being one of these perticulers) by excusing & extenuating his falte, as long as he could, but upon this builds this mischievous & most false slander: That because they would not suffer them to buy stolen goods, ergo, they sought their utter ruine. Bad logic for a devine.

5. Next he writes, that he chocked them with this; that they turned men into their perticuler, and then sought to starve them, and deprive them of all means of subsistence.

Answer: To this was answered, he did them manifest wrong, for they turned none into their perticuler; it was their owne importunitie and earnest desire that moved them, yea, constrained them to do it. And they appealed to ye persons themselves for ye truth hereof. And they testified the same against him before all present, as also that they had no cause to complaine of any either hard or unkind usage.

6. He accuseth them with unjust distribution, and writeth, that it was a strange difference, that some have bene allowed 16li. of meal by ye week, and others but 4li. And then (floutingly) saith, it seems some men's mouths and bellies are very little & slender over others.

Answer: This might seem strange indeed to those to whom he write his leters in England, which knew not ye reason of it; but to him and others hear, it could not be strange, who knew how things stood. For the first comers had none at all, but lived on their corn. Those wch came in ye Anne, ye August before, & were to live 13. months of the provisions they brought, had as good allowance in meal & pease as it would extend too, ye most part of ye year; but a little before harvest, when they had not only fish, but other fruits began to come in, they had but 4li. having their libertie to make their owne provisions. But some of these which came last, as ye ship carpenter, and samiers, the salte-men & others that were to follow constante employments, and had not an howers time, from their hard labours, to look for anything above their allowance; they had at first, 16li. allowed them, and afterwards as fish, & other food coued be gott, they had as balemente, to 14. & 12. yea some of them to 8. as the times & occasions did vary. And yet those which followed planting and their owne occasions, and had but 4li. of meal a week, lived better then ye other, as was well known to all. And yet it must be remembered that Lyford & his had alwais the highest allowance.

Many other things (in his letters) he accused them of, with many aggravations; as that he saw exseeding great wast of tools & vessels; & this, when it came to be examined, all ye instance he could give was, that he had seen an old hogshead or too fallen to peeces, and a broken how or two left carelessly in ye fields by some. Though he also knew that a godly, honest man was appointed to look to these things. But these things & such like was write off by him, to cast disgrace & prejudice upon them; as thinking what came from a minister would pass for current. Then he tells them that Winslow should say, that ther was not above 7. of ye adventurers yt sought ye good of ye collony. That Mr.

Oldam & him selfe had had much to do with them, and that ye faction here might match ye Jesuits for politie. With many ye like greevious complaints & accusations.

1. Then, in the next place, he comes to give his friends counsell and direction. And first, that ye Leyden company (Mr. Robinson & ye rest) must still be kept back, or else all will be spoyled. And least any of them should be taken in privaty somewhere on ye coast of England, (as it was feared might be done,) they must chaing the master of ye ship (Mr. William Peirce), and put another also in Winslow's stead, for marchante, or else it would not be prevented.

2. Then he would have such a number provided as might oversway them here. And that ye perticulers should have voyces in all courts & elections, and be free to bear any office. And that every perticuler should come over as an adventurer, if he be but a servant; some other venturing 10li., ye bill may be taken out in ye servants name, and then assigned to ye party whose money it was, and good covenants drawn between them for ye clearing of ye matter; and this (saith he) would be a means to strengthen this side ye more.

3. Then he tells them that if that Capten they spoke of should come over hither as a general, he was perswaded he would be chosen Capten; for this Captaine Standish looks like a silly boy, and is in utter contempte.

4. Then he shows that if by ye forementioned means they cannot be strengthened to carry & overbear things, it will be best for them to plant elsewhere by themselves; and would have it artickled by them that they might make choyse of any place that they liked best within 3. or 4. myls distance, shewing ther were farr better places for plantation then this.

5. And lastly he concludes, that if some number came not over to bear them up here, then ther would be no abiding for them, but by joyning with these hear. Then he adds: Since I begane to write, ther are letters come from your company, wherein they would give sole authoritie in diverce things unto the Govr here; which, if it take place, then, Ve nobis. But I hope you will be more vigilante hereafter, that nothing may pass in such a mañer. I suppose (saith he) Mr. Oldame will write to you further of these things. I pray you conceal me in the discovery of these things, &c.

Thus I have breefly touched some cheefe things in his leters, and shall now returne to their proceeding with him. After the reading of his leters before the whole company, he was demanded what he could say to these things. But all ye answer he made was, that Billington and some others had informed him of many things, and made sundrie complaints, which they now denyed. He was againe asked if that was a sufficient ground for him thus to accuse & traduce them by his letters, and never say word to them, considering the many bonds between them.

And so they went on from poynte to poynte; and wisht him, or any of his friends & confederates, not to spare them in anything; if he or they had any prooffe or witness of any corrupt or evil dealing of theirs, his or their evidence must needs be ther presente, for ther was the whole company and sundry strangers. He said he had been abused by others in their information's, (as he now well saw,) and so had abused them. And this was all the answer they could have, for none would take his part in anything; but Billington, & any whom he named, denyed the things, and protested he wronged them, and would have drawn them to such & such things which they could not consent too, though they were sometimes drawn to his meetings. Then they delte with him about his dissembling with them aboute ye church, and that he professed to concur with them in all things, and what a large confession he made at his admittance, and that he held not him selfe a minister till he had a new calling, &c. And yet now he contested against them, and drew a company apart, & sequestered him selfe; and would goe minister the sacrament's (by his Episcopal calling) without ever speaking a word unto them, either as magistrates or bretheren. In conclusion, he was fully convicted, and burst out into tears, and "confest he feared he was a reprobate, his sinns were so great that he doubted God would not pardon them, he was unsavorie salte, &c.; and that he had so wronged them as he could never make them amends, confessing all he had write against them was false & nought, both for matter & mañer." And all this he did with as much fullnes as words & tears could express.

After their triall & conviction, the court censured them to be expelled the place; Oldame presently, though his wife & family had liberty to stay all winter, or longer, till he could make provision to remove them comfortably. Lyford had liberty to stay 6. months. It was, indeed, with some eye to his release, if he caried him selfe well in the meane time, and that his repentance proved sound. Lyford acknowledged his censure was farr less then he deserved.

Afterwards, he confest his sin publikly in ye church, with tears more largely then before. I shall here put it down as I find it recorded by some who took it from his owne words, as him selfe uttered them. Acknowledging "That he had done very evil, and slanderously abused them; and thinking most of ye people would take part with him, he thought to carry all by violence and strong hand against them. And that God might justly lay innocent blood to his charge, for he knew not what hurt might have come of these his writings, and blest God they were stayed. And that he spared not to take knowledge from any, of any evil that was spoaken, but shut his eyes & ears against all the good; and if God should make him a vacabund in ye earth, as was Caine, it was but just, for he had sinned in envie & malice against his brethren as he did. And he confessed 3. things to be ye ground & causes of these his doings: pride, vaine-glorie, & selfe love." Amplifying these heads with many other sade expressions, in the perticulers of them.

So as they begane againe to conceive good thoughts of him upon this his repentance, and admitted him to teach amongst them as before; and Samuell Fuller (a deacon amongst them), and some other tender harted men amongst them, were so taken with his signes of sorrow & repentance, as they professed they would fall upon their knees to have his censure released. But that which made them all stand amased in the end, and may do all others that shall come to hear ye same, (for a rarer president can scarce be shown,) was, that after a month or 2. notwithstanding all his former confessions, convictions, and publick acknowledgments, both in ye face of ye church and whole company, with so many tears & sadde censures of him selfe before God & men, he should goe againe to justify what he had done.

For secretly he write a 2d. leter to ye adventurers in England, in wch he justified all his former writings, (save in some things which tended to their damage,) the which, because it is briefer then ye former, I shall here insert.

Worthy Sirs: Though the filth of mine owne doings may justly be cast in my face, and with blushing cause my perpetual silence, yet that ye truth may not herby be injured, your selves any longer deluded, nor injurious dealing caried out still, with bould out facings, I have adventured once more to write unto you. First, I do freely confess I delte very indiscreetly in some of my perticuler leters wch I wrote to private friends, for ye courses in coming hither & the like; which I do in no sort seeke to justifie, though stirred up ther unto in the beholding ye indirect courses held by others, both hear, & ther with you, for effecting their designs. But am hartily sorry for it, and doe to ye glory of God & mine owne shame acknowledge it. Which leters being intercepted by the Govr, I have for ye same undergone ye censure of banishment. And had it not been for ye respect I have unto you, and some other matters of private regard, I had returned againe at this time by ye pinass for England; for hear I purpose not to abide, unless I receive better incouragmente from you, then from ye church (as they call themselves) here I do receive. I purposed before I came, to undergo hardness, therefore I shall I hope cherfully bear ye conditions of ye place, though very mean; and they have chainged my wages ten times already. I suppose my letters, or at least ye copies of them, are come to your hands, for so they hear report; which, if it be so, I pray you take notice of this, that I have written nothing but what is certainly true, and I could make so appear plainly to any indifferent men, whatsoever colours be cast to darken ye truth, and some ther are very audacious this way; besides many other matters which are far out of order hear. My mind was not to enlarge my selfe any further, but in respect of diverse poor souls here, ye care of whom in part belongs to you, being here destitute of the meãs of salvation. For how so ever ye church are provided for, to their contente, who are ye smallest number in ye collony, and doe so appropriate ye ministrie to themselves, holding this principle, that ye Lord hath not appointed any ordinary ministrie for ye conversion of those yt are without, so yt some of ye poor souls have wth tears complained of this to me, and I was taxed for preaching to all in general. Though in truth they have had no ministrie here since they came, but such as may be performed by any of you, by their owne position, what soever great pretences they make; but herein they equivocate, as in many other things they do. But I excede ye bounds I set my selfe, therefore resting thus, until I hear further from you, so it be within ye time limited me. I rest, &c.,

Remaining yours ever,

John Lyford, Exille.

Dated Aug: 22. Ano: 1624.

They made a breefe answer to some things in this leter, but referred chiefly to their former. The effect was to this purpose: That if God in his providence had not brought these things to their hands (both ye former & later), they might have been thus abused, traduced, and calumniated, overthrown, & undone; and never have known by whom, nor for what. They desired but this equal favour, that they would be pleased to hear their just defence, as well as his accusations, and waigh them in ye balance of justice & reason, and then censure as they pleased. They had write breefly to ye heads of things before, and should be ready to give further answer as any occasion should require; craving leave to adde a word or two to this last.

1. And first, they desire to examene what filth that was yt he acknowledgeth might justly be thrown in his face, and might cause blushing & perpetual silence; some great mater sure! But if it be looked into, it amounts to no more than a poynte of indiscretion, and that's all; and yet he licks of yt too with this excuse, that he was stirred up thereunto by beholding ye indirect course here. But this point never troubled him here, it was counted a light matter both by him & his friends, and put off with this,—that any man might do so, to advise his private friends to come over for their best advantage. All his sorrow & tears here was for ye wrong & hurt he had done us, and not at all for this he pretends to be done to you: it was not counted so much as indiscretion.

2. Having thus payed you full satisfaction, he thinks he may lay load of us here. And first complains that we have changed his wages ten times. We never agreed with him for any wages, nor made any bargen at all with him, neither know of any that you have made. You sent him over to teach amongst us, and desired he might be kindly used; and more than this we know not. That he hath been kindly used, (and farr better then he deserves from us,) he shall be judged first of his owne mouth. If you please to look upon that writing of his, that was sent you amongst his leters, which he calls a general relation, in which, though he doth otherwise traduce us, yet in this he him selfe clears us. In ye latter end therof he hath these words. I speak not this (saith he) out of any ill affection to the men, for I have found them very kind & loving to me. You may ther see these to be his owne words under his owne hand. **2ly.** It will appere by this that he hath ever had a larger allowance of food out of ye store for him and his then any, and clothing as his neede hath required; a dwelling in one of our best houses, and a man wholly at his owne command to tend his private affairs. What cause he hath therefore to complaine, judge ye; and what he means in his speech we know not, except he alludes to yt of Jaacob & Laban. If you have promised him more or otherwise, you may do it when you please.

3. Then with an impudent face he would have you take notice, that (in his letters) he hath write nothing but what is certainly true, yea, and he could make it so appeare plainly to any indifferent men. This indeed doth astonish us and causeth us to tremble at ye deceitfulness and desperate wickedness of man's hart. This is to devour holy things, and after voues to enquire. It is admirable that after such publick confession, and acknowledgment in court, in church, before God, & men, with such sad expressions as he used, and with such melting into teares, that after all this he should now justifie all again.

If things had bene done in a corner, it had been something to deny them; but being done in ye open view of ye countrie & before all men, it is more than strange now to avow to make them plainly appear to any indifferent men; and here where things were done, and all ye evidence that could be were present, and yet could make nothing appear, but even his friends condemned him & gave their voyce to his censure, so gross were they; we leave your

selves to judge herein. Yet least this man should triumph in his wickedness, we shall be ready to answer him, when, or where you will, to anything he shall lay to our charge, though we have done it sufficiently already.

4. Then he saith he would not enlarge, but for some poor souls here who are destitute of ye means of salvation, &c. But all his soothing is but that you would use means, that his censure might be released that he might here continue; and under you (at least) be sheltered, till he sees what his friends (on whom he depends) can bring about & effect. For such men pretend much for poor souls, but they will look to their wages & conditions; if that be not to their content, let poor souls doe what they will, they will shift for themselves, and seek poor souls somewhere else among richer bodys.

Next he falls upon ye church, that indeed is ye burthensome stone that troubles him. First, he saith they hold this principle, that the Lord hath not appointed any ordinarie ministrie for ye converssion of those without. The church needs not be ashamed of what she holds in this, having Gods word for her warrente; that ordinarie officers are bound cheefly to their flocks, Acts 20. 28. and are not to be extravagants, to goe, come, and leave them at their pleasures to shift for themselves, or to be devoured of wolves. But he perverts ye truth in this as in other things, for ye Lord hath as well appointed them to convert, as to feed in their several charges; and he wrongs ye church to say otherwise. Againe, he saith he was taxed for preaching to all in general. This is a mere untruth, for this dissembler knows that every Lords day some are appointed to visit suspected places, & if any be found idling and neglect ye hearing of ye word, (through idleness or profanes,) they are punished for ye same. Now to procure all to come to hear, and then to blame him for preaching to all, were to play ye mad men.

6. Next (he saith) they have had no ministrie since they came, what soever pretences they make, &c. We answer, the more is our wrong, that our pastor is kept from us by these men's means, and then reproach us for it when they have done. Yet have we not been wholly destitute of ye means of salvation, as this man would make ye world beleieve; for our revered Elder hath laboured diligently in dispensing the word of God unto us, before he came; and since hath taken equal pains with himself in preaching the same; and be it spoken without ostentation, he is not inferior to Mr. Lyford (& some of his betters) either in gifts or learning, though he would never be perswaded to take higher office upon him. Nor ever was more pretended in this matter. For equivocating, he may take it to him selfe; what ye church holds, they have manifested to ye world, in all Plaines, both in open confession, doctrine, & writing.

This was ye sum of their answer, and hear I will let them rest for ye presente. I have bene longer in these things then I desired, and yet not so long as the things might require, for I pass many things in silence, and many more deserve to have been more largely handled. But I will returne to other things, and leave ye rest to its place.

The pinass that was left sunck & cast away near Damarins-cove, as is before showed, some of ye fishing maisters said it was a pity so fine a vessel should be lost, and sent them word that, if they would be at ye cost, they would both direct them how to waygh her, and let them have their carpenters to mend her. They thanked them, & sente men aboute it, and beaver to defray ye charge, (without which all had been in vaine). So they gott coopers to trim, I know not how many tune of cask, and being made tight and fastened to her at low-water, they buoyed her up; and then with many hands held her on shore in a conveniente place where she might be wrought upon; and then hired sundrie carpenters to work upon her, and other too saw planks, and at last fitted her & got her home. But she cost a great deal of money, in thus recovering her, and buying rigging & sails for her, both now and when before she lost her mast; so as she proved a chargable vessel to ye poor plantation. So they sent her home, and with her Lyford sent his last letter, in great secrecie; but ye party intrusted with it gave it ye Governor.

The winter was passed over in their ordinarie affairs, without any spetiall mater worth noteing; saving that many who before stood something of from ye church, now seeing Lyfords unrighteous dealing, and malignitie against ye church, now tendered themselves to ye church, and were joyned to ye same; professing that it was not out of ye dislike of anything that they had stood of so long, but a desire to fit themselves better for such a state, and they saw now ye Lord cald for their help. And so these troubles produced a quite contrary effect in sundrie hear, then these adversaries hoped for. Which was looked at as a great work of God, to draw on men by unlikely means; and that in reason which might rather have set them further off. And thus I shall end this year.

Anno Dom: 1625.

At ye spring of ye year, about ye time of their Election Court, Oldam came again amongst them; and though it was a part of his censure for his former mutiny and miscarriage, not to returne without leave first obtained, yet in his daring spirit, he presumed without any leave at all, being also set on & hardened by ye ill counsel of others. And not only so, but suffered his unruly passion to rune beyond ye limits of all reason and modestie; in so much that some strangers which came with him were ashamed of his outrage, and rebuked him; but all reprofes were but as oyle to ye fire, and made ye flame of his collar greater. He called them all to nought, in this his mad furie, and a hundred rebels and traytors, and I know not what. But in conclusion they committed him till he was tamer, and then appointed a guard of musketers which he was to pass through, and everyone was ordered to give him a thump on ye brich, with ye but end of his musket, and then was conveyed to ye water side, where a boat was ready to carry him away. Then they bid him goe & mend his manners.

Whilst this was a doing, Mr. William Peirce and Mr. Winslow came up from ye water side, being come from England; but they were so busie with Oldam, as they never saw them till they came thus upon them. They bid them not spare either him or Liford, for they had played ye villains with them. But that I may hear make an end with him, I shall hear once for all relate what befell concerning him in ye future, & yt breefly. After ye removal of his familie from hence, he fell into some straits, (as some others did,) and aboute a year or more afterwards, towards winter, he intended a vioage for Virginia; but it so pleased God that ye barke that caried him, and many other passengers, was in that

danger, as they despaired of life; so as many of them, as they fell to prayer, so also did they begin to examine their consciences and confess such sins as did most burthen them. And Mr. Ouldame did make a free and large confession of ye wrongs and hurt he had done to ye people and church here, in many perticulers, that as he had sought their ruine, so God had now mette with him and might destroy him; yea, he feared they all fared ye worce for his sake; he prayed God to forgive him, and made vows that, if ye Lord spared his life, he would become otherwise, and ye like. This I had from some of good credit, yet living in ye Bay, and were themselves partners in the same dangers on ye shoulds of Cap-Codd, and heard it from his owne mouth. It pleased God to spare their lives, though they lost their viage; and in time after wards, Ouldame caried him selfe fairly towards them, and acknowledged ye hand of God to be with them, and seemed to have an honourable respect of them; and so farr made his peace with them, as he in after time had libertie to goe and come, and converse with them, at his pleasure. He went after this to Virginia, and had ther a great sicknes, but recovered and came back againe to his familie in ye Bay, and ther lived till some store of people came over. At length going a trading in a smale vessel among ye Indians, and being weakly mand, upon some quarrel they knockt him on ye head with a hatched, so as he fell down dead, & never spake word more. 2. little boys that were his kinsmen were saved, but had some hurt, and ye vessel was strangely recovered from ye Indeans by another that belonged to ye Bay of Massachusetts; and this his death was one ground of the Pequente war which followed.

I am now come to Mr. Lyford. His time being now expired, his censure was to take place. He was so far from answering their hopes by amendment in ye time, as he had doubled his evil, as is before noted. But first behold ye hand of God concerning him, wherein that of ye Psalmist is verified. Psa: 7. 15. He hath made a pit, & digged it, and is fallen into the pit he made. He thought to bring shame and disgrace upon them, but instead therof opens his owne to all ye world. For when he was delte with all about his second letter, his wife was so affected with his doings, as she could no longer conceal her greefe and sorrow of mind, but opens ye same to one of their deacons & some other of her friends, & after uttered ye same to Mr. Peirce upon his arrival. Which was to this purpose, that she feared some great judgment of God would fall upon them, and upon her, for her husband's cause; now that they were to remove, she feared to fall into ye Indeans hands, and to be defiled by them, as he had defiled other women; or some such like judgmente, as God had threatened David, 2. Sam. 12. 11. I will raise up evil against ye, and will take thy wives & give them, &c.

And upon it showed how he had wronged her, as first he had a bastard by another before they were married, & she having some inkling of some ill carriage that way, when he was a suitor to her, she tould him what she heard, & denied him; but she not certainly knowing ye thing, otherwise then by some dark & secrete mutterings, he not only stiffly denied it, but to satisfie her took a solemn oath ther was no such matter. Upon which she gave consente, and married with him; but afterwards it was found true, and ye bastard brought home to them. She then charged him with his oath, but he prayed pardon, and said he should else not have had her. And yet afterwards she could keep no maids but he would be meddling with them, and some time she hath taken him in ye maner, as they lay at their beds feet, with such other circumstances as I am ashamed to relate. The woman being a grave matron, & of good carriage all ye while she was hear, and spoke these things out of ye sorrow of her harte, sparingly, and yet wth some further intimations. And that which did most seem to affect her (as they conceived) was, to see his former carriage in his repentance, not only hear with ye church, but formerly about these things; shedding tears, and using great & sade expressions, and yet eftsones fall into the like things.

Another thing of ye same nature did strangely concur herewith. When Mr. Winslow & Mr. Peirce were come over, Mr. Winslow informed them that they had had ye like bickering with Lyford's friends in England, as they had with himself and his friends hear, about his letters & accusations in them. And many meetings and much clamour was made by his friends therabout, crying out, a minister, a man so godly, to be so esteemed & taxed they held a great scandal, and threatred to prosecute law against them for it. But things being referred to a further meeting of most of ye adventurers, to hear ye case and decide ye matters, they agreed to choose 2. eminente men for moderators in the bussines. Lyfords faction chose Mr. White, a counsellor at law, the other part chose Reved. Mr. Hooker, the minister, and many friends on both sides were brought in, so as there was a great assemblie. In ye mean time, God in his providence had detected Lyford's evil carriage in Ireland to some friends amongst ye company, who made it known to Mr. Winslow, and directed him to 2. godly and grave witnesses, who would testifie ye same (if called thereunto) upon their oath. The thing was this; he being gott into Ireland, had wound him selfe into ye esteem of sundry godly & zealous professors in those parts, who, having been burthened with ye ceremonies in England, found ther some more liberty to their consciences; amongst whom were these 2. men, which gave this evidence. Amongst ye rest of his hearers, ther was a godly yonge man that intended to marie, and cast his affection on a maide which lived ther about; but desiring to choose in ye Lord, and preferred ye fear of God before all other things, before he suffered his affection to rune too farr, he resolved to take Mr. Lyfords advise and judgmente of this maide, (being ye minister of ye place,) and so broak ye matter unto him; & he promised faithfully to inform him, but would first take better knowledge of her, and have private conference with her; and so had sundry times; and in conclusion comended her highly to ye young man as a very fit wife for him. So they were married together; but sometime after marriage the woman was much troubled in mind, and afflicted in conscience, and did nothing but weep and mourn, and long it was before her husband could get of her what was ye cause. But at length she discovered ye thing, and prayed him to forgive her, for Lyford had overcome her, and defiled her body before marriage, after he had commended him unto her for a husband, and she resolved to have him, when he came to her in that private way. The circumstances I forbear, for they would offend chaste ears to hear them related, (for though he satisfied his lust on her, yet he indeavored to hinder conception.) These things being thus discovered, ye woman's husband took some godly friends with him, to deal with Liford for this evil. At length he confest it, with a great deal of seeming sorrow & repentance, but was forct to leave Ireland upon it, partly for shame, and partly for fear of further punishmente, for ye godly withdrew themselves from him upon it; and so coming into England unhappily he was light upon & sente hither.

But in this great assembly, and before ye moderators, in handling ye former matters aboute ye letters, upon provocation, in some heat of replie to some of Lyfords defenders, Mr. Winslow let fall these words, That he had delte knavishly; upon which one of his friends took hold, & called for witnesses, that he cald a minister of ye gospel knave, and would prosecute law upon it, which made a great tumulte, upon which (to be short) this matter broke out, and the witness were produced, whose persons were so grave, and evidence so plaine, and ye fact so foule, yet delivered in such modest & chaste terms, and with such circumstances, as struck all his friends mute, and made them all ashamed; insomuch as ye moderators with great gravitie declared that ye former matters gave them cause enough to refuse him & to deal with him as they had done, but these made him unmeete for ever to bear ministrie any more, what repentance soever he should pretend; with much more to like effecte, and so wisht his friends to rest quiet. Thus was this matter ended.

From hence Lyford went to Natasco, in ye Bay of ye Massachusetts, with some other of his friends with him, where Oldom also lived. From thence he removed to Namkeke, since called Salem; but after there came some people over, whether for hope of greater profite, or what ends else I know not, he left his friends that followed him, and went from thence to Virginia, where he shortly after dyed, and so I leave him to ye Lord. His wife afterwards returned againe to this country, and thus much of this matter.

This storm being thus blown over, yet sundrie sad effects followed ye same; for the Company of Adventurers broke in pieces here upon, and ye greatest part wholly deserted ye colony in regard of any further supply, or care of their subsistence. And not only so, but some of Lyford's & Oldams friends, and their adherents, set out a ship on fishing, on their own account, and getting ye start of ye ships that came to the plantation, they took away their stage, & other necessary provisions that they had made for fishing at Cap-Anne ye year before, at their great charge, and would not restore ye same, except they would fight for it. But ye Governor sent some of ye planters to help ye fisher men to build a new one, and so let them keep it. This ship also brought them some small supply, of little value; but they made so pore a bussines of their fishing, (neither could these men make them any returne for ye supply sente,) so as, after this year, they never looked more after them.

Also by this ship, they, some of them, sent (in ye name of ye rest) certain reasons of their breaking of from ye plantation, and some tenders, upon certain conditions, of reuniting againe. The which because they are long & tedious, and most of them about the former things already touched, I shall omit them; only giving an instance in one, or tow. 1. reason, they charged them for dissembling with his majestie in their petition, and with ye adventurers about ye French discipline, &c. 2ly, for receiving a man into their church, that in his confession renounced all, universal, national, and diocesan churches, &c., by which (say they) it appears, that though they deny the name of Brownists, yet they practise ye same, &c. And therefore they should siñe against God in building up such a people.

Then they adde: Our dislikes thus laid down, that we may goe on in trade wth better contente & credit, our desires are as followeth. First, that as we are partners in trade, so we may be in Goŵrt ther, as the patente doth give us power, &c.

2. That the French discipline may be practised in the plantation, as well in the circumstances thereof, as in ye substance; whereby ye scandalous name of ye Brownists, and other church differences, may be taken away.

3. Lastly, that Mr. Robinson and his company may not goe over to our plantation, unless he and they will reconcile themselves to our church by a recantation under their hands, &c.

Their answer in part to these things was then as followeth.

Whereas you tax us for dissembling with his majestie & ye adventurers about ye French discipline, you do us wrong, for we both hold & practice ye discipline of ye French & other reformed churches, (as they have published ye same in ye Harmony of Confessions,) according to our means, in effect & substance. But whereas you would tye us to the French discipline in every circumstance, you derogate from ye libertie we have in Christ Jesus. The Apostle Paul would have none to follow him in anything but wherein he follows Christ, much less ought any Christian or church in ye world to do it. The French may err, we may err, and other churches may err, and doubtless doe in many circumstances. That honour therefore belongs only to ye infallible word of God, and pure Testament of Christ, to be propounded and followed as ye only rule and pattern for direction herein to all churches & Christians. And it is too great arrogancie for any man, or church to thinke yt he or they have so sounded ye word of God to ye bottom, as precislie to set down ye churches discipline, without error in substance or circumstance, as yt no other without blame may digress or differ in anything from ye same. And it is not difficult to shew, yt the reformed churches differ in many circumstances amongst themselves.

The rest I omitte, for brevities sake, and so leave to prosecute these men or their doings any further, but shall returne to ye rest of their friends of ye company, wch stuck to them. And I shall first insert some part of their letters as followeth; for I thinke it best to render their minds in ther owne words.

To our loving friends, &c.

Though the thing we feared be come upon us, and ye evil we strove against have overtaken us, yet we cannot forget you, nor our friendship and fellowship which togeather we have had some years; wherein though our expressions have been small, yet our harty affections towards you (unknown by face) have been no less then to our nearest friends, yea, to our own selves. And though this your friend Mr. Winslow can tell you ye state of things hear, yet least we should seem to neglect you, to whom, by a wonderful providence of God, we are so nearly united, we have thought good once more to write unto you, to let you know what is here befallen, and ye reasons of it; as also our purposes & desires toward you for hereafter.

The former course for the generalitie here is wholly dissolved from what it was; and whereas you & we were formerly sharers and partners, in all viages & dealings, this way is now no more, but you and we are left to bethink ourselves what course to take in ye future, that your lives & our monies be not lost.

The reasons and causes of this alteration have been these. First and mainly, ye many losses and crosses at sea, and abuses of sea-men, wch have caused us to run into so much charge, debts, & ingagements, as our estates & means were not able to goe on without impoverishing ourselves, except our estates had been greater, and our associates cloven better unto us. 2ly, as here hath been a faction and siding amongst us now more than 2. years, so now there is an utter breach and sequestration amongst us, and in two parts of us a full desertion and forsaking of you, without any intent or purpose of meddling more with you. And though we are perswaded the maine cause of this, their doing, is want of money, (for need wherof men use to make many excuses,) yet other things are pretended, as that you are Brownists, &c. Now what use you or we ought to make of these things, it remaineth to be considered, for we know ye hand of God to be in all these things, and no doubt he would admonish something thereby, and to look what is amiss. And although it be now too late for us or you to prevent & stay these things, yet it is not too late to exercise patience, wisdom, and conscience in bearing them, and in caring ourselves in & under them for ye time to come.

And as we ourselves stand ready to imbrace all occasions that may tend to ye furtherance of so hopeful a work, rather admiring of what is, then grudging for what is not; so it must rest in you to make all good againe. And if in nothing else you can be approved, yet let your honestie & conscience be still approved, & lose not one jot of your innocence, amidst your crosses & afflictions. And surly if you upon this alteration behave your selves wisely, and goe on fairly, as men whose hope is not in this life, you shall need no other weapon to wound your adversaries; for when your righteousnes is revealed as ye light, they shall cover their faces with shame, that causelessly have sought your overthrow.

Now we thinke it but reason, that all such things as ther appertain to the general, be kept & preserved together, and rather increased dayly, then any way be dispersed or imbeseled away for any private ends or intents whatsoever. And after your necessities are served, you gather together such commodities as ye cuntry yeelds, & send them over to pay debts & clear ingagements hear, which are not less than 1400li. And we hope you will do your best to free our ingagements, &c. Let us all indeavor to keep a faire & honest course, and see what time will bring forth, and how God in his providence will worke for us. We still are perswaded you are ye people that must make a plantation in those remote places when all others fail and returne. And your experience of Gods providence and preservation of you is such as we hope your harts will not fail you, though your friends should forsake you (which we ourselves shall not doe whilst we live, so long as your honestie so well appeareth). Yet surly help would arise from some other place whilst you waite on God, with uprightness, though we should leave you also.

And lastly be you all intreated to walk circumspectly, and carry your selves so uprightly in all your ways, as yt no man may make just exceptions against you. And more espetially that ye favour and countenance of God may be so toward you, as yt you may find abundant joy & peace even amidst tribulations, that you may say with David, Though my father & mother should forsake me, yet ye Lord would take me up.

We have sent you hear some cattle, cloath, hose, shoes, leather, &c., but in another nature then formerly, as it stood us in hand to do; we have comitted them to ye charge & custody of Mr. Allerton and Mr. Winslow, as our factours, at whose discretion they are to be sould, and commodities to be taken for them, as is fitting. And by how much ye more they will be chargable unto you, the better they had need to be husbanded, &c. Goe on, good friends, comfortably, pluck up your spirits, and quit your selves like men in all your difficulties, that notwithstanding all displeasure and threats of men, yet ye work may goe on you are aboute, and not be neglected. Which is so much for ye glorie of God, and the furtherance of our cuntry-men, as that a man may with more comfort spend his life in it, then live ye life of Methuselah, in wasting ye plentie of a tilled land, or eating ye fruit of a growne tree. Thus with harty salutations to you all, and harty prayers for you all, we lovingly take our leaves, this 18. of December 1624.

**Your assured friends to our powers,
J. S. W. C. T. F. R. H. &c.**

By this leter it appears in what state ye affairs of ye plantation stood at this time. These goods they bought, but they were at deare rates, for they put 40. in ye hundred upon them, for profite and adventure, outward bound; and because of ye venture of ye paiment homeward, they would have 30. in ye 100. more, which was in all 70. per cent; a thing thought unreasonable by some, and too great an oppression upon ye poor people, as their case stood. The cattle were ye best goods, for ye other being ventured ware, were neither at ye best (some of them) nor at ye best prises. Sundrie of their friends disliked these high rates, but coming from many hands, they could not help it.

They sent over also 2. ships on fishing on their owne account; the one was ye pinass that was cast away ye last year hear in ye cuntry, and recovered by ye planters, (as was before related,) who, after she came home, was attached by one of ye company for his perticuler debt, and now sent againe on this account. The other was a great ship, who was well fitted with an experienced master & company of fisher-men, to make a viage, & to goe to Bilbo or Sabastian's with her fish; the lesser, her order was to load with cod-fish, and to bring the beaver home for England, yt should be received for ye goods sold to ye plantation. This bigger ship made a great viage of good drie fish, the which, if they had gone to a market wth, would have yeelded them (as such fish was sold yt season) 1800li. which would have enriched them. But because ther was a bruite of war with France, ye master neglected (through timorousness) his order, and put first into Plimoth, & after into Portsmouth, and so lost their opportunitie, and came by the loss. The lesser ship had as ill success, though she was as hopfull as ye other for ye marchants profite; for they had fild her with goodly cod-fish taken upon ye bank, as full as she could swim; and besides she had some 800li. weaight of beaver, besides other furs to a good value from ye plantation. The master seeing so much goods come,

put it aboard ye bigger ship, for more saftie; but Mr. Winslow (their factor in this busines) was bound in a bond of 500li. to send it to London in ye smale ship; ther was some contending between ye master & him about it. But he tould ye master he would follow his order aboute it; if he would take it out afterward, it should be at his peril. So it went in ye smale ship, and he sent bills of lading in both. The master was so carful being both so well laden, as they went joyfully home togeather, for he towed ye lesser ship at his stern all ye way over bound, and they had such fayr weather as he never cast her of till they were shot deep in to ye English Channel, almost within ye sight of Plimoth; and yet ther she was unhappily taken by a Turks man of war, and carried into Saly, where ye master and men were made slaves, and many of ye beaver skins were sould for 4d. a peece. Thus was all their hops dasht, and the joyful news they meant to carry home turned to heaive tidings. Some thought this a hand of God for their too great exaction of ye poor plantation, but Gods judgments are unsearchable, neither dare I be bould therewith: but however it shows us ye uncertainty of all humane things, and what little cause ther is of joying in them or trusting to them.

In ye bigger of these ships was sent over Captine Standish from ye plantation, wth leters & instructions, both to their friends of ye company which still clave to them, and also to ye Honourable Counsell of New-England. To ye company to desire yt seeing that they meant only to let them have goods upon sale, that they might have them upon easier termes, for they should never be able to bear such high interest, or to allow so much per cent; also that what they would do in yt way that it might be disburst in money, or such goods as were fitte and needful for them, & bought at best hand; and to aquainte them with ye contents of his leters to ye Counsell above said, which was to this purpose, to desire their favour & help; that such of ye adventurers as had thus forsaken & deserted them, might be brought to some order, and not to keep them bound, and themselves be free. But that they might either stand to ther former covenants, or ells come to some faire end, by dividente, or composition. But he came in a very bad time, for ye Stat was full of trouble, and ye plague very hote in London, so as no bussines could be done; yet he spoke with some of ye Honoured Counsell, who promised all helpfulness to ye plantation which lay in them.

And sundrie of their friends ye adventurers were so weakened with their losses ye last year, by ye loss of ye ship taken by the Turks, and ye loss of their fish, wch by reason of ye wars they were forcte to land at Portsmouth, and so came to little; so as, though their wills were good, yet theyr power was little. And ther dyed such multitudes weekly of ye plague, as all trade was dead, and little money stirring. Yet with much adoee he took up 150li. (& spent a good deal of it in expences) at 50. per cent, which he bestowed in trading goods & such other most needfull comodities as he knew requisite for their use; and so returned passenger in a fishing ship, haveing prepared a good way for ye composition that was afterward made.

In ye mean time it pleased ye Lord to give ye plantation peace and health and contented minds, and so to blesse ther labours, as they had corn sufficient, (and some to spare to others,) with other food; neither ever had they any supply of food but what they first brought with them. After harvest this year, they send out a boats load of corn 40. or 50. leagues to ye eastward, up a river called Kenibeeck; it being one of those 2. shalops which their carpenter had built them ye year before; for bigger vessel had they none. They had laid a little deck over her midships to keep ye corn drie, but ye men were faine to stand it out all weathers without shelter; and yt time of ye year begins to grow tempestuous. But God preserved them, and gave them good success, for they brought home 700li. of beaver, besides some other furs, having little or nothing else but this corn, which themselves had raised out of ye earth. This viage was made by Mr. Winslow & some of ye old standards, for seamen they had none.

Anno Dom: 1626.

About ye beginning of April they heard of Captain Standish his arrival, and sent a boat to fetch him home, and ye things he had brought. Welcome he was, but ye news he brought was sadd in many regards; not only in regard of the former losses, before related, which their friends had suffered, by which some in a maner were undon, others much disabled from doing any further help, and some dead of ye plague, but also yt Mr. Robinson, their pastor, was dead, which struck them with much sorrow & sadness, as they had cause. His and their adversaries had been long & continually plotting how they might hinder his coming hither, but ye Lord had appointed him a better place; concerning whose death & the maner therof, it will appere by these few lines write to Governor & Mr. Brewster.

Loving & kind friends, &c. I know not whether this will ever come to your hands, or miscarie, as other my letters have done; yet in regard of ye Lords dealing with us here, I have had a great desire to write unto you, knowing your desire to bear a part with us, both in our joyes, & sorrows, as we do wth you. These are therefore to give you to understand, that it hath pleased the Lord to take out of this vaele of tears, your and our loving & faithful pastor, and my dear & Reved brother, Mr. John Robinson, who was sick some 8. days. He begane to be sick on Saturday in ye morning, yet ye next day (being the Lords day) he taught us twice. And so ye week after grew weaker, every day more than other; yet he felt no pain but weaknes all ye time of his sicknes. The phisick he took wrought kindly in man's judgment, but he grew weaker every day, feeling little or no pain, and sensible to ye very last. He fell sicke ye 22. of Feb: and departed this life ye 1. of March. He had a continuall inward ague, but free from infection, so yt all his friends came freely to him. And if either prayers, tears, or means, would have saved his life, he had not gone hence. But he having faithfully finished his course, and performed his worke which ye Lord had appointed him here to doe, he now resteth with ye Lord in eternal hapines. We wanting him & all Church Governors, yet we still (by ye mercie of God) continue & hould close togeather, in peace and quietness; and so hope we shall doe, though we be very weake. Wishing (if such were ye will of God) that you & we were againe united togeather in one, either ther or here; but seeing it is ye will of ye Lord thus to dispose of things, we must labour wth patience to rest contented, till it please ye Lord otherwise to dispose. For news, is here not much; only as in England we have lost our old king James, who departed this life aboute a month agoe, so here they have lost ye old prince, Grave Mourise; who both departed this life since my brother Robinson. And as in England we have a new-king Charles, of whom ther is great hope, so hear they have made prince Hendrick General in his brothers place, &c. Thus with my love remembred, I take leave & rest,

Your assured loving friend,

Roger White.
Leyden, April 28. Ano: 1625.

Thus these too great princes, and their pastor, left this world near aboute one time. Death makes no difference.

He further brought them notice of ye death of their ancient friend, Mr. Cushman, whom ye Lord took away also this year, & aboute this time, who was as their right hand with their friends ye adventurers, and for diuerce years had done & agitated all their bussines with them to ther great advantage. He had write to ye Governor but some few months before, of ye sore sicknes of Mr. James Sherley, who was a cheefe friend to ye plantation, and lay at ye pointe of death, declaring his love & helpfulness, in all things; and much bemoned the loss they should have of him, if God should now take him away, as being ye stay & life of ye whole bussines. As also his owne purposs this year to come over, and spend his days with them. But he that thus write of another's sicknes, knew not yt his owne death was so near. It shows also that a mās ways are not in his owne power, but in his hands who hath ye issues of life and death. Man may purpose, but God doth dispose.

Their other friends from Leyden writ many leters to them full of sad laments for ther heaueie loss; and though their wills were good to come to them, yet they saw no probabilitie of means, how it might be effected, but concluded (as it were) that all their hopes were cut of; and many, being aged, begane to drop away by death. All which things (before related) being well weighed and laied together, it could not but strick them with great perplexitie; and to look humanly on ye state of things as they presented themselves at this time, it is a marvel I it did not wholly discourage them, and sink them.

But they gathered up their spirits, and ye Lord so helped them, whose worke they had in hand, as now when they were at lowest they begane to rise againe, and being striped (in a maner) of all humane helps and hops, he brought things aboute otherwise, in his devine providence, as they were not only upheld & sustained, but their proceedings both honoured and imitated by others; as by ye sequell will more appeare, if ye Lord spare me life & time to declare ye same.

Haveing now no fishing busines, or other things to intend, but only their trading & planting, they set themselves to follow the same with ye best industrie they could. The planters finding their corn, what they could spare from ther necessities, to be a cõmoditie, (for they sold it at 6shillings a bushell,) used great dilligence in planting ye same. And ye Governor and such as were designed to manage the trade, (for it was retained for ye general good, and none were to trade in perticuler,) they followed it to the best advantage they could; and wanting trading goods, they understood that a plantation which was at Monhigen, & belonged to some marchants of Plimoth was to break up, and diuerse useful goods was ther to be sould; the Governor and Mr. Winslow took a boat and some hands and went thither. But Mr. David Thomson, who lived at Pascataway, understanding their purpose, took oppertunitie to goe with them, which was some hinderance to them both; for they, perceiving their joynte desires to buy, held their goods at higher rates; and not only so, but would not sell a parcel of their trading goods, except they sould all. So, lest they should further prejudice one another, they agreed to buy all, & divide them equally between them. They also bought a parcel of goats, which they distributed at home as they saw neede & occasion, and took corn for them of ye people, which gave them good content. Their moyety of ye goods came to above 400li. starling. Ther was also that spring a French ship cast away at Sacadahock, in wch were many Biscaie ruggs & other cõmodities, which were fallen into these men's hands, & some other fisher men at Damerins-cove, which were also bought in partnership, and made their part arise to above 500li. This they made shift to pay for, for ye most part, with ye beaver & comodities they had got ye winter before, & what they had gathered up yt somer. Mr. Thomson having something overcharged him selfe, desired they would take some of his, but they refused except he would let them have his French goods only; and ye marchant (who was one of Bristol) would take their bill for to be paid ye next year. They were both willing, so they became ingaged for them & took them. By which means they became very well furnished for trade; and took of thereby some other ingagments wch lay upon them, as the money taken up by Captain Standish, and ye remains of former debts. With these goods, and their corn after harvest, they got good store of trade, so as they were enabled to pay their ingagements against ye time, & to get some clothing for ye people, and had some comodities beforehand. But now they begane to be envied, and others wente and fild ye Indeans with corn, and beat down ye prise, givinge them twice as much as they had done, and under traded them in other comodities also.

This year they sent Mr. Allerton into England, and gave him order to make a composition with ye adventurers, upon as good termes as he could (unto which some way had been made ye year before by Captain Standish); but yet injoynd him not to conclude absolutely till they knew ye termes, and had well considered of them; but to drive it to as good an issew as he could, and refer ye conclusion to them. Also they gave him a cõmission under their hands & seals to take up some money, provided it exceeded not such a sum̃ specified, for which they engaged themselves, and gave him order how to lay out ye same for ye use of ye plantation.

And finding they rañe a great hazard to goe so long viages in a smale open boat, espetially ye winter season, they begane to thinke how they might get a small pinass; as for ye reason afforesaid, so also because others had raised ye prise with ye Indeans above ye halfe of what they had formerly given, so as in such a boat they could not carry a quantity sufficient to answer their ends. They had no ship-carpenter amongst them, neither knew how to get one at present; but they having an ingenious man that was a house carpenter, who also had wrought with ye ship carpenter (that was dead) when he built their boats, at their request he put forth him selfe to make a trial that way of his skill; and took one of ye biggest of ther shalops and sawed her in ye middle, and so lengthened her some 5. or 6. foot, and strengthened her with timbers, and so built her up, and laid a deck on her; and so made her a conveniente and wholesome vessel, very fit & comfortable for their use, which did them servise 7. years after; and they got her finished, and fitted with sayles & anchors, ye ensuing year. And thus passed ye affairs of this year.

Anno Dom: 1627.

At ye usual season of ye coming of ships Mr. Allerton returned, and brought some useful goods with him, according to ye order given him. For upon his commission he took up 200li. which he now got at 30. per cent. The which goods they got safely home, and well-conditioned, which was much to the comfort & contente of ye plantation. He declared unto them, also, how, with much adoe and no small trouble, he had made a composition with ye adventurers, by the help of sundrie of their faithful friends ther, who had also took much pains ther about. The agreement or bargin he had brought a draught of, with a list of ther names ther too annexed, drawn by the best counsell of law they could get, to make it firm. The heads wherof I shall here insert.

To all Christian people, greeting, &c. Whereas at a meeting ye 26. of October last past, diverse & sundrie persons, whose names to ye one part of these presents are subscribed in a schedule hereunto annexed, Adventurers to New-Plimoth in New-England in America, were contented and agreed, in consideration of the sum of one thousand and eight hundred pounds sterling to be paid, (in maner and forme folling,) to sell, and make sale of all & every ye stocks, shares, lands, marchandise, and chattels', whatsoever, to ye said adventurers, and other ther fellow adventurers to New Plimoth aforesaid, any way accruing, or belonging to ye generalitie of ye said adventurers aforesaid; as well by reason of any sum or sums of money, or marchandise, at any time heretofore adventured or disbursed by them, or otherwise howsoever; for ye better expression and setting forth of which said agreement, the parties to these presents subscribing, doe for themselves severally, and as much as in them is, grant, bargain, alien, sell, and transfer all & every ye said shares, goods, lands, marchandice, and chattel's to them belonging as aforesaid, unto Isaack Allerton,

one of ye planters resident at Plimoth afforesaid, assigned, and sent over as agent for ye rest of ye planters ther, and to such other planters at Plimoth afforesaid as ye said Isack, his heirs, or assignes, at his or ther arrival, shall by writing or otherwise think fit to joyne or partake in ye premisses, their heirs, & assignes, in as large, ample, and beneficial maner and form, to all intents and purposes, as ye said subscribing adventurers here could or may doe, or perform. All which stocks, shares, lands, &c. to the said daven: in severallitie allotted, apportioned, or any way belonging, the said adven: doe warrant & defend unto the said Isaack Allerton, his heirs and assignes, against them, their heirs and assignes, by these presents. And therefore ye said Isaack Allerton doth, for him, his heirs & assigns, covenant, promise, & grant too & with ye adven: whose names are here unto subscribed, ther heirs, &c. well & truly to pay, or cause to be payed, unto ye said adven: or 5. of them which were, at yt meeting afforsaid, nominated & deputed, viz. John Pocock, John Beachamp, Robart Keane, Edward Base, and James Sherley, marchants, their heirs, &c. too and for ye use of ye generalitie of them, the sum of 1800li. of lawfull money of England, at ye place appoynted for ye receipts of money, on the west side of ye Royall Exchaing in London, by 200li. yearly, and every year, on ye feast of St. Migchell, the first paiement to be made Ano: 1628. &c. Also ye said Isaack is to indeavor to procure & obtain from the planters of N. P. aforesaid, securitie, by several obligations, or writings obligatory, to make payment of ye said sum of 1800li. in forme afforesaid, according to ye true meaning of these presents. In testimonie wherof to this part of these presents remaining with ye said Isaack Allerton, ye said subscribing adven: have set to their names, &c. And to ye other part remaining with ye said adven: the said Isaack Allerton hath subscribed his name, ye 15. November Ano: 1626. in ye 2. year of his Majesties raigne.

This agreement was very well liked of, & approved by all ye plantation, and consented unto; though they knew not well how to raise ye payment, and discharge their other ingagements, and supply the yearly wants of ye plantation, seeing they were forced for their necessities to take up money or goods at so high interests. Yet they undertook it, and 7. or 8. of ye cheefe of ye place became joyntly bound for ye paimente of this 1800li. (in ye behalf of ye rest) at ye several days. In which they rane a great adventure, as their present state stood, having many other heavie burthens already upon them, and all things in an uncertaine condition amongst them. So ye next returne it was absolutely confirmed on both sides, and ye bargin fairly ingrossed in parchmente and in many things put into better form, by ye advice of ye learnedest counsell they could get; and least any forfeiture should fall on ye whole for none paimente at any of ye days, it rane thus: to forfeite 30s. a week if they missed ye time; and was concluded under their hands & seals, as may be seen at large by ye deed it selfe.

Now though they had some untoward persons mixed amongst them from the first, which came out of England, and more afterwards by some of ye adventurers, as friendship or other affections led them,—though sundrie were gone, some for Virginia, and some to other places,—yet diverse were still mingled amongst them, about whom ye Governor & counsel with other of their cheefe friends had serious consideration, how to settle things in regard of this new bargin or purchase made, in respect of ye distribution of things both for ye present and future. For ye present, except peace and union were preserved, they should be able to doe nothing, but in danger to over throw all, now that other tyes & bonds were taken away. Therefore they resolved, for sundrie reasons, to take in all amongst them, that were either heads of families, or single yonge men, that were of ability, and free, (and able to govern themselves with meete discretion, and their affairs, so as to be helpful in ye comone-wealth,) into this partnership or purchase. First, yey considered that they had need of men & strength both for defence and carrying on of bussinesses. 2ly, most of them had borne ther parts in former miseries & wants with them, and therefore (in some sort) but equal to partake in a better condition, if ye Lord be pleased to give it. But cheefly they saw not how peace would be preserved without so doing, but danger & great disturbance might grow to their great hurt & prejudice otherwise. Yet they resolved to keep such a mean in distribution of lands, and other courses, as should not hinder their growth in others coming to them.

So they called ye company togeather, and conferred with them, and came to this conclusion, that ye trade should be managed as before, to help to pay the debts; and all such persons as were above named should be reputed and inrouled for purchasers; single free men to have a single share, and every father of a familie to be allowed to purchase so many shares as he had persons in his family; that is to say, one for him selfe, and one for his wife, and for every child that he had living with him, one. As for servants, they had none, but what either their maisters should give them out of theirs, or their deserving's should obtain from ye company afterwards. Thus all were to be cast into

single shares according to the order abovesaid; and so everyone was to pay his part according to his proportion towards ye purchases, & all other debts, what ye profite of ye trade would not reach too; viz. a single man for a single share, a maister of a famalie for so many as he had. This gave all good contente. And first accordingly the few cattle which they had were devided, which arose to this proportion; a cow to 6. persons or shares, & 2. goats to ye same, which were first equalised for age & goodnes, and then lotted for; single persons consorting with others, as they thought good, & smaller familys likewise; and swine though more in number, yet by ye same rule. Then they agreed that every person or share should have 20. acres of land devided unto them, besides ye single acres they had already; and they appoynted were to begin first on ye one side of ye towne, & how far to goe; and then on ye other side in like maner; and so to divide it by lotte; and appointed sundrie by name to do it, and tyed them to certain rules to proceed by; as that they should only lay out setttable or tillable land, at least such of it as should butt on ye water side, (as ye most they were to lay out did,) and pass by ye rest as refuse and comūne; and what they judged fit should be so taken. And they were first to agree of ye goodnes & fitness of it before the lot was drawn, and so it might as well prove some of ther owne, as another mans; and this course they were to hould throwout. But yet seeking to keep ye people together, as much as might be, they also agreed upon this order, by mutual consente, before any lots were cast: that whose lots soever should fall next ye towne, or most convenance for nearness, they should take to them a neigboure or tow, whom they best liked; and should suffer them to plant corn with them for 4. years; and afterwards they might use as much of theirs for as long time, if they would. Also every share or 20. acres was to be laid out 5. acres in breadth by ye water side, and 4. acres in length, excepting nooks & corners, which were to be measured as yey would bear to best advantage. But no meadows were to be laid out at all, nor were not of many years after, because they were but streight of meadow grounds; and if they had bene now given out, it would have hindered all addition to them afterwards; but every season all were appoynted where they should mow, according to ye proportion of cattle they had. This distribution gave generally good contente, and settled men's minds. Also they gave ye Governor & 4. or 5. of ye spetiall men amongst them, ye houses they lived in; ye rest were valued & equalised at an indifferent rate, and so every man kept his own, and he that had a better allowed something to him that had a worse, as ye valuation wente.

There is one thing that fell out in ye beginning of ye winter before, which I have referred to this place, that I may handle ye whole matter together. There was a ship, with many passengers in her and sundrie goods, bound for Virginia. They had lost themselves at sea, either by ye insufficiencies of ye maister, or his illness; for he was sick & lame of ye scurvie, so that he could but lye in ye cabin dore, & give direction; and it should seem was badly assisted either wth mate or mariners; or else ye fear and unruliness of ye passengers were such, as they made them steer a course between ye southwest & ye Norwest, that they might fall with some land, what soever it was they cared not. For they had been 6. weeks at sea, and had no water, nor beere, nor any wood left, but had burnt up all their emptie cask; only one of ye company had a hogshead of wine or 2. which was also almost spent, so as they feared they should be starved at sea, or consumed with diseases, which made them rune this desperate course. But it pleased God that though they came so near ye shoulds of Cap-Codd or else ran stumbling over them in ye night, they knew not how, they came right before a small blind harbor, that lyes about ye middle of Manamoyake Bay, to ye southward of Cap-Codd, with a small gale of wind; and about highwater toucht upon a bar of sand that lyes before it, but had no hurt, ye sea being smooth; so they laid out an anchor. But towards the evening the wind sprung up at sea, and was so rough, as broake their cable, & beat them over the bar into ye harbor, where they saved their lives & goods, though much were hurt with salt water; for wth beating they had sprung ye but end of a plank or too, & beat out ther occome; but they were soon over, and ran on a drie flat within the harbor, close by a beach; so at low water they gatt out their goods on drie shore, and dried those that were wet, and saved most of their things without any great loss; neither was ye ship much hurt, but she might be mended, and made serviceable againe. But though they were not a little glad that they had thus saved their lives, yet when they had a little refreshed themselves, and began to thinke on their condition, not knowing where they were, nor what they should do, they began to be stricken with sadness. But shortly after they saw some Indians come to them in canows, which made them stand upon their guard. But when they heard some of ye Indeans speake English unto them, they were not a little revived, especially when they heard them demand if they were the Governor of Plimoths men, or friends; and yt they would bring them to ye English houses, or carry their letters.

They feasted these Indeans, and gave them many gifts; and sente 2. men and a letter with them to ye Governor, and did intreat him to send a boat unto them, with some pitch, and occume, and spiks, wth divers other necessities for ye mending of ther ship (which was recoverable). Also they besought him to help them with some corn and sundrie other things they wanted, to enable them to make their viage to Virginia; and they should be much bound to him, and would make satisfaction for anything they had, in any comodities they had aboard. After ye Governor was well informed by ye messengers of their condition, he caused a boat to be made ready, and such things to be provided as they write for; and because others were abroad upon trading, and such other affairs, as had been fit to send unto them, he went him selfe, and also carried some trading comodities, to buy them corn of ye Indeans. It was no season of ye year to goe without ye Cape, but understanding where ye ship lay, he went into ye bottom of ye bay, on ye inside, and put into a crick called Naumskachett, where it is not much above 2. mile over land to ye bay where they were, where he had ye Indeans ready to carry over anything to them. Of his arrival they were very glad, and received the things to mend ther ship, and other necessities. Also he bought them as much corn as they would have; and whereas some of their sea-men were rune away among the Indeans, he procured their returne to ye ship, and so left them well furnished and contented, being very thankful for ye curtesies they receaved. But after the Governor thus left them, he went into some other harbors ther aboute and loaded his boat with corn, which he traded, and so went home. But he had not been at home many days, but he had notice from them, that by the violence of a great storm, and ye bad mooring of their ship (after she was mended) she was put a shore, and so beatten and shaken as she was now wholly unfit to goe to sea. And so their request was that they might have leave to repair to them, and soujourne with them, till they could have means to convey themselves to Virginia; and that they might have means to transport their goods, and

they would pay for ye same, or anything else where with ye plantation should releve them. Considering their distres, their requests were granted, and all helpfulness done unto them; their goods transported, and themselves & goods sheltered in their houses as well as they could.

The cheefe amongst these people was one Mr. Fells and Mr. Sibsie, which had many servants belonging unto them, many of them being Irish. Some others ther were yt had a servant or 2. a peece; but ye most were servants, and such as were ingaged to the former persons, who also had ye most goods. After they were hither come, and something settled, the maisters desired some ground to imploye ther servants upon; seeing it was like to be ye latter end of ye year before they could have passage for Virginia, and they had now ye winter before them; they might clear some ground, and plant a crop (seeing they had tools, & necessaries for ye same) to help to bear their charge, and keep their servants in imployment; and if they had opportunitie to depart before the same was ripe, they would sell it on ye ground. So they had ground appointed them in convenient places, and Fells & some other of them raised a great deal of corn, which they sould at their departure. This Fells, amongst his other servants, had a maid servant which kept his house & did his household affairs, and by the intimation of some that belonged unto him, he was suspected to keep her, as his concubine; and both of them were examined ther upon, but nothing could be proved, and they stood upon their justification; so with admonition they were dismist. But afterward it appeared she was with child, so he got a small boat, & ran away with her, for fear of punishment. First he went to Cap-Anne, and after into ye bay of ye Massachusetts, but could get no passage, and had like to have been cast away; and was forst to come againe and submit him selfe; but they pact him away & those that belonged unto him by the first oppertunitie, and dismist all the rest as soon as could, being many untoward people amongst them; though ther were also some that caried themselves very orderly all ye time they stayed. And the plantation had some benefit by them, in selling them corn & other provisions of food for cloathing; for they had of diverse kinds, as cloath, perpetuanes, & other stuffs, besides hose, & shoes, and such like commodities as ye planters stood in need of. So they both did good, and received good one from another; and a couple of barks caried them away at ye later end of summer. And sundrie of them have acknowledged their thankfulness since from Virginia.

That they might ye better take all convenient opportunitie to follow their trade, both to maintaine themselves, and to disengage them of those great sumes which they stood charged with, and bound for, they resolved to build a smale pinass at Manamet, a place 20 mile from ye plantation, standing on ye sea to ye southward of them, unto which, by another creek on this side, they could carry their goods, within 4. or 5. miles, and then transport them over land to their vessel; and so avoyd the compasing of Cap-Codd, and those dangerous shoulds, and so make any vioage to ye southward in much shorter time, and with far less danger. Also for ye saftie of their vessel & goods, they built a house there, and kept some servants, who also planted corn, and reared some swine, and were allwayes ready to goe out with ye barke when ther was occasion. All which took good effecte, and turned to their profite.

They now sent (with ye returne of ye ships) Mr. Allerton againe into England, giveing him full power, under their hands & seals, to conclude the former bargain with ye adventurers; and sent ther bonds for ye paimente of the money. Also they sent what beaver they could spare to pay some of their ingagementes, & to defray his charges; for those deep interests still kept them low. Also he had order to procure a patent for a fit trading place in ye river of Kennebec; for being emulated both by the planters at Pascataway & other places to ye eastward of them, and also by ye fishing ships, which used to draw much profite from ye Indeans of those parts, they threatened to procure a grant, & shut them out from thence; espesially after they saw them so well furnished with commodities, as to carie the trade from them. They thought it but needful to prevent such a thing, at least that they might not be excluded from free trade ther, where themselves had first begun and discovered the same, and brought it to so good effecte. This year also they had letters, and messengers from ye Dutch-plantation, sent unto them from ye Governor there, written both in Dutch & French. The Dutch had traded in these southern parts, diverse years before they came; but they began no plantation hear till 4 or 5 years after their coming, and here beginning. Their letters were as followeth. It being their maner to be full of complemental titles.

Eedele, Eerenfeste Wyse Voorsinnige Heeren, den Göveerneür, ende Raeden in Nieu-Pliemüen residerende; onse seer Goede vrinden den directeür ende Raed van Nieu-Nederlande, wensen vñe Edn: eerenfesten, ende wijse voorsinnige gelück salichitt [gelukzaligheid?], In Christi Jesu onsen Heere; met goede voorspoet, ende gesonthijt, naer siele, ende lichaem. Amen.

The rest I shall render in English, leaving out the repetition of superfluous titles.

We have often before this wished for an opportunitie or an occasion to congratulate you, and your prosperous and praise-worthy undertakings, and Government of your colony ther. And the more, in that we also have made a good beginning to pitch ye foundation of a collonie hear; and seeing our native countrie lyes not far from yours, and our forefathers (diverse hundred years agoe) have made and held friendship and alliance with your ancestours, as sufficiently appears by ye old contracts, and entrecourses, confirmed under ye hands of kings & princes, in ye pointe of war & trafick; as may be seene and read by all ye world in ye old chronakles. The which are not only by the king now reigning confirmed, but it hath pleased his majesty, upon mature deliberation, to make a new covenante, (and to take up armes,) with ye States General of our dear native country, against our commone enemie the Spaniards, who seeke nothing else but to usurpe and overcome other Christian kings and princes lands, that so he might obtain and possess his pretended monarchic over all Christendom; and so to rule and coñmand, after his owne pleasure, over ye consciences of so many hundred thousand sowles, which God forbid.

And also seeing it hath some time since been reported unto us, by some of our people, that by occasion came so far northward with their shalop, and met with sundry of ye Indeans, who tould them that they were within halfe a day's journey of your plantation, and offered ther service to carry letters unto you; therefore we could not forbear to salute you with these few lines, with presentation of our good will and servise unto you, in all friendly-kindness & neighbourhood. And if it so fall out that any goods that comes to our hands from our native countrie, may be

serviceable unto you, we shall take our selves bound to help and accommodate you therewith; either for beaver or any other wares or merchandise that you should be pleased to deal for. And if in case we have no commodity at present that may give you contente, if you please to sell us any beaver, or otter, or such like comodities as may be useful for us, for ready money, and let us understand thereof by this bearer in writing, (whom we have apoynted to stay 3. or 4. days for your answer,) when we understand your minds therein, we shall depute one to deal with you, at such place as you shall appoint. In ye mean time we pray the Lord to take you, our honoured good friends and neighbours, into his holy protection.

By the appointment of ye Govr and Counsell, &c.

Isaak de Rasier, Secretaris.

From ye Manhata, in ye fort Amsterdam,

March 9. Ano: 1627.

To this they returned answer as followeth, on ye other side.

To the Honoured, &c.

The Governor & Counsell of New-Plimoth: wisheth, &c. We have received your leters, &c. wherein appeareth your good wills & friendship towards us; but is expressed with over high titles, more than belongs to us, or is meete for us to receive. But for your good will, and congratulations of our prosperitie in these smale beginnings of our poor colonie, we are much bound unto you, and with many thanks doe acknowledge ye same; taking it both for a great honour done unto us, and for a certain testimonie of your love and good neighbourhood.

Now these are further to give your Worships to understand, that it is to us no smale joy to hear, that his Majestie hath not only bene pleased to confirme yt ancient amitie, alliance, and friendship, and other contracts, formerly made & ratified by his predecessors of famous memorie, but hath him selfe (as you say) strengthened the same with a new-union the better to resist ye pride of yt comōne enemy ye Spaniard, from whose cruelty the Lord keep us both, and our native countries. Now forasmuch as this is sufficiente to unite us together in love and good neighbourhood, in all our dealings, yet are many of us further obliged, by the good and courteous entreaty which we have found in your cōtrie; having lived ther many years, with freedom, and good contente, as also many of our friends doe to this day; for which we, and our children after us, are bound to be thankful to your Nation, and shall never forget ye same, but shall hartily desire your good & prosperity, as our owne, for ever.

Likewise, for your friendly tender, & offer to accommodate and help us with any comodities or merchandise you have, or shall come to you, either for beaver, otters, or other wares, it is to us very acceptable, and we doubt not but in short time we may have profitable commerce & trade together. But for this year we are fully supplied with all necessities, both for cloathing and other things; but hereafter it is like we shall deal with you, if your rates be reasonable. And therefore when you please to send to us againe by any of yours, we desire to know how you will take beaver, by ye pound, & otters, by ye skin; and how you will deal per cent. for other comodities, and what you can furnish us with. As likewise what other commodities from us may be acceptable unto you, as tobacco, fish, corn, or other things, and what prizes you will give, &c.

Thus hoping that you will pardon & excuse us for our rude and imperfect writing in your language, and take it in good part, because for want of use we cannot so well express that we understand, nor happily understand everything so fully as we should. And so we humbly pray the Lord for his mercie sake, that he will take both us and you into his keeping & gracious protection.

By ye Governor and Counsell of New-Plimoth,

Your Worships very good friends & neighbours, &c.

New-Plimoth: March 19.

After this ther was many passages between them both by letters and other entercourse; and they had some profitable commerce together for diverce years, till other occasions interrupted ye same, as may happily appear afterwards, more at large.

Before they sent Mr. Allerton away for England this year, ye Governor and some of their cheefe friends had serious consideration, not only how they might discharge those great ingagments which lay so heavily upon them, as is affore mentioned, but also how they might (if possible they could) devise means to help some of their friends and brethren of Leyden over unto them, who desired so much to come to them, and they desired as much their company. To effect which, they resolved to run a high course, and of great adventure, not knowing otherwise how to bring it about. Which was to hire ye trade of ye company for certain years, and in that time to undertake to pay that 1800li. and all ye rest of ye debts that then lay upon ye plantation, which was aboute some 600li. more; and so to set them free, and returne the trade to ye generalitie againe at ye end of ye term. Upon which resolution they called ye company together, and made it clearly appear unto all what their debts were, and upon what terms they would undertake to pay them all in such a time, and set them clear. But their other ends they were faine to keep secret, having only privatly acquaynted some of their trusty friends therewith; which were glad of ye same, but doubted how they would be able to perform it. So after some agitation of the thing wth ye company, it was yeilded unto, and the agreement made upon ye conditions following.

Articles of agreement between ye colony of New-Plimoth of ye one partie, and William Bradford, Captain Myles Standish, Isaack Allerton, &c. one ye other partie; and such others as they shall thinke good to take as partners and undertakers with them, concerning the trade for beaver & other furs & comodities, &c.; made July, 1627.

First, it is agreed and covenanted betweexte ye said parties, that ye afforsaid William Bradford, Captain Myles Standish, & Isaack Allerton, &c. have undertaken, and doe by these presents, covenant and agree to pay, discharge,

and acquite ye said colony of all ye debts both due for ye purchase, or any other belonging to them, at ye day of ye date of these presents.

Secondly, ye above-said parties are to have and freely injoye ye pinass lately built, the boat at Manamett, and ye shalop, called ye Bass-boat, with all other implements to them belonging, that is in ye store of ye said company; with all ye whole stock of furs, fells, beads, corn, Wampampeake, hatchets, knives, &c. that is now in ye store, or any way due unto ye same upon account.

3ly. That ye above said parties have ye whole trade to themselves, their heires and assignes, with all ye privileges therof, as ye said colonie doth now, or may use the same, for 6. full years, to begin ye last of September next insuing.

4ly. In further consideration of ye discharge of ye said debts, every several purchaser doth promise and covenant yearly to pay, or cause to be payed, to the above said parties, during ye full term of ye said 6. years, 3. bushells of corn, or 6li. of tobacco, at ye undertakers choyse.

5ly. The said undertakers shall during ye afforesaid term bestow 50li. per annum, in hose and shoese, to be brought over for ye colonies use, to be sould unto them for corn at 6s. per bushell.

6ly. That at ye end of ye said term of 6. years, the whole trade shall returne to yt use and benefit of ye said colonie, as before.

Lastly, if ye afforesaid undertakers, after they have acquainted their friends in England with these covenants, doe (upon ye first returne) resolve to perform them, and undertake to discharge ye debts of ye said colony, according to ye true meaning & intent of these presents, then they are (upon such notice given) to stand in full force; otherwise all things to remaine as formerly they were, and a true account to be given to ye said collonie, of the disposing of all things according to the former order.

Mr. Allerton carried a copy of this agreement with him into England, and amongst other his instructions had order given him to deal with some of their special friends, to joyne with them in this trade upon ye above recited conditions; as also to impart their further ends that moved them to take this course, namely, the helping over of some of their friends from Leyden, as they should be able; in which if any of them would joyne with them they should thankfully accept of their love and partnership herein. And with all (by their letters) gave them some grounds of their hops of the accomplishment of these things with some advantage.

Anno Dom: 1628.

After Mr. Allerton's arrival in England, he acquainted them with his comission and full power to conclude ye forementioned bargain & purchase; upon the view wherof, and ye delivery of ye bonds for ye payment of ye money yearly, (as is before mentioned,) it was fully concluded, and a deed fairly ingrossed in partchmente was delivered him, under their hands & seals confirming the same. Moreover he delt with them aboute other things according to his instructions. As to admit some of these their good friends into this purchase if they pleased, and to deal with them for moneys at better rates, &c. Touching which I shall hear insert a letter of Mr. Sherley's, giving light to what followed therof, writ to ye Governor as followeth.

Sir: I have received yours of ye 26. of May by Mr. Gibs, & Mr. Goffe, with ye barrel of otter skins, according to ye contents; for which I got a bill of store, and so took them up, and sould them togeather at 78li. 12s. sterling; and since, Mr. Allerton hath received ye money, as will appear by the account. It is true (as you write) that your ingagments are great, not only the purchase, but you are yet necessitated to take up ye stock you work upon; and yt not at 6. or 8. pr cent. as it is here let out, but at 30. 40. yea, & some at 50. pr cent. which, were not your gains great, and God's blessing on your honest indeaours more then ordinarie, it could not be yt you should long subsist in ye maintaining of, & upholding of your worldly affaires. And this your honest & discreet agent, Mr. Allerton, hath seriously considered, & deeply laid to mind, how to ease you of it. He tould me you were contented to accept of me & some few others, to joyne with you in ye purchase, as partners; for which I kindly thank you and all ye rest, and doe willingly accept of it. And though absent, shall willingly be at such charge as you & ye rest shall thinke meete; and this year am contented to forbear my former 50li. and 2. years increase for ye venture, both which now makes it 80li. without any bargain or condition for ye profite, you (I mean ye generalitie) stand to ye adventure, outward, and homeward. I have perswaded Mr. Andrews and Mr. Beachamp to doe ye like, so as you are eased of ye high rate, you were at ye other 2. yeares; I say we leave it freely to your selves to allow us what you please, and as God shall blesse. What course I run, Mr. Beachamp desireth to doe ye same; and though he have been or seemed somewhat harsh heretofore, yet now you shall find he is new moulded. I also see by your letter, you desire I should be your agent or factor hear. I have ever found you so faithful, honest, and upright men, as I have even resolved with my selfe (God assisting me) to doe you all ye good lyeth in my power; and therefore if you please to make choyse of so weak a man, both for abilities and body, to perform your bussines, I promise (ye Lord enabling me) to doe ye best I can according to those abilities he hath given me; and wherein I fail, blame your selves, yt you made no better choyce. Now, because I am sickly, and we are all mortal, I have advised Mr. Allerton to joyne Mr. Beachamp with me in your deputation, which I conceive to be very necessary & good for you; your charge shall be no more, for it is not your salarie makes me undertake your bussines. Thus contending you & yours, and all Gods people, unto ye guidance and protection of ye Almightye, I ever rest,

Your faithful loving friend,

James Sherley.

London, Nov. 17. 1628.

With this leter they sent a draught of a formal deputation to be hear sealed and sent back unto them, to authorise them as their agents, according to what is mentioned in ye above said letter; and because some inconvenience grue thereby afterward I shall here insert it.

To all to whom these prēts shall come greeting; know yee that we, William Bradford, Govr of Plimoth, in N.E. in America, Isaak Allerton, Myles Standish, William Brewster, & Ed: Winslow, of Plimoth aforesaid, marchants, doe by these presents for us & in our names, make, substitute, & appoint James Sherley, Goldsmith, & John Beachamp, Salter, citizens of London, our true & lawfull agents, factors, substitutes, & assignes; as well to take and receive all such goods, wares, & marchandise what soever as to our said substitutes or either of them, or to ye citie of London, or other place of ye Relme of England: shall be sente, transported, or come from us or any of us, as also to vend, sell, barter, or exchaing ye said goods, wares, and marchandise so from time to time to be sent to such person or persons upon credit, or otherwise in such maner as to our said agents & factors joyntly, or to either of them severally shall seem meete. And further we do make & ordain our said substitutes & assignes joyntly & severally for us, & to our uses, & accounts, to buy and consign for and to us into New-England: aforesaid, such goods and marchandise to be provided here, and to be returned hence, as by our said assignes, or either of them, shall be thought fit. And to recover, receive, and demand for us & in our names all such debts & sums of money, as now are or hereafter shall be due incident accruing or belonging to us, or any of us, by any wayes or means; and to acquite, discharge, or compound for any debt or sum of money, which now or hereafter shall be due or owing by any person or persons to us, or any of us. And generally for us & in our names to doe, perform, and execute every act & thing which to our said assignes, or either of them, shall seem meete to be done in or about ye premisses, as fully & effectually, to all intents & purposes, as if we or any of us were in person present. And whatsoever our said agents & factors joyntly or severally shall doe, or cause to be done, in or aboute ye premisses, we will & doe, & every of us doth ratife, allow, & confirme, by these presents. In witness wherof we have here unto put our hands & seals. Dated 18. November 1628.

This was accordingly confirmed by the above named, and 4. more of the cheefe of them under their hands & seals, and delivered unto them. Also Mr. Allerton formerly had authoritie under their hands & seals for ye transacting of ye former bussines, and taking up of moneys, &c. which still he retained whilst he was employed in these affaires; they mistrusting neither him nor any of their friends faithfullnes, which made them more remisse in looking to such acts as had passed under their hands, as necessarie for ye time; but letting them rune on to long unminded or recalled, it turned to their harm afterwards, as will appere in its place.

Mr. Allerton having settled all things thus in a good and hopfull way, he made hast to returne in ye first of ye spring to be hear with their supply for trade, (for ye fishermen with whom he came used to set forth in winter & be here betimes.) He brought a reasonable supply of goods for ye plantation, and without those great interests as before is noted; and brought an account of ye beaver sould, and how ye money was disposed for goods, & ye payment of other debts, having paid all debts abroad to others, save to Mr. Sherley, Mr. Beachamp, & Mr. Andrews; from whom likewise he brought an account which to them all amounted not to above 400li. for which he had passed bonds. Also he had played the first payment for ye purchase, being due for this year, viz. 200li. and brought them ye bond for ye same cancelled; so as they now had no more foreign debts but ye abovesaid 400li. and odde pownds, and ye rest of ye yearly purchase monie. Some other debts they had in ye countrie, but they were without any interest, & they had wherewith to discharge them when they were due. To this pass the Lord had brought things for them. Also he brought them further notice that their friends, the abovenamed, & some others that would joyne with them in ye trad & purchase, did intend for to send over to Leyden, for a competente number of them, to be hear the next year without fayle, if ye Lord pleased to blesse their journey. He also brought them a patente for Kenebeck, but it was so straite & ill bounded, as they were faine to renew & enlarge it the next year, as also that which they had at home, to their great charge, as will after appear. Hitherto Mr. Allerton did them good and faithful service; and well had it been if he had so continued, or else they had now ceased for employing him any longer thus into England. But of this more afterwards.

Having procured a patente (as is above said) for Kenebeck, they now erected a house up above in ye river in ye most convenientest place for trade, as they conceived, and furnished the same with cõmodities for yt end, both winter & sõmer, not only with corn, but also with such other commodities as ye fishermen had traded with them, as coats, shirts, ruggs, & blankets, biskett, pease, prunes, &c.; and what they could not have out of England, they bought of the fishing ships, and so carried on their bussines as well as they could.

This year the Dutch sent againe unto them from their plantation, both kind leters, and also diverse comodities, as sugar, linen cloth, Holland finer & courser stuffs, &c. They came up with their barke to Manamete, to their house ther, in which came their Secretarie Rasier; who was accompanied with a noyse of trumpeters, and some other attendants; and desired that they would send a boat for him, for he could not travill so far over land. So they sent a boat to Manonscussett, and brought him to ye plantation, with ye cheefe of his company. And after some few days entertainment he returned to his barke, and some of them wente with him, and bought sundry of his goods; after which beginning thus made, they sente often times to ye same place, and had entercourse together for diverce years; and amongst other comodities, they vended much tobacco for linen cloath, stuffs, &c., which was a good benefit to ye people, till the Virginians found out their plantation. But that which turned most to their profite, in time, was an entrance into the trade of Wampampeake; for they now bought aboute 50li. worth of it of them; and they tould them how vendable it was at their forte Orania; and did perswade them they would find it so at Kenebeck; and so it came to pass in time, though at first it stuck, & it was 2. years before they could put of this small quantity, till ye inland people knew of it; and afterwards they could scarce ever get enough for them, for many years together. And so this, with their other provissions, cut of the trade quite from ye fisher-men, and in great part from other of ye stragglng planters. And strange it was to see the great allteration it made in a few years among ye Indeans themselves; for all the Indeans of these parts, & ye Massachusetts, had none or very little of it, but ye sachems & some spetiall persons that wore a little of it for ornament. Only it was made & kept among ye Narragansetts, & Pequents, which grew rich & potent by it, and these people were poor & beggerly, and had no use of it. Neither did the English of this plantation, or any other in ye land, till now that they had knowledge of it from ye Dutch, so much as know what it was, much less yt it was a cõmoditie of that worth & valew. But after it grue thus to be a comoditie in these parts, these Indeans fell into

it also, and to learn how to make it; for ye Narigansetts doe gather ye shells of which yey make it from their shores. And it hath now continued a current comoditie aboute this 20. years, and it may prove a drug in time.

In ye mean time it makes ye Indeans of these parts rich & power full and also prowde thereby; and fills them with peeces, powder, and shote, which no laws can restrain, by reasone of ye bassnes of sundry unworthy persons, both English, Dutch, & French, which may turn to ye ruin of many.

Hitherto ye Indeans of these parts had no peeces nor other arms but their bowes & arrowes, nor of many years after; nether durst they scarce handle a gun, so much were they afraid of them; and ye very sight of one (though out of kilter) was a terror unto them. But those Indeans to ye east parts, which had commerce with ye French, got peces of them, and they in the end made a commone trade of it; and in time our English fisher-men, led with ye like covetousnes, followed their example, for their own gain; but upon complaint against them, it pleased the kings majestie to prohibit ye same by a stricte proclamation, commanding that no sort of arms, or munition, should by any of his subjects be traded with them.

Aboute some 3 or 4 years before this time, ther came over one Captain Wollastone, (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 & other implments for to beginne a plantation; and pitched themselves in a place within the Massachusetts, which they called, after their Captains name, Mount-Wollaston. Amongst whom was one Mr. Morton, who, it should seem, had some small adventure (of his own or other men's) amongst them; but had little respect amongst them, and was sleghted by ye meanest servants. Having continued ther some time, and not finding things to answer their expectations, nor profite to arise as they looked for, Captain Wollaston takes a great part of ye servants, and transports them to Virginia, where he puts them of at good rates, selling their time to other men; and writs back to one Mr. Rassdall, one of his cheefe partners, and accounted their marchant, to bring another part of them to Verginia likewise, intending to put them of ther as he had done ye rest. And he, with ye consente of ye said Rassdall, appoynted one Fitcher to be his Livetenante, and govern ye remains of ye plantation, till he or Rassdall returned to take further order therabout. But this Morton abovesaid, having more craft then honestie, (who had been a kind of pettifogger, of Furnefells Inne,) in ye others absence, watches an oppertunitie, (commons being but hard amongst them,) and got some strong drink & other junkats, & made them a feast; and after they were merie, he began 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 Rassdall returne, you will also be carried away and sould for slaves with ye rest. Therefore I would advise you to thrust out this Levetenant Fitcher; and I, having a part in the plantation, will receive you as my partners and consociats; so may you be free from service, and we will converse, trad, plant, & live togeather as equals, & support & protect one another, or to like effect. This counsell was easily received; so they took oppertunitie, and thrust Levetenante Fitcher out a dores, and would suffer him to come no more amongst them, but forct him to seek bread to eat, and other releefe from his neighbours, till he could get passages for England. After this they fell to great licentiousness, and led a dissolute life, powering out themselves into all profanenes. And Morton became lord of misrule, and maintained (as it were) a schoole of Athisme. And after they had got some good into their hands, and got much by trading with ye Indeans, they spent it as vainly, in quaffing & drinking both wine & strong waters in great excess, and, as some reported, 10li. worth in a morning. They also set up a May-pole, drinking and dancing aboute it many days togeather, 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 & celebrated the feasts of ye Roman Goddess Flora, or ye beasly practises of ye madd Bacchinalians. Morton likewise (to shew his poetrie) composed sundry rimes & verses, some tending to lasciviousnes, and others to ye detraction & scandal of some persons, which he affixed to this idle or idol May-polle. They chainged also the name of their place, and instead of calling it Mounte Wollaston, they call it Merie-mounte, 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 gentleman, Mr. John Indecott, who brought over a patent under ye broad seal, for ye government of ye Massachusetts, who visiting those parts caused yt May-polle to be cut down, and rebuked them for their profannes, and admonished them to look ther should be better walking; so they now, or others, changed ye name of their place again and called it Mounte-Dagon.

Now to maintain this riotous prodigallitie and profuse excess, Morton, thinking him selfe lawless, and hearing what gain ye French & fisher-men made by trading of peeces, powder, & shotte to ye Indeans, he, as ye head of this consortship, began ye practise of ye same in these parts; and first he taught them how to use them, to charge, & discharge, and what proportion of powder to give ye peece, according to ye size or bignes of ye same; and what shotte to use for foul, and what for dear. And having thus instructed them, he imployed some of them to hunt & fowl for him, so as they became far more active in that imployment then any of ye English, by reason of ther swiftness of foot, & nimblnes of body, being also quick-sighted, and by continuall exercise well knowing ye hants of all sorts of game. So as when they saw ye execution that a peece would do, and ye benefit that might come by ye 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 & arrowes but bables in comparison of them.

Here I may take occasion to bewaile ye mischefe that this wicked man began in these parts, and which since base covetousnes prevailing in men that should know better, has now at length got ye upper hand, and made this thing commone, notwithstanding any laws to ye contrary; so as ye Indeans are full of peeces all over, both fouling peeces, muskets, pistols, &c. They have also their moulds to make shotte, of all sorts, as musket bullets, pistol bullets, swane & gose shote, & of smaller sorts; yea, some have seen them have their scruplats to make scrupins themselves, when they want them, with sundry other implements, wherewith they are ordinarily better fitted & furnished then ye English themselves. Yea, it is well known that they will have powder & shot, when the English want it, nor cannot get it; and yt in a time of war or danger, as experience hath manifested, that when lead hath been scarce, and men for their owne defence would gladly have given a groat a l which is dear enough, yet hath it bene bought up & sent to other places, and sould to such as trade it with ye Indeans, at 12. pence ye li.; and it is like they give 3 or 4s ye pound, for they will

have it at any rate. And these things have been done in ye same times, when some of their neighbours & friends are daly killed by ye Indeans, or are in deanger therof, and live but at ye Indeans mercie.

Yea, some (as they have acquainted them with all other things) have tould them how gunpowder is made, and all ye materials in it, and that they are to be had in their owne land; and I am confidante, could they attaine to make saltpeter, they would teach them to make powder. O the horribleness' of this villain! how many both Dutch & English have been lately slain by those Indeans, thus furnished; and no remedie provided, nay, ye evil more increased, and ye blood of their brethren sould for gain, as is to be feared; and in what danger all these colonies are in is too well known. Oh! that princes & parlements would take some timely order to prevent this mischeefe, and at length to suppress it, by some exemplerie punishment upon some of these gain thirstie murderers, (for they deserve no better title,) before their collonies in these parts be over thrown by these barbarous savages, thus armed with their owne weapons, by these evil instruments, and traytors to their neighbors and countrie. But I have forgot myself, and have been too long in this digression; but now to returne. This Morton having thus taught them ye use of peeeces, he sould them all he could spare; and he and his consorts determined to send for many out of England, and had by some of ye ships sente for above a score. The which being known, and his neighbours meeting ye Indeans in ye woods armed with guns in this sort, it was a terror unto them, who lived stragglingly, and were of no strength 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 ye scum of ye 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 & goods (in short time) from this wicked & deboste crue, then from ye salvages themselves.

So sundrie of ye cheefe of ye straggling plantations, meeting together, agreed by mutual consente to sollissite those of Plimoth (who were then of more strength then them all) to joyne with them, to prevent ye further growth of this mischeefe, and suppress Morton & his consortes before yey 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, Weesagascusett, Natasco, and other places where any English were seated. Those of Plimoth being thus sought too by their messengers & letters, and waying both their reasons, and the comone danger, were willing to afford them their help; though themselves had least cause of fear or hurt. So, to be short, they first resolved joyntly to write to him, and in a friendly & neighborly way to admonish him to forbear these courses, & 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 do with him; he had and would trade peeeces with ye Indeans in dispite of all, with many other scurrilous terms full of disdain. They sente to him a second time, and bad him be better advised, and more temperate in his terms, for ye countrie could not bear ye injure he did; it was against their comone saftie, and against ye king's proclamation. He answered in high terms as before, and that ye kings proclamation was no law; demanding what penaltie was upon it. It was answered, more then he could bear, his majesties displeasure. But insolently he persisted, and said ye king was dead and his displeasure with him, & many ye like things; and threatened withal that if any came to molest him, let them look to themselves, for he would prepare for them. Upon which they saw ther was no way but to take him by force; and having so far proceeded, now to give over would make him far more hautie & insolente. So they mutually resolved to proceed, and obtained of ye Govr of Plimoth to send Captain Standish, & some other aide with him, to take Morton by force. The which accordingly was done; but they found him to stand stiffly in his defence, having made fast his dors, armed his consorts, set diverse dishes of powder & bullets ready on ye table; and if they had not been over armed with drink, more hurt might have been done. They soffaned him to yeeld, but he kept his house, and they could get nothing but scoffs & scorns from him; but at length, fearing they would do some violence to ye house, he and some of his crue came out, but not to yeeld, but to shoot; but they were so steeled with drink as their peeeces were to heavie for them; him selfe with a carbine (over charged & almost halfe fild with powder & shote, as was after found) had thought to have shot Captain Standish; but he stept to him, & put by his peece, & took him. Neither was ther any hurt done to any of either side, save yt one was so drunk yt he rane his owne nose upon ye pointe of a sword yt one held before him as he entered ye house; but he lost but a little of his hot blood. Morton they brought away to Plimoth, where he was kept, till a ship went from ye Ile of Shols for England, with which he was sente to ye Counsell of New-England; and letters written to give them information of his course & carriage; and also one was sent at their comone charge to inform their Hors more perticulerly, & to prosecute against him. But he fooled of ye messenger, after he was gone 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 ye next year. Some of ye worst of ye company were disperst, and some of ye more oughst kept ye house till he should be heard from. But I have been too long aboute so un-worthy a person, and bad a cause.

This year Mr. Allerton brought over a yonge man for a minister to ye people hear, whether upon his owne head, or at ye motion of some friends ther, I well know not, but it was without ye churches sending; for they had bene so bitten by Mr. Lyford, as they desired to know ye person well whom they should invite amongst them. His name was Mr. Rogers; but they perceived, upon some triall, that he was crased in his brain; so they were faine to be at further charge to send him back againe ye next year, and lose all ye charge that was expended in his hither bringing, which was not small by Mr. Allerton's account, in provissions, apparel, bedding, &c. After his returne he grue quite distracted, and Mr. Allerton was much blamed yt he would bring such a man over, they having charge enough otherwise.

Mr. Allerton, in ye years before, had brought over some small quantie of goods, upon his owne perticuler, and sould them for his owne private benefit; which was more than any man had yet hitherto attempted. But because he had otherwise done them good service, and also he sould them among ye people at ye plantation, by which their wants were supplied, and he alleged it was the love of Mr. Sherley and some other friends that would needs trust him with some goods, conceiving it might doe him some good, and none hurt, it was not much lookt at, but past over. But this year he brought over a greater quantitie, and they were so intermixed with ye goods of ye general, as they knew not which were theirs, & wch was his, being pact up together; so as they well saw that, if any casualty had beefalne at sea, he might have laid ye whole on them, if he would; for ther was no distinction. Also what was most vendible, and

would yeeld presente pay, usually that was his; and he now begane also to sell abroad to others of foreign places, which, considering their comone course, they began to dislike. Yet because love thinks no evil, nor is suspicious, they took his faire words for excuse, and resolved to send him againe this year for England; considering how well he had done ye former bussines, and what good acceptation he had with their friends ther; as also seeing sundry of their friends from Leyden were sente for, which would or might be much furthered by his means. Againe, seeing the patente for Kenebeck must be enlarged, by reason of ye former mistakes in the bounding of it, and it was conceived, in a maner, ye same charge would serve to inlarge this at home with it, and he that had begane ye former ye last year would be ye fittest to effecte this; so they gave him instructions and sente him for England this year againe. And in his instructions bound him to bring over no goods on their account, but 50li. in hose & shoes, and some linen cloth, (as yey were bound by covenante when they took ye trad;) also some trading goods to such a value; and in no case to exceed his instructions, nor ruine them into any further charge; he well knowing how their state stood. Also yt he should so provide yt their trading goods came over betimes, and what so ever was sent on their account should be packed up by it selfe, marked with their mark, and no other goods to be mixed with theirs. For so he prayed them to give him such instructions as they saw good, and he would follow them, to prevent any jellocie or farther offence, upon the former forementioned dislikes. And thus they conceived they had well provided for all things.

Anno Dom: 1629.

Mr. Allerton safely arriving in England, and delivering his leters to their friends there, and acquainting them with his instructions, found good acceptation with them, and they were very forward & willing to joyne with them in ye partnership of trade, & in ye charge to send over ye Leyden people; a company wherof were already come out of Holland, and prepared to come over, and so were sent away before Mr. Allerton could be ready to come. They had passage with ye ships that came to Salem, that brought over many godly persons to begine ye plantations & churches of Christ ther, & in ye Bay of Massachusetts; so their long stay & keeping back was recompensed by ye Lord to ther friends here with a duple blessing, in that they not only enjoyed them now beyond ther late expectation, (when all their hops seemed to be cut off,) but, with them, many more godly friends & Christian breethren, as ye beginning of a larger harvest unto ye Lord, in ye increase of his churches & people in these parts, to ye admiration of many, and almost wonder of ye world; that of so small beginnings so great things should insue, as time after manifested; and that here should be a resting place for so many of ye Lords people, when so sharp a scourge came upon their owne nation. But it was ye Lords doing, & it ought to be marvellous in our eyes.

But I shall hear insert some of their friends letters, which doe best express their owne minds in these their proceedings.

**A letter of Mr. Sherley's to ye Governor.
May 25, 1629.**

Sir: &c. Here are now many of your and our friends from Leyden coming over, who, though for ye most part be but a weak company, yet herein is a good part of that end obtained which was aimed at, and which hath been so strongly opposed by some of our former adventurers. But God hath his working in these things, which man cannot frustrate. With them we have also sent some servants in ye ship called the Talbut, that wente hence lately; but these come in ye May-flower. Mr. Beachamp & my selfe, with Mr. Andrews & Mr. Hatherly, are, with your love and liking, joyned partners with you, &c.

Your deputation we have received, and ye goods have been taken up & sould by your friend & agent, Mr. Allerton, my selfe having bine nere 3. months in Holland, at Amsterdam & other parts in ye Low-Countries. I see further the agreement you have made with ye generallitie, in which I cannot understand but you have done very well, both for them & you, and also for your friends at Leyden. Mr. Beachamp, Mr. Andrews, Mr. Hatherley, & my selfe, doe so like and approve of it, as we are willing to joyne with you, and God directing and inabling us, will be assisting and helpful to you, ye best yt possible we can.

Nay, had you not taken this course, I do not see how you should accomplish ye end you first aimed at, and some others indevoed these years past. We know it must keep us from ye profite, which otherwise by ye blessing of God and your indeaours, might be gained; for most of those that came in May, & these now sente, though I hope honest & good people, yet not like to be helpful to raise profite, but rather, ney, certain must, some while, be chargeable to you & us; at which it is likly, had not this wise & discreet course been taken, many of your generalitie would have gruded. Againe, you say well in your letter, and I make no doubt but you will perform it, that now being but a few, on whom ye burthen must be, you will both menage it ye better, and sett too it more cherfully, haveing no discontent nor contradiction, but so lovingly to joyne together, in affection and counsell, as God no doubt will blesse and prosper your honest labours & indeavors. And therefore in all respects I do not see but you have done marvellously discreetly, & advisedly, and no doubt but it gives all parties good contente; I mean yt are reasonable & honest men, such as make conscience of giving ye best satisfaction they be able for their debts, and yt regard not their owne perticuler so much as ye accomplishing of yt good end for which this bussines was first intended, &c. Thus desiring ye Lord to blese & prosper you, & all yours, and all our honest endeavors, I rest

**Your unfained & ever loving friend,
James Sherley.**

London: March 8th 1629.

That I may handle things together, I have put these 2. companies that came from Leyden in this place; though they came at 2. several times, yet they both came out of England this year.

The former company, being 35 persons, were shipped in May, and at arrived here aboute August. The later were shipped in ye beginning of March, and arrived hear ye later end of May, 1630. Mr. Sherley's 2 letters, ye effect wherof I have before related, (as much of them as is pertinent,) mentions both. Their charge, as Mr. Allerton brought it in

afterwards on account, came to above 550li. besides ther fetching hither from Salem & ye Bay, where they and their goods were landed; viz. their transportation from Holland to England, & their charges lying ther, and passages hither, with clothing provided for them. For I find by account for ye one company, 125 yards of karsey, 127 ellons of linen cloth, shoes, 66 pair, with many other perticulers. The charge of ye other company is reckoned on ye several families, some 50li., some 40li., some 30li., and so more or less, as their number & expenses were. And besides all this charge, their friends & brethren here were to provide corn & other provissions for them, till they could reap a crop which was long before. Those that came in May were thus maintained upward of 16 or 18 months, before they had any harvest of their own, & ye other by proportion. And all they could do in ye mean time was to get them some housing, and prepare them grounds to plant on, against the season. And this charge of maintaining them all this while was little less then ye former sume. These things I note more perticularly, for sundry regards. First, to shew a rare example herein of brotherly love, and Christian care in performing their promises and covenants to their brethren, too, & in a sort beyond their power; that they should venture so desperately to ingage themselves to accomplish this thing, and bear it so cheerfully; for they never demanded, much less had, any repaymente of all these great sumes thus disbursed. 2ly. It must needs be that ther was more than of man in these achievements, that should thus readily stir up ye harts of such able friends to joyne in partnership with them in such a case, and cleave so faithfullie to them as these did, in so great adventures; and the more because the most of them never saw their faces to this day; ther being neither kindred, alliance, or other acquaintance or relations between any of them, then hath been before mentioned; it must needs be therefore the spetiall work and hand of God. 3ly. That these poor people here in a wilderness should, notwithstanding, be inabled in time to repay all these ingagments, and many more unjustly brought upon them through the unfaithfullnes of some, and many other great losses which they sustained, which will be made manifest, if ye Lord be pleased to give life and time. In ye mean time, I cannot but admire his ways and works towards his servants, and humbly desire to blesse his holy name for his great mercies hitherto.

The Leyden people being thus come over, and sundry of ye generalitie seeing & hearing how great ye charge was like to be that was that way to be expended, they began to murmur and repine at it, notwithstanding ye burden lay on other men's shoulders; espetially at ye paying of ye 3. bushells of corn a year, according to ye former agreement, when ye trad was let for ye 6. years aforesaid. But to give them contente herein also, it was promised them, that if they could do it in ye time without it, they would never demand it of them; which gave them good contente. And indeed it never was paid, as will appere by ye sequel.

Concerning Mr. Allerton's proceedings about ye inlarging & confirming of their patent, both yt at home & Kenebeck, will best appear by another leter of Mr. Sherley's; for though much time & money was expended aboute it, yet he left it unaccomplisht this year, and came without it. See Mr. Sherley's letter.

Most worthy & loving friends, &c.

Some of your letters I received in July, & some since by Mr. Peirce, but till our main bussines, ye patent, was granted, I could not settle my mind nor pen to writing. Mr. Allerton was so turmoyled about it, as verily I would not, nor could not have undergone it, if I might have had a thousand pounds; but ye Lord so blessed his labours (even beyond expectation in these evil days) as he obtained ye love & favore of great men in repute & place. He got granted from ye Earle of Warwick & Sr. Ferdinando Gorge all that Mr. Winslow desired in his letters to me, & more also, which I leave to him to relate. Then he sued to ye king to confirme their grant, and to make you a corporation, and so to inable you to make & execute lawes, in such large & ample maner as ye Massachusetts plantation hath it; which ye king graciously granted, referring it to ye Lord Keeper to give order to ye solisiter to draw it up, if ther were a president for it.

So ye Lord Keeper furthered it all he could, and also ye solissiter; but as Festus said to Paule, With no small sume of money obtained I this freedom; for by ye way many ridells must be resolved, and many locks must be opened with ye silver, ney, ye golden key. Then it was to come to ye Lord Treasurer, to have his warrente for freeing ye custume for a certain time; but he would not do it, but referred it to ye Counsell table. And ther Mr. Allerton attended day by day, when they sate, but could not get his petition read. And by reason of Mr. Peirce his staying with all ye passengers at Bristol, he was forct to leave ye further prosecuting of it to a solissiter. But ther is no fear nor doubt but it will be granted, for he hath ye cheefe of them to friend; yet it will be marvellously needfull for him to returne by ye first ship yt comes from thence; for if you had this confirmed, then were you complete, and might bear such sway & government as were fit for your rank & place yet God hath called you unto; and stope ye moueths of base and scurrilous fellows, yt are ready to question & threaten you in every action you do. And besides, if you have ye custom free for 7. years inward, & 21. outward, ye charge of ye patent will be soone recovered, and ther is no fear of obtaining it. But such things must work by degrees; men cannot hasten it as they would; wherefore we (I write in behalf of all our partners here) desire you to be earnest with Mr. Allerton to come, and his wife to spare him this one year more, to finish this great & waighty bussines, which we conceive will be much for your good, & I hope for your posteritie, and for many generations to come.

Thus much of this letter. It was dated ye 19. March, 1629.

By which it appears what progress was made herein, & in part what charge it was, and how left unfinished, and some reason of ye same; but in truth (as was afterwards apprehended) the meaine reason was Mr. Allerton's policie, to have an opportunitie to be sent over againe, for other regards; and for that end procured them thus to write. For it might then well enough have been finished, if not with yt clause about ye custumes, which was Mr. Allerton's & Mr. Sherley's device, and not at all thought on by ye colony here, nor much regarded, yet it might have been done without it, without all question, having passed ye kings hand; nay it was conceived it might then have been done with it, if he had pleased; but covetousnes never brings ought home, as ye proverb is, for this oppertunitie being lost, it

was never accomplished, but a great deal of money veinly & lavishly cast away aboute it, as doth appear upon their accounts. But of this more in its place.

Mr. Allerton gave them great and just offence in this (which I had omitted and almost forgotten),—in bringing over this year, for base gain, that unworthy man, and instrument of mischeefe, Morton, who was sent home but ye year before for his misdemeanors. He not only brought him over, but to ye towne (as it were to nose them), and lodged him at his owne house, and for a while used him as a scribe to do his bussines, till he was caused to pack him away. So he wente to his old nest in ye Massachusetts, where it was not long but by his miscarriage he gave them just occasion to lay hands on him; and he was by them againe sent prisoner into England, where he lay a good while in Exeter Jeole. For besides his miscarriage here, he was vehemently suspected for ye murder of a man that had adventured moneys with him, when he came first into New-England. And a warrente was sente from ye Lord Cheefe Justice to apprehend him, by vertue wherof he was by the Govr of ye Massachusetts sent into England; and for other his misdemeanors amongst them, they demolisht his house, that it might be no longer a roost for such unclaine birds to nestle in. Yet he got free againe, and wrote an infamous & scurrilous booke against many godly & cheefe men of ye countrie; full of lyes & slanders, and fraught with profane callumnies against their names and persons, and ye ways of God. After sundry years, when ye wars were hot in England, he came againe into ye countrie, and was imprisoned at Boston for this booke and other things, being grown old in wickedness.

Concerning ye rest of Mr. Allerton's instructions, in which they strictly injoynd him not to exceed above yt 50li. in ye goods before mentioned, not to bring any but trading comodities, he followed them not at all, but did the quite contrarie; bringing over many other sorts of retail goods, selling what he could by the way on his owne account, and delivering the rest, which he said to be theirs, into ye store; and for trading goods brought but little in comparison; excusing the matter, they had laid out much about ye Leiden people, & patent, &c. And for other goods, they had much of them of their owne dealings, without present disbursement, & to like effect. And as for passing his bounds & instructions, he laid it on Mr. Sherley, &c., who, he said, they might see his mind in his leters; also that they had set out Ashley at great charge; but next year they should have what trading goods they would send for, if things were now well settled, &c. And thus were they put off; indeed Mr. Sherley wrote things tending this way, but it is like he was overruled by Mr. Allerton, and harkened more to him then to their letters from hence.

Thus he further writes in ye former leter.

I see what you write in your leters concerning ye overcoming & paying of our debts, which I confess are great, and had need be carefully looked unto; yet no doubt but we, joyning in love, may soone over-come them; but we must follow it roundly & to purposs, for if we peddle out ye time of our trad, others will step in and nose us. But we know yt you have yt acquaintance & experience in ye countrie, as none have the like; wherefore, friends & partners, be no way discouraged with ye greatness of ye debt, &c., but let us not fulfil ye proverb, to bestow 12d. on a purse, and put 6d. in it; but as you and we have been at great charge, and undergone much for settling you ther, and to gain experience, so as God shall enable us, let us make use of it. And think not with 50li. pound a year sent you over, to rayse such means as to pay our debts. We see a possibilitie of good if you be well supplied, and fully furnished; and cheefly if you lovingly agree. I know I write to godly and wise men, such as have learned to bear one another's infirmities, and rejoyce at any ones prosperities; and if I were able I would press this more, because it is hoped by some of your enemies, that you will fall out one with another, and so over throw your hopeful bussines. Nay, I have heard it crediblie reported, yt some have said, that till you be disjoynted by discontents & factions amongst yourselves, it bootes not any to goe over, in hope of getting or doing good in those parts. But we hope better things of you, and that you will not only bear one with another, but banish such thoughts, and not suffer them to lodge in your breasts. God grant you may disappoint ye hopes of your foes, and procure ye hartie desire of your selves & friends in this perticuler.

By this it appears that ther was a kind of concurrence between Mr. Allerton and them in these things, and that they gave more regard to his way & course in these things, then to ye advise from hence; which made him bould to presume above his instructions, and to run on in ye course he did, to their greater hurt afterwards, as will appear. These things did much trouble them hear, but they well knew not how to help it, being loath to make any breach or contention hear aboute; being so premonished as before in ye leter above recited. Another more secrete cause was herewith concurrente; Mr. Allerton had married ye daughter of their Reverend Elder, Mr. Brewster (a man beloved & honoured amongst them, and who took great paines in teaching & dispenceing ye word of God unto them), whom they were loath to greeve or any way offend, so as they bore with much in that respect. And with all Mr. Allerton carried so faire with him, and procured such leters from Mr. Sherley to him, with such applause of Mr. Allerton's wisdom, care, and faithfullnes, in ye bussines; and as things stood none were so fit to send aboute them as he; and if any should suggest otherwise, it was rather out of envie, or some other sinister respect then otherwise. Besides, though private gain, I doe perswade myself, was some cause to lead Mr. Allerton aside in these beginnings, yet I think, or at least charitie caries me to hope, that he intended to deal faithfully with them in ye main, and had such an opinion of his own abillitie, and some experience of ye benefit that he had made in this singular way, as he conceived he might both raise him selfe an estate, and also be a means to bring in such profite to Mr. Sherley, (and it may be ye rest,) as might be as likly to bring in their moneys againe with advantage, and it may be sooner than from the general way; or at least it was looked upon by some of them to be a good help ther unto; and that neither he nor any other did intend to charge ye general account with anything that rane in perticuler; or yt Mr. Sherley or any other did purposs but yet ye general should be first & fully supplied. I say charitie makes me thus conceive; though things fell out other wise, and they missed of their aims, and ye general suffered abundantly hereby, as will afterwards appear. Together herewith sorted another bussines contrived by Mr. Allerton and them ther, without any knowledge of ye partners, and so far proceeded in as they were constrained to allow therof, and joyne in ye same, though they had no great liking of it, but feared what might be ye event of ye same. I shall relate it in a further part of Mr. Sherley's leter as followeth.

I am to acquaint you that we have thought good to joyne with one Edward Ashley (a man I thinke yt some of you know); but it is only of yt place wherof he hath a patente in Mr. Beachamps name; and to that end have furnished him with large provissions, &c. Now if you please to be partners with us in this, we are willing you shall; for after we heard how forward Bristol men (and as I hear some able men of his own kindred) have been to stock & supply him, hoping of profite, we thought it fitter for us to lay hould of such an opportunitie, and to keep a kind of running plantation, then others who have not borne ye burthen of settling a plantation, as we have done. And he, on ye other side, like an understanding yonge man, thought it better to joyne with those yt had means by a plantation to supply & back him ther, rather than strangers, that look but only after profite. Now it is not known that you are partners with him; but only we 4., Mr. Andrews, Mr. Beachamp, my selfe, & Mr. Hatherley, who desired to have ye patente, in consideration of our great loss we have already sustained in settling ye first plantation ther; so we agreed togethether to [308]take it in our names. And now, as I said before, if you please to joyne with us, we are willing you should. Mr. Allerton had no power from you to make this new contract, neither was he willing to do anything therein without your consente & approbation. Mr. William Peirce is joyned with us in this, for we thought it very conveniente, because of landing Ashley and his goods ther, if God please; and he will bend his course accordingly. He hath a new boat with him, and boards to make another, with 4. or 5. lustie fellows, wherof one is a carpenter. Now in case you are not willing in this perticuler to joyne with us, fearing ye charge & doubting ye success, yet thus much we intreat of you, to afford him all the help you can, either by men, commodities, or boats; yet not but yt we will pay you for anything he hath. And we desire you to keep ye accounts apart, though you joyne with us; because ther is, as you see, other partners in this then ye other; so, for all men's wages, boats-hire, or comodities, which we shall have of you, make him debtor for it; and what you shall have of him, make ye plantation or your selves debtor for it to him, and so ther will need no mingling of ye accounts.

And now, loving friends & partners, if you joyne in Ashles patent & bussines, though we have laid out ye money and taken up much to stock this bussines & the other, yet I thinke it conscionable and reasonable yt you should bear your shares and proportion of ye stock, if not by present money, yet by securing us for so much as it shall come too; for it is not barely ye interest that is to be allowed & considered of, but also ye adventure; though I hope in God, by his blessing & your honest indeavors, it may soon be payed; yet ye years yt this partnership holds is not long, nor many; let all therefore lay it to harte, and make ye best use of ye time that possiblie we can, and let every man put too his shoulder, and ye burthen will be the lighter. I know you are so honest & conscionable men, as you will consider hereof, and returne such an answer as may give good satisfaction. Ther is none of us that would venture as we have done, were it not to strengthen & settle you more than our own perticuler profite.

There is no likelihood of doing any good in buying ye debt for ye purchase. I know some will not abate ye interest, and therefore let it run its course; they are to be paied yearly, and so I hope they shall, according to agreement. The Lord grant yt our loves & affections may still be united, and knit together; and so we rest your ever loving friends,

James Sherley.

Timothy Hatherley.

Bristol, March 19. 1629.

This mater of ye buying ye debts of ye purchase was part of Mr. Allerton's instructions, and in many of them it might have been done to good profite for ready pay (as some were); but Mr. Sherley had no mind to it. But this bussines aboute Ashley did not a little trouble them; for though he had wite & abillitie enough to menage ye bussines, yet some of them knew him to be a very profane yonge man; and he had for some time lived among ye Indeans as a savage, & wente naked amongst them, and used their manners (in wch time he got their language), so they feared he might still run into evil courses (though he promised better), and God would not prosper his ways. As soon as he was landed at ye place intended, called Penobscote, some 4 score leagues from this place, he write (& afterwards came) for to desire to be supplied with Wampampeake, corn against winter, and other things. They considered these were of their cheefe commodities, and would be continually needed by him, and it would much prejudice their own trade at Kenebeck if they did not joyne with him in ye ordering of things, if thus they should supply him; and on ye other hand, if they refused to joyne with him, and also to afford any supply unto him, they should greatly offend their above named friends, and might happily lose them hereby; and he and Mr. Allerton, laying their craftie wits together, might get supplies of these things elsewhere; besides, they considered that if they joyned not in ye bussines, they knew Mr. Allerton would be with them in it, & so would swim, as it were, between both, to ye prejudice of both, but of themselves espetially. For they had reason to thinke this bussines was cheefly of his contriving, and Ashley was a man fit for his turn and dealings. So they, to prevent a worse mischeefe, resolved to joyne in ye bussines, and gave him supplies in what they could, & overlooked his proceedings as well as they could; the which they did ye better, by joyning an honest yonge man, that came from Leyden, with him as his fellow (in some sort), and not merely as a servant. Which yonge man being discreet, and one whom they could trust, they so instructed as kept Ashley in some good measure within bounds.

And so they returned their answer to their friends in England, that they accepted of their motion, and joyned with them in Ashley's bussines; and yet withal tould them what their fears were concerning him.

But when they came to have full notice of all ye goods brought them that year, they saw they fell very short of trading goods, and Ashley far better suppleyed then themselves; so as they were forced to buy of the fisher men to furnish themselves, yea, & cottens & carseys & other such like cloath (for want of trading cloath) of Mr. Allerton himself, and so to put away a great part of their beaver, at under rate, in the countrie, which they should have sente home, to help to discharge their great ingagementes; which was to their great vexation; but Mr. Allerton prayed them to be contente, and ye next yere they might have what they would write for. And their ingagmentes of this year were great indeed when they came to know them, (which was not wholly till 2 years after); and that which made them ye more, Mr. Allerton had taken up some large sumes at Bristol at 50 per cent. againe, which he excused, that he was forct to it,

because otherwise he could at ye spring of year get no goods transported, such were their envie against their trade. But whether this was any more than an excuse, some of them doubted; but however, ye burden did lye on their backs, and they must bear it, as they did many heavie loads more in ye end.

This paying of 50. pr cent. and difficulty of having their goods transported by the fishing ships at ye first of ye year, (as was beleevd,) which was ye cheefe season for trade, put them upon another project. Mr. Allerton, after ye fishing season was over, light of a bargain of salt, at a good fishing place, and bought it; which came to aboute 113li.; and shortly after he might have had 30li. clear profite for it, without any more trouble aboute it. But Mr. Winslow coming that way from Kenebeck, & some other of ther partners with him in ye barke, they met with Mr. Allerton, and falling into discourse with him, they stayed him from selling ye salte; and resolved, if it might please ye rest, to keep it for themselves, and to hire a ship in ye west countrie to come on fishing for them, on shares, according to ye coustome; and seeing she might have her salte here ready, and a stage ready built & fitted where the salt lay safely landed & housed. Instead of bringing salte, they might stow her full of trading goods, as bread, pease, cloth, &c., and so they might have a full supply of goods without paing freight, and in due season, which might turn greatly to their advantage. Coming home, this was propounded, and considered on, and approved by all but ye Govr, who had no mind to it, seeing they had always lost by fishing; but ye rest were so earnest, as thinking that they might gain well by ye fishing in this way; and if they should but save, yea, or lose something by it, ye other benefit would be advantage inough; so, seeing their earnestness, he gave way, and it was referred to their friends in England to allow, or disallow it. Of which more in its place.

Upon ye consideration of ye bussines about ye paten, & in what state it was left, as is before remembered, and Mr. Sherley's earnest pressing to have Mr. Allerton to come over againe to finish it, & perfect ye accounts, &c., it was concluded to send him over this year againe; though it was with some fear & jeolocie; yet he gave them fair words and promises of well performing all their businesses according to their directions, and to mend his former errors. So he was accordingly sent with full instructions for all things, with large letters to Mr. Sherley & ye rest, both about Ashley's bussines and their own supply with trading comodities, and how much it did concern them to be furnished therewith, & what ye had suffered for want therof; and of what little use other goods were in comparison therof; and so likewise aboute this fishing ship, to be thus hired, and fraught with trading goods, which might both supply them & Ashley, and ye benefit therof; which was left to their consideration to hire & set her out, or not; but in no case not to send any, except she was thus freighted with trading goods. But what these things came too will appear in ye next year's passages.

I had like to have omitted another passage that fell out ye beginning of this year. Ther was one Mr. Ralfe Smith, & his wife & familie, yt came over into ye Bay of ye Massachusetts, and sojourned at presente with some stragglng people that lived at Natascoe; here being a boat of this place putting in ther on some occasion, he earnestly desired that they would give him & his, passage for Plimoth, and some such things as they could well carrie; having before heard yt ther was likelihood he might procure house-room for some time, till he should resolve to settle ther, if he might, or elsewhere as God should dispose; for he was werie of being in yt uncoth place, & in a poor house yt would neither keep him nor his goods drie. So, seeing him to be a grave man, & understood he had been a minister, though they had no order for any such thing, yet they presumed and brought him. He was here accordingly kindly entertained & housed, & had ye rest of his goods & servants sente for, and exercised his gifts amongst them, and afterwards was chosen into ye ministrie, and so remained for sundrie years.

It was before noted that sundry of those that came from Leyden, came over in the ships yt came to Salem, where Mr. Endecott had cheefe command; and by infection that grue among ye passengers at sea, it spread also among them a shore, of which many dyed, some of ye scurvie, other of an infectious feaoure, which continued some time amongst them (though our people, through Gods goodness, escaped it). Upon which occasion he write hither for some help, understanding here was one that had some skill yt way, & had cured diverse of ye scurvie, and others of other diseases, by letting blood, & other means. Upon which his request ye Govr hear sent him unto them, and also write to him, from whom he received an answer; the which, because it is breefe, and shows ye beginning of their acquaintance, and closing in ye truth & ways of God, I thought it not unmeete, nor without use, hear to insert it; and another showing ye beginning of their fellowship & church estate ther.

Being as followeth.

Right worthy Sir:

It is a thing not usual, that servants to one master and of ye same household should be strangers; I assure you I desire it not, nay, to speake more plainly, I cannot be so to you. Gods people are all marked with one and ye same mark, and sealed with one and ye same seale, and have for ye main, one & ye same harte, guided by one & same spirit of truth; and where this is, ther can be no discord, nay, here must needs be sweet harmonie.

And ye same request (with you) I make unto ye Lord, that we may, as Christian brethren, be united by a heavenly & unfained love; bending all our hearts and forces in furthering a work beyond our strength, with reverence & fear, fastening our eyse always on him that only is able to direct and prosper all our ways. I acknowledge my selfe much bound to you for your kind love and care in sending Mr. Fuller among us, and rejoyce much yt I am by him satisfied touching your judgments of ye outward forme of Gods worship. It is, as far as I can yet gather, no other than is warranted by ye evidence of truth, and ye same which I have proffessed and maintained ever since ye Lord in mercie revealed him selfe unto me; being far from ye common report that hath been spread of you touching that perticuler. But Gods children must not look for less here below, and it is ye great mercie of God, that he strengthens them to goe through with it. I shall not need at this time to be tedious unto you, for, God willing, I purpose to see your face shortly. In ye mean time, I humbly take my leave of you, committing you to ye Lords blessed protection, & rest.

Your assured loving friend,

Jo: Endecott.

Naumkeak, May 11. Ano. 1629.

This second leter sheweth ther proceedings in their church affaires at Salem, which was ye 2. church erected in these parts; and afterwards ye Lord established many more in sundrie places.

Sir: I make bould to trouble you with a few lines, for to certifie you how it hath pleased God to deal with us, since you heard from us. How, notwithstanding all opposition that hath been hear, & elsewhere, it hath pleased God to lay a foundation, the which I hope is agreeable to his word in everything. The 20. of July, it pleased ye Lord to move ye hart of our Govr to set it apart for a solemn day of humiliation for ye choyce of a pastor & teacher. The former part of ye day being spent in praier & teaching, the later part about ye election, which was after this maner. The persons thought on (who had been ministers in England) were demanded concerning their callings; they acknowledged ther was a twofould calling, the one an inward calling, when ye Lord moved ye harte of a man to take yt calling upon him, and fitted him with guiftes for ye same; the second was an outward calling, which was from ye people, when a company of beleevvers are joyned together in covenant, to walk together in all ye ways of God, and every member (being men) are to have a free voyce in ye choyce of their officers, &c. Now, we being perswaded that these 2. men were so quallified, as ye apostle speaks to Timothy, where he saith, A bishop must be blameless, sober, apt to teach, &c., I thinke I may say, as ye eunuch said unto Philip, What should let from being baptised, seeing ther was water? and he beleevved. So these 2. servants of God, clearing all things by their answers, (and being thus fitted,) we saw noe reason but we might freely give our voyces for their election, after this trial. So Mr. Skelton was chosen pastor, and Mr. Higgison to be teacher; and they accepting ye choyce, Mr. Higgison, with 3. or 4. of ye gravest members of ye church, laid their hands on Mr. Skelton, using prayer therewith. This being done, ther was imposission of hands on Mr. Higgison also. And since that time, Thursday (being, as I take it, ye 6. of August) is appoynted for another day of humiliation, for ye choyce of elders & deacons, & ordaining of them.

And now, good Sr, I hope yt you & ye rest of Gods people (who are aquainted with the ways of God) with you, will say that hear was a right foundation layed, and that these 2. blessed servants of ye Lord came in at ye dore, and not at ye window. Thus I have made bould to trouble you with these few lines, desiring you to remember us, &c. And so rest,

At your service in what I may,

Charles Gott.

Salem, July 30. 1629.

Anno Dom: 1630.

Ashley, being well supplied, had quickly gathered a good parcel of beaver, and like a crafty pate he sent it all home, and would not pay for ye goods he had had of ye plantation hear, but let them stand still on ye score, and took up still more. Now though they well enough knew his aime, yet they let him goe on, and write of it into England. But partly ye beaver they received, & sould, (of which they were sensible,) and partly by Mr. Allerton's extolling of him, they cast more how to supplie him then ye plantation, and something to upbraid them with it. They were forct to buy him a barke also, and to furnish her with a master & men, to transports his corn & provissions (of which he put of much); for ye Indeans of those parts have no corn growing, and at harvest, after corn is ready, ye weather grows foule, and ye seas dangerous, so as he could do little good with his shallope for ye purposs.

They looked earnestly for a timely supply this spring, by the fishing ship which they expected, and had been at charge to keep a stage for her; but none came, nor any supply heard of for them. At length they heard sume supply was sent to Ashley by a fishing ship, at which they something marvelled, and the more yt they had no letters either from Mr. Allerton or Mr. Sherley; so they went on in their bussines as well as ye could. At last they heard of Mr. Peirce his arrival in ye Bay of ye Massachusetts, who brought passengers & goods thither. They presently sent a shallop, conceiving they should have something by him. But he tould them he had none; and a ship was set out on fishing, but after 11 weeks beating at sea, she met with such foul weather as she was forcte back againe for England, and ye season being over, gave off ye vioage. Neither did he hear of much goods in her for ye plantation, or yt she did belong to them, for he had heard something from Mr. Allerton tending that way. But Mr. Allerton had bought another ship, and was to come in her, and was to fish for bass to ye eastward, and to bring goods, &c. These things did much trouble them, and half astonish them. Mr. Winslow haveing been to ye eastward, brought nuese of the like things, with some more perticulers, and yt it was like Mr. Allerton would be late before he came.

At length they, having an oppertunitie, resolved to send Mr. Winslow, with what beaver they had ready, into England, to see how ye squars wente, being very jeolouse of these things, & Mr. Allerton's courses; and writ such leters, and gave him such instructions, as they thought meet; and if he found things not well, to discharge Mr. Allerton for being any longer agent for them, or to deal any more in ye bussines, and to see how ye accounts stood, &c.

Aboute ye middle of summer arrives Mr. Hatherley in ye Bay of ye Massachusetts, (being one of ye partners,) and came over in ye same ship that was set out on fishing (called ye Friendship). They presently sent to him, making no question but now they had goods come, and should know how all things stood. But they found the former news true, how this ship had been so long at sea, and spente and spoyled her provissions, and overthrown ye viage. And he being sent over by ye rest of ye partners, to see how things wente hear, being at Bristol with Mr. Allerton, in ye ship bought (called ye White-Angell), ready to set sayle, over night came a messenger from Bastable to Mr. Allerton, and tould him of ye returne of ye ship, and what had befallen. And he not knowing what to do, having a great charge under hand, ye ship lying at his rates, and now ready to set sayle, got him to goe and discharge ye ship, and take order for ye goods. To be short, they found Mr. Hatherley something reserved, and troubled in him selfe, (Mr. Allerton not being ther,) not knowing how to dispose of ye goods till he came; but he heard he was arrived with ye other ship to ye eastward, and expected his coming. But he tould them ther was not much for them in this ship, only 2. packs of Bastable rugs, and 2. hogsheads of metheglin, drawn out in wooden flackets (but when these flackets came to be

received, ther was left but 6. gallons of ye 2. hogsheads, it being drunk up under ye name leakage, and so lost). But the ship was filled with goods for sundrie gentlemen, & others, that were come to plant in ye Massachusetts, for which they payed freight by ye tun. And this was all the satisfaction they could have at presente, so they brought this small parcel of goods & returned with this nues, and a letter as obscure; which made them much to marvel thereat. The letter was as followeth.

Gentle-men, partners, and loving friends, &c.

Breefly thus: we have this year set forth a fishing ship, and a trading ship, which later we have bought; and so have disbursed a great deal of money, as may and will appeare by ye accounts. And because this ship (called ye White Angell) is to act 2 parts (as I may say,) fishing for bass, and trading; and that while Mr. Allerton was imployed aboute ye trading, the fishing might suffer by careless or neglect of ye sailors, we have entreated your and our loving friend, Mr. Hatherley, to goe over with him, knowing he will be a comfort to Mr. Allerton, a joy to you, to see a carful and loving friend, and a great stay to ye bussines; and so great contente to us, that if it should please God ye one should fail, (as God forbid,) yet ye other would keep both reckonings, and things upright. For we are now out great sumes of money, as they will acquaint you withal, &c. When we were out but 4 or 5 hundred pounds a peece, we looked not much after it, but left it to you, & your agent, (who, without flaterie, deserveth infinite thanks & commendation's, both of you & us, for his pains, &c.); but now we are out double, nay, trible a peece, some of us, &c.; which makes us both write, and send over our friend, Mr. Hatherley, whom we pray you to entertaine kindly, of which we doubt not of. The main end of sending him is to see ye state and account of all ye bussines, of all which we pray you inform him fully, though ye ship & bussines wayte for it and him. For we should take it very unkindly that we should intreat him to take such a journey, and that, when it pleaseth God he returne, he could not give us contente & satisfaction in this perticuler, through default of any of you. But we hope you will so order bussines, as neither he nor we shall have cause to complaine, but to do as we ever have done, thinke well of you all, &c. I will not promise, but shall indeaour & hope to effecte ye full desire and grant of your patente, & that ere it be long. I would not have you take anything unkindly. I have not write out of jeolocie of any unjust dealing. Be you all kindly saluted in ye Lord, so I rest,

Yours in what I may,

James Sherley.

March 25. 1630.

It needs not be thought strange, that these things should amaze and trouble them; first, that this fishing ship should be set out, and freight with other men's goods, & scarce any of theirs; seeing their main end was (as is before remembered) to bring them a full supply, and their speatiall order not to set out any except this was done. And now a ship to come on their account, clean contrary to their both end & order, was a misterie they could not understand; and so much ye worse, seeing she had such ill success as to lose both her vioage & provissions. The 2 thing, that another ship should be bought and sente out on new designs, a thing not so much as once thought on by any here, much less, not a word intimated or spoaken of by any here, either by word or letter, neither could they imagine why this should be. Bass fishing was never lookt at by them, but as soon as ever they heard on it, they looked at it as a vaine thing, that would certainly turn to loss. And for Mr. Allerton to follow any trade for them, it was never in their thoughts. And 3ly, that their friends should complain of disbursements, and yet rune into such great things, and charge of shipping & new projects of their own heads, not only without, but against, all order & advice, was to them very strange. And 4ly, that all these matters of so great charge & imployments should be thus wrapped up in a breefe and obscure letter, they knew not what to make of it. But amidst all their doubts they must have patience till Mr. Allerton & Mr. Hatherley should come. In ye mean time Mr. Winslow was gone for England; and others of them were forst to follow their imployments with ye best means they had, till they could hear of better.

At length Mr. Hatherley & Mr. Allerton came unto them, (after they had delivered their goods,) and finding them stricken with some sadness aboute these things, Mr. Allerton tould them that ye ship Whit-Angele did not belong to them, nor their account, neither need they have anything to do with her, except they would. And Mr. Hatherley confirmed ye same, and said that they would have had him to have had a part, but he refused; but he made question whether they would not turn her upon ye general account, if ther came loss (as he now saw was like), seeing Mr. Allerton laid down this course, and put them on this project.

But for ye fishing ship, he tould them they need not be so much troubled, for he had her accounts here, and showed them that her first setting out came not much to exceed 600li. as they might see by ye account, which he showed them; and for this later viage, it would arise to profite by ye freight of the goods, and ye salle of some cattle which he shipped and had already sould, & was to be paid for partly here & partly by bills into England, so as they should not have this put on their account at all, except they would. And for ye former, he had sould so much goods out of her in England, and imployed ye money in this 2. viage, as it, together with such goods & implements as Mr. Allerton must need aboute his fishing, would rise to a good part of ye money; for he must have ye salt and nets, also spiiks, nails, &c.; all which would rise to nere 400li; so, with ye bearing of their parts of ye rest of the loses (which would not be much above 200li.), they would clear them of this whole account. Of which motion they were glad, not being willing to have any accounts lye upon them; but aboute their trade, which made them willing to harken thereunto, and demand of Mr. Hatherley how he could make this good, if they should agree their unto, he tould them he was sent over as their agent, and had this order from them, that whatsoever he and Mr. Allerton did together, they would stand to it; but they would not allow of what Mr. Allerton did alone, except they liked it; but if he did it alone, they would not gain say it. Upon which they sould to him & Mr. Allerton all ye rest of ye goods, and gave them present possession of them; and a writing was made, and confirmed under both Mr. Hatherley's and Mr. Allerton's hands, to ye effect aforesaid. And Mr. Allerton, being best acquainted wth ye people, sould away presently all such goods as he had no need of for ye fishing, as 9. shallop sails, made of good new canvas, and ye roads for them being all new, with sundry such useful goods, for ready beaver, by Mr. Hatherley's allowance. And thus they thought they had well provided for themselves. Yet they rebuked Mr. Allerton very much for running into these courses, fearing ye success of them. Mr.

Allerton & Mr. Hatherley brought to ye towne with them (after he had sould what he could abroad) a great quantity of other goods besides trading comodities; as linen cloath, bedticks, stockings, tape, pins, rugs, &c., and tould them they were to have them, if they would; but they tould Mr. Allerton that they had forbid him before for bringing any such on their account; it would hinder their trade and returns. But he & Mr. Hatherley said, if they would not have them, they would sell them, themselves, and take corn for what they could not otherwise sell. They tould them they might, if they had order for it. The goods of one sort & other came to upward of 500li.

After these things, Mr. Allerton wente to ye ship aboute his bass fishing; and Mr. Hatherley, (according to his order,) after he took knowledge how things stood at ye plantation, (of all which they informed him fully,) he then desired a boat of them to goe and visit ye trading houses, both Kenebeck, and Ashley at Penobscote; for so they in England had injoyned him. They accordingly furnished him with a boat & men for ye viage, and acquainted him plainly & thorowly with all things; by which he had good contente and satisfaction, and saw plainly that Mr. Allerton plaid his own game, and rane a course not only to ye great wrong & detriment of ye plantation, who imployed & trusted him, but abused them in England also, in possessing them with prejudice against ye plantation; as yt, they would never be able to repay their moneys (in regard of their great charge), but if they would follow his advice and projects, he & Ashley (being well supplied) would quickly bring in their moneys with good advantage. Mr. Hatherley disclosed also a further project about ye setting out of this ship, ye White-angel; how, she being well fitted with good ordnance, and known to have made a great fight at sea (when she belonged to Bristol) and caried away the victory, they had agreed (by Mr. Allerton's means) that, after she had brought a freight of goods here into the countrie, and freight herself with fish, she should goe from hence to Port of port, and ther be sould, both ship, goods, and ordinance; and had, for this end, had speech with a factor of those parts, beforehand, to whom she should have been consigned. But this was prevented at this time, (after it was known,) partly by ye contrary advice given by their friends here to Mr. Allerton & Mr. Hatherley, showing how it might insnare their friends in England, (being men of estate,) if it should come to be known; and for ye plantation, they did and would disallow it, and protest against it; and partly by their bad viage, for they both came too late to do any good for fishing, and also had such a wicked and drunken company as neither Mr. Allerton nor any else could rule; as Mr. Hatherley, to his great greefe & shame, saw, & beheld, and all others that came nere them.

Ashley likewise was taken in a trap, (before Mr. Hatherley returned,) for trading powder & shote with ye Indeans; and was ceased upon by some in authoritie, who also would have confiscated above a thousand weight of beaver; but ye goods were freed, for ye Governor here made it appear, by a bond under Ashley's hand, wherein he was bound to them in 500li. not to trade any munition with the Indeans, or other wise to abuse him selfe; it was also manifest against him that he had committed uncleanness with Indean women, (things that they feared at his first imployment, which made them take this strict course with him in ye beginning); so, to be short, they got their goods freed, but he was sent home prisoner. And that I may make an end concerning him, after some time of imprisonmente in ye Fleet, by ye means of friends he was set at liberty, and intended to come over againe, but ye Lord prevented it; for he had a motion made to him, by some marchants, to goe into Russia, because he had such good skill in ye beaver trade, the which he accepted of, and in his returne home was cast away at sea; this was his end.

Mr. Hatherley, fully understanding ye state of all things, had good satisfaction, and could well inform them how all things stood between Mr. Allerton and ye plantation. Yea, he found that Mr. Allerton had got within him, and got all the goods into his own hands, for which Mr. Hatherley stood joyntly ingaged to them hear, aboute ye ship-Friendship, as also most of ye fraigte money, besides some of his own perticuler estate; about wch more will appear here after. So he returned into England, and they sente a good quantity of beaver with him to ye rest of ye partners; so both he and it was very welcome unto them.

Mr. Allerton followed his affaires, & returned with his White Angell, being no more imployed by ye plantation; but these bussinneses were not ended till many years after, nor well understood of a long time, but fouled up in obscuritie, & kept in ye clouds, to ye great loss & vexation of ye plantation, who in ye end were (for peace sake) forced to bear ye unjust burthen of them, to their almost undoing, as will appear, if God give life to finish this history.

They sent their letters also by Mr. Hatherley to ye partners ther, to show them how Mr. Hatherley & Mr. Allerton had discharged them of ye Friendships account, and that they both affirmed yt the White-Angell did not at all belong to them; and therefore desired that their account might not be charged therewith. Also they write to Mr. Winslow, their agent, that he in like maner should (in their names) protest against it, if any such thing should be intended, for they would never yeeld to ye same. As also to signifie to them that they renounced Mr. Allerton wholly, for being their agent, or to have anything to do in any of their bussines.

This year John Billington ye elder (one that came over with ye first) was arraigned, and both by grand & petie jurie found guilty of wilful murder, by plaine & notorious evidence. And was for the same accordingly executed. This, as it was ye first execution amongst them, so was it a master of great sadness unto them. They used all due means about his triall, and took ye advice of Mr. Winthrop and other ye ablest gentle-men in ye Bay of ye Massachusetts, that were then newly come over, who concurred with them yt he ought to dye, and ye land to be purged from blood. He and some of his had been often punished for miscarriages before, being one of the profanest families amongst them. They came from London, and I know not by what friends shuffled into their company. His fact was, that he way-laid a young-man, one John New-comin, (about a former quarrel,) and shote him with a gun, wherof he dyed.

Having by a providence a letter or to yt came to my hands concerning the proceedings of their Red friends in ye Bay of ye Massachusetts, who were lately come over, I thought it not amise here to insert them, (so far as is pertinent, and may be useful for after times,) before I conclude this year.

Sir: Being at Salem the 25. of July, being ye sabbath, after ye evening exercise, Mr. Johnson received a letter from ye Governor, Mr. John Winthrop, manifesting ye hand of God to be upon them, and against them at Charles-towne, in

visiting them with sicknes, and taking diverse from amongst them, not sparing ye righteous, but partaking with ye wicked in these bodily judgments. It was therefore by his desire taken into ye Godly consideration of ye best hear, what was to be done to pacifie ye Lords wrath, &c. Where it was concluded, that the Lord was to be sought in righteousness; and to that end, ye 6. day (being Friday) of this present week, is set apart, that they may humble themselves before God, and seeke him in his ordinances; and that then also such godly persons that are amongst them, and know each to other, may publickly, at ye end of their exercise, make known their Godly desire, and practise ye same, viz. solemnly to enter into covenant with ye Lord to walk in his ways. And since they are so disposed of in their outward estates, as to live in three distinct places, each having men of abilitie amongst them, ther to observe ye day, and become 3. distincte bodys; not then intending rashly to proceed to ye choyce of officers, or ye admitting of any other to their societie then a few, to witte, such as are well known unto them; promising after to receive in such by confession of faith, as shall appeare to be fitly qualified for y estate. They doe earnestly entreat that ye church of Plimoth would set apart ye same day, for ye same ends, beseeching ye Lord, as to withdraw his hand of correction from them, so also to establish and direct them in his wayes. And though ye time be short, we pray you be provoked to this godly worke, seeing ye causes are so urgent; wherein God will be honoured, and they & we undoubtedly have sweet comfort. Be you all kindly saluted, &c.

Your brethren in Christ, &c.

Salem, July 26. 1630.

Sir: etc. The sadd news here is, that many are sick, and many are dead; ye Lord in mercie look upon them. Some are here entered into church covenant; the first were 4. namely, ye Govr, Mr. John Winthrop, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Willson; since that 5. more are joynd unto them, and others, it is like, will add themselves to them dayly; the Lord increase them, both in number and in holines for his mercie sake. Here is a gentleman, one Mr. Cottington, (a Boston man,) who tould me, that Mr. Cottons charge at Hamton was, that they should take advise of them at Plimoth, and should do nothing to offend them. Here are diverce honest Christians that are desirous to see us, some out of love which they bear to us, and ye good perswasion they have of us; others to see whether we be so ill as they have heard of us. We have a name of holines, and love to God and his saints; the Lord make us more and more answerable, and that it may be more than a name, or else it will do us no good. Be you lovingly saluted, and all the rest of our friends. The Lord Jesus bless us, and ye whole Israll of God. Amen.

Your loving brother, &c.

Charles-towne, August 2nd 1630.

Thus out of smale beginnings greater things have been produced by his hand yet made all things of nothing, and gives being to all things that are; and as one small candle may light a thousand, so ye light here kindled hath shone to many, yea in some sort to our whole nation; let ye glorious name of Jehovah have all ye praise.

Anno Dom: 1631.

Ashley being thus by ye hand of God taken away, and Mr. Allerton discharged of his imploymente for them, their bussines began againe to run in one Chanel, and themselves better able to guide the same, Penobscote being wholly now at their disposing. And though Mr. William Peirce had a part ther as is before noted, yet now, as things stood, he was glad to have his money repayed him, and stand out. Mr. Winslow, whom they had sent over, sent them over some supply as soon as he could; and afterwards when he came, which was something long by reason of bussines, he brought a large supply of suitable goods with him, by which ther trading was well carried on. But by no means either he, or ye letters yey write, could take off Mr. Sherley & ye rest from putting both ye Friendship and Whit-Angell on ye general account; which caused continuall contention between them, as will more appeare.

I shall insert a leter of Mr. Winslow's about these things, being as followeth.

Sir: It fell out by Gods providence, yt I received and brought your leters pr Mr. Allerton from Bristol, to London; and doe much fear what will be ye event of things. Mr. Allerton intended to prepare ye ship againe, to set forth upon fishing. Mr. Sherley, Mr. Beachamp, & Mr. Andrews, they renounce all perticulers, protesting but for us they would never have adventured one penie into those parts; Mr. Hatherley stands inclinable to either. And whereas you write that he and Mr. Allerton have taken ye Whit-Angell upon them, for their partners here, they professed they never gave any such order, nor will make it good; if themselves will clear ye account & do it, all shall be well. What ye event of these things will be, I know not. The Lord so direct and assist us, as he may not be dishonoured by our divisions. I hear (pr a friend) that I was much blamed for speaking wt I heard in ye spring of ye year, concerning ye buying & setting forth of yt ship; sure, if I should not have tould you what I heard so peremtorly reported (which report I offered now to prove at Bristol), I should have been unworthy my imploymente. And concerning ye commission so long since given to Mr. Allerton, the truth is, the thing we feared is come upon us; for Mr. Sherley & ye rest have it, and will not deliver it, that being ye ground of our agents credit to procure such great sumes. But I look for bitter words, hard thoughts, and sower looks, from sundrie, as well for writing this, as reporting ye former. I would I had a more thankful imploymente; but I hope a good conscience shall make it comfortable, &c.

Thus far he. Dated November 16th 1631.

The comission above said was given by them under their hand and seale, when Mr. Allerton was first employed by them, and redemanded of him in ye year 29. when they began to suspect his course. He tould them it was amongst his papers, but he would seeke it out & give it them before he wente. But he being ready to goe, it was demanded againe. He said he could not find it, but it was amongst his papers, which he must take wth him, and he would send it by ye boat from ye eastward; but ther it could not be had neither, but he would seeke it up at sea. But whether Mr.

Sherley had it before or after, it is not certain; but having it, he would not let it goe, but keeps it to this day. Wherefore, even amongst friends, men had need be careful whom they trust, and not let things of this nature lye long unrecalled.

Some parts of Mr. Sherley's letters aboute these things, in which ye truth is best manifested.

Sir: Yours I have received by our loving friends, Mr. Allerton & Mr. Hatherley, who, blessed be God, after a long & dangerous passage with ye ship Angell, are safely come to Bristol. Mr. Hatherley is come up, but Mr. Allerton I have not yet seen. We thank you, and are very glad you have dissuaded him from his Spanish viage, and yt he did not goe on in these designes he intended; for we did all uterly dislick of that course, as also of ye fishing yt ye Friendship should have performed; for we wished him to sell ye salte, and were unwilling to have him undertake so much bussines, partly for ye ill success we formerly had in those affairs, and partly being loath to disburse so much money. But he perswaded us this must be one way yt must repay us, for ye plantation would be long in doing of it; ney, to my remembrance, he doubted you could not be able, with ye trade ther, to maintaine your charge & pay us. And for this very cause he brought us on yt bussines with Ed: Ashley, for he was a stranger to us, &c.

For ye fishing ship, we are sorie it proves so heavie, and will be willing to bear our parts. What Mr. Hatherley & Mr. Allerton have done, no doubt but themselves will make good; we gave them no order to make any composition, to separate you and us in this or any other. And I thinke you have no cause to forsake us, for we put you upon no new thing, but what your agent perswaded us to, & you by your letters desired. If he exceede your order, I hope you will not blame us, much less cast us of, when our moneys be layed out, &c. But I fear neither you nor we have been well delte withal, for sure, as you write, halfe 4000li.?, nay, a quarter, in fitting comodities, and in seasonable time, would have furnished you better then you were. And yet for all this, and much more I might write, I dare not but thinke him honest, and that his desire and intent was good; but ye wisest may fail. Well, now yt it hath pleased God to give us hope of meeting, doubt not but we will all indeavore to perfect these accounts just & right, as soone as possibly we can. And I suppose you sente over Mr. Winslow, and we Mr. Hatherley, to certifie each other how ye state of things stood. We have received some contente upon Mr. Hatherley's returne, and I hope you will receive good contente upon Mr. Winslow's returne. Now I should come to answer more perticulerly your letter, but herein I shall be very breefe. The coming of ye White Angele on your account could not be more strange to you, then ye buying of her was to us; for you gave him commission that what he did you would stand too; we gave him none, and yet for his credit, and your sakes, payed what bills he charged on us, &c. For yt I write she was to act two parts, fishing & trade; beleieve me, I never so much as thought of any perticuler trade, nor will side with any yt doth, if I conceive it may wrong you; for I ever was against it, using these words: They will eat up and destroy ye general.

Other things I omit as tedious, and not very pertenente. This was dated Novr. 19. 1631.

In another letter bearing date ye 24. of this month, being an answer to ye general order, he hath these words:

For ye White Angell, against which you write so earnestly, and say we thrust her upon you, contrary to ye intent of ye buyer, herein we say you forget your selves, and doe us wrong. We will not take upon us to devine what ye thoughts or intents of ye buyer was, but what he spack we heard, and that we will affirm, and make good against any yt oppose it; which is, yt unless shee were bought, and such a course taken, Ashley could not be supplied; and againe, if he were not supplied, we could not be satisfied what we were out for you. And further, you were not able to do it; and he gave some reasons which we spare to relate, unless by your unreasonable refusall you will force us, and so, hasten yt fire which is a kindling too fast already, &c.

Out of another of his, bearing date Jan. 2. 1631.

We purpose to keep ye Friendship and ye White Angell, for ye last year viages, on the general account, hoping together they will rather produce profite then loss and breed less confution in our accounts, and less disturbance in our affections.

As for ye White Angell, though we layed out ye money, and took bills of salle in our owne names, yet none of us had so much as a thought (I dare say) of dividing from you in anything this year, because we would not have ye world (I may say Bristol) take notice of any breach betwixte Mr. Allerton and you, and he and us; and so disgrace him in his proceedings on in his intended viage. We have now let him ye ship at 30li. pr month, by charter-partie, and bound him in a bond of a 1000li. to perform covenants, and bring her to London (if God please). And what he brings in her for you, shall be marked with your mark, and bills of laden taken, & sent in Mr. Winslow's letter, who is this day riding to Bristol about it. So in this viage, we deal & are with him as strangers. He hath brought in 3. books of accounts, one for ye company, another for Ashley's bussines, and ye third for ye Whit-Angell and Friendship. The books, or copies, we purpose to send you, for you may discover ye errours in them better then we. We can make it appear how much money he hath had of us, and you can charge him with all ye beaver he hath had of you. The total sume, as he hath put it, is 7103. 17. 1. Of this he hath expended, and given to Mr. Vines & others, about 543li. olde money, and then by your books you will find whether you had such, & so much goods, as he chargeth you with all; and this is all that I can say at presente concerning these accounts. He thought to dispatch them in a few howers, but he and Straton & Fogge were above a month aboute them; but he could not stay till we had examined them, for losing his fishing viage, which I fear he hath already done, &c.

We blese God, who put both you & us in mind to send each to other, for verily had he run on in that desperate & chargable course one year more, we had not been able to support him; nay, both he and we must have lyen in ye ditch, and sunck under ye burthen, &c. Had ther been an orderly course taken, and your bussines better managed, assuredly (by ye blessing of God) you had been ye ablest plantation that, as we think, or know, hath been undertaken by Englishmen, &c.

Thus farr of these letters of Mr. Sherley's.

A few observations from ye former letters, and then I shall set down the simple truth of ye things (thus in controversie between them), at least as farr as by any good evidence it could be made to appeare; and so labour to be breefe in so tedious and intricate a bussines, which hung in expostulation between them many years before ye same was ended. That though ther will be often occasion to touch these things about other passages, yet I shall not neede to be large therein; doing it hear once for all.

First, it seems to appere clearly that Ashley's bussines, and ye buying of this ship, and ye courses framed ther upon, were first contrived and proposed by Mr. Allerton, as also yt the pleaes and pretences which he made, of ye inabilitie of ye plantation to repay their moneys, &c., and ye hops he gave them of doing it with profile, was more beleevved & rested on by them (at least some of them) than anything ye plantation did or said.

2. It is like, though Mr. Allerton might thinke not to wrong ye plantation in ye maine, yet his owne gain and private ends led him a side in these things: for it came to be known, and I have it in a letter under Mr. Sherley's hand, that in ye first 2. or 3. years of his employmente, he had cleared up 400li. and put it into a brew-house of Mr. Colliers in London, at first under Mr. Sherley's name, &c.; besides what he might have otherwise. Againe, Mr. Sherley and he had perticuler dealings in some things; for he bought up ye beaver that sea-men & other passengers brought over to Bristol, and at other places, and charged ye bills to London, which Mr. Sherley payed; and they got some time 50li. a peece in a bargin, as was made known by Mr. Hatherley & others, besides what might be otherwise; which might make Mr. Sherley harken unto him in many things; and yet I beleieve, as he in his forementioned leter write, he never would side in any perticuler trade wch he conceived would wrong ye plantation, and eat up & destroy ye general.

3ly. It may be perceived that, seeing they had done so much for ye plantation, both in former adventures and late disbursements, and also that Mr. Allerton was ye first occasioner of bringing them upon these new designs, which at first seemed faire & profitable unto them, and unto which they agreed; but now, seeing them to turn to loss, and decline to greater intanglements, they thought it more meet for ye plantation to bear them, then themselves, who had borne much in other things already, and so took advantage of such comission & power as Mr. Allerton had formerly had as their agent, to devolve these things upon them.

4ly. With pitie and compassion (touching Mr. Allerton) I may say with ye apostle to Timothy, 1. Tim. 6. 9. They that will be rich fall into many temptations and snares, &c., and pearce themselves throw with many sorrows, &c.; for the love of money is ye root of all evil, v. 10. God give him to see ye evil in his failings, that he may find mercie by repentance for ye wrongs he hath done to any, and this pore plantation in spetiall. They that do such things doe not only bring themselves into snares, and sorrows, but many with them, (though in another kind,) as lamentable experience shows; and is too manifest in this bussines.

Now about these ships & their setting forth, the truth, as far as could be learned, is this. The motion about setting forth ye fishing ship (called ye Friendship) came first from ye plantation, and ye reasons of it, as is before remembered; but wholly left to themselves to do or not to doe, as they saw cause. But when it fell into consideration, and ye design was held to be profitable and hopeful, it was propounded by some of them, why might not they do it of themselves, seeing they must disburse all ye money, and what need they have any reference to ye plantation in yt; they might take ye profile themselves, towards other losses, & need not let ye plantation share therein; and if their ends were otherwise answered for their supplies to come too them in time, it would be well enough. So they hired her, & set her out, and freighted her as full as she could carry with passengers goods yt belonged to ye Massachusetts, which rise to a good sume of money; intending to send ye plantations supply in ye other ship. The effecte of this Mr. Hatherley not only declared afterward upon occasion, but affirmed upon oath, taken before ye Govr & Dep: Govr of the Massachusetts, Mr. Winthrop & Mr. Dudley: That this ship-Friendship was not set out nor intended for ye joynt partnership of ye plantation, but for ye perticuler account of Mr. James Sherley, Mr. Beachampe, Mr. Andrews, Mr. Allerton, & him selfe. This deposition was taken at Boston ye 29. of Aug: 1639. as is to be seen under their hands; besides some other concurrent testimonies declared at several times to sundrie of them.

About ye Whit-Angell, though she was first bought, or at least the price beaten, by Mr. Allerton (at Bristol), yet that had been nothing if Mr. Sherley had not liked it, and disbursed ye money. And that she was not intended for ye plantation appears by sundrie evidence; as, first, ye bills of sale, or charter-parties, were taken in their own names, without any mention or reference to ye plantation at all; viz. Mr. Sherley, Mr. Beachampe, Mr. Andrews, Mr. Denison, and Mr. Allerton; for Mr. Hatherley fell off, and would not joyne with them in this. That she was not bought for their account, Mr. Hatherley took his oath before ye parties aforesaid, ye day and year above written.

Mr. Allerton took his oath to like effecte concerning this ship, the Whit-Angell, before ye Governor & Deputie, the 7. of Sep: 1639. and likewise deposed, ye same time, that Mr. Hatherley and him selfe did, in the behalfe of themselves and ye said Mr. Sherley, Mr. Andrews, & Mr. Beachamp, agree and undertake to discharge, and save harmless, all ye rest of ye partners & purchasers, of and from ye said losses of Friendship for 200li., which was to be discounted thereupon; as by their depositions (which are in writing) may appeare more at large, and some other depositions & other testimonies by Mr. Winslow, &c. But I suppose these may be sufficente to evince the truth in these things, against all pretences to ye contrary. And yet the burthen lay still upon ye plantation; or, to speake more truly and rightly, upon those few that were ingaged for all, for they were faine to wade through these things without any help from any.

Concerning Mr. Allerton's accounts, they were so large and intricate, as they could not well understand them, much less examine & correct them, without a great deal of time & help, and his owne presence, which was now hard to get amongst them; and it was 2. or 3. years before they could bring them to any good pass, but never make them perfect.

I know not how it came to pass, or what misterie was in it, for he took upon him to make up all accounts till this time, though Mr. Sherley was their agent to buy & sell their goods, and did more than he therein; yet he passed in accounts in a maner for all disbursements, both concerning goods bought which he never saw, but were done when he was hear in ye countrie or at sea; and all ye expenses of ye Leyden people, done by others in his absence; the charges aboute ye patente, &c. In all which he made them debtor to him above 300li. and demanded paimente of it. But when things came to scanning, he was found above 2000li. debtor to them, (this wherein Mr. Hatherley & he being joyntly ingaged, which he only had, being included,) besides I know not how much yt could never be cleared; and interest moneys which ate them up, which he never accounted. Also they were faine to allow such large bills of charges as were intolerable; the charges of ye patent came to above 500li. and yet nothing done in it but what was done at first without any confirmation; 30li. given at a clape, and 50li. spent in a journey. No marvel therefore if Mr. Sherley said in his leter, if their bussines had been better managed, they might have been ye richest plantation of any English at yt time. Yea, he scrued up his poor old father in law's account to above 200li. and brought it on ye general account, and to befriend him made most of it to arise out of those goods taken up by him at Bristol, at 50. per cent., because he knew they would never let it lye on ye old man, when alas! he, poor man, never dreamte of any such thing, nor yt what he had could arise nere yt valew; but thought that many of them had been freely bestowed on him & his children by Mr. Allerton. Neither in truth did they come nere yt valew in worth, but yt sume was blowne up by interest & high prices, which ye company did for ye most part bear, (he deserving farr more,) being most sorry that he should have a name to have much, when he had in effecte little.

This year also Mr. Sherley sent over an account, which was in a maner but a cash account what Mr. Allerton had had of them, and disbursed, for which he referred to his accounts; besides an account of beaver sould, which Mr. Winslow & some others had carried over, and a large supply of goods which Mr. Winslow had sent & brought over, all which was comprised in that account, and all ye disbursments about ye Friendship, & Whit-Angell, and what concerned their accounts from first to last; or anything else he could charge ye partners with. So they were made debtor in ye foot of that account 4770li 19. 2. besides 1000li. still due for ye purchase yet unpaid; notwithstanding all ye beaver, and returns that both Ashley & they had made, which were not small.

In these accounts of Mr. Sherley's some things were obscure, and some things twice charged, as a 100. of Bastable rugs which came in ye Friendship, & cost 75li., charged before by Mr. Allerton, and now by him againe, with other perticulers of like nature doubtful, to be twice or thrise charged; as also a sume of 600li. which Mr. Allerton denyed, and they could never understand for what it was. They sent a note of these & such like things afterward to Mr. Sherley by Mr. Winslow; but (I know not how it came to pass) could never have them explained.

Into these deep sumes had Mr. Allerton rune them in two years, for in ye later end of ye year 1628. all their debts did not amount to much above 400li., as was then noted; and now come to so many thousands. And whereas in ye year 1629. Mr. Sherley & Mr. Hatherley being at Bristol, and write a large letter from thence, in which they had given an account of ye debts, and what sumes were then disbursed, Mr. Allerton never left begging & intreating of them till they had put it out. So they blotted out 2. lines in yt leter in which ye sumes were contained, and write upon it so as not a word could be perceived; as since by them was confessed, and by ye leters may be seen. And thus were they kept hoodwinckte, till now they were so deeply ingaged. And whereas Mr. Sherley did so earnestly press yt Mr. Allerton might be sent over to finish ye great bussines aboute ye patente, as may be seen in his leter write 1629. as is before recorded, and yt they should be earnest wth his wife to suffer him to goe, &c., he hath since confessed by a letter under my hands, that it was Mr. Allerton's owne doings, and not his, and he made him write his words, & not his owne. The patent was but a pretence, and not ye thing. Thus were they abused in their simplicitie, and no better then bought & sould, as it may seem.

And to mend ye matter, Mr. Allerton doth in a sort wholly now desert them; having brought them into ye briers, he leaves them to get out as they can. But God crost him mightily, for he having hired ye ship of Mr. Sherly at 30li., a month, he set forth againe with a most wicked and drunken crue, and for covetousnes sake did so over lade her, not only filling her hould, but so stuffed her between decks, as she was walte, and could not bear sayle, and they had like to have been cast away at sea, and were forced to put for Millford Haven, and new-stow her, & put some of ther ordnance & more heavie goods in ye botome; which lost them time, and made them come late into ye countrie, lose ther season, and made a worse viage then ye year before. But being come into ye countrie, he sells trading comodities to any yt will buy, to ye great prejudice of ye plantation here; but that which is worse, what he could not sell, he trusts; and sets up a company of base fellows and makes them traders, to run into every hole, & into ye river of Kenebeck, to glean away ye trade from ye house ther, about ye patent & priviledge wherof he had dasht away so much money of theirs here;

and now what in him lay went aboute to take away ye benefit therof, and to overthrow them. Yea, not only this, but he furnishes a company, and joyns with some consorts, (being now deprived of Ashley at Penobscote,) and sets up a trading house beyoned Penobscote, to cute of ye trade from thence also. But ye French perceiving that that would be greatly to their damage also, they came in their beginning before they were well settled, and displanted them, slue 2. of their men, and took all their goods to a good valew, ye loss being most, if not all, Mr. Allerton's; for though some of them should have been his partners, yet he trusted them for their parts; the rest of ye men were sent into France, and this was the end of yt project. The rest of those he trusted, being lose and drunken fellows, did for ye most part but coussen & cheat him of all they got into their hands; that howsoever he did his friends some hurt hereby for ye presente, yet he gate little good, but wente by ye loss by Gods just hand. After in time, when he came to Plimoth, ye church called him to account for these, and other his gross miscarriages; he confessed his fault, and promised better walking, and that he would wind him selfe out of these courses as soone as he could, &c.

This year also Mr. Sherley would needs send them over a new-accountant; he had made mention of such a thing ye year before, but they write him word, that their charge was great already, and they neede not increase it, as this would; but if they were well delte with, and had their goods well sent over, they could keep their accounts hear

themselves. Yet he now sente one, which they did not refuse, being a younger brother of Mr. Winslow's, whom they had been at charge to instruct at London before he came. He came over in the White Angell with Mr. Allerton, and ther begane his first imployment; for though Mr. Sherley had so farr befriended Mr. Allerton, as to cause Mr. Winslow to ship ye supply sente to ye partners here in this ship, and give him 4li. per tune, whereas others carried for 3. and he made them pay their freight ready down, before ye ship wente out of ye harbore, whereas others payed upon certificate of ye goods being delivered, and their freight came to upward of 6. score pounds, yet they had much adoe to have their goods delivered, for some of them were chainged, as bread & pease; they were forced to take worse for better, neither could they ever get all. And if Josias Winslow had not been ther, it had been worse; for he had ye invoice, and order to send them to ye trading houses.

This year their house at Penobscott was robbed by ye French, and all their goods of any worth they carried away, to ye value of 400. or 500li. as ye cost first penny worth; in beaver 300li. waight; and ye rest in trading goods, as coats, ruggs, blankett, biskett, &c. It was in this maner. The master of ye house, and part of ye company with him, were come with their vessel to ye westward to fetch a supply of goods which was brought over for them. In ye mean time comes a smale French ship into ye harbore (and amongst ye company was a false Scott); they pretended they were nuly come from ye sea, and knew not where they were, and that their vessel was very leak, and desired they might hale her a shore and stop their leaks. And many French complements they used, and congees they made; and in ye ende, seeing but 3. or 4. simple men, yt were servants, and by this Scoth-man understanding that ye maister & ye rest of ye company were gone from home, they fell of commending their gunes and muskets, that lay upon racks by ye wall side, and took them down to look on them, asking if they were charged. And when they were possesst of them, one presents a peece ready charged against ye servants, and another a pistol; and bid them not sturr, but quietly deliver them their goods, and carries some of ye men aborde, & made ye other help to carry away ye goods. And when they had took what they pleased, they set them at liberty, and wente their way, with this mock, bidding them tell their master when he came, that some of ye Ile of Rey gentlemen had been ther.

This year, on Sir Christopher Gardener, being, as him selfe said, descended of yt house yt the Bishop of Winchester came of (who was so great a persecutor of Gods saints in Queen Maries days), and being a great traveller, received his first honour of knighthood at Jerusalem, being made Knight of ye Sepulchre ther. He came into these parts under pretence of forsaking ye world, and to live a private life, in a godly course, not unwilling to put him selfe upon any meane employments, and take any paines for his living; and sometime offered him selfe to joyne to ye churches in sundry places. He brought over with him a servant or 2. and a comely yonge woman, who be called his cousin, but it was suspected, she (after ye Italian maner) was his concubine. Living at ye Massachusetts, for some miscarriages which he should have answered, he fled away from authority, and got among ye Indeans of these parts; they sent after him, but could not get him, and promissed some reward to those yt should find him. The Indeans came to ye Governor here, and tould where he was, and asked if they might kill him; he tould them no, by no means, but if they could take him and bring him hither, they should be payed for their paines. They said he had a gune & a rapier, & he would kill them if yey went aboute it; and ye Massachusetts Indeans said they might kille him. But ye Govr tould them no, they should not kill him, but watch their opportunitie, & take him. And so they did, for when they light of him by a river side, he got into a canowe to get from them, & when they came nere him, whilst he presented his peece at them to keep them of, the stream carried ye canow against a rock, and tumbled both him & his peece & rapier into ye water; yet he got out, and having a little dagger by his side, they durst not close with him, but getting long pols they soone beat his dagger out of his hand, so he was glad to yeeld; and they brought him to ye Governor.

But his hands and armes were swollen & very sore with ye blowes they had given him. So he used him kindly, & sent him to a lodging where his armes were bathed and anointed, and he was quickly well againe, and blamed ye Indeans for beating him so much. They said that they did but a little whip him with sticks. In his lodging, those yt made his bed found a little note booke that by accident had slipt out of his pockett, or some private place, in which was a memorial what day he was reconciled to ye pope & church of Rome, and in what universitie he took his scapula, and such & such degrees. It being brought to ye Govr, he kept it, and sent ye Govr of ye Massachusetts word of his taking, who sent for him. So ye Govr sent him and these notes to ye Govr ther, who took it very thankfully; but after he got for England, he shewed his malice, but God prevented him.

See ye Governors leter on ye other side.

Sir: It hath pleased God to bring Sr. Christopher Gardener safe to us, with those that came with him. And howsoever I never intended any hard measure to him, but to respect and use him according to his qualitie, yet I let him know your care of him, and yt he shall speed ye better for your mediation. It was a spetiall providence of God to bring those notes of his to our hands; I desire yt you will please to speake to all yt are privie to them, not to discovere them to any one, for yt may frustrate ye means of any further use to be made of them. The good Lord our God who hath always ordered things for ye good of his poor churches here, direct us in this arighte, and dispose it to a good issue. I am sorie we put you to so much trouble about this gentleman, espetially at this time of great imployment, but I know not how to avoyed it. I must againe intreate you, to let me know what charge & trouble any of your people have been at aboute him, yt it may be recompensed. So with the true affection of a friend, desiring all happiness to your selfe & yours, and to all my worthy friends with you (whom I love in ye Lord), I commend you to his grace & good providence, & rest

**Your most assured friend,
John Winthrop.
Boston, May 5. 1631.**

By occation wherof I will take a little libertie to declare what fell out by this man's means & malice, complying with others. And though I doubt not but it will be more fully done by my honoured friends, whom it did more directly concern, and have more perticuler knowledge of ye matter, yet I will here give a hint of ye same, and Gods

providence in preventing ye hurt that might have come by ye same. The intelligence I had by a letter from my much honoured and beloved friend, Mr. John Winthrop, Governor of ye Massachusetts.

Sir: Upon a petition exhibited by Sr. Christo: Gardner, Sir Ferd: Gorges, Captaine Masson, &c., against you and us, the cause was heard before ye lords of ye Privie Counsell, and after reported to ye king, the successe wherof makes it evident to all, that ye Lord hath care of his people hear. The passages are admirable, and too long to write. I hartily wish an opportunitie to imparte them unto you, being many sheets of paper. But ye conclusion was (against all men's expectation) an order for our incouragmente, and much blame and disgrace upon ye adversaries, wch calls for much thankfulness from us all, which we purpose (ye Lord willing) to express in a day of thanks-giving to our merciful God, (I doubt not but you will consider, if it be not fit for you to joyne in it,) who, as he hath humbled us by his late correction, so he hath lifted us up, by an abundant rejoycing, in our deliverance out of so desperate a danger; so as that wch our enemies built their hopes upon to ruine us by, He hath mercifully disposed to our great advantage, as I shall further acquaint you, when occasion shall serve.

The copy of ye order follows.

At ye courte at Whit-hall ye 19. Jan: 1632.

Present:

Sigillum Lord Privie Seale, Earl of Dorsett, Lord VI Falkland, Lord Bishop of London, Lord Cottinton, Mr. Treasurer, Mr. Vice Chamber, Mr. Secretary Cooke. Maister Sec. Windenanck.

Whereas his Majestie hath lately been informed of great distraction and much disorder in yt plantation in ye parts of America called New-England, which, if they be true, & suffered to run on, would tend to ye great dishonour of this kingdome, and utter ruine of that plantation. For prevention wherof, and for ye orderly settling of government, according to ye intention of those patents which have been granted by his Majestie and from his late royal father King James, it hath pleased his Majestie that ye lords & others of his most honourable Privie Counsell, should take ye same into consideration. Their lordships in ye first place thought fit to make a comitie of this bord, to take examination of ye matters informed; which comitties having called diverse of ye principal adventurers in yt plantation, and heard those that are complanants against them, most of the things informed being denyed, and resting to be proved by parties that must be called from yt place, which required a long expense of time; and at presente their lordships finding the adventurers were upon dispatch of men, victles, and merchandise for yt place, all which would be at a stand, if ye adventurers should have discouragmente, or take suspition that the state hear had no good opinion of yt plantation; their lordships, not laying the fault or fancies (if any be) of some perticuler men upon the general government, or principal adventurers, (which in due time is further to be inquired into,) have thought fit in ye meane time to declare, that the appearences were so faire, and hopes so great, yt the countrie would prove both beneficial to this kingdom, and profitable to the perticuler adventurers, as yt the adventurers had cause to goe on cherfully with their undertakings, and rest assured, if things were carried as was pretended when ye patents were granted, and accordingly as by the patents it is appointed, his Majestie would not only maintaine the liberties & privileges heretofore granted, but supply anything further that might tend to the good government, prosperitie, and comfort of his people ther of that place, &c.

William Trumball.

Anno Dom: 1632.

Mr. Allerton, returning for England, little regarded his bound of a 1000li. to perform covenants; for whereas he was bound by ye same to bring ye ship to London, and to pay 30li. per month for her hire, he did neither of both, for he carried her to Bristol againe, from whence he intended to set her out againe, and so did ye 3. time, into these parts (as after will appear); and though she had been 10. months upon ye former viage, at 30li. per month, yet he never payed penny for hire. It should seem he knew well enough how to deal with Mr. Sherley. And Mr. Sherley, though he would needs tye her & her account upon ye general, yet he would dispose of her as him selfe pleased; for though Mr. Winslow had in their names protested against ye receiving her on yt account, or if ever they should hope to preveile in such a thing, yet never to suffer Mr. Allerton to have any more to do in her, yet he ye last year let her wholly unto him, and injoynd them to send all their supplye in her to their prejudice, as is before noted. And now, though he broke his bonds, kept no covenante, paid no hire, nor was ever like to keep covenants, yet now he goes and sells him all, both ship, & all her accounts, from first to last (and in effecte he might as well have given him ye same); and not only this, but he doth as good as provide a sanctuary for him, for he gives him one years' time to prepare his account, and then to give up ye same to them here; and then another year for him to make payment of what should be due upon yt account.

And in ye mean time writs earnestly to them not to interrupt or hinder him from his bussines, or stay him aboute clearing accounts, &c.; so as he in ye mean time gathers up all monies due for fraighte, and any other debts belonging either to her, or ye Friendship's accounts, as his owne perticuler; and after, sells ship, & ordnance, fish, & what he had raised, in Spaine, according to ye first design, in effecte; and who had, or what became of ye money, he best knows. In ye mean time their hands were bound, and could do nothing but look on, till he had made all away into other men's hands (save a few cattle & a little land & some small maters he had here at Plimoth), and so in ye end removed, as he had already his person, so all his from hence. This will better appere by Mr. Sherley's leter.

Sir: These few lines are further to give you to understand, that seeing you & we, that never differed yet but aboute ye White-Angell, which somewhat troubleth us, as I perceive it doth you. And now Mr. Allerton being here, we have had some conference with him about her, and find him very willing to give you & us all contente yt possiblilie he can, though he burthen him selfe. He is contente to take ye White-Angell wholly on him selfe, notwithstanding he met with pirates nere ye coast of Ierland, which took away his best sayles & other provissions from her; so as verily if we should now sell her, she would yeeld but a small price, besides her ordnance. And to set her forth againe with fresh money we would not, she being now at Bristol. Wherefore we thought it best, both for you & us, Mr. Allerton being

willing to take her, to accept of his bond of two thousand pounds, to give you a true & perfect account, and take ye whole charge of ye Whit-Angell wholly to him selfe, from ye first to ye last. The account he is to make and perfect within 12. months from ye date of this letter, and then to pay you at 6. and 6. months after, what soever shall be due unto you and us upon the foot of yt account. And verily, notwithstanding all ye disasters he hath had, I am perswaded he hath enough to pay all men here and ther. Only they must have patience till he can gather in what is due to him ther. I do not write this slightly, but upon some ground of what I have seen (and perhaps you know not of) under ye hands & seals of some, &c. I rest

Your assured friend,
James Sherley.
December 6th 1632.

But here's not a word of ye breach of former bonds & covenants, or paimente of ye ships hire; this is past by as if no such thing had been; besides what bonds or obligments so ever they had of him, ther never came any into ye hands or sight of ye partners here. And for this yt Mr. Sherley seems to intimate (as a secrete) of his abilitie, under ye hands & seals of some, it was but a trick, having gathered up an account of what was owing from such base fellows as he had made traders for him, and other debts; and then got Mr. Mahue, & some others, to affirm under their hand & seale, that they had seen such accounts yt were due to him.

Mr. Hatherley came over againe this year, but upon his owne occasions, and begane to make preparation to plant & dwell in ye countrie. He with his former dealings had wound in what money he had in ye partnership into his owne hands, and so gave off all partnership (except in name), as was found in ye issue of things; neither did he meddle, or take any care aboute ye same; only he was troubled about his ingagmente about ye Friendship, as will after appeare. And now partly about yt account, in some reconings between Mr. Allerton and him, and some debts yt Mr. Allerton otherwise owed him upon dealing between them in particuler, he drue up an account of above 2000li., and would faine have ingaged ye partners here with it, because Mr. Allerton had been their agent. But they tould him they had been fool'd long enough with such things, and shewed him yt it no way belonged to them; but tould him he must look to make good his ingagment for ye Friendship, which caused some trouble between Mr. Allerton and him.

Mr. William Peirce did ye like, Mr. Allerton being wound into his debt also upon particuler dealings; as if they had been bound to make good all men's debts. But they easily shook off these things. But Mr. Allerton herby rane into much trouble & vexation, as well as he had troubled others, for Mr. Denison sued him for ye money he had disbursed for ye 6 part of ye Whit-Angell, & recovered ye same with damages.

Though ye partners were thus plunged into great ingagments, & oppressed with unjust debts, yet ye Lord prospered their trading, that they made yearly large returns, and had soone wound themselves out of all, if yet they had otherwise been well delt with all; as will more appear here after. Also ye people of ye plantation begane to grow in their owtward estates, by reason of ye flowing of many people into ye countrie, espetially into ye Bay of ye Massachusetts; by which means corn & cattle rose to a great prise, by wch many were much enriched, and commodities grue plentiful; and yet in other regards this benefit turned to their hurt, and this accession of strength to their weaknes.

For now as their stocks increased, and ye increase vendible, ther was no longer any holding them togeather, but now they must of necessitie goe to their great lots; they could not otherwise keep their kattle; and having oxen growne, they must have land for plowing & tillage. And no man now thought he could live, except he had cattle and a great deal of ground to keep them; all striving to increase their stocks. By which means they were scattered all over ye bay, quickly, and ye towne, in which they lived compactly till now, was left very thin, and in a short time almost desolate. And if this had been all, it had been less, though too much; but ye church must also be devided, and those yt had lived so long togeather in Christian & comfortable fellowship must now part and suffer many divisions. First, those that lived on their lots on ye other side of the bay (called Duxberie) they could not long bring their wives & children to ye publick worship & church meetings here, but with such burthen, as, growing to some competente number, they sued to be dismissed and become a body of themselves; 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 scattering from this place, and weakening of ye same, it was thought best to give out some good farms to spetiall persons, yt would promise to live at Plimoth, and lickly to be helpful to ye church or commonwealth, and so tye ye lands to Plimoth as farms for the same; and ther they might keep their cattle & tillage by some servants, and retain their dwellings here. And so some spetiall lands were granted at a place general, called Greens Harbor, where no allotments had been in ye former division, a place very well meadowed, and fit to keep & rear cattle, good store. But alas! this remedy proved worse than ye disease; for within a few years those that had thus got footing ther rent themselves away, partly by force, and partly wearing ye rest 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 yey conceived themselves straitened, or to want accommodation, break away under one pretence or other, thinking their owne conceived necessitie, and the example of others, a warrant sufficient for them. And this, I fear, will be ye ruine of New-England, at least of ye churches of God ther, & will provock ye Lords displeasure against them.

This year, Mr. William Perce came into ye country, & brought goods and passengers, in a ship called ye Lyon, which belonged chiefly to Mr. Sherley, and ye rest of ye London partners, but these hear had nothing to do with her. In this ship (besides beaver which they had sent home before) they sent upwards of 800li. in her, and some otter skines; and also ye copies of Mr. Allerton's accounts, desiring that they would also peruse & examene them, and rectifie such things as they should find amise in them; and rather because they were better acquaynted with ye goods bought ther, and ye disbursments made, then they could be here; yea, a great part were done by themselves, though Mr. Allerton brought in ye account, and sundry things seemed to them obscure and had need of clearing. Also they sente a booke of exceptions against his accounts, in such things as they could manifest, and doubted not but they might add more

thereunto. And also shewed them how much Mr. Allerton was debtor to ye account; and desired, seeing they had now put ye ship White-Angell, and all, wholly into his power, and tyed their hands here, that they could not call him to account for anything, till ye time was expired which they had given him, and by that time other men would get their debts of him, (as some had done already by suing him,) and he would make all away here quickly out of their reach; and therefore prayed them to look to things, and get payment of him ther, as it was all ye reason they should, seeing they kept all ye bonds & covenants they made with him in their owne hands; and here they could do nothing by ye course they had taken, nor had anything to show if they should goe aboute it. But it pleased God, this ship, being first to goe to Virginia before she wente home, was cast away on yt coast, not farr from Virginia, and their beaver was all lost (which was ye first loss they sustained in that kind); but Mr. Peirce & ye men saved their lives, and also their leters, and got into Virginia, and so safely home. Ye accounts were now sent from hence againe to them. And thus much of ye passages of this year.

A part of Mr. Peirce his leter from Virginia.

It was dated in Des: 25. 1632. and came to their hand ye 7. of April, before they heard anything from England.

Dear friends, &c. Ye bruit of this fatal stroke that ye Lord hath brought both on me and you all will come to your ears before this cometh to your hands, (it is like,) and therefore I shall not need to inlarg in perticulers, &c. My whole estate (for ye most part) is taken away; and so yours, in a great measure, by this and your former losses [he means by ye French & Mr. Allerton]. It is time to look about us, before ye wrath of ye Lord break forth to utter destruction. The good Lord give us all grace to search our hearts and trie our ways, and turn unto ye Lord, and humble ourselves under his mightie hand, and seeke atonement, &c. Dear friends, you may know yt all your beaver, and ye books of your accounts, are swallowed up in ye sea; your letters remaine with me, and shall be delivered, if God bring me home. But what should I more say? Have we lost our outward estates? yet a happy loss if our soules may gain; there is yet more in ye Lord Jehovah than ever we had yet in ye world. Oh that our foolish harts could yet be wained from ye things here below, which are vanity and vexation of spirit; and yet we fools catch after shadows, yt flye away, & are gone in a moment, &c. Thus with my continuall remembrance of you in my poor desires to ye throne of grace, beseeching God to renew his love & favour towards you all, in & through ye Lord Jesus Christ, both in spiritual & temporal good things, as may be most to the glory & praise of his name, and your everlasting good. So I rest, Your afflicted brother in Christ,

William Peirce.

Virginia, Des: 25. 1632.

Anno Dom: 1633.

This year Mr. Edward Winslow was chosen Governor.

By the first returne this year, they had leters from Mr. Sherley of Mr. Allerton's further ill success, and ye loss by Mr. Peirce, with many sadd complaints; but little hope of anything to be got of Mr. Allerton, or how their accounts might be either eased, or any way rectified by them ther; but now saw plainly yt the burthen of all would be cast on their backs. The spetiall passages of his letters I shall here insert, as shall be pertinent to these things; for though I am weary of this tedious & uncomfortable subject, yet for ye clearing of ye truth I am compelled to be more large in ye opening of these matters, upon wch so much trouble hath insued, and so many hard censures have passed on both sides. I would not be partial to either, but deliver ye truth in all, and, as nere as I can, in their owne words and passages, and so leave it to the impartial judgment of any that shall come to read, or view these things. His leters are as follow, dated June 24. 1633.

EDWARD WINSLOW.



Loving friends, my last was sente in ye Mary & John, by Mr. William Collier, &c. I then certified you of ye great, & uncomfortable, and unseasonable loss you & we had, in ye loss of Mr. Peirce his ship, ye Lyon; but ye Lords holy name be blessed, who gives & takes as it pleaseth him; his will be done, Amen. I then related unto you yt fearfull accidente, or rather judgmente, ye Lord pleased to lay on London Bridge, by fire, and therein gave you a touch of my great loss; the Lord, I hope, will give me patience to bear it, and faith to trust in him, & not in these slippery and uncertaine things of this world.

I hope Mr. Allerton is nere upon sayle with you by this; but he had many disasters here before he could get away; yet ye last was a heavie one; his ship, going out of ye harbor at Bristol, by stormie weather was so far driven on ye shore, as it cost him above 100li. before she could be got off againe. Verily his case was so lamentable as I could not but afford him some help therein (and so did some were strangers to him); besides, your goods were in her, and if he had not been supported, he must have broken off his viage, and so loss could not have been avoyded on all sides. When he first bought her, I thinke he had made

a saving match, if he had then sunck her, and never set her forth. I hope he sees ye Lords hand against him, and will leave of these viages. I thinke we did well in parting with her; she would have been but a clogge to ye account from time to time, and now though we shall not get much by way of satisfaction, yet we shall lose no more. And now, as before I have writte, I pray you finish all ye accounts and reconings with him there; for here [368] he hath nothing, but many debts that he stands ingaged to many men for. Besides, here is not a man yt will spend a day, or scarce an hower, aboute ye accounts but my selfe, and yt bussines will require more time and help then I can afford. I shall not need to say any more; I hope you will do yt which shall be best & just, to which adde mercie, and consider his intent, though he failed in many perticulers, which now cannot be helped, &c.

Tomorrow, or next day at furthest, we are to pay 300li. and Mr. Beachamp is out of ye towne, yet ye bussines I must do. Oh the greefe & trouble yt man, Mr. Allerton, hath brought upon you and us! I cannot forget it, and to thinke on it draws many a sigh from my harte, and teares from my eyes. And now ye Lord hath visited me with another great loss, yet I can undergo it with more patience. But this I have follishly pulled upon my selfe, &c. [And in another, he hath this passage:] By Mr. Allerton's faire propositions and large promises, I have over rune my selfe; verily, at this time greefe hinders me to write, and tears will not suffer me to see; wherefore, as you love those that ever loved you, and yt plantation, thinke upon us. Oh what shall I say of that man, who hath abused your trust and wronged our loves! but now to complaine is too late, neither can I complain of your backwardness, for I am perswaded it lyes as heavie on your hearts, as it doth on our purses or credits. And had ye Lord sent Mr. Peirce safe home, we had eased both you and us of some of those debts; the Lord I hope will give us patience to bear these crosses; and that great God, whose care & providence is everywhere, and spetially over all those that desire truly to fear and serve him, direct, guid, prosper, & blesse you so, as yt you may be able (as I perswade my selfe you are willing) to discharge & take off this great & heavie burthen which now lyes upon me for your sakes; and I hope in ye ende for ye good of you, and many thousands more; for had not you & we joyned & continued togeather, New-England might yet have been scarce known, I am perswaded, not so replenished & inhabited with honest English people, as it now is. The Lord increase & blesse them, &c. So, with my continual praiers for you all, I rest

Your assured loving friend,

James Sherley.

June 24. 1633.

By this it appears when Mr. Sherly sould him ye ship & all her accounts, it was more for Mr. Allerton's advantage then theirs; and if they could get any there, well & good, for they were like to have nothing here. And what course was held to hinder them there, hath already been manifested. And though Mr. Sherley became more sinsible of his owne condition, by these losses, and thereby more sadly & plainly to complaine of Mr. Allerton, yet no course was taken to help them here, but all left unto themselves; not so much as to examene & rectifie ye accounts, by which (it is like) some hundreds of pounds might have been taken off. But very probable it is, the more they saw was taken off, ye less might come unto themselves. But I leave these matters, & come to other things.

Mr. Roger Williams (a man godly & zealous, having many precious parts, but very unsettled in judgmente) came over first to ye Massachusetts, but upon some discontent left yt place, and came hither, (where he was friendly entertained, according to their poor abilitie,) and exercised his gifts amongst them, & after some time was admitted a member of ye church; and his teaching well approved, for ye benefit wherof I still blesse God, and am thankful to him, even for his sharpest admonitions & reproofs, so far as they agreed with truth. He this year begane to fall into some strange oppiions, and from opinion to practise; which caused some controversie between ye church & him, and in ye end some discontent on his part, by occasion wherof he left them something abruptly.

Yet after wards sued for his dismission to ye church of Salem, which was granted, with some caution to them concerning him, and what care they ought to have of him. But he soone fell into more things ther, both to their and ye governments trouble and disturbance. I shall not need to name perticulers, they are too well known now to all, though for a time ye church here wente under some hard censure by his occasion, from some that afterwards smarted themselves. But he is to be pitied, and prayed for, and so I shall leave ye matter, and desire ye Lord to shew him his errors, and reduce him into ye way of truth, and give him a settled judgment and constancie in ye same; for I hope he belongs to ye Lord, and yt he will shew him mercie.

Having had formerly converse and familiarity with ye Dutch, (as is before remembred,) they, seeing them seated here in a barren quarter, tould them of a river called by them ye Fresh River, but now is known by ye name of Conightecute-River, which they often comended unto them for a fine place both for plantation and trade, and wished them to make use of it. But their hands being full otherwise, they let it pass. But afterwards ther coming a company of banishte Indeans into these parts, that were driven out from thence by the potencie of ye Pequents, which usurped upon them, and drive them from thence, they often solisited them to goe thither, and they should have much trad, espetially if they would keep a house ther.

And having now good store of comodities, and also need to look out where they could advantage themselves to help them out of their great ingagments, they now begane to send that way to discover ye same, and trade with ye natives. They found it to be a fine place, but had no great store of trade; but ye Indeans excused ye same in regard of ye season, and the fear ye Indeans were in of their enemise. So they tried diverce times, not without profite, but saw ye most certainty would be by keeping a house ther, to receive ye trade when it came down out of ye inland. These Indeans, not seeing them very forward to build ther, solicited them of ye Massachusetts in like sort (for their end was to be restored to their countrie againe); but they in ye Bay being but lately come, were not fit for ye same; but some of their cheefe made a motion to joyne wth the partners here, to trad joyntly with them in yt river, the which they were willing to imbrace, and so they should have built, and put in equal stock togeather. A time of meeting was appointed at ye Massachusetts, and some of ye cheefe here was appointed to treat with them, and went accordingly; but they cast many fears of deanger & loss and the like, which was perceived to be the maine obstacles, though they alleged they were not provided of trading goods. But those hear offered at presente to put in sufficiente for both, provided they would become ingaged for ye halfe, and prepare against ye next year. They confessed more could not be offered, but thanked them, and tould them they had no mind to it. They then answered, they hoped it would be no offence unto them, if themselves wente on without them, if they saw it meete. They said ther was no reason they should; and thus this treaty broake of, and those here took conveniente time to made a beginning ther; and were ye first English that both discovered that place, and built in ye same, though they were little better then thrust out of it afterward as may appeare.

But ye Dutch begane now to repent, and hearing of their purpose & preparation, indeavored to prevent them, and got in a little before them, and made a slight forte, and planted 2. peeces of ordnance, threatening to stop their passage.

But they having made a smale frame of a house ready, and haveing a great new-barke, they stowed their frame in her hold, & bords to cover & finish it, having nayles & all other provisions fitting for their use. This they did ye rather that they might have a presente defence against ye Indeans, who were much offended that they brought home & restored ye right Sachem of ye place (called Natawanute); so as they were to incounter with a double danger in this attempt, both ye Dutch and ye Indeans. When they came up ye river, the Dutch demanded what they intended, and whither they would goe; they answered, up ye river to trade (now their order was to goe and seat above them). They bid them strike, & stay, or else they would shoot them; & stood by ther ordnance ready fitted. They answered they had comission from ye Govr of Plimoth to goe up ye river to such a place, and if they did shoot, they must obey their order and proceede; they would not molest them, but would goe one. So they passed along, and though the Dutch threatened them hard, yet they shoot not. Coming to their place, they clapt up their house quickly, and landed their provissions, and left ye companie appoynted, and sent the barke home; and afterwards palisadoed their house about, and fortified themselves better. The Dutch sent word home to ye Monhatas what was done: and in process of time, they sent a band of aboute 70. men, in warlike maner, with colours displayed, to assault them; but seeing them strengthened, & that it would cost blood, they came to parley, and returned in peace. And this was their enterance ther, who deserved to have held it, and not by friends to have been thrust out, as in a sort they were, as will after appere. They did ye Dutch no wrong, for they took not a foot of any land they bought, but went to ye place above them, and bought that tracte of land which belonged to these Indeans which they carried with them, and their friends, with whom ye Dutch had nothing to doe. But of these matters more in another place.

It pleased ye Lord to visit them this year with an infectious fevoure, of which many fell very sicke, and upward of 20. persons dyed, men and women, besides children, and sundry of them of their ancient friends which had lived in Holland; as Thomas Blossome, Richard Masterson, with sundry others, and in ye end (after he had much helped others) Samuell Fuller, who was their surgeon & phisition, and had been a great help and comfort unto them; as in his facultie, so otherwise, being a deacon of ye church, a man godly, and forward to do good, being much missed after his death; and he and ye rest of their brethren much lamented by them, and caused much sadness & mourning amongst them; which caused them to humble themselves, & seeke ye Lord; and towards winter it pleased the Lord ye sicknes ceased. This disease also swept away many of ye Indeans from all ye places near adjoyning; and ye spring before, espetially all ye month of May, ther was such a quantitie of a great sort of flies, like (for bignes) to wasps, or bumble-bees, which came out of holes in ye ground, and replenished all ye woods, and eat ye green-things, and made such a constante yelling noyes, as made all ye woods ring of them, and ready to deaf ye hearers. They have not by ye English been heard or seen before or since. But ye Indeans tould them yt sicknes would follow, and so it did in June, July, August, and ye cheefe heat of soñer.

It pleased ye Lord to inable them this year to send home a great quantity of beaver, besides paing all their charges, & debts at home, which good returne did much encourage their friends in England. They sent in beaver 3366li. waight, and much of it coat beaver, which yeeled 20s. per pound, & some of it above; and of otter-skinnes sould also at a good prise. And thus much of ye affairs of this year.

Anno Dom: 1634.

This year Mr. Thomas Prence was chosen Governor.

Mr. Sherley's letters were very breefe in answer of theirs this year. I will forbear to copy any part therof, only name a head or 2. therm. First, he desires they will take nothing ill in what he formerly write, professing his good affection towards them as before, &c. 2ly. For Mr. Allerton's accounts, he is perswaded they must suffer, and yt in no small summes; and that they have cause enough to complaine, but it was now too late. And that he had failed them ther, those here, and him selfe in his owne aims. And that now, having thus left them here, he feared God had or would leave him, and it would not be strange, but a wonder if he fell not into worse things, &c. 3ly. He blesseth God and is thankful to them for ye good returne made this year. This is ye effecte of his letters, other things being of more private nature. I am now to enter upon one of ye saddest things that befell them since they came; but before I beginne, it will be needful to premise such part of their patent as gives them right and privilege at Kenebeck; as followeth:

The said Counsell hath further given, granted, barganed, sold, infeoffed, allotted, assigned, & set over, and by these presents doe clearly and absolutely give, grant, bargane, sell, alliene, enfeofe, allot, assign, and confirme unto ye said William Bradford, his heires, associates, and assignes, All that tracte of land or part of New-England in America afforesaid, which lyeth within or between, and extendeth itself from ye utmost limits of Cobiseconte, which adjoyneth to ye river of Kenebeck, towards the western ocean, and a place called ye falls of Nequamkick in America, aforesaid; and ye space of 15. English myles on each side of ye said river, commonly called Kenebeck River, and all ye said river called Kenebeck that lyeth within the said limits & bounds, eastward, westward, northward, & southward, last above mentioned; and all lands, grounds, soyles, rivers, waters, fishing, &c. And by vertue of ye authority to us derived by his said late Matis Lrēs patents, to take, apprehend, seise, and make prise of all such persons, their ships and goods, as shall attempt to inhabit or trade with ye savage people of that countrie within ye several precincts and limits of his & their several plantations, &c.

Now it so fell out, that one Hocking, belonging to ye plantation of Pascataway, wente with a barke and comodities to trade in that river, and would needs press into their limits; and not only so, but would needs goe up ye river above their house, (towards ye falls of ye river,) and intercept the trade that should come to them. He that was cheefe of ye place forbad them, and prayed him that he would not offer them that injurie, nor goe about to infringe their liberties, which had cost them so dear. But he answered he would goe up and trade ther in despite of them, and lye ther as long as he pleased. The other tould him he must then be forced to remove him from thence, or make seizure of him if he could. He bid him doe his worst, and so wente up, and anchored ther. The other took a boat & some men & went up to him, when he saw his time, and againe entreated him to depart by what perswasion he could. But all in vaine: he could get nothing of him but ill words. So he considred that now was ye season for trade to come down, and if he

should suffer him to lye, & take it from them, all ther former charge would be lost, and they had better throw up all. So, consulting with his men, (who were willing thereto,) he resolved to put him from his anchors, and let him drive down ye river with ye stream; but commanded ye men yt none should shoot a shote upon any occasion, except he commanded them. He spoke to him againe, but all in vaine; then he sente a couple in a canow to cut his cable, the which one of them performs; but Hocking takes up a peace which he had layed ready, and as ye barke shered by ye canow, he shote him close under her side, in ye head, (as I take it,) so he fell down dead instantly. One of his fellows (that loved him well) could not hold, but with a musket shot Hocking, who fell down dead and never speake word. This was ye truth of ye thing. The rest of ye men carried home the vessel and ye sad tidings of these things. Now ye Lord Saye & ye Lord Brooks, with some other great persons, had a hand in this plantation; they write home to them, as much as they could to exasperate them in ye matter, leaving out all ye circumstances, as if he had been kild without any offence of his part, conceling yt he had kild another first, and ye just occasion that he had given in offering such wrong; at which their Lordships were much offended, till they were truly informed of ye mater.

The brute of this was quickly carried all aboute, (and yt in ye worst maner,) and came into ye Bay to their neighbours there. Their owne barke coming home, and bringing a true relation of ye matter, sundry were sadly affected with ye thing, as they had cause. It was not long before they had occasion to send their vessel into ye Bay of ye Massachusetts; but they were so prepossest with this matter, and affected with ye same, as they committed Mr. Alden to prison, who was in ye bark, and had been at Kenebeck, but was no actor in ye bussines, but wente to carie them supply. They dismist ye barke about her bussines, but kept him for some time. This was thought strange here, and they sente Capten Standish to give them true information, (togeather with their letters,) and ye best satisfaction they could, and to procure Mr. Alden's release. I shall recite a letter or 2. which will show the passages of these things, as followeth.

Good Sir:

I have received your letters by Captain Standish, & am unfainedly glad of Gods mercie towards you in ye recovery of your health, or some way thereto. For ye bussines you write of, I thought meete to answer a word or 2. to your selfe, leaving the answer of your Governor lres to our courte, to whom ye same, together with my selfe is directed. I conceive (till I hear new matter to ye contrary) that your patent may warrente your resistance of any English from trading at Kenebeck, and yt blood of Hocking, and ye partie he slue, will be required at his hands. Yet doe I with your selfe & others sorrow for their deaths. I thinke likewise yt your general letters will satisfie our courte, and make them cease from any further inter meddling in ye mater.

I have upon ye same letters set Mr. Alden at liberty, and his sureties, and yet, least I should seem to neglect ye opinion of our court & ye frequent speeches of others with us, I have bound Captain Standish to appeare ye 3. of June at our next courte, to make affidavit for ye coppie of ye patente, and to manifest the circumstances of Hockins provocations; both which will tend to ye clearing of your innocencie. If any unkindness hath ben taken from what we have done, let it be further & better considred of, I pray you; and I hope ye more you thinke of it, the less blame you will impute to us. At least you ought to be just in differencing them, whose opinions concur with your owne, from others who were opposites; and yet I may truly say, I have spoken wth no man in ye bussines who taxed you most, but they are such as have many wayes heretofore declared ther good affections towards your plantation. I further refer myself to ye report of Captain Standish & Mr. Alden; leaving you for this present to God's blessing, wishing unto you perfect recovery of health, and ye long continuance of it. I desire to be lovingly remembered to Mr. Prence, your Governor, Mr. Winslow, Mr. Brewster, whom I would see if I knew how. The Lord keep you all. Amen.

Your very loving friend in our Lord Jesus,

Tho: Dudley.

New-towne, ye 22. of May, 1631.

Another of his about these things as followeth.

Sir: I am right sorrie for ye news that Captain Standish & other of your neighbours and my beloved friends will bring now to Plimoth, wherein I suffer with you, by reason of my opinion, which differeth from others, who are godly & wise, amongst us here, the reverence of whose judgments causeth me to suspect myne owne ignorance; yet must I remaine in it until I be convinced therof. I thought not to have shewed your letter written to me, but to have done my best [381]to have reconciled differences in ye best season & maner I could; but Captain Standish requiring an answer therof publickly in ye courte, I was forced to produce it, and that made ye breach soe wide as he can tell you. I propounded to ye courte, to answer Mr. Prences lre, your Govr, but our courte said it required no answer, it selfe being an answer to a former lre of ours. I pray you certifie Mr. Prence so much, and others whom it concerneth, that no neglect or ill mañers be imputed to me thereabout. The late lres I received from England wrought in me diverse fears of some trials which are shortly like to fall upon us; and this unhappie contention between you and us, and between you & Pascattaway, will hasten them, if God with an extraordinarie hand do not help us. To reconcile this for ye presente will be very difficult, but time cooleth distempers, and a common danger to us both approaching, will necessitate our uniting againe. I pray you therefore, Sr. set your wisdom & patience a work, and exhort others to ye same, that things may not proceed from bad to worse, so making our contentions like ye bars of a pallace, but that a way of peace may be kept open, whereat ye God of peace may have entrance in his owne time. If you suffer wrong, it shall be your honor to bear it patiently; but I goe to far in needles putting you in mind of these things. God hath done great things for you, and I desire his blessings may be multiplied upon you more & more. I will commit no more to writing, but commending my selfe to your prayers, doe rest,

Your very loving friend in our Lord Jesus,

Tho: Dudley.

June 4. 1634.

By these things it appears what troubles rise hereupon, and how hard they were to be reconciled; for though they hear were hartily sorrie for what was fallen out, yet they conceived they were unjustly injured, and provoked to what

was done; and that their neighbours (haveing no jurisdiction over them) did more than was mete, thus, to imprison one of theirs, and bind them to their courte. But yet being assured of their Christian love, and perswaded what was done was out of godly zeal, that religion might not suffer, nor sinne any way covered or borne with, esppecially ye guilt of blood, of which all should be very conscientious in any whom soever, they did indeavore to appease & satisfie them ye best they could; first, by informing them ye truth in all circumstances aboute ye matter; 2ly, in being willing to refer ye case to any indifferante and equal hearing and judgment of the thing here, and to answer it elsewhere when they should be duly called thereunto; and further they craved Mr. Winthrop's, & other of ye reved magistrates ther, their advice & direction herein. This did mollifie their minds, and bring things to a good & comfortable issue in ye end.

For they had this advice given them by Mr. Winthrop, & others concurring with him, that from their courte, they should write to the neighbours plantations, & esppecially that of ye lords, at Pascataway, and theirs of ye Massachusetts, to appoint some to give them meeting at some fit place, to consult & determine in this matter, so as ye parties meeting might have full power to order & bind, &c. And that nothing be done to ye infringing or prejudice of ye liberties of any place. And for ye clearing of conscience, ye law of God is, yt ye priest lips must be consulted with, and therefore it was desired that ye ministers of every plantation might be presente to give their advice in pointe of conscience. Though this course seemed dangerous to some, yet they were so well assured of ye justice of their cause, and ye equitie of their friends, as they put themselves upon it, & appointed a time, of which they gave notice to ye several places a month before hand; viz. Massachusetts, Salem, & Pascataway, or any other yt they would give notice too, and desired them to produce any evidence they could in ye case. The place for meeting was at Boston. But when ye day & time came, none appeared, but some of ye magistrates and ministers of ye Massachusetts, and their owne. Seeing none of Passcataway or other places came, (haveing been thus desired, & conveniente time given them for yt end,) Mr. Winthrop & ye rest said they could do no more than they had done thus to request them, ye blame must rest on them. So they fell into a fair debating of things themselves; and after all things had been fully opened & discussed, and ye opinion of each one demanded, both magistrates, and ministers, though they all could have wished these things had never been, yet they could not but lay ye blame & guilt on Hockins owne head; and withal gave them such grave & godly exhortations and advice, as they thought meet, both for ye presente & future; which they also imbraced with love & thankfulness, promising to indeavor to follow ye same.

And thus was this matter ended, and ther love and concord renewed; and also Mr. Winthrop & Mr. Dudley write in their behafes to ye Lord Ssay & other gentlemen that were interested in yt plantation, very effectually, wth which, togeather with their owne leters, and Mr. Winslow's furdre declaration of things unto them, they rested well satisfied.

Mr. Winslow was sente by them this year into England, partly to inform and satisfie ye Lord Say & others, in ye former matter, as also to make answer and their just defence for ye same, if anything should by any be prosecuted against them at Counsell-table, or elsewhere; but this matter took end, without any further trouble, as is before noted. And partly to signifie unto ye partners in England, that the term of their trade with ye company here was out, and therefore he was sente to finish ye accounts with them, and to bring them notice how much debtor they should remaine on yt account, and that they might know what further course would be best to hold. But ye issue of these things will appear in ye next year's passages. They now sente over by him a great returne, which was very acceptable unto them; which was in beaver 3738li. waight, (a great part of it, being coat-beaver, sould at 20s. pr pound,) and 234. otter skines; which alltogether rise to a great sume of money.

This year (in ye foreparte of ye same) they sente forth a barke to trade at ye Dutch-Plantation; and they met ther with on Captain Stone, that had lived in Christopher's, one of ye West-Ende llands, and now had been some time in Virginia, and came from thence into these parts. He kept company with ye Dutch Governor, and, I know not in what drunken fit, he got leave of ye Govr to ceaise on their barke, when they were ready to come away, and had done their market, haveing ye valem of 500li. worth of goods aboard her; having no occasion at all, or any colour of ground for such a thing, but having made ye Govr 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 & marchant being ashore,) and with some of his owne men, made ye rest of theirs waigh anchor, sett sayle, & carry her away towards Virginia. But diverse of ye Dutch sea-men, which had bene often at Plimoth, and kindly entertayned ther, said one to another, Shall we suffer our friends to be thus abused, and have their goods carried away, before our faces, whilst our Govr is drunk? They vowed they would never suffer it; and so got a vessel or 2. and pursued him, & brought him in againe, and delivered them their barke & goods againe.

After wards Stone came into ye Massachusetts, and they sent & commenced suite against him for this fact; but by mediation of friends it was taken up, and ye suite let fall. And in ye company of some other gentle-men Stone came afterwards to Plimoth, and had friendly & civil entertainment amongst them, with ye rest; but revenge boyled within his brest, (though concealed,) for some conceived he had a purpose (at one time) to have staped the Govr, and put his hand to his dagger for that end, but by Gods providence and ye vigilance of some was prevented. He afterward returned to Virginia, in a pinass, with one Captain Norton & some others; and, I know not for what occasion, they would needs goe up Conightecutt River; and how they carried themselves I know not, but ye Indeans knoct him in ye head, as he lay in his cabin, and had thrown ye covering over his face (whether out of fear or desperation is uncertaine); this was his end. They likewise killed all ye rest, but Captain Norton defended him selfe a long time against them all in ye cooke-roome, till by accident the gunpowder took fire, which (for readynes) he had set in an open thing before him, which did so burn, & scald him, & blind his eyes, as he could make no longer resistance, but was slain also by them, though they much commended his valour. And having killed ye men, they made a pray of what they had, and chafered away some of their things to ye Dutch that lived there. But it was not long before a quarrel fell between the Dutch & them, and they would have cut of their bark; but they slue ye cheef sachem with ye shott of a murderer.

I am now to relate some strange and remarkable passages. Ther was a company of people lived in ye country, up above in ye river of Conightecutt, 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 (being a stout people). About a thousand of them had inclosed themselves in a forte, which they had strongly palissadoed about. 3. or 4. Dutch men went up in ye beginning of winter to live with them, to get their trade, and prevent them for bringing it to ye English, or to fall into amitie with them; but at spring to bring all down to their place. But their enterprise failed, for it pleased God to visit 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 rot above ground for want of burial, and ye Dutch men almost starved before they could get away, for ise and snow. But about Feb: they got with much difficultie to their trading house; whom they kindly releevd, being almost spent with hunger and could. Being thus refreshed by them diverce days, they got to their owne place, and ye Dutch were very thankful for this kindness.

This spring, also, those Indeans that lived aboute their trading house there fell sick of ye small poxe, and dyed most miserably; for a sorer disease cannot befall them; they fear it more than ye plague; for usually they that have this disease have them in abundance, and for want of bedding & lining and other helps, they fall into a lamentable condition, as they lye on their hard matts, ye poxe breaking and mattering, and running one into another, their skin cleaving (by reason therof) to the matts they lye on; when they turn them, a whole side will flea of at once, (as it were,) and they will be all of a gore blood, most fearfull to behold; and then being very sore, what with could and other distempers, they dye like rotten sheep. The condition of this people was so lamentable, and they fell down so generally of this disease, as they were (in ye end) not able to help on another; no, not to make a fire, nor to fetch a little water to drink, nor any to burie ye dead; but would strive as long as they could, and when they could procure no other means to make fire, they would burn ye wooden trays & dishes they ate their meat in, and their very bows & arrows; & some would crawl out on all four to get a little water, and sometimes dye by ye way, & not be able to get in againe. But those of ye English house, (though at first they were afraid of ye infection,) yet seeing their woeful and sadd condition, and hearing their pitiful cries and lamentations, they had compastion of them, and dayly fetched them wood & water, and made them fires, got them victualls whilst they lived, and buried them when they dyed.

For very few of them escaped, notwithstanding they did what they could for them, to ye hazard of themselves. The cheefe Sachem him selfe now dyed, & almost all his friends & kindred. But by ye marvellous goodness & providence of God not one of ye English was so much as sick, or in ye least measure tainted with this disease, though they dayly did these offices for them for many weeks togeather. And this mercie which they shewed them was kindly taken, and thankfully acknowledged of all ye Indeans that knew or heard of ye same; and their masters here did much commend & reward them for ye same.

Anno Dom: 1635.

Mr. Winslow was very welcome to them in England, and ye more in regard of ye large returne he brought with him, which came all safe to their hands, and was well sould. And he was borne in hand, (at least he so apprehended,) that all accounts should be cleared before his returne, and all former differences ther aboute well settled. And so he writ over to them hear, that he hoped to clear ye accounts, and bring them over with him; and yt the account of ye White Angele would be taken of, and all things fairly ended. But it came to pass that, being occasioned to answer some complaints made against the countrie at Counsell bord, more cheefly concerning their neighbours in ye Bay then themselves hear, the which he did to good effecte, and further prosecuting such things as might tend to ye good of ye whole, as well themselves as others, aboute ye wrongs and incroachments that the French & other strangers both had and were like further to do unto them, if not prevented, he preferred this petition following to their Honrs that were deputed Comissioners for ye Plantations.

To ye right honorable ye Lords Comissioners for ye Plantations in America.

The humble petition of Edw: Winslow, on ye behalf of ye plantations in New-England,

Humbly sheweth unto your Lordships, yt whereas your petitioners have planted themselves in New England under his Matis most gracious protection; now so it is, right Hon'ble, that ye French & Dutch doe indeaouer to devide ye land between them; for which purpose ye French have, on ye east side, entered and seased upon one of our houses, and carried away the goods, slew 2. of ye men in another place, and took ye rest prisoners with their goods. And ye Dutch, on ye west, have also made entrie upon Conightecute River, within ye limits of his Majesty's patent, where they have raised a forte, and threaten to expel your petitioners thence, who are also planted upon ye same river, maintaining possession for his Matie to their great charge, & hazard both of lives & goods.

In tender consideration hereof your petitioners humbly pray that your Lopps will either procure their peace wth those foraine states, or else to give spetiall warrant unto your petitioners and ye English Collonies, to right and defend themselves against all foraigne enimies. And your petitioners shall pray, &c.

This petition found good acceptation with most of them, and Mr. Winslow was heard sundry times by them, and appointed further to attend for an answer from their Lopps, espetially, having upon conferance with them laid down a way how this might be done without any either charge or trouble to ye state; only by furnishing some of ye cheefe of ye country hear with authoritie, who would undertake it at their owne charge, and in such a way as should be without any publick disturbance. But this crossed both Sr Ferdinandos Gorges' & Cap: Masons design, and ye arch-bishop of Counterberies by them; for Sr Ferd: Gorges (by ye archbishops favore) was to have been sent over general Govr into ye countrie, and to have had means from ye state for yt end, and was now upon dispatch and conclude of ye bussines. And ye arch-bishops [392]purposs & intent was, by his means, & some he should send with him, (to be furnished with Episcopal power,) to disturb ye peace of ye churches here, and to overthrow their proceedings and further growth, which was ye thing he aimed at. But it so fell out (by Gods providence) that though he in ye end crost this petition from taking any further effecte in this kind, yet by this as a cheefe means the plot and whole bussines of

his & Sir Ferdinandos fell to ye ground, and came to nothing. When Mr. Winslow should have had his suit granted, (as indeed upon ye pointe it was,) and should have been confirmed, the arch-bishop put a stop upon it, and Mr. Winslow, thinking to get it freed, went to ye bord againe; but ye bishop, Sir Ferd: and Captain Masson, had, as it seems, procured Morton (of whom mention is made before, & his base carriage) to complain; to whose complaints Mr. Winslow made answer to ye good satisfaction of ye borde, who checked Morton and rebuked him sharply, & also blamed Sir Ferd Gorges, & Masson, for countenancing him. But ye bish: had a further end & use of his presence, for he now began to question Mr. Winslow of many things; as of teaching in ye church publickly, of which Morton accused him, and gave evidence that he had seen and heard him do it; to which Mr. Winslow answered, that some time (wanting a minster) he did exercise his gift to help ye edification of his breethren, when they wanted better means, wch was not often. Then aboute marriage, the which he also confessed, that, haveing been called to place of magistracies, he had sometimes married some. And further tould their lordships yet marriage was a civil thing, & he found nowhere in ye word of God yt it was tyed to ministrie. Again, they were necessitated so to doe, having for a long time togeather at first no minister; besides, it was no new-thing, for he had been so married him selfe in Holland, by ye magistrates in their State-house. But in ye end (to be short), for these things, ye bishop, by vemente importunity, got ye bord at last to consente to his commitment; so he was committed to ye Fleet, and lay ther 17 weeks, or ther aboute, before he could get to be released. And this was ye end of this petition, and this bussines; only ye others design was also frustrated hereby, with other things concurring, which was no small blessing to ye people here.

But ye charge fell heavie on them hear, not only in Mr. Winslow's expenses, (which could not be smale,) but by ye hinderance of their bussines both ther and hear, by his personal imploymente. For though this was as much or more for others then for them hear, and by them cheefly he was put on this bussines, (for the plantation kewe nothing of it till they heard of his imprisonmente,) yet ye whole charge lay on them.

Now for their owne bussines; whatsoever Mr. Sherley's mind was before, (or Mr. Winslow apprehension of ye same,) he now declared him selfe plainly, that he would neither take of ye White-Angell from ye account, nor give any further account, till he had received more into his hands; only a pretty good supply of goods were sent over, but of ye most, no note of their prises, or so orderly an invoice as formerly; which Mr. Winslow said he could not help, because of his restraint. Only now Mr. Sherley & Mr. Beachamp & Mr. Andrews sent over a letter of attorney under their hands & seals, to recover what they could of Mr. Allerton for ye Angells account; but sent them neither ye bonds, nor covenants, or such other evidence or accounts, as they had aboute these matters. I shall here insert a few passages out of Mr. Sherley's letters aboute these things.

Your leter of ye 22. of July, 1634, by your trustie and our loving friend Mr. Winslow, I have received, and your large parcel of beaver and otter skines. Blessed be our God, both he and it came safely to us, and we have sould it in two parcels; ye skin at 14s. li. & some at 16.; ye coate at 20s. ye pound. The accounts I have not sent you them this year, I will refer you to Mr. Winslow to tell you ye reason of it; yet be assured yt none of you shall suffer by ye not having of them, if God spare me life. And whereas you say ye 6. years are expired yt ye people put ye trad into your & our hands for, for ye discharge of yt great debt wch Mr. Allerton needlessly & unadvisedly ran you & us into; yet it was promised it should continue till our disbursments & engagements were satisfied. You conceive it is done; we feel & know otherwise, &c. I doubt not but we shall lovingly agree, notwithstanding all yt hath been written, on both sides, aboute ye Whit-Angell. We have now sent you a letter of attorney, thereby giving you power in our names (and to shadow it ye more we say for our uses) to obtain what may be of Mr. Allerton towards ye satisfying of that great charge of ye White Angell. And sure he hath bound him selfe, (though at present I cannot find it,) but he hath often affirmed, with great protestations, yt neither you nor we should lose a penny by him, and I hope you shall find enough to discharge it, so as we shall have no more contesting aboute it. Yet, notwithstanding his unnatural & unkind dealing with you, in ye midst of justice remember mercie, and do not all you may doe, &c. Set us out of debt, and then let us recone & reason togeither, &c. Mr. Winslow hath undergone an unkind imprisonment, but I am perswaded it will turn much to all your good. I leave him to relate perticuleres, &c.

Your loving friend,

James Sherley.

London, Sep: 7. 1635.

This year they sustained another great loss from ye French. Monsier de Aulnay coming into ye harbor of Penobscote, and having before got some of ye cheefe yt belonged to ye house aboard his vessel, by suttly coming upon them in their shalop, he got them to pilot him in; and after getting ye rest into his power, he took possession of ye house in ye name of ye king of France; and partly by threatening, & other wise, made Mr. Willett (their agent ther) to approve of ye sale of ye goods their unto him, of which he set ye price him selfe in effecte, and made an inventory therof, (yet leaving out sundry things,) but made no payment for them; but tould them in convenient time he would do it if they came for it. For ye house & fortification, &c. he would not allow, nor account anything, saing that they which build on another man's ground doe forfeite ye same. So thus turning them out of all, (with a great deal of complemente, and many fine words,) he let them have their shalop and some victuals to bring them home. Coming home and relating all the passages, they here were much troubled at it, & having had this house robbed by ye French once before, and lost then above 500li. (as is before remembered), and now to loose house & all, did much move them. So as they resolved to consult with their friends in ye Bay, and if yey approved of it, (ther being now many ships ther,) they intended to hire a ship of force, and seeke to beat out ye Frenche, and recover it againe. Ther course was well approved on, if themselves could bear ye charge; so they hired a fair ship of above 300. tune, well fitted with ordnance, and agreed with ye master (one Girling) to this effect: that he and his company should deliver them ye house, (after they had driven out, or surprised ye French,) and give them peaceable possession therof, and of all such trading comodities as should ther be found; and give ye French fair quarter & usage, if they would yeeld. In consideration wherof he was to have 700li. of beaver, to be delivered him ther, when he had done ye thing; but if he did not accomplish it, he was to lose his labour, and have nothing. With him they also sent their owne bark, and about

20. men, with Captain Standish, to aide him (if neede were), and to order things, if the house was regained; and then to pay him ye beaver, which they kept aboard their owne barke. So they with their bark piloted him thither, and brought him safe into ye harbor.

But he was so rash & heady as he would take no advice, nor would suffer Captain Standish to have time to summon them, (who had comission & order so to doe,) neither would do it him selfe; the which, it was like, if it had been done, & they come to affaïre parley, seeing their force, they would have yeelded. Neither would he have patience to bring his ship where she might doe execution, but began to shoot at distance like a mad man, and did them no hurt at all; the which when those of ye plantation saw, they were much greeved, and went to him & tould him he would do no good if he did not lay his ship better to pass (for she might lye within pistol shott of ye house). At last, when he saw his owne folly, he was perswaded, and layed her well, and bestowed a few shott to good purposs. But now, when he was in a way to do some good, his powder was gone; for though he had peece of ordnance, it did now appeare he had but a barrel of powder, and a peece; so he could do no good, but was faine to draw of againe; by which means ye enterprise was made frustrate, and ye French encouraged; for all ye while that he shot so unadvisedly, they lay close under a work of earth, & let him consume him selfe. He advised with ye Captain how he might be supplied with powder, for he had not to carie him home; so he tould him he would goe to ye next plantation, and doe his indeour to procure him some, and so did; but understanding, by intelligence, that he intended to ceïase on ye barke, & surprise ye beaver, he sent him the powder, and brought ye barke & beaver home. But Girling never assaulted ye place more, (seeing him selfe disapoynted,) but went his way; and this was ye end of this bussines.

Upon ye ill success of this bussines, the Govr and Assistants here by their leters certified their friends in ye Bay, how by this ship they had been abused and disapoynted, and yt the French partly had, and were now likely to fortifie themselves more strongly, and likely to become ill neighbours to ye English. Upon this they thus writ to them as followeth:—

Worthy Sirs: Upon ye reading of your leters, & consideration of ye waightines of ye cause therein mentioned, the courte hath joyntly expressed their willingnes to assist you with men & munition, for ye accomplishing of your desires upon ye French. But because here are none of yours yt have authority to conclude of anything herein, nothing can be done by us for ye presente. We desire, therefore, that you would with all conveniente speed send some man of trust, furnished with instructions from your selves, to make such agreement with us about this bussines as may be useful for you, and equal for us. So in hast we commit you to God, and remaine

Your assured loving friends,

John Haynes, Govr. Richard Bellingham, Dep. Jo: Winthrop. Tho: Dudley. Jo: Humfray. Wm: Coddington.
Wm: Pinchon. Atherton Houghe. Increas Nowell. Ric: Dumer. Simon Bradstrete.

New-towne, October 9. 1635.

Upon the receipt of ye above mentioned, they presently deputed 2. of theirs to treat with them, giving them full power to conclude, according to the instructions they gave them, being to this purposs: that if they would afford such assistance as, togeather with their owne, was like to effecte the thing, and also bear a considerable part of ye charge, they would goe on; if not, they (having lost so much already) should not be able, but must desiste, and waite further opportunitie as God should give, to help themselves. But this came to nothing, for when it came to ye issue, they would be at no charge, but sente them this letter, and referred them more at large to their owne messengers.

Sir: Having, upon ye consideration of your letter, with ye message you sente, had some serious consultations aboute ye great importance of your bussines with ye French, we gave our answer to those whom you deputed to confer with us aboute ye viage to Penobscote. We shewed our willingnes to help, but withal we declared our presente condition, & in what state we were, for our abilitie to help; which we for our parts shall be willing to improve, to procure you sufficiente supply of men & munition. But for matter of moneys we have no authority at all to promise, and if we should, we should rather disapoynte you, then incourage you by yt help, which we are not able to perform. We likewise thought it fit to take ye help of other Esterne plantations; but those things we leave to your owne wisdom. And for other things we refer you to your owne committees, who are able to relate all ye passages more at large. We salute you, & wish you all good success in ye Lord.

Your faithful & loving friend,

Ri: Bellingham, Dep:

In ye name of the rest of the Comities.

Boston, October 16. 1635.

This thing did not only thus break of, but some of their merchants shortly after sent to trad with them, and furnished them both with provisions, & powder & shott; and so have continued to doe till this day, as they have seen opportunitie for their profite. So as in truth ye English themselves have been the cheefest supporters of these French; for besides these, the plantation at Pemaquid (which lyes near unto them) doth not only supply them with what yey want, but gives them continual intelligence of all things that passes among ye English, (esppecially some of them,) so as it is no marvel though they still grow, & incroach more & more upon ye English, and fill ye Indeans with gunes & munishton, to ye great deanger of ye English, who lye open & unfortified, living upon husbandrie; and ye other closed up in their forts, well-fortified, and live upon trade, in good securitie. If these things be not looked too, and remeady provided in time, it may easily be conjectured what they may come toe; but I leave them.

This year, ye 14. or 15. of August (being Saturday) was such a mighty storm of wind & raine, as none living in these parts, either English or Indeans, ever saw. Being like (for ye time it continued) to those Hauricanes and Tuffons that writers make mention of in ye Indeas. It began in ye morning, a little before day, and grue not by degrees, but came with violence in ye beginning, to ye great amasmente of many. It blew down sundry houses, & uncovered others;

diverſe veſſels were loſt at ſea, and many more in extreme danger. It cauſed ye ſea to ſwell (to ye ſouthward of this place) above 20. foot, right up & down, and made many of the Indeans to climb into trees for their ſaſſtie; it took of ye boarded rooſe of a houſe which belonged to the plantation at Manamet, and floated it to another place, the poſts ſtill ſtanding in ye ground; and if it had continued long without ye ſhifting of ye wind, it is like it would have drowned ſome part of ye countrie. It blew down many hundred thouſands of trees, turning up the ſtronger by the roots, and breaking the higher pine trees of in the middle, and ye tall yonge oaks & walnut trees of good biggnes were wound like a withe, very ſtrange & fearfull to behould. It began in ye ſoutheaſt, and parted toward ye ſouth & eaſt, and veered ſundry ways; but ye greateſt force of it here was from ye former quarters. It continued not (in ye extremitie) above 5 or 6 houers, but ye violence began to abate. The ſignes and marks of it will remaine this 100. years in theſe parts where it was ſoreſt. The moon ſuffered a great eclipse the 2 night after it.

Some of their neighbours in ye Bay, hearing of ye fame of Conightecute River, had a hankering mind after it, (as was before noted,) and now understanding that ye Indeans were ſwept away with ye late great mortalitie, the fear of whom was an obſtacle unto them before, which being now taken away, they began now to prosecute it with great eagernes. The greateſt differences fell between thoſe of Dorcheſter plantation and them hear; for they ſet their mind on that place, which they had not only purchaſed of ye Indeans, but where they had built; intending only (if they could not remove them) that they ſhould have but a ſmale moyety left to ye houſe, as to a ſingle family;

whoſe doings and proceedings were conceived to be very injurious, to attempt not only to intrude themſelves into ye rights & poſſeſſions of others, but in effect to thruſt them out of all. Many were ye leters & paſſages that went between them hear aboute, which would be to long here to relate.

I ſhall here firſt insert a few lines that was write by their own agent from thence.

Sir: &c. Ye Maſſachusetts men are coming almoſt dayly, ſome by water, & ſome by land, who are not yet determined where to ſettle, though ſome have a great mind to ye place we are upon, and which was laſt bought. Many of them look at that which this river will not afford, except it be at this place which we have, namely, to be a great towne, and have commodious dwellings for many togeather. So as what they will do I cannot yet reſolve you; for this place ther is none of them ſay anything to me, but what I hear from their ſervants (by whom I perceive their minds). I ſhall do what I can to withſtand them. I hope they will hear reaſon; as that we were here firſt, and entered with much difficulty and danger, both in regard of ye Dutch & Indeans, and bought ye land, (to your great charge, already diſbuſed,) and have ſince held here a chargable poſſeſſion, and kept ye Dutch from further incroaching, which would elſe long before this day have poſſeſſed all, and kept out all others, &c. I hope theſe & ſuch like arguments will ſtop them. It was your will we ſhould uſe their perſons & meſſengers kindly, & ſo we have done, and doe dayly, to your great charge; for ye firſt company had well nie ſtarved had it not been for this houſe, for want of victuals; I being forced to ſupply 12. men for 9. days togeather; and thoſe which came laſt, I entertained the beſt we could, helping both them (& ye other) with canows, & guides. They got me to goe with them to ye Dutch, to ſee if I could procure ſome of them to have quiet ſettling nere them; but they did peremptorily withſtand them. But this later company did not once ſpeak therof, &c. Alſo I gave their goods houſe room according to their earneſt requeſt, and Mr. Pinchons letter in their behalf (which I thought good to ſend you, here incloſed). And what trouble & charge I ſhall be further at I know not; for they are coming dayly, and I expect theſe back againe from below, whither they are gone to view ye countrie. All which trouble & charge we under goe for their occaſion, may give us juſt cauſe (in ye judgmente of all wiſe & understanding men) to hold and keep that we are ſettled upon. Thus with my duty remembered, &c. I reſt

Yours to be commanded

Johnnathā Brewſter.

Matianuck, July 6. 1635.

Amongſt ye many agitations that paſſed between them, I ſhall note a few out of their laſt letters, & for ye preſent omitte ye reſt, except upon other occaſion I may have fitter opportunity. After their thorow view of ye place, they began to pitch themſelves upon their land & near their houſe; which occaſioned much expoſtulation between them. Some of which are ſuch as follow.

Brethren, having lately ſent 2 of our body unto you, to agitate & bring to an iſſue ſome maters in difference between us, about ſome lands at Conightecutt, unto which you lay challenge; upon which God by his providence caſt us, and as we conceive in a fair way of providence tendered it to us, as a meet place to receive our body, now upon removal.

We ſhall not need to answer all ye paſſages of your large letter, &c. But whereas you ſay God in his providence caſt you, &c., we told you before, and (upon this occaſion) muſt now tell you ſtill, that our mind is otherwiſe, and yt you caſt rather a partial, if not a covetous eye, upon that wch is your neighbours, and not yours; and in ſo doing, your way could not be faire unto it. Look yt you abuſe not Gods providence in ſuch allegations.

Theirs.

Now albeit e at firſt judged ye place ſo free yt we might with Gods good leave take & uſe it, without juſt offence to any man, it being the Lords waſt, and for ye preſente altogether voyd of inhabitants, that indeed minded ye imploymeſt therof, to ye right ends for which land was created, Gen: 1. 28. and for future intentions of any, & uncertaine poſſibilities of this or that to be done by any, we judging them (in ſuch a caſe as ours eſpetially) not meet to be equalled with preſente actions (ſuch as ours was) much leſſe worthy to be preferred before them; and therefore did we make ſome weak beginnings in that good work, in ye place aforeſaid.

Answer: Their answer was to this effecte. That if it were ye Lords waſt, it was themſelves that found it ſo, & not they; and have ſince bought it of ye right owners, and maintained a chargable poſſeſſion upon it all this while, as themſelves could not but know. And becauſe of preſent ingagments and other hinderances which lay at preſente upon them, muſt it therefore be lawfull for them to goe and take it from them? It was well known that they are upon a barren place, where they were by neceſſitie caſt; and neither they nor theirs could long continue upon ye ſame; and

why should they (because they were more ready, & more able at presente) goe and deprive them of that which they had wth charge & hazard provided, & intended to remove to, as soon as they could & were able?

They had another passage in their letter; they had rather have to do with the lords in England, to whom (as they heard it reported) some of them should say that they had rather give up their right to them, (if they must part with it,) then to ye church of Dorchester, &c. And that they should be less fearfull to offend ye lords, then they were them.

Answer: Their answer was, that what soever they had heard, (more then was true,) yet ye case was not so with them that they had need to give away their rights & adventures, either to ye lords, or them; yet, if they might measure their fear of offence by their practise, they had rather (in that poynte) they should deal with ye lords, who were better able to bear it, or help themselves, then they were.

But least I should be teadious, I will forbear other things, and come to the conclusion that was made in ye end. To make any forcible resistance was farr from their thoughts, (they had enough of yt about Kenebeck,) and to live in continuall contention with their friends & brethren would be uncomfortable, and too heavie a burden to bear.

Therefore for peace sake (though they conceived they suffered much in this thing) they thought it better to let them have it upon as good termes as they could get; and so they fell to treaty. The first thing yt (because they had made so many & long disputes about it) they would have them to grant was, yt they had right too it, or ells they would never treat aboute it. The which being acknowledged, & yeilded unto by them, this was ye conclusion they came unto in ye end after much adoe: that they should retain their house, and have the 16. part of all they had bought of ye Indeans; and ye other should have all ye rest of ye land; leaving such a moyety to those of New-towne, as they reserved for them. This 16. part was to be taken in two places; one towards ye house, the other towards New-townes proportion. Also they were to pay according to proportion, what had been disbursed to ye Indeans for ye purchase. Thus was ye controversie ended, but the unkindness not so soone forgotten. They of New-towne delt more fairly, desiring only what they could conveniently spare, from a competencie reserved for a plantation, for themselves; which made them the more careful to procure a moyety for them, in this agreement & distribution.

Amongst ye other bussinesses that Mr. Winslow had to do in England, he had order from ye church to provide & bring over some able & fit man for to be their minister. And accordingly he had procured a godly and a worthy man, one Mr. Glover; but it pleased God when he was prepared for the viage, he fell sick of a feaver and dyed. Afterwards, when he was ready to come away, he became acquainted with Mr. Norton, who was willing to come over, but would not ingage him selfe to this place, otherwise then he should see occasion when he came here; and if he liked better elsewhere, to repay ye charge laid out for him, (which came to aboute 70li.) and to be at his liberty. He stayed aboute a year with them, after he came over, and was well liked of them, & much desired by them; but he was invited to Ipswich, where were many rich & able men, and sundry of his acquaintance; so he wente to them, & is their minister. Aboute half of ye charge was repayed, ye rest he had for ye pains he took amongst them.

Anno Dom: 1636.

Mr. Edward Winslow was chosen Governor this year.

In ye former year, because they perceived by Mr. Winslow's later letters that no accounts would be sente, they resolved to keep ye beaver, and send no more, till they had them, or came to some further agreement. At least they would forbear till Mr. Winslow came over, that by more full conferance with him they might better understand what was meete to be done. But when he came, though he brought no accounts, yet he perswaded them to send ye beaver, & was confident upon ye receite of yt beaver, & his letters, they should have accounts ye next year; and though they thought his grounds but weake, that gave him this hope, & made him so confidente, yet by his importunitie they yeilded, & sente ye same, ther being a ship at ye latter end of year, by whom they sente 1150li. waight of beaver, and 200 otter skins, besides sundrie small furs, as 55 minks, 2. black fox skins, &c. And this year, in the spring, came in a Dutch man, who thought to have traded at ye Dutch-forte; but they would not suffer him. He, having good store of trading goods, came to this place, & tendered them to sell; of whom they bought a good quantitie, they being very good & fit for their turn, as Dutch roll, kettles, &c., which goods amounted to ye valew of 500li., for ye payment of which they passed bills to Mr. Sherley in England, having before sente ye forementioned parcel of beaver. And now this year (by another ship) sente another good round parcel that might come to his hands, & be sould before any of these bills should be due. The quantity of beaver now sent was 1809li. waight, and of otters 10 skins, and shortly after (ye same year) was sent by another ship (Mr. Langrume maister), in beaver 0719li. waight, and of otter skins 199. concerning which Mr. Sherley thus writs.

Your leters I have received, with 8. hogshead's of beaver by Ed: Wilkinson, master of ye Falcon. Blessed be God for ye safe coming of it. I have also seen & accepted 3. bills of exchange, &c. But I must now acquaint you how the Lords heavie hand is upon this kingdom in many places, but chiefly in this cittie, with his judgmente of ye plague. The last weeks bill was 1200. & odd, I fear this will be more; and it is much feared it will be a winter sicknes. By reason wherof it is incredible ye number of people yt are gone into ye country & left ye citie. I am perswaded many more then went out ye last sicknes; so as here is no trading, carriers from most places put down; nor no receiving of any money, though long due. Mr. Hall owes us more then would pay these bills, but he, his wife, and all, are in ye countrie, 60. miles from London. I write to him, he came up, but could not pay us. I am perswaded if I should offer to sell ye beaver at 8s. pr pound, it would not yeeld money; but when ye Lord shall please to cease his hand, I hope we shall have better & quicker markets; so it shall lye by. Before I accepted ye bills, I acquainted Mr. Beachamp & Mr. Andrews with them, & how ther could be no money made nor received; and that it would be a great discredit to you, which never yet had any turned back, and a shame to us, haveing 1800li. of beaver lying by us, and more owing then ye bills come too, &c. But all was nothing; neither of them both will put too their finger to help. I offered to supply my 3. part, but they gave me their answer they neither would, nor could, &c. However, your bills shall be satisfied to ye parties good contente; but I would not have thought they would have left either you or me at this time, &c. You will and may expect

I should write more, & answer your letters, but I am not a day in ye week at home at towne, but carry my books & all to Clapham; for here is ye miserablest time yt I thinke hath been known in many ages. I have known 3. great sicknesses, but none like this. And that which should be a means to pacifie ye Lord, & help us, that is taken away, preaching put down in many places, not a sermon in Westminster on ye sabbath, nor in many towns about us; ye Lord in mercie look upon us. In the beginning of ye year was a great drought, & no raine for many weeks together, so as all was burnt up, hay, at 5li. a load; and now all raine, so as much summer come & later hay is spoiled. Thus ye Lord sends judgments after judgments, and yet we cannot see, nor humble ourselves; and therefore may justly fear heavier judgments, unless we speedily repent, & returne unto him, which ye Lord give us grace to doe, if it be his blessed will. Thus desiring you to remember us in your prayers, I ever rest

Your loving friend,

James Sherley.

September 14th 1636.

This was all the answer they had from Mr. Sherley, by which Mr. Winslow saw his hops failed him. So they now resolved to send no more beaver in yt way which they had done, till they came to some issue or other about these things. But now came over letters from Mr. Andrews & Mr. Beachamp full of complaints, that they marvelled yt nothing was sent over, by which any of their moneys should be payed in; for it did appear by ye account sente in Ano 1631. that they were each of them out, about a leven hundred pounds a peece, and all this while had not received one penie towards ye same. But now Mr. Sherley sought to draw more money from them, and was offended because they denyed him; and blamed them hear very much that all was sent to Mr. Sherley, & nothing to them. They marvelled much at this, for they conceived that much of their monies had been paid in, & yt yearly each of them had received a proportionable quantity out of ye large returns sent home. For they had sente home since yt account was received in Ano 1631. (in which all & more then all their debts, wth yt years supply, was charged upon them) these sumes following.

November 8.	Ano 1631.	By Mr. Peirce	0400li.	waight of beaver, & otters	20.
July 13.	Ano 1632.	By Mr. Griffin	1348li.	beaver, & otters	147.
Ano 1633.	By Mr. Graves	3366li.	beaver, & otters		346.
Ano 1634.	By Mr. Andrews	3738li.	beaver, & otters		234.
Ano 1635.	By Mr. Babb	1150li.	beaver, & otters		200.
June 24.	Ano 1636.	By Mr. Wilkinson	1809li.	beaver, & otters	010.
Ibidem.	By Mr. Langrume	0719li.	beaver, & otters		199.
					12150li.
					1156.

All these sumes were safely received & well sould, as appears by letters. The coat beaver usually at 20s. pr pound, and some at 24s.; the skin at 15. & sometimes 16. I do not remember any under 14. It may be ye last year might be something lower, so also ther were some small furs that are not reconned in this account, & some black beaver at higher rates, to make up ye defects. It was conceived that ye former parcels of beaver came to little less then 10000li. sterling, and ye otter skins would pay all ye charge, & they with other furs make up besides if anything wanted of ye former sume. When ye former account was passed, all their debts (those of White-Angelle & Friendship included) came but to 4770li. And they could not estimate that all ye supplies since sent them, & bills payed for them, could come to above 2000li. so as they conceived their debts had been payed, with advantage or interest. But it may be objected, how comes it that they could not as well exactly set down their receipts, as their returns, but thus estimate it. I answer, 2. things were ye cause of it; the first & principal was, that ye new accountant, which they in England would needs presse upon them, did wholly fail them, & could never give them any account; but trusting to his memorie, & lose papers, let things rune into such confusion, that neither he, nor any with him, could bring things to rights. But being often called upon to perfect his accounts, he desired to have such a time, and such a time of leasure, and he would do it. In ye intrime he fell into a great sicknes, and in conclusion it fell out he could make no account at all. His books were after a little good beginning left altogether unperfect; and his papers, some were lost, & others so confused, as he knew not what to make of them himself, when they came to be searched & examined. This was not unknown to Mr. Sherley; and they came too smart for it to purposs, (though it was not their fault,) both thus in England, and also here; for they conceived they lost some hundreds of pounds for goods trusted out in ye place, which were lost for want of clear accounts to call them in. Another reason of this mischeefe was, that after Mr. Winslow was sente into England to demand accounts, and to except against ye Whit-Angell, they never had any price sent with their goods, nor any certain invoice of them; but all things stood in confusion, and they were faine to guess at ye prises of them.

They write back to Mr. Andrews & Mr. Beachamp, and tould them they marvelled they should write they had sent nothing home since ye last accounts; for they had sente a great deal; and it might rather be marvelled how they could be able to send so much, besides defraying all charge at home, and what they had lost by the French, and so much cast away at sea, when Mr. Peirce lost his ship on ye coast of Virginia. What they had sente was to them all, and to themselves as well as Mr. Sherley, and if they did not look after it, it was their own faults; they must refer them to Mr. Sherley, who had received it, to demand of him. They also write to Mr. Sherley to ye same purposs, and what other complaints were.

This year 2 shallops going to Coonigtecutt with goods from ye Massachusetts of such as removed theither to plant, were in an easterly storm cast away in coming into this harbore in ye night; the boats men were lost, and the goods were driven all along the shore, and strowed up & down at high-water mark. But ye Govr caused them to be gathered up, and drawn together, and appointed some to take an inventory of them, and others to wash & drie such things as had neede therof; by which means most of ye goods were saved, and restored to ye owners. Afterwards another boat of theirs (going thither likewise) was cast away near unto Manonscussett, and such goods as came ashore were

preserved for them. Such crosses they mette with in their beginnings; which some imputed as a correction from God for their intrusion (to ye wrong of others) into yt place. But I dare not be bould with Gods judgments in this kind.

In ye year 1634, the Pequents (a stout and warlike people), who had made wars with sundry of their neighbours, and puft up with many victories, grue now at variance with ye Narigansetts, a great people bordering upon them. These Narigansetts held correspondence and terms of friendship with ye English of ye Massachusetts. Now ye Pequents, being conscious of ye guilte of Captain-Stones death, whom they knew to be an-English man, as also those yt were with him, and being fallen out with ye Dutch, least they should have over many enemies at once, sought to make friendship with ye English of ye Massachusetts; and for yt end sent both messengers & gifts unto them, as appears by some letters sent from ye Govr hither.

Dear & worthy Sir: &c. To let you know somewhat of our affairs, you may understand that ye Pequents have sent some of theirs to us, to desire our friendship, and offered much wampam & beaver, &c.

The first messengers were dismissed without answer; with ye next we had diverce days conferance, and taking ye advice of some of our ministers, and seeking the Lord in it, we concluded a peace & friendship with them, upon these conditions: that they should deliver up to us those men who were guilty of Stones death, &c. And if we desired to plant in Conightecute, they should give up their right to us, and so we would send to trade with them as our friends (which was ye cheefe thing we aimed at, being now in war with ye Dutch and ye rest of their neighbours). To this they readily agreed; and that we should meadiate a peace between them and the Narigansetts; for which end they were contente we should give the Narragansetts part of yt presente, they would bestow on us (for they stood so much on their honour, as they would not be seen to give anything of themselves). 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 quarrel, for (say they) he surprised 2. of our men, and bound them, to make them by force to shew him ye way up ye river; and he with 2. other coming on shore, 9 Indeans watched him and when they were a sleepe in ye night, they killed them, to deliver their own men; and some of them going afterwards to ye pinass, it was suddainly blowne up. We are now preparing to send a pinass unto them, &c.

In another of his, dated ye 12. of ye first month, he hath this.

Our pinass is lately returned from ye Pequents; they put off but little comoditie, and found them a very false people, so as they mean to have no more to do with them. I have diverce other things to write unto you, &c.

Yours ever assured,

Jo: Winthrop.

Boston, 12th of ye 1st month, 1634.

After these things, and, as I take, this year, John Oldom, (of whom much is spoken before,) being now an inhabitant of ye Massachusetts, went wth a small vessel, & slenderly mand, a trading into these south parts, and upon a quarrel between him & ye Indeans was cut off by them (as hath been before noted) at an island called by ye Indeans Munisses, but since by ye English Block Island. This, with ye former about the death of Stone, and the baffoyling of ye Pequents with ye English of ye Massachusetts, moved them to set out some to take revenge, and require satisfaction for these wrongs; but it was done so superfitially, and without their acquainting of those of Conightecute & other neighbours with ye same, as they did little good. But their neighbours had more hurt done, for some of ye murderers of Oldome fled to ye Pequents, and though the English went to ye Pequents, and had some parley with them, yet they did but delude them, & ye English returned without doing anything to purpose, being frustrate of their oppertunitie by ye others deceit. After ye English were returned, the Pequents took their time and oppertunitie to cut off some of ye English as they passed in boats, and went on fouling, and assaulted them ye next spring at their habytations, as will appear in its place. I do but touch these things, because I make no question they will be more fully & distinctly handled by themselves, who had more exact knowledge of them, and whom they did more properly concern.

This year Mr. Smith layed down his place of ministrie, partly by his owne willingnes, as thinking it too heavie a burthen, and partly at the desire, and by ye perswasion, of others; and the church sought out for some other, having often been disappointed in their hops and desires heretofore. And it pleased the Lord to send them an able and a godly man, and of a meeke and humble spirite, sound in ye truth, and every way unreproueable in his life & conversation; whom, after some time of triall, they chose for their teacher, the fruits of whose labours they enjoyed many years with much comfort, in peace, & good agreemente.

Anno Dom: 1637.

In ye fore part of this year, the Pequents fell openly upon ye English at Conightecute, in ye lower parts of ye river, and slew sundry of them, (as they were at work in ye fields,) both men & women, to ye great terror of ye rest; and wente away in great pride & triumph, with many high threats. They also assaulted a fort at ye rivers mouth, though strong and well defended; and though they did not their prevail, yet it struck them with much fear & 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 friends and confederates in ye Bay of Massachusetts to send them speedy aide, for they looked for more forcible assaults. Mr. Vane, being then Govr, write from their General Courte to them hear, to joyne with them in this war; to which they were cordially willing, but took opportunitie to write to them aboute some former things, as well as presente, considerable hereabout. The which will best appear in ye Govr answer which he returned to ye same, which I shall here insert.

Sir: The Lord having so disposed, as that your letters to our late Governor is fallen to my lot to make answer unto, I could have wished I might have been at more freedom of time & thoughts also, that I might have done it more to your & my owne satisfaction. But what shall be wanting now may be supplied hereafter. For ye matters which from your selfe & counsell were propounded & objected to us, we thought not fitte to make them so publicke as ye cognizance

of our General Court. But they have been considered by those of our counsell, this answer we think fit to return unto you.

(1.) Whereas you signifie your willingnes to joyne with us in this war against ye Pequents, though you cannot ingage your selves without ye consente of your General Courte, we acknowledge your good affection towards us, (which we never had cause to doubt of,) and are willing to attend your full resolution, when it may most seasonably be ripened.

(2ly.) Whereas you make this war to be our peoples, and not to concern your selves, otherwise then by consequence, we do in part consente to you therein; yet we suppose, that, in case of peril, you will not stand upon such terms, as we hope we should not doe towards you; and withal we conceive that you look at ye Pequents, and all other Indeans, as a comone enimie, who, though he may take occasion of ye beginning of his rage, from someone part of ye English, yet if he prevaile, will surly pursue his advantage, to ye rooting out of ye whole nation. Therefore when we desired your help, we did it not without respect to your owne saftie, as ours.

(3ly.) Whereas you desire we should be ingaged to aide you, upon all like occasions; we are perswaded you do not doubt of it; yet as we now deal with you as a free people, and at libertie, so as we cannot draw you into this war with us, otherwise then as reason may guid & provock you; so we desire we may be at ye like freedom, when any occasion may call for help from us. And whereas it is objected to us, that we refused to aide you against ye French; we conceive ye case was not alicke; yet we cannot wholly excuse our failing in that matter.

(4ly.) Whereas you object that we began ye war without your privitie, & managed it contrary to your advice; the truth is, that our first intentions being only against Block Island, and ye interprice seeming of small difficultie, we did not so much as consider of taking advice, or looking out for aide abroad. And when we had resolved upon ye Pequents, we sent presently, or not long after, to you aboute it; but ye answer received, it was not seasonable for us to chaing our counsells, except we had seen and waighed your grounds, which might have out wayed our owne.

(5ly.) For our peoples trading at Kenebeck, we assure you (to our knowledge) it hath not been by any allowance from us; and what we have provided in this and like cases, at our last Courte, Mr. E. W. can certifie you.

And (6ly) whereas you object to us yt we should hold trade & correspondancie with ye French, your enemies; we answer, you are misinformed, for, besides some letters which hath passed between our late Govr and them, to which we were privie, we have neither sente nor incouraged ours to trade with them; only one vessel or tow, for ye better conveyance of our letters, had license from our Governor to sayle thither.

Diverce other things have been privatly objected to us, by our worthy friend, whereunto he received some answer; but most of them concerning ye apprehension of perticuler discourtesies, or injueries from some perticuler persons amongst us. It concerns us not to give any other answer to them then this; that, if ye offenders shall be brought forth in a right way, we shall be ready to do justice as ye case shall require. In the meane time, we desire you to rest assured, that such things are without our privity, and not a little greeveous to us.

Now for ye joyning with us in this war, which indeed concerns us no other wise then it may your selves, viz.: the releeving of our friends & Christian breethren, who are now first in ye danger; though you may thinke us able to make it good without you, (as, if ye Lord please to be with us, we may,) yet 3. things we offer to your consideration, which (we conceive) may have some waight with you. (First) yt if we should sinck under this burden, your opportunitie of seasonable help would be lost in 3. respects. 1. You cannot recover us, or secure your selves ther, with 3. times ye charge & hazard which now ye may. 2ly. The sorrows which we should lye under (if through your neglect) would much abate of ye acceptableness of your help afterwards. 3ly. Those of yours who are now full of courage and forwardness, would be much damped, and so less able to undergo so great a burden. The thing is this, that it concerns us much to hasten this war to an end before ye end of this somer, otherwise ye news of it will discourage both your & our friends from coming to us next year; with what further hazard & loss it may expose us unto, your selves may judge.

The (3.) thing is this, that if ye Lord shall please to blesse our endeavours, so as we end ye war, or put it in a hopeful way without you, it may breed such ill thoughts in our people towards yours, as will be hard to entertaine such opinion of your good will towards us, as were fit to be nurished among such neighbours & brethren as we are. And what ill consequences may follow, on both sides, wise men may fear, & would rather prevent then hope to redress. So with my harty salutations to you selfe, and all your counsell, and other our good friends with you, I rest.

Yours most assured in ye Lord,

Jo: Winthrop.

Boston, ye 20. of ye 3. month, 1637.

In ye mean time, the Pequents, espetially in ye winter before, sought to make peace with ye Narigansetts, and used very pernicious arguments to move them thereunto: as that ye English were strangers and began to overspred their countrie, and would deprive them therof in time, if they were suffered to grow & increase; and if ye Narigansetts did assist ye 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 ye strength of ye English; for they would not come to open battle with them, but fire their houses, kill their katie, and lye in ambush for them as they went abroad upon their occasions; and all this they might easily doe without any or little danger to themselves. The which course being held, they well saw the English could not long subsist, but they would either be starved with hunger, or be forced to forsake the countrie; with many ye like things; insomuch that ye Narigansetts were once wavering, and were halfe minded to have made peace with them, and joyned against ye English. But againe when they considered, how much wrong they had received from the Pequents, and what an opportunitie they now had by ye help of ye English to right themselves, revenge was so sweete unto them, as it prevailed above all ye rest; so as they resolved to joyne with ye English against them, & did. The Court here agreed forwith to send 50. men at their owne charge; and wth as much speed as possiblie they could, gott them armed, and had made them ready under sufficiente leaders, and provided a barke to carrie them provisions & tend upon them for all occasions; but when they were ready to march (with a supply from ye Bay) they had word to stay, for ye enemy was as good as vanquished, and there would be no neede.

I shall not take upon me exactly to describe their proceedings in these things, because I expect it will be fully done by themselves, who best know the carriage & circumstances of things; I shall therefore but touch them in general. From Connightecute (who were most sensible of ye hurt sustained, & ye present danger), they set out a partie of men, and another partie met them from ye Bay, at ye Narigansetts, who were to joyne with them. Ye Narigansetts were earnest to be gone before ye English were well rested and refreshte, espetically some of them which came last. It should seem their desire was to come upon ye enemie suddenly, & undiscovered.

There was a barke of this place, newly put in there, which was come from Connightecutte, who did incourage them to lay hold of ye Indeans forwardness, and to shew as great forwardness 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 ye enimies (in which most of their cheefe men were) before day. They approached ye same with great silence, and surrounded it both with English & Indeans, that they might not break out; and so assaulted them with great courage, shooting amongst them, and entered ye forte with all speed; and those yt first entered found sharp resistance from the enemie, who both shot at & grappled with them; others rane into their howses, & brought out fire, and set them on fire, which soone took in their matts, &, standing close togeather, with ye wind, all was quickly on a flame, and thereby more were burnt to death then was otherwise slain; it burnt their bowstrings, and made them unserviceable. Those yt scaped ye fire were slain with ye sword; some hewed to peeces, others rune throw with their rapiers, so as they were quickly dispatcht, 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 ye fyer, and ye streams of blood quenching ye same, and horrible was ye stinck & sente ther of; but ye victory seemed a sweete sacrifice, and they gave the prays therof to God, who had wrought so wonderfully for them, thus to enclose their enimise in their hands, and give them so speedy a victory over so proud & insulting an enemie. The Narigansett Indeans, all this while, stood round about, but aloof from all danger, and left ye whole execution to ye English, except it were ye stopping of any yt broke away, insulting over their enimies in this their ruine & miserie, when they saw them dancing in ye flames, calling them by a word in their owne language, signifying, O brave Pequents! which they used familiarly among themselves in their own prayers, in songs of triumph after their victories. After this service was thus happily accomplished, they marcht to the water side, where they met with some of their vessels, by which they had refreshing with victualls & other necessities. But in their march ye rest of ye Pequents drew into a body, and accosted 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 aloof, so as they neither did hurt, nor could receive any. After their refreshing & repair togeather for further counsell & directions, they resolved to pursue their victory, and follow ye war against ye rest, but ye Narigansett Indeans most of them forsook them, and such of them as they had with them for guides, or otherwise, they found them very could and backward in ye bussines, ether out of envie, or yt they saw ye English would make more profite of ye victorie then they were willing they should, or else deprive them of such advantage as themselves desired by having them become tributaries unto them, or ye like.

For ye rest of this bussines, I shall only relate ye same as it is in a leter which came from Mr. Winthrop to ye Govr hear, as followeth.

Worthy Sir: I received your loving letter, and am much provoked to express my affections towards you, but straitnes of time forbids me; for my desire is to acquaint you with ye Lords great mercies towards us, in our prevailing against his & our enimies; that you may rejoyce and praise his name with us. About 80. of our men, haveing costed along towards ye Dutch plantation, (sometimes by water, but most by land,) met hear & there with some Pequents, whom they slew or took prisoners. 2. sachems they took, & beheaded; and not hearing of Sassacous, (the cheefe sachem,) they gave a prisoner his life, to goe and find him out. He wente and brought them word where he was, but Sassacouse, suspecting him to be a spie, after he was gone, fled away with some 20. more to ye Mowakes, so our men missed of him. Yet, dividing themselves, and ranging up & down, as ye providence of God guided them (for ye Indeans were all gone, save 3. or 4. and they knew not whither to guid them, or else would not), upon ye 13. of this month, they light upon a great company of them, viz. 80 strong men, & 200. women & children, in a small Indean towne, fast by a hideous swamp, which they all slipped into before our men could get to them. Our captains were not then come togeather, but ther was Mr. Ludlow and Captaine Masson, with some 10. of their men, & Captaine Patrick with some 20 or more of his, who, shooting at ye Indeans, Captain Trask with 50. more came soone in at ye noyse. Then they gave order to surround ye swampe, it being about a mile about; but Levetenante Davenport & some 12. more, not hearing that comānd, fell into ye swampe among ye Indeans. The swampe was so thick with shrub-woode, & so boggie with all, that some of them stuck fast, and received many shott. Levetenant Davenport was dangerously wounded about his armehole, and another shot in ye head, so as, fainting, they were in great danger to have been taken by ye Indeans. But Sargante Rigges, & Jeffery, and 2 or 3 more, rescued them, and slew diverse of ye Indeans with their swords. After they were drawn out, the Indeans desired parley, & were offered (by Thomas Stanton, our interpreter) that, if they would come out, and yeeld themselves, they should have their lives, all that had not their hands in ye English blood. Whereupon ye sachem of ye place came forth, and an old man or 2. & their wives and children, and after that some other women & children, and so they spake 2 howers, till it was night. Then Thomas Stanton was sente into them againe, to call them forth; but they said they would sell their lives there, and so shot at him so thick as, if he had not cried out, and been presently rescued, they had slain him. Then our men cut of a place of ye swampe with their swords, and cooped the Indeans into so narrow a compass, as they could easier kill them throw ye thickets. So they continued all ye night, standing aboute 12 foot one from another, and ye Indeans, coming close up to our men, shot their arrows so thick, as they pierced their hat brims, & their sleeves, & stockins, & other parts of their cloaths, yet so miraculously did the Lord preserve them as not one of them was wounded, save those 3. who rashly went into ye swampe. When it was nere day, it grue very dark, so as those of them which were left dropt away between our men, though they stood but 12 or 14 foot asunder; but were presently discovered, & some killed in ye pursuit. Upon searching of ye swampe, ye next morning, they found 9. slain, & some they pulled up, whom ye

Indeans had buried in ye mire, so as they do thinke that, of all this company, not 20 did escape, for they after found some who dyed in their flight of their wounds received. The prisoners were devided, some to those of ye river, and the rest to us. Of these we send ye male children to Bermuda, by Mr. William Peirce, & ye women & maid children are disposed about in the towns. There have been now slain & taken, in all, aboute 700. The rest are dispersed, and the Indeans in all quarters so terrified as all their friends are afraid to receive them. 2 of ye sachems of Long Island came to Mr. Stoughton and tendered themselves to be tributaries under our protection.

And 2 of ye Neeponnet sachems have been with me to seeke our friendship. Among the prisoners we have ye wife & children of Mononotto, a woman of a very modest countenance and behaviour. It was by her mediation that the 2 English maids were spared from death, and were kindly used by her; so that I have taken charge of her. One of her first requests was, that the English would not abuse her body, and that her children might not be taken from her. Those which were wounded were fetched of soone by John Galopp, who came with his shalop in a happie hour, to bring them victuals, and to carrie their wounded men to ye pinass, where our cheefe surgeon was, wth Mr. Willson, being about 8. leagues off. Our people are all in health, (ye Lord be praised,) and although they had marched in their armes all ye day, and had been in fight all ye night, yet they professed they found themselves so fresh as they could willingly have gone to such another bussines.

This is ye substance of that which I received, though I am forced to omit many considerable circumstances. So, being in much straitnes of time, (the ships being to depart within this 4. days, and in them the Lord Lee and Mr. Vane,) I hear break of, and with harty salutes to, &c., I rest

Yours assured,

Jo: Winthrop.

The 28th of ye 5th month, 1637.

The captains report we have slaine 13. sachems; but Sassacouse & Monotto are yet living.

That I may make an end of this matter: this Sassacouse (ye Pequents cheefe sachem) being fled to ye Mohawks, they cut of his head, with some other of ye cheefe of them, whether to satisfie ye English, or rather ye Narigansetts, (who, as I have since heard, hired them to do it,) or for their owne advantage, I well know not; but thus this war took end. The rest of ye Pequents were wholly driven from their place, and some of them submitted themselves to ye Narigansetts, & lived under them; others of them betooke themselves to ye Monhiggs, under Uncass, their sachem, wth the approbation of ye English of Conightecutt, under whose protection Uncass lived, and he and his men had been faithful to them in this war, & done them very good service. But this did so vex the Narragansetts, that they had not ye whole sway over them, as they have never ceased plotting and contriving how to bring them under, and because they cannot attaine their ends, because of ye English who have protected them, they have sought to raise a general conspiracie against ye English, as will appear in another place.

They had now letters againe out of England from Mr. Andrews & Mr. Beachamp, that Mr. Sherley neither had nor would pay them any money, or give them any accounte, and so with much discontent desired them here to send them some, much blaming them still, that they had sent all to Mr. Sherley, & none to themselves. Now, though they might have justly referred them to their former answer, and insisted ther upon, & some wise men counselled them so to doe, yet because they beleaved that they were really out round sumes of money, (espetsially Mr. Andrews,) and they had some in their hands, they resolved to send them what bever they had. Mr. Sherley's letters were to this purpose: that, as they had left him in ye paiement of ye former bills, so he had tould them he would leave them in this, and beleieve it, they should find it true. And he was as good as his word, for they could never get penny from him, nor bring him to any accounte, though Mr. Beachamp sued him in ye Chancerie. But they all of them turned their complaints against them here, where ther was least cause, and who had suffered most unjustly; first from Mr. Allerton & them, in being charged with so much of yt which they never had, nor drunk for; and now in paying all, & more then all (as they conceived), and yet still thus more demanded, and that with many heavie charges. They now discharged Mr. Sherley from his agencie, and forbad him to buy or send over any more goods for them, and prest him to come to some end about these things.

Anno Dom: 1638.

This year Mr. Thomas Prence was chosen Governor.

Amongst other enormities that fell out amongst them, this year 3. men were (after due triall) executed for robbery & murder which they had committed; their names were these, Arthur Peach, Thomas Jackson, and Richard Stinnings; ther was a 4., Daniel Crose, who was also guilty, but he escaped away, and could not be found. This Arthur Peach was ye cheefe of them, and ye ring leader of all ye rest. He was a lustie and a desperate yonge man, and had been one of ye souldiers in ye Pequente war, and had done as good servise as ye most ther, and one of ye forwardest in any attempt. And being now out of means, and loath to worke, and falling to idle courses & company, he intended to goe to ye Dutch plantation; and had allured these 3., being other men's servants and apprentices, to goe with him. But another cause ther was also of his secret going away in this maner; he was not only run into debt, but he had gott a maid with child, (which was not known till after his death,) a man's servant in ye towne, and fear of punishmente made him get away. The other 3. complotting with him, ranne away from their maisters in the night, and could not be heard of, for they went not ye ordinarie way, but shaped such a course as they thought to avoyd ye pursuit of any. But falling into ye way that lyeth between ye Bay of Massachusetts and the Narragansetts, and being disposed to rest themselves, struck fire, and took tobacco, a little out of ye way, by ye way side. At length ther came a Narigansett Indean by, who had been in ye Bay a trading, and had both cloth & beads aboute him. (They had meett him ye day before, & he was now returning.) Peach called him to drink tobacco with them, and he came & sat down with them. Peach tould ye other he would kill him, and take what he had from him. But they were something afraid; but he said, Hang him, rogue, he had killed many of them. So they let him alone to do as he would; and when he saw his time, he

took a rapier and rane him through the body once or twice, and took from him 5. fathume of wampam, and 3. coats of cloath, and wente their way, leaving him for dead. But he scrabbled away, when they were gone, and made shift to get home, (but dyed within a few days after,) by which means they were discovered; and by subtilty the Indeans took them.

For they desiring a canow to set them over a water, (not thinking their fact had been known,) by ye sachems command they were carried to Aquidnett Island, & ther accused of ye murder, and were examend & comitted upon it by ye English ther. The Indeans sent for Mr. Williams, & made a greeveous complaint; his friends and kindred were ready to rise in armes, and provock the rest thereunto, some conceiving they should now find ye Pequents words trew: that ye English would fall upon them. But Mr. Williams pacified them, & tould them, they should see justice done upon ye offenders; & wente to ye man, & took Mr. James, a phisition, with him. The man tould him who did it, & in what maner it was done; but the phisition found his wounds mortal, and that he could not live, (as he after testified upon oath, before the jurie in open courte,) and so he dyed shortly after, as both Mr. Williams, Mr. James, & some Indeans testified in courte. The Government in the Bay were acquainted with it, but refferd it hither, because it was done in this jurisdiction; but pressed by all means yt justice might be done in it; or else ye countrie must rise & see justice done, otherwise it would raise a war. Yet some of ye rude & ignorante sort murmured that any English should be put to death for ye Indeans. So at last they of ye island brought them hither, and being often examened, and ye evidence prodused, they all in the end freely confessed in effect all yt the Indean accused them of, & that they had done it, in ye maner afforesaid; and so, upon ye forementioned evidence, were cast by ye jurie, & condemned, & executed for the same. And some of ye Narigansett Indeans, & of ye parties friends, were presente when it was done, which gave them & all ye countrie good satisfaction. But it was a matter of much sadness to them hear, and was ye 2. execution which they had since they came; being both for wilful murder, as hath bene before related. Thus much of this mater.

They received this year more letters from England full of renewed complaints, on ye one side, that they could get no money nor accounte from Mr. Sherley; & he againe, yt he was pressed thereto, saying he was to accounte with those hear, and not with them, &c. So, as was before resolved, if nothing came of their last letters, they would now send them what they could, as supposing, when some good part was payed them, that Mr. Sherley & they would more easily agree aboute ye remainder.

So they sent to Mr. Andrews and Mr. Beachamp, by Mr. Joseph Yonge, in ye Mary & Anne, 1325li. waight of beaver, devided between them. Mr. Beachamp returned an accounte of his moyety, that he made 400li. starling of it, freight and all charges paid. But Mr. Andrews, though he had ye more and better part, yet he made not so much of his, through his owne indiscretion; and yet turned ye loss upon them hear, but without cause. They sent them more by bills & other paimente, which was received & acknowledged by them, in money & ye like; which was for kattle sould of Mr. Allerton's, and ye price of a bark sold, which belonged to ye stock, and made over to them in money, 434li. sterling. The whole sume was 1234li. sterling, save what Mr. Andrews lost in ye beaver, which was otherwise made good. But yet this did not stay their clamours, as will appear here after more at large.

It pleased God, in these times, so to blesse ye country with such access & confluence of people into it, as it was thereby much inriched, and cattle of all kinds stood at a high rate for diverce years together. Kine were sould at 20li. and some at 25li. a peece, yea, sometimes at 28li. A cow-calfe usually at 10li. A milch goat at 3li. & some at 4li. And female kids at 30s. and often at 40s. a peece. By which means ye ancient planters which had any stock begane to grow in their estates. Corn also wente at a round rate, viz. 6s. a bushell. So as other trading begane to be neglected; and the old partners (having now forbidden Mr. Sherley to send them any more goods) broke of their trade at Kenebeck, and, as things stood, would follow it no longer. But some of them, (with other they joyned with,) being loath it should be lost by discontinuance, agreed with ye company for it, and gave them aboute ye 6. part of their gains for it; with ye first fruits of which they built a house for a prison; and the trade ther hath been since continued, to ye great benefit of ye place; for some well foresaw that these high prices of corn and cattle would not long continue, and that then ye comodities ther raised would be much missed.

This year, aboute ye 1. or 2. of June, was a great & fearfull earthquake; it was in this place heard before it was felt. It came with a rumbling noyse, or low murmure, like unto remoate thunder; it came from ye norward, & passed southward. As ye noyse approached nearer, they earth began to shake, and came at length with that violence as caused platters, dishes, & such like things as stood upon shelves, to clatter & fall down; yea, persons were afraid of ye houses themselves. It so fell oute yt at ye same time diverse of ye cheefe of this towne were met together at one house, conferring with some of their friends that were upon their removal from ye place, (as if ye Lord would herby shew ye signes of his displeasure, in their shaking a peeces & removals one from another.) How ever it was very terrible for ye time, and as ye men were set talking in ye house, some women & others were without ye dores, and ye earth shook with yt violence as they could not stand without catching hould of ye posts & pails yt stood next them; but ye violence lasted not long. And about halfe an hower, or less, came another noyse & shaking, but nether so loud nor strong as ye former, but quickly passed over; and so it ceased. It was not only on ye sea coast, but ye Indeans felt it within land; and some ships that were upon ye coast were shaken by it. So powerfull is ye mighty hand of ye Lord, as to make both the earth & sea to shake, and the mountains to tremble before him, when he pleases; and who can stay his hand? It was observed that ye somers, for divers years togeather after this earthquake, were not so hot & seasonable for ye ripening of corn & other fruits as formerly; but more could & moyst, & subject to early & untimely frosts, by which, many times, much Indean corn came not to maturitie; but whether this was any cause, I leave it to naturalists to judge.

Anno Dom: 1639. & Anno Dom: 1640.

These 2 years I joyne together, because in them fell not out many things more than ye ordinary passages of their comone affaires, which are not needfull to be touched. Those of this plantation having at sundrie times granted lands for several townships, and amongst ye rest to ye inhabitants of Sityate, some wherof issewed from themselves, and also a large tracte of land was given to their 4 London partners in ye place, viz. Mr. Sherley, Mr. Beacham, Mr. Andrews, & Mr. Hatherley. At Mr. Hatherley's request and choys it was by him taken for him selfe and them in yt place; for the other 3. had invested him with power & trust to choose for them. And this tracte of land extended to their utmost limits that way, and bordered on their neighbours of ye Massachusetts, who had some years after seated a towne (called Hingam) on their lands next to these parts. So as now ther grue great difference between these 2. townships, about their bounds, and some meadow grownds that lay between them. They of Hingam presumed to allot part of them to their people, and measure & stack them out. The other pulled up their stacks, & threw them. So it grew to a controversie between the 2. governments, & many letters and passages were between them about it; and it hung some 2. years in suspense. The Courte of Massachusetts, appointed some to range their line according to ye bounds of their patente, and (as they wente to worke) they made it to take in all Sityate, and I know not how much more. Againe, on ye other hand, according to ye line of the patente of this place, it would take in Hingame and much more within their bounds.

In ye end both Courts agreed to choose 2. commissioners of each side, and to give them full & absolute power to agree and settle ye bounds between them; and what they should do in ye case should stand irrevocably. One meeting they had at Hingam, but could not conclude; for their commissioners stood stiffly on a clawes in their graunte, That from Charles-river, or any branch or part therof, they were to extend their limits, and 3. myles further to ye southward; or from ye most southward part of ye Massachusetts Bay, and 3. mile further. But they chose to stand on ye former termes, for they had found a smale river, or brooke rather, that a great way with in land trended southward, and issued into some part of yt river taken to be Charles-river, and from ye most southerly part of this, & 3. mile more southward of ye same, they would run a line east to ye sea, aboute 20. mile; which will (say they) take in a part of Plimoth itself. Now it is to be known yt though this patente & plantation were much the ancients, yet this enlargemente of the same (in which Sityate stood) was granted after theirs, and so theirs were first to take place, before this enlargemente. Now their answer was, first, that, however according to their owne plan, they could no way come upon any part of their ancient grante. Secondly. They could never prove yt to be a part of Charles-river, for they knew not which was Charles-river, but as ye people of this place, which came first, imposed such a name upon yt river, upon which, since Charles-towne is built (supposing yt was it, which Captaine Smith in his mapp so named). Now they yt first named it have best reason to know it, and to explain which is it. But they only took it to be Charles river, as fare as it was by them navigated, and yt was as farr as a boat could goe. But yt every runlet or small brooke, yt should, farr within land, come into it, or mix their streams with it, and were by ye natives called by other & differente names from it, should now by them be made Charles-river, or parts of it, they saw no reason for it. And gave instance in Humber, in Old England, which had ye Trent, Ouse, and many others of lesser note fell into it, and yet were not counted parts of it; and many smaller rivers & brooks fell into ye Trente, & Ouse, and no parts of them, but had names apart, and divisions & nominations of themselves. Againe, it was pleaded that they had no east line in their patente, but were to begine at ye sea, and goe west by a line, &c. At this meeting no conclusion was made, but things discussed & well prepared for an issue. The next year ye same Comissioners had their power continued or renewed, and met at Sityate, and concluded ye mater, as followeth.

The agreemente of ye bounds betwixte Plimoth and Massachusetts.

Whereas there were two commissioners granted by ye 2. jurisdictions, ye one of Massachusetts Government, granted unto John Endecott, gent: and Israell Stoughton, gent: the other of New-Plimoth Govermente, to William Bradford, Governor, and Edward Winslow, gent: and both these for ye setting out, settling, & determining of ye bounds & limits of ye lands between ye said jurisdictions, whereby not only this presente age, but ye posteritie to come may live peaceably & quietly in yt behalfe. And for as much as ye said commissioners on both sides have full power so to doe, as appeareth by ye records of both jurisdictions; we therefore, ye said commissioners above named, doe hearby with one consente & agreemente conclude, determine, and by these presents declare, that all ye marshes at Conahassett yt lye of ye one side of ye river next to Hingam, shall belong to ye jurisdiction of Massachusetts Plantation; and all ye marshes yt lye on ye other side of ye river next to Sityate, shall be long to ye jurisdiction of New-Plimoth; excepting 60. acers of marsh at ye mouth of ye river, on Sityate side next to the sea, which we do herby agree, conclude, & determine shall belong to ye jurisdiction of Massachusetts. And further, we doe hearby agree, determine, and conclude, yt the bounds of ye limits between both ye said jurisdictions are as followeth, viz. from ye mouth of ye brook yt runeth into Chonahassett marches (which we call by ye name of Bound-brooke) with a straight & direct line to ye middle of a great pond, yt lyeth on ye right hand of ye upper path, or commone way, yt leadeth between Waimoth and Plimoth, close to ye path as we goe along, which was formerly named (and still we desire may be called) Accord pond, lying aboute five or 6. myles from Weimoth southerly; and from thence with a straight line to ye southern-most part of Charles-river, & 3. miles southerly, inward into ye cuntry, according as is expressed in ye patent granted by his Matie to ye Company of ye Massachusetts Plantation. Provided always and never ye less concluded & determined by mutual agreemente between ye said commissioners, yt if it fall out yt the said line from Accord-pond to ye southernmost part of Charles-river, & 3. myles southerly as is before expressed, straiten or hinder any part of any plantation begun by ye Government of New-Plimoth, or hereafter to be begun within 10. years after ye date of these psnts, that then, notwithstanding ye said line, it shall be lawfull for ye said Government of New-Plimoth to assume on ye northerly side of ye said line, where it shall so intrench as afforesaid, so much land as will make up ye quantity of eight miles square, to belong to every such plantation begun, or to [be] begun as afforesaid; which we agree, determine, & conclude to appertain & belong to ye said Government of New-Plimoth. And whereas ye said line, from ye said brooke which runeth into Choahassett saltmarshes, called by us Bound-brooke, and ye pond called Accord-pond, lyeth nere ye lands belonging to ye townships of Sityate & Hingam, we doe therefore hereby determine & conclude, that if any divisions already made and recorded, by either ye said townships, doe cross the said line, that

then it shall stand, & be of force according to ye former intents and purposes of the said towns granting them (the marshes formerly agreed on excepted).

And yt no towne in either jurisdiction shall hereafter exceede, but contain themselves within ye said lines expressed. In witnes wherof we, the commissioners of both jurisdictions, doe by these presents indented set our hands & scales ye ninth day of ye 4. month in 16. year of our sovereign lord, king Charles; and in ye year of our Lord, 1640.

William Bradford, Govr.

Ed: Winslow. Jo: Endecott. Israell Stoughton.

Whereas ye patent was taken in ye name of William Bradford, (as in trust,) and rane in these termes: To him, his heires, and associates & assignes; and now ye number of free-men being much increased, and diverce townships established and settled in several quarters of ye government, as Plimoth, Duxberie, Sityate, Tanton, Sandwich, Yarmouth, Barnstable, Marchfeeld, and not long after, Seacunke (called afterward, at ye desire of ye inhabitants, Rehoboth) and Nawsett, it was by ye Courte desired that William Bradford should make a surrender of the same into their hands. The which he willingly did, in this maner following.

Whereas William Bradford, and diverce others ye first instruments of God in the beginning of this great work of plantation, togeather with such as ye all ordering hand of God in his providence soone added unto them, have been at very great charges to procure ye lands, privileges, & freedoms from all intanglements, as may appeare by diverse & sundrie deeds, enlargement of grants, purchases, and payments of debts, &c., by reason wherof ye title to ye day of these presents remaineth in ye said William Bradford, his heires, associates, and assignes: now, for ye better settling of ye estate of the said lands (contained in ye grant or patent), the said William Bradford, and those first instruments termed & called in sundry orders upon publick record, Ye Purchasers, or Old comers; witnes 2 in spetiall, the one bearing date ye 3. of March, 1639. the other in Des: the 1. Ano 1640. whereunto these presents have spetiall relation & agreeunte, and whereby they are distinguished from other ye freemen & inhabitants of ye said corporation. Be it known unto all men, therefore, by these presents, that the said William Bradford, for him selfe, his heires, together with ye said purchasers, doe only reserve unto themselves, their heires, and assignes those 3 tracts of land mentioned in ye said resolution, order, and agreeunte, bearing date ye first of Des: 1640. viz. first, from ye bounds of Yarmouth, 3 miles to ye eastward of Naemschatet, and from sea to sea, cross the neck of land. The 2. of a place called Acoughcouss, which lyeth in ye botome of ye bay adjoining to ye west-side of Pointe Peril, and 2 myles to ye western side of ye said river, to another place called Acushente river, which entereth at ye western end of Nacata, and 2. miles to ye eastward therof, and to extend 8. myles up into ye countrie.

The 3 place, from Sowansett river to Patucket river, (with Cawsumsett neck,) which is ye cheefe habitation of ye Indeans, & reserved for them to dwell upon, extending into ye land 8. myles through ye whole breadth therof. Togeather with such other small parcels of lands as they or any of them are personally possessed of or intressed in, by virtue of any former titles or grant whatsoever. And ye said William Bradford doth, by ye free & full consente, approbation, and agreeunte of ye said old-planters, or purchasers, together with ye liking, approbation, and acceptation of ye other part of ye said corporation, surrender into ye hands of ye whole courte, consisting of ye free-men of this corporation of New-Plimoth, all yt other right & title, power, authority, privileges, immunities, & freedoms granted in ye said letters patents by ye said right Hon'ble Counsell for New-England; reserving his & their personal right of freemen, together wth the said old planters afforesaid, except ye said lands before excepted, declaring the freemen of this corporation, togeather with all such as shall be legally admitted into ye same, his associates. And ye said William Bradford, for him, his heirs, & assignes, doe hereby further promise and grant to doe & perform whatsoever further thing or things, act or acts, which in him lyeth, which shall be needfull and expediente for ye better confirming and establishing the said premises, as by counsel learned in ye laws shall be reasonably advised and devised, when he shall be ther unto required. In witness wherof, the said William Bradford hath in publick courte surrendered the said letters patents actually into ye hands & power of ye said courte, binding him selfe, his heires, executors, administrators, and assignes to deliver up whatsoever specialties are in his hands that doe or may concern the same.

In these 2 years they had sundry letters out of England to send one over to end the buissines and accounte with Mr. Sherley; who now professed he could not make up his accounts without ye help of some from hence, espetially Mr. Winslow's. They had serious thoughts of it, and ye most part of ye partners hear thought it best to send; but they had formerly written such bitter and threatening letters as Mr. Winslow was neither willing to goe, nor yt any other of ye partners should; for he was perswaded, if any of them wente, they should be arrested, and an action of such a summe layed upon them as they should not procure bale, but must lye in prison, and then they would bring them to what they list; or otherwise they might be brought into trouble by ye arch-bishops means, as ye times then stood. But, notwithstanding, they were much inclined to send, & Captaine Standish was willing to goe, but they resolved, seeing they could not all agree in this thing, and that it was waighty, and ye consequence might prove dangerous, to take Mr. Winthrop's advice in ye thing, and ye rather, because Mr. Andrews had by many letters acquaynted him with ye differences between them, and appoynted him for his assign to receive his part of ye debt. (And though they denyed to pay him any as a debt, till ye controversie was ended, yet they had deposited 110li. in money in his hands for Mr. Andrews, to pay to him in part as soone as he would come to any agreement with ye rest.) But Mr. Winthrop was of Mr. Winslow's mind, and disswaded them from sending; so they broak of their resolution from sending, and returned this answer: that the times were dangerous as things stood with them, for they knew how Mr. Winslow had suffered formerly, and for a small matter was clapte up in ye Fleet, & it was long before he could get out, to both his & their great loss and damage; and times were not better, but worse, in yt respect. Yet, that their equal & honest minds might appeare to all men, they made them this tender: to refer ye case to some gentle-men and marchants in ye Bay of ye Massachusetts, such as they should chuse, and were well known unto themselves, (as they perceived there were many of their acquaintance and friends ther, better known to them then ye partners hear,) and let them be informed in ye case by both sides, and have all ye evidence yt could be produced, in writing, or otherwise;

and they would be bound to stand to their determination, and make good their award, though it should cost them all they had in ye world. But this did not please them, but they were offended at it, without any great reason for ought I know, (seeing nether side could give in clear accounts, ye partners here could not, by reason they (to their smart) were failed by ye accountant they sent them, and Mr. Sherley pretended he could not also,) save as they conceived it a disparagement to yeeld to their inferiors in respect of ye place and other concurring circumstances. So this came to nothing; and afterward Mr. Sherley write, yt if Mr. Winslow would meet him in France, ye Low-Countries, or Scotland, let ye place be known, and he come to him ther. But in regard of ye troubles that now begane to arise in our owne nation, and other reasons, this did not come to any effecte. That which made them so desirous to bring things to an end was partly to stope ye clamours and aspersions raised & cast upon them hereabout; though they conceived themselves to sustain the greatest wrong, and had most cause of complaint; and partly because they feared ye fall of cattle, in which most part of their estates lay. And this was not a vaine fear; for they fell indeed before they came to a conclusion, and that so suddenly, as a cow that but a month before was worth 20li., and would so have passed in any payment, fell now to 5li. and would yeeld no more; and a goat that wente at 3li. or 50s. would now yeeld but 8. or 10s. at most. All men feared a fall of cattle, but it was thought it would be by degrees; and not to be from ye highest pitch at once to ye lowest, as it did, which was greatly to ye damage of many, and ye undoing of some. Another reason was, they many of them grew aged, (and indeed a rare thing it was that so many partners should all live together so many years as these did,) and saw many changes were like to befall; so as they were loath to leave these intanglements upon their children and posteritie, who might be driven to remove places, as they had done; yea, themselves might do it yet before they dyed. But this bussines must yet rest; ye next year gave it more ripnes, though it rendered them less able to pay, for ye reasons afforesaid.

Anno Dom: 1641.

Mr. Sherley being weary of this controversie, and desirous of an end, (as well as themselves,) write to Mr. John Atwode and Mr. William Collier, 2. of ye inhabitants of this place, and of his speatiall acquaintance, and desired them to be a means to bring this bussines to an end, by advising & counselling the partners hear, by some way to bring it to a composition, by mutual agreemente. And he write to themselves also to yt end, as by his letter may appear; so much therof as concerns ye same I shall hear relate.

Sir. My love remembered, &c. I have writte so much concerning ye ending of accounts betweene us, as I profess I know not what more to write, &c. If you desire an end, as you seem to doe, ther is (as I conceive) but 2. waies; that is, to perfect all accounts, from ye first to ye last, &c. Now if we find this difficulte, and tedious, haveing not been so stricte & carefull as we should and ought to have done, as for my owne part I do confess I have been somewhat to remisse, and doe verily thinke so are you, &c. I fear you can never make a perfect accounte of all your petty viages, out, & home too & againe, &c. So then ye second way must be, by bidding, or compounding; and this way, first or last, we must fall upon, &c. If we must war at law for it, do not you expect from me, nether will I from you, but to cleave ye hear, and then I dare say ye lawyers will be most gainers, &c. Thus let us set to ye worke, one way or other, and end, that I may not always suffer in my name & estate. And you are not free; nay, ye gospel suffers by your delaying, and causeth ye professors of it to be hardly spoken of, that you, being many, & now able, should combine & joyne togeather to oppress & burden me, &c. Fear not to make a faire & reasonable offer; beleieve me, I will never take any advantage to plead it against you, or to wrong you; or else let Mr. Winslow come over, and let him have such full power & authority as we may ende by compounding; or else, ye accounts so well and fully made up, as we may end by reckoning. Now, blessed be God, ye times be much changed here, I hope to see many of you returne to your native countrie againe, and have such freedom & libertie as ye word of God prescribes. Our bishops were never so near a downfall as now; God hath miraculously confounded them, and turned all their popish & Machiavellian plots & projects on their owne heads, &c. Thus you see what is fit to be done concerning our particular greivances. I pray you take it seriously into consideration; let each give way a little that we may meete, &c. Be you and all yours kindly saluted, &c. So I ever rest,

Your loving friend,

James Sherley.

Clapham, May 18, 1641.

Being thus by this leter, and also by Mr. Atwodes & Mr. Colliers mediation urged to bring things to an end, (and ye continuall clamours from ye rest,) and by none more urged then by their own desires, they took this course (because many scandals had been raised upon them). They apoynted these 2. men before mentioned to meet on a certain day, and called some other friends on both sides, and Mr. Free-man, brother in law to Mr. Beachamp, and having drawn up a collection of all ye remains of ye stock, in what soever it was, as housing, boats, bark, and all implements belonging to ye same, as they were used in ye time of ye trad, were they better or worce, with ye remains of all comodities, as beads, knives, hatchets, cloth, or anything else, as well ye refuse as ye more vendible, with all debts, as well those yt were desperate as others more hopeful; and having spent diverce days to bring this to pass, having ye help of all books and papers, which either any of themselves had, or Josias Winslow, who was their accountant; and they found ye sume in all to arise (as ye things were valued) to about 1400li. And they all of them took a voluntary but a solemn oath, in ye presence one of another, and of all their friends, ye persons abovesaid yt were now presente, that this was all that any of them knew of, or could remember; and Josias Winslow did ye like for his part. But ye truth is they wronged themselves much in ye valuation, for they reconed some cattle as they were taken of Mr. Allerton, as for instance a cow in ye hands of one cost 25li. and so she was valued in this accounte; but when she came to be passed away in part of payment, after ye agreemente, she would be accepted but a 4li. 15s.

Also being tender of their oaths, they brought in all they know owing to ye stock; but they had not made ye like diligent search what ye stock might owe to any, so as many scattering debts fell upon afterwards more than now they know of.

Upon this they drew certain articles of agreemente between Mr. Atwode, on Mr. Sherley's behalfe, and themselves. The effecte is as followeth.

Articles of agreemente made and concluded upon ye 15. day of October, 1641. &c.

Imp: Whereas ther was a partnership for diverce years agreed upon between James Sherley, John Beacham, and Richard Andrews, of London, marchants, and William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prence, Myles Standish, William Brewster, John Aldon, & John Howland, with Isaack Allerton, in a trade of beaver skines & other furs arising in New-England; the term of which said partnership being expired, and diverse sumes of money in goods adventured into New-England by ye said James Sherley, John Beachamp, & Richard Andrews, and many large returns made from New-England by ye said William Bradford, Ed: Winslow, &c.; and difference arising aboute ye charge of 2 ships, the one called ye White Angele, of Bristow, and ye other ye Friendship, of Barnstable, and a viage intended in her, &c.; which said ships & their viages, ye said William Bradford, Ed: W. &c. conceive do not at all appertain to their accounts of partnership; and whereas ye accounts of ye said partnership are found to be confused, and cannot orderly appeare (through ye default of Josias Winslow, ye booke keeper); and whereas ye said W. B. &c. have received all their goods for ye said trade from the foresaid James Sherley, and have made most of their returns to him, by consente of ye said John Beachamp & Richard Andrews; and whereas also ye said James Sherley hath given power & authoritie to Mr. John Atwode, with ye advice & consente of William Collier, of Duxborow, for and on his behalfe, to put such an absolute end to ye said partnership, with all and every accounts, reconings, dues, claims, demands, whatsoever, to ye said James Sherley, John Beacham, & Richard Andrews, from ye said W. B. &c. for and concerning ye said beaver trade, & also ye charge ye said 2. ships, and their viages made or pretended, whether just or unjust, from ye worlds beginning to this presente, as also for ye paimente of a purchase of 1800li. made by Isaack Allerton, for and on ye behalfe of ye said W. B., Ed: W., &c., and of ye joynt stock, shares, lands, and adventures, what soever in New-England aforesaid, as appeareth by a deed bearing date ye 6. November 1627; and also for and from such sume and sumes of money or goods as are received by William Bradford, Tho: Prence, & Myles Standish, for ye recovery of dues, by accounts betwexte them, ye said James Sherly, John Beachamp, & Richard Andrews, and Isaack Allerton, for ye ship called ye White Angell. Now ye said John Attwode, with advice & counsell of ye said William Collier, having had much communication & spent diverse days in agitation of all ye said differences & accounts with ye said W. B., E. W., &c.; and ye said W. B., E. W., &c. have also, with ye said book-keeper spent much time in collecting & gathering together ye remainder of ye stock of partnership for ye said trade, and what soever hath been received, or is due by ye said Attorneyship before expressed, and all, and all manner of goods, debts, and dues thereunto belonging, as well those debts that are weak and doubtful and desperate, as those yt are more secure, which in all doe amount to ye sume of 1400li. or ther aboute; and for more full satisfaction of ye said James Sherley, John Beachamp, & Richard Andrews, the said W. B. and all ye rest of ye abovesaid partners, together with Josias Winslow ye booke keeper, have taken a voluntarie oath, yt within ye said sume of 1400li. or therabout, is contained whatsoever they knew, to ye utmost of their remembrance.

In consideration of all which matters & things before expressed, and to ye end yt a full, absolute, and final end may be now made, and all suits in law may be avoyded, and love & peace continued, it is therefore agreed and concluded between ye said John Attwode, with ye advice & consent of ye said William Collier, for & on ye behalfe of ye said James Sherley, to and with ye said W. B., &c. in maner and forme following: viz. that ye said John Attwode shall procure a sufficiente release and discharge, under ye hands & seals of ye said James Sherley, John Beachamp, & Richard Andrews, to be delivered fayer & unconcealed unto ye said William Bradford &c., at or before ye last day of August, next insuing ye date hereof, whereby ye said William Bradford &c., their heires, executors, & administrators, & every of them shall be fully and absolutely acquitted & discharged of all actions, suits, reconings, accounts, claims, and demands whatsoever concerning ye general stock of beaver trade, payment of ye said 1800li. for ye purchase, and all demands, reckonings, and accounts, just or unjust, concerning the two ships Whit-Angell and Friendship aforesaid, togeather with whatsoever hath been received by ye said William Bradford, of ye goods or estate of Isaack Allerton, for satisfaction of ye accounts of ye said ship called ye Whit Angele, by vertue of a lre of attorney to him, Thomas Prence, & Myles Standish, directed from ye said James Sherley, John Beachamp, & Richard Andrews, for yt purpose as afforesaid.

It is also agreed & concluded upon between the said parties to these presents, that the said W. B., E. W., &c. shall now be bound in 2400li. for payment of 1200li. in full satisfaction of all demands as afforesaid; to be payed in maner & forme following; that is to say, 400li. within 2. months next after ye receite of the aforesaid releases and discharges, one hundred and ten pounds wherof is already in ye hands of John Winthrop senior of Boston, Esquire, by the means of Mr. Richard Andrews afforesaid, and 80li. waight of beaver now deposited into ye hands of ye said John Attwode, to be both in part of paimente of ye said 400li. and ye other 800li. to be payed by 200li. per annum, to such assignes as shall be appointed, inhabiting either in Plimoth or Massachusetts Bay, in such goods & comodities, and at such rates, as the countrie shall afford at ye time of delivery & payment; and in ye mean time ye said bond of 2400li. to be deposited into ye hands of ye said John Attwode. And it is agreed upon by & between ye said parties to these presents, that if ye said John Attwode shall not or cannot procure such said releases & discharges as afforesaid from ye said James Sherley, John Beachamp, & Richard Andrews, at or before ye last day of August next insuing ye date hear of, yt then ye said John Attwode shall, at ye said day precisely, redeliver, or cause to be delivered unto ye said W. B., E. W., &c. their said bond of 2400li. and ye said 80li. waight of beaver, or ye due valew therof, without any fraud or further delay;

and for performance of all & singular ye covenants and agreements herein contained and expressed, which on ye one part and behalfe of ye said James Sherley are to be observed & performed, shall become bound in ye sume of 2400li. to them, ye said William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prence, Myles Standish, William Brewster, John Alden, and John Howland. And it is lastly agreed upon between ye said parties, that these presents shall be left in trust, to be

kept for both parties, in ye hands of Mr. John Reanour, teacher of Plimoth. In witnes wherof, all ye said parties have hereunto severally set their hands, ye day and year first above written.

John Atwode, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, &c. In ye presence of

Edmond Freeman, William Thomas, William Pady, Nathaniell Souther.

The next year this long and tedious bussines came to some issue, as will then appeare, though not to a final ende with all ye parties; but this much for ye presente.

I had forgotten to insert in its place how ye church here had invited and sent for Mr. Charles Chansey, a reverend, godly, and very learned man, intending upon triall to choose him pastor of ye church hear, for ye more comfortable performance of ye ministrie with Mr. John Reinor, the teacher of the same.

But ther fell out some differance aboute baptising, he holding it ought only to be by dipping, and putting ye whole body under water, and that sprinkling was unlawful. The church yeelded that immersion, or dipping, was lawfull, but in this could countrie not so conveniente. But they could not nor durst not yeeld to him in this, that sprinkling (which all ye churches of Christ doe for ye most part use at this day) was unlawful, & an humane invention, as ye same was prest; but they were willing to yeeld to him as far as yey could, & to ye utmost; and were contented to suffer him to practise as he was perswaded; and when he came to minister that ordnance, he might so do it to any yt did desire it in yt way, provided he could peaceably suffer Mr. Reinor, and such as desired to have theirs otherwise baptised by him, by sprinkling or powering on of water upon them; so as ther might be no disturbance in ye church hereabout. But he said he could not yeeld hereunto. Upon which the church procured some other ministers to dispute ye pointe with him publikly; as Mr. Ralfe Partrich, of Duxberie, who did it sundrie times, very ablie and sufficiently, as also some other ministers within this government. But he was not satisfied; so ye church sent to many other churches to crave their help and advice in this mater, and, with his will & consente, sent them his arguments written under his owne hand. They sente them to ye church at Boston in ye Bay of Massachusetts, to be communicated with other churches ther. Also they sent ye same to the churches of Conightecutt and New-Haven, with sundrie others; and received very able & sufficient answers, as they conceived, from them and their learned ministers, who all concluded against him. But him selfe was not satisfied therewith. Their answers are too large hear to relate. They conceived ye church had done what was meete in ye thing, so Mr. Chansey, having been ye most part of 3. years here, removed him selfe to Sityate, where he now remains a minister to ye church ther. Also about these times, now yt cattle & other things begane greatly to fall from their former rates, and persons begane to fall into more straits, and many being already gone from them, (as is noted before,) both to Duxberie, Marshfeeld, and other places, & those of ye cheefe sort, as Mr. Winslow, Captaine Standish, Mr. Alden, and many other, & still some dropping away daly, and some at this time, and many more unsettled, it did greatly weaken ye place, and by reason of ye straitnes and barrenness of ye place, it set ye thoughts of many upon removal; as will appere more hereafter.

Anno Dom: 1642.

Marvellous it may be to see and consider how some kind of wickedness did grow & break forth here, in a land where the same was so much witnessed against, and so narrowly looked unto, & severely punished when it was known; as in no place more, or so much, that I have known or heard of; insomuch as they have been somewhat censured, even by moderate and good men, for their severitie in punishments. And yet all this could not suppress ye breaking out of sundrie notorious sins, (as this year, besides other, gives us too many sad presidents and instances,) espetially drunkennes and unclainnes; not only incontinenecie between persons unmarried, for which many both men & women have been punished sharply enough, but some married persons also. But that which is worse, even sodomie and bugerie, (things fearfull to name,) have broak forth in this land, oftener then once. I say it may justly be marvelled at, and cause us to fear & tremble at the consideration of our corrupt natures, which are so hardly bridled, subdued, & mortified; nay, cannot by any other means but ye powerfull worke & grace of Gods spirite. But (besides this) one reason may be, that ye Divell may carrie a greater spite against the churches of Christ and ye gospel hear, by how much ye more they indeaour to preserve holynes and puritie amongst them, and strictly punisheth the contrary when it ariseth either in church or comone wealth; that he might cast a blemishe & staine upon them in ye eyes of [ye] world, who use to be rash in judgmente. I would rather thinke thus, then that Satan hath more power in these heathen lands, as some have thought, then in more Christian nations, espetially over Gods servants in them.

2. Another reason may be, that it may be in this case as it is with waters when their streams are stopped or dammed up, when they get passage they flow with more violence, and make more noys and disturbance, then when they are suffered to rune quietly in their owne channels. So wickedness being here more stopped by strict laws, and ye same more nearly looked unto, so as it cannot run in a comone road of liberty as it would, and is inclined, it searches everywhere, and at last breaks out where it gets vente.

3. A third reason may be, hear (as I am verily perswaded) is not more evils in this kind, nor nothing nere so many by proportion, as in other places; but they are here more discovered and seen, and made publick by due search, inquisition, and due punishment; for ye churches look narrowly to their members, and ye magistrates over all, more strictly then in other places. Besides, here the people are but few in comparison of other places, which are full & populous, and lye hid, as it were, in a wood or thicket, and many horrible evils by yt means are never seen nor known; whereas hear, they are, as it were, brought into ye light, and set in ye plaine feeld, or rather on a hill, made conspicuous to ye view of all.

But to proceede; there came a letter from ye Governor in ye Bay to them here, touching matters of ye forementioned nature, which because it may be useful I shall hear relate it, and ye passages ther aboute.

Sir: Having an opportunitie to signifie ye desires of our General Court in two things of spetiall importance, I willingly take this occasion to imparte them to you, yt you may imparte them to ye rest of your magistrates, and also to your Elders, for counsell; and give us your advice in them. The first is concerning heinous offences in point of uncleanness; ye perticuler cases, with ye circumstances, and ye questions ther upon, you have hear inclosed. The 2. thing is

concerning ye Islanders at Aquidnett; yt seeing the cheefest of them are gone from us, in offences, either to churches, or comone wealth, or both; others are dependants on them, and ye best sort are such as close with them in all their rejections of us. Neither is it only in a faction yt they are devided from us, but in very deed they rend themselves from all ye true churches of Christ, and many of them, from all ye powers of magistracies. We have had some experience hereof by some of their underworkers, or emissaries, who have lately come amongst us, and have made publick defiance against magistracie, ministrie, churches, & church covenants, &c. as antichristian; secretly also sowing ye seeds of Familism, and Anabaptistrie, to ye infection of some, and danger of others; so that we are not willing to joyne with them in any league or confederacie at all, but rather that you would consider & advise with us how we may avoyd them, and keep ours from being infected by them. Another thing I should mention to you, for ye maintenance of ye trade of beaver; if ther be not a company to order it in every jurisdiction among ye English, which companies should agree in general of their way in trade, I suppose that ye trade will be overthrown, and the Indeans will abuse us. For this cause we have lately put it into order amongst us, hoping of incouragmente from you (as we have had) yt we may continue ye same. Thus not further to trouble you, I rest, with my loving remembrance to your selfe, &c.

Your loving friend,

Ri: Bellingham.

Boston, 28. (1.) 1642.

The note inclosed follows on ye other side.

Worthy & beloved Sir:

Your letter (with ye questions inclosed) I have communicated with our Assistants, and we have referred ye answer of them to such Revēd Elders as are amongst us, some of whose answers thereto we have here sent you inclosed, under their owne hands; from ye rest we have not yet received any. Our farr distance hath bene ye reason of this long delay, as also yt they could not confer their counsell together.

For ourselves, (you know our breeding's & abilities,) we rather desire light from your selves, & others, whom God hath better inabled, then to presume to give our judgments in cases so difficulte and of so high a nature. Yet under correction, and submission to better judgments, we propose this one thing to your prudent considerations. As it seems to us, in ye case even of wilful murder, that though a man did smite or wound another, with a full purpose or desire to kill him, (wch is murder in a high degree, before God,) yet if he did not dye, the magistrate was not to take away ye others life. So by proportion in other gross & foule sines, though high attempts & nere approaches to ye same be made, and such as in the sight & account of God may be as ill as ye accomplishment of ye foulest acts of yt sine, yet we doute whether it may be safe for ye magistrate to proceed to death; we thinke, upon ye former grounds, rather he may not. As, for instance, in ye case of adultrie, (if it be admitted yt it is to be punished wth death, which to some of us is not clear,) if ye body be not actually defiled, then death is not to be inflicted. So in sodomie, & bestialitie, if ther be not penetration. Yet we confess foulness of circumstances, and frequence in ye same, doth make us remaine in ye dark, and desire further light from you, or any, as God shall give.

As for ye 2 thing, concerning ye Islanders? we have no conversing with them, nor desire to have, furdre then necessitie or humanity may require.

And as for trade? we have as farr as we could ever therein held an orderly course, & have been sorry to see ye spoyle thereof by others, and fear it will hardly be recovered. But in these, or any other things which may concern ye comone good, we shall be willing to advise & concur with you in what we may. Thus wth my love remembered to your selfe, and ye rest of our worthy friends, your Assistants, I take leave, & rest,

Your loving friend,

W. B.

Plim: 17. 3. month, 1642.

Now follows ye ministers answers. And first Mr. Reynors.

Question: What sodmiticall acts are to be punished with death, & what very fact (ipso facto) is worthy of death, or, if ye fact it selfe be not capital, what circumstances concurring may make it capital?

Answer: In ye judicial law (ye mortalitie wherof concerneth us) it is manyfest yt carnal knowledge of man, or lying wth man, as with woman, cum penetration corporis, was sodomie, to be punished with death; what else can be understood by Levit: 18. 22. & 20. 13. & Gen: 19. 5?

2ly. It seems also yt this foule sine might be capital, though ther was not penetratio corporis, but only contactus & fricatio usq̄ ad effusionem seminis, for these reasons: 1. Because it was sin to be punished with death, Levit. 20. 13. in ye man who was lyen withal, as well as in him yt lyeth with him; now his sin is not mitigated where ther is not penetration, nor augmented where it is; whereas its charged upon ye women, yt they were guilty of this unnatural sine, as well as men, Rom. 1. 26. 27. Ye same thing doth furdre appear, 2. because of yt proportion betwexte this sin & bestialitie, wherein if a woman did stand before, or approach to, a beast, for yt end, to lye down thereto, (whether penetration was or not,) it was capital, Levit: 18. 23. & 20. 16.

3ly. Because something else might be equivalent to penetration where it had not been, viz. ye fore mentioned acts with frequence and long continuance with a high hand, utterly extinguishing all light of nature; besides, full intention and bould attempting of ye foulest acts may seem to have been capital here, as well as coming presumptuously to slay with guile was capital. Exodus: 21. 14.

Yet it is not so manyfest yt ye same acts were to be punished with death in some other sine of uncleanness, wch yet by ye law of God were capital crimes; besides other reasons, (1.) because sodomie, & also bestialitie, is more against ye light of nature then some other capital crimes of unclainnes, which reason is to be attended unto, as yt which most of all made this sin capital; (2.) because it might be committed with more secrecie & less suspicion, & therefore needed ye more to be restrained & suppressed by ye law;

(4ly) because ther was not ye like reason & degree of sinning against family & posteritie in this sin as in some other capital sins of uncleanness.

2. Question: How farr a magistrate may extract a confession from a delinquent, to accuse himself of a capital crime, seeing *Nemo tenetur prodere seipsum*.

Answer: A magistrate cannot without sin neglect diligent inquisition into ye cause brought before him. Job 29. 16. Pro: 24. 11. 12. & 25. 2.

(2ly.) If it be manifest yt a capital crime is committed, & yt comone report, or probabilitie, suspition, or some complaint, (or ye like,) be of this or yt person, a magistrate ought to require, and by all due means to procure from ye person (so farr already bewrayed) a naked confession of ye fact, as appears by yt which is moral & of perpetual equitie, both in ye case of uncertaine murder, Deut: 21. 1. 9. and slander, Deut: 22. 13. 21; for though *nemo tenetur prodere seipsum*, yet by that wch may be known to ye magistrate by ye forenamed means, he is bound thus to doe, or else he may betray his countrie & people to ye heavie displeasure of God, Levit: 18. 24. 25. Jos: 22. 18. Psa: 106. 30; such as are innocent to ye sinful, base, cruel lusts of ye profane, & such as are delinquents, and others with them, into ye hands of ye stronger temptations, & more boldness, & hardness of harte, to comite more & worse villany, besides all ye guilt & hurt he will bring upon him selfe.

(3ly.) To inflict some punishmente merely for this reason, to extract a confession of a capital crime, is contrary to ye nature of vindictive justice, which always hath respect to a knowñ crime committed by ye person punished; and it will therefore, for anything which can before be known, be ye provoking and forcing of wrath, compared to ye wringing of ye nose, Pro: 30. 33. which is as well forbidden ye fathers of ye countrie as of ye family, Ephe. 6. 4. as producing many sad & dangerous effects. That an oath (*ex officio*) for such a purpose is no due means, hath been abundantly proved by ye godly learned, & is well known.

Question 3. In what cases of capital crimes one witness with other circumstances shall be sufficiente to convince? or is ther no conviction without 2. witnesses?

Answer: In taking away ye life of man, one witnes alone will not suffice, ther must be tow, or yt which is instar; ye texts are manifest, Numb: 35. 30. Deut: 17. 6. & 19. 15. 2ly. Ther may be conviction by one witness, & something yt hath ye force of another, as ye evidence of ye fact done by such anyone, & not another; unforced confession when ther was no fear or danger of suffering for ye fact, hand writings acknowledged & confessed.

John Reynor.

Mr. Partrich his writing, in answer to ye questions.

What is yt sodomiticall act which is to be punished with death?

Though I conceive probable yt a voluntary effusion of seed per modum concubitus of man with man, as of a man with woman, though in concubitu there be not penetratio corporis, is yt sin which is forbidden, Levit: 18. 22. & adjudged to be punished with death, Levit: 20. 13. because, though ther be not penetratio corporis, yet ther may be similitudo concubitus muliebris, which is yt the law specifieth; yet I dare not be con-(1.) because Gen: 19. 5. ye intended act of ye Sodomits (who were ye first noted maisters of this unnatural act of more than brutish filthiness) is expressed by carnal copulation of man with woman: Bring them out unto us, yt we may know them; (2ly.) because it is observed among ye nations where this unnatural unclainnes is committed, it is wth penetration of ye body; (3ly.) because, in ye judicial proceedings of ye judges in England, ye indict: so rune (as I have been informed).

Question. How far may a magistrate extract a confession of a capital crime from a suspected and an accused person?

Answer. I conceive yt a magistrate is bound, by careful examination of circumstances & weighing of probabilities, to sift ye accused, and by force of argument to draw him to an acknowledgment of ye truth; but he may not extract a confession of a capital crime from a suspected person by any violent means, whether it be by an oath imposed, or by any punishmente inflicted or threatened to be inflicted, for so he may draw forth an acknowledgement of a crime from a fearfull innocent; if guilty, he shall be compelled to be his owne accuser, when no other can, which is against ye rule of justice.

Question. In what cases of capital crimes one witness with other circumstances shall be sufficiente to convict; or is ther no conviction without two witnesses?

Answer: I conceive yt, in ye case of capital crimes, ther can be no safe proceedings unto judgmente without too witnesses, as Numb: 35. 30. Deut: 19. 15. except ther can some evidence be produced as available & firme to prove ye fact as a witness is, then one witnes may suffice; for therein ye end and equitie of ye law is attained. But to proceede unto sentence of death upon presumptions, where probably ther may subesse falsum, though ther be ye testimony of one witness, I suppose it cannot be a safe way; better for such one to be held in safe custodie for further triall, I conceive.

Ralph Partrich.

The Answer of Mr. Charles Chancy.

An contactus et fricatio usq̃ ad seminis effusionem sine penetratione corporis sit sodomia morte plectenda?

Question: The question is what sodomiticall acts are to be punished with death, & what very fact committed, (*ipso facto*,) is worthy of death, or if ye fact it selfe be not capital, what circumstances concurring may make it capital. The same question may be asked of rape, incest, bestialitie, unnatural sins, presumptuous sins. These be ye words of ye first question.

Answer: The answer unto this I will lay down (as God shall direct by his word & spirite) in these following conclusions: (1.) That ye judicials of Moyses, that are appendances to ye moral law, & grounded on ye law of nature, or ye decalogue, are immutable, and perpetual, wch all orthodox devines acknowledge; see ye authors following. Luther, Tom. 1. Whitenberge: fol. 435. & fol. 7. Melanethon, in loc: com loco de conjugio. Calvin, 1. 4. Institu. c. 4. sect. 15.

Junious de politia Moysis, thes. 29. & 30. Hen: Bulin: Decad. 3. sermo. 8. Wolf: Muscu. loc: com: in 6. precepti explicaci: Bucer de regno Christi, 1. 2. c. 17. Theo: Beza, vol: 1. de hereti: puniendis, fol. 154. Zanch: in 3. præcept: Ursin: Pt. 4. explicat. contra John. Piscat: in Aphorismi Loc. de lege dei aphorism. 17. And more might be added. I forbear, for brevities sake, to set down their very words; this being ye constante & general opinion of ye best devines, I will rest in this as undoubtedly true, though much more might be said to confirme it.

2. That all ye siñes mentioned in ye question were punished with death by ye judicial law of Moyses, as adultery, Levit: 20. 10. Deut: 22. 22. Ezech: 16. 38. Jhon. 8. 5. which is to be understood not only of double adultrie, when as both parties are married, (as some conceive,) but whosoever (besides her husband) lyes with a married woman, whether ye man be married or not, as in ye place, Deut: 22. 22. or whosoever, being a married man, lyeth with another woman (besides his wife), as P. Martire saith, loc: com: which in diverce respects makes ye sine worse on ye married man's part; for ye Lord in this law hath respect as well to publick honesty, (the sin being so prejudicial to ye church & state,) as ye private wrongs (saith Junious). So incest is to be punished with death, Levit: 20. 11. 22. Bestiality likewise, Lev: 20. 15. Exodus: 22. 19. Raps in like maner, Deut: 22. 25. Sodomie in like sort, Levit: 18. 22. & 20. 13. And all presumptuous sins, Numb: 15. 30. 31.

3. That ye punishment of these foule sines wth death is grounded on ye law of nature, & is agreeable to the moral law. (1.) Because ye reasons annexed shew them to be perpetual. Deut. 22. 22. So shalt thou put away evil. Incest, bestiality, are called confusion, & wickedness. (2.) Infamy to ye whole human nature, Levit: 22. 12. Levit: 18. 23. Raps are as murder, Deut: 22. 25. Sodomie is an abomination, Levit: 22. 22. No holier & Juster laws can be devised by any man or angel then have been by ye Judge of all ye world, the wisdom of ye Father, by whom kings doe raigne, &c. (3.) Because, before ye giving of ye Law, this punishment was anciently practised, Gen: 26. 11. 38. 29. 39. 20. & even by the heathen, by ye very light of nature, as P. Martire shews.

(4ly.) Because ye land is defiled by such sins, and spews out ye inhabitants, Levit: 18. 24, 25. & that in regard of those nations yt were not acquainted wth the law of Moyses. 5. All ye devines above specified consent in this, that ye unclean acts punishable with death by ye law of God are not only ye gross acts of uncleanness by way of carnal copulation, but all ye evident attempts therof, which may appeare by those several words yt are used by ye spirite of God, expressing ye sins to be punished with death; as ye discovering of nakednes, Levit: 18. 20. which is retegere pudenda, as parts pr euphemismum (saith Junius), or detegere ad cubandum (saith Willett), to uncover ye shameful parts of ye body (saith Ainsworth), which, though it reaches to ye gross acts, yet it is plaine it doth comprehend ye other foregoing immodest attempts, as contactum, fricationem, &c.; likewise ye phrase of lying with, so often used, doth not only signifie carnal copulation, but other obscene acts, preceding ye same, is implied in Pauls word [Greek: arsenokoitai], 1. Cor: 6. 9. & men lying with men, 1. Tim: 1. 9. men defiling themselves wth mankind, men burning with lust towards men, Rom: 1. 26. & Levit: 18. 22. Sodom & sin going after strange flesh, Jud: v. 7. 8. and lying with mankind as with a woman, Levit: 18. 22. Abulentis says yt it signifies omnes modos quibus masculus masculo abutatur, changing ye natural use into yt which is against nature, Rom: 1. 26. arrogare sibi cubare, as Junius well translates Levit: 20. 15. to give consente to lye withal, so approaching to a beast, & lying down thereto, Levit: 20. 16. Ob solum conatú (saith Willett) or for going about to do it. Add to this a notable speech of Zepperus de legibus (who hath enough to end controversies of this nature). L. 1. he saith: In crimine adulterii voluntas (understanding manifeste) sine effectu subsecuto de jure attenditur; and he proves it out of good laws, in these words: Solicitatores aliēñum nuptiām itemq̃ matrimonium interpellatores, etsi effectu sceleris potiri non possunt, propter voluntatem tamen perniciosæ libidinis extra ordinem puniuntur; nam generale est quidem affectū sine effectu [non] puniri, sed contrarium observatur in atrocioribus & horum similibus.

5. In concluding punishments from ye judicial law of Moyses yt is perpetual, we must often proceed by analogical proportion & interpretation, as a paribus similibus, minore ad majus, &c.; for ther will still fall out some cases, in every comōne-wealth, which are not in so many words extante in holy write, yet ye substance of ye matter in every kind (I conceive under correction) may be drawn and concluded out of ye scripture by good consequence of an equivalent nature; as, for example, ther is no express law against destroying conception in ye womb by potions, yet by analogy with Exodus: 21. 22, 23. we may reason yt life is to be given for life. Againe, ye question, An contactus & fricatio, &c., and methinks yt place Gen: 38. 9. in ye punishment of Onans sin, may give some clear light to it; it was (saith Pareus) beluina crudelitas quam Deus pari loco cum parricidio habuit, nam semen corrumpere, quid fuit aliud quam hominem ex semine generandum occidere? Propterea juste a Deo occisus est. Observe his words. And againe, Discamus quantopere Deus abominetur omnem seminis genitalis abusum, illicitā effusionem, & corruption, &c., very pertinent to this case. That also is considerable, Deut: 25. 11, 12. God commanded yt, if any wife drue nigh to deliver her husband out of ye hand of him yt smiteth him, &c., her hand should be cut off. Yet such a woman in yt case might say much for her selfe, yt what she did was in trouble & perplexitie of her mind, & in her husband's defence; yet her hand must be cut off for such impuritie (and this is moral, as I conceive).

Then we may reason from ye less to ye greater, what greivous sin in ye sight of God it is, by ye instigation of burning lusts, set on fire of hell, to proceede to contactum & fricationem ad emissionem seminis, &c., & yt contra naturam, or to attempt ye gross acts of unnatural filthiness. Againe, if yt unnatural lusts of men with men, or woman with woman, or either with beasts, be to be punished with death, then a pari natural lusts of men towards children under age are so to be punished.

6. Circumstantiæ variant vis e actiones, (saith ye lawyers,) & circumstances in these cases cannot possibly be all reckēd up; but God hath given laws for those causes & cases that are of greatest moment, by which others are to be judged of, as in ye diffarence betwixte chance medley, & wilful murder; so in ye sins of uncleanness, it is one thing to do an act of uncleanness by sudden temptation, & another to lye in waite for it, yea, to make a comūne practise of it; this mightily augments & multiplies ye sin. Againe, some siñes of this nature are simple, others compound, as yt is simple adultrie, or incest, or simple sodomie; but when ther is a mixture of diverce kinds of lust, as when adultery &

sodomie & prditio seminis goe together in ye same act of uncleanness, this is capital, double, & trible. Againe, when adultrie or sodomie is committed by professors or church members, I fear it comes too near ye sine of ye priests daughters, forbidden, & commanded to be punished, Levit: 21. 9. besides ye presumption of ye signes of such. Againe, when uncleanness is committed with those whose chastity they are bound to preserve, this coms very nere the incestuous copulation, I fear; but I must hasten to ye other questions.

2. Question ye second, upon ye pointe of examination, how farr a magistrate may extract a confession from a delinquent to accuse him selfe in a capital crime, seeing Nemo tenetur prodere seipsum.

Answer: The words of ye question may be understood of extracting a confession from a delinquent either by oath or bodily torment. If it be mente of extracting by requiring an oath, (ex officio, as some call it,) & that in capital crimes, I fear it is not safe, nor warranted by Gods word, to extract a confession from a delinquent by an oath in matters of life and death. (1.) Because ye practise in ye Scriptures is otherwise, as in ye case of Achan, Jos: 7. 19. Give, I pray ye, glorie to ye Lord God of Israll, and make a confession to him, & tell me how thou hast done. He did not compel him to swear. So when as Jonathan's life was endangered, 1. Sam. 14. 43. Saul said unto Johnathan, Tell me what thou hast done; he did not require an oath. And notable is yt, Jer: 38. 14. Jeremiah was charged by Zedechias, who said, I will ask thee a thing, hide it not from me; & Jeremiah said, If I declare it unto ye, wilt thou not surely put me to death? implying yt, in case of death, he would have refused to answer him. (2.) Reason shews it, & experience; Job: 2. 4. Skin for skin, &c. It is to be feared yt those words (whatsoever a man hath) will comprehend also ye conscience of an oath, and ye fear of God, and all care of religion; therefore for laying a snare before ye guiltie, I think it ought not to be done. But now, if ye question be mente of inflicting bodily torments to extract a confession from a mallefactor, I conceive yt in matters of highest consequence, such as doe concern ye saftie or ruine of stats or countries, magistrates may proceede so farr to bodily torments, as racks, hote-irons, &c., to extract a confession, espetially where presumptions are strong; but otherwise by no means. God sometimes hides a sinner till his wickedness is filled up.

Question 3. In what cases of capital crimes, one witness with other circumstances shall be sufficente to convict, or is ther no conviction without 2. witnesses?

Deut: 19. 25. God hath given an express rule yt in no case one witness shall arise in judgmente, espetially not in capital cases. God would not put our lives into ye power of any one tongue. Besides, by ye examination of more witnesses agreeing or disagreeing, any falsehood ordinarily may be discovered; but this is to be understood of one witnes of another; but if a man witnes against him selfe, his owne testimony is sufficente, as in ye case of ye Amalekite, 2. Sam: 1. 16. Againe, when ther are sure & certain signes & evidence by circumstances, ther needs no witnes in this case, as in ye bussines of Adoniah desiring Abishage ye Shunamite to wife, that thereby he might make way for him selfe unto ye kingdome, 1. King: 2. 23, 24. Againe, probably by many concurring circumstances, if probability may have ye strength of a witness, something may be this way gathered, me thinks, from Sallomons judging betweexte ye true mother, and ye harlote, 1. King. 3. 25. Lastly, I see no cause why in waighty matters, in defect of witnesses & other proofs, we may not have recourse to a lot, as in ye case of Achan, Joshua: 7. 16. which is a clearer way in such doubtful cases (it being solemnly & religiously performed) than any other that I know, if it be made ye last refuge. But all this under correction.

The Lord in mercie direct & prosper ye desires of his servants that desire to walk before him in truth & righteousness in the administration of justice, and give them wisdom and largeness of harte.

Charles Channcy.

Besides ye occation before mentioned in these writings concerning the abuse of those 2. children, they had aboute ye same time a case of buggerie fell out amongst them, which occasioned these questions, to which these answers have been made.

And after ye time of ye writing of these things befell a very sadd accidente of the like foule nature in this government, this very year, which I shall now relate. Ther was a youth whose name was Thomas Granger; he was servant to an honest man of Duxbery, being about 16. or 17. years of age. (His father & mother lived at the same time at Sityate.) He was this year detected of buggery (and indicted for ye same) with a mare, a cow, tow goats, five sheep, 2. calves, and a turkey. Horrible it is to mention, but ye truth of ye historie requires it. He was first discovered by one yt accidentally saw his lewd practise towards the mare. (I forbear perticulers.) Being upon it examined and committed, in ye end he not only confest ye fact with that beast at that time, but sundrie times before, and at several times with all ye rest of ye forenamed in his indictment; and this his free-confession was not only in private to ye magistrates, (though at first he strived to deney it,) but to sundrie, both ministers & others, and afterwards, upon his indictment, to ye whole court & jury; and confirmed it at his execution.

And whereas some of ye 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 ye jury, and condemned, and after executed about ye 8 of September, 1642. A very sade spectacle it was; for first the mare, and then ye cow, and ye rest of ye lesser cattle, were kild before his face, according to ye law, Levit: 20. 15. and then he him selfe was executed. The cattle were all cast into a great & large pit that was digged of purposs for them, and no use made of any part of them.

Upon ye examination of this person, and also of a former that had made some sodomitically attempts upon another, it being demanded of them how they came first to ye knowledge and practice of such wickedness, the one confessed he had long used it in old England; and this youth last spoaken of said he was taught it by another that had heard of such things from some in England when he was ther, 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, & mix themselves amongst them? seeing it was religious men yt begane ye work, 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 known; and ye more because here was so many hardships and wants met withal. I shall therefore indeavor to give some answer hereunto. And first, according to yt in ye gospel, it is ever to be remembred that where ye Lord begins to sow good seed, ther ye envious man will endeavore to sow tares. 2. Men being to come over into a wilderness, in which much labour & servise was to be done aboute building & planting, &c., such as wanted help in yt respect, when they could not have such as yey 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 & women kind: who, when their times were expired, became families of themselves, which gave increase hereunto. 3. Another and a main reason hereof was, that men, finding so many godly disposed persons willing to come into these parts, some begane to make a trade of it, to transport passengers & their goods, and hired ships for that end; and then, to make up their freight and advance their profite, cared not who ye persons were, so they had money to pay them. And by this means the countrie 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 spiritual things, (though afflictions be mixed withal,) doe make many to adhere to ye people of God, as many followed Christ, for ye loaves sake, John 6. 26. and a mixed multitude came into ye wilderness with ye people of God out of Egipte of old, Exod. 12. 38; so also ther were sente by their friends some under hope yt they would be made better; others that they might be eased of such burthens, and they kept from shame at home yt would necessarily follow their dissolute courses. And thus, by one means or other, in 20. years' time, it is a question whether ye greater part be not growne ye worser.

I am now come to ye conclusion of that long & tedious bussines between ye partners hear, & them in England, the which I shall manifest by their owne letters as followeth, in such parts of them as are pertinent to ye same.

Mr. Sherley's to Mr. Attwood.

Mr. Attwood, my approved loving friend: Your letter of ye 18. of October last I have received, wherein I find you have taken a great deal of paines and care aboute yt troublesome bussines betwixte our Plimoth partners & friends, & us hear, and have deeply ingaged your selfe, for which complements & words are no real satisfaction, &c. For ye agreemente you have made with Mr. Bradford, Mr. Winslow, & ye rest of ye partners ther, considering how honestly and justly I am perswaded they have brought in an accounte of ye remaining stock, for my owne part I am well satisfied, and so I thinke is Mr. Andrewes, and I suppose will be Mr. Beachampe, if most of it might acrow to him, to whom ye least is due, &c. And now for peace sake, and to conclude as we began, lovingly and friendly, and to pass by all failings of all, the conclude is accepted of; I say this agreemente yt you have made is condensed unto, and Mr. Andrews hath sent his release to Mr. Winthrop, with such directions as he conceives fit; and I have made bould to trouble you with mine, and we have both sealed in ye presence of Mr. Weld, and Mr. Peeters, and some others, and I have also sente you another, for the partners ther, to seale to me; for you must not deliver mine to them, except they seale & deliver one to me; this is fit and equal, &c.

Yours to comānd in what I may or can,

James Sherley.

June 14. 1642.

His to ye partners as followeth.

Loving friends,

Mr. Bradford, Mr. Winslow, Mr. Prence, Captain Standish, Mr. Brewster, Mr. Alden, & Mr. Howland, give me leave to joyne you all in one letter, concerning ye final end & conclude of yt tedious & troublesome bussines, & I thinke I may truly say uncomfortable & unprofitable to all, &c. It hath pleased God now to put us upon a way to cease all suits, and disquieting of our spirits, and to conclude with peace and love, as we began. I am contented to yeeld & make good what Mr. Attwood and you have agreed upon; and for yt end have sente to my loving friend, Mr. Attwood, an absolute and general release unto you all, and if ther want anything to make it more full, write it your selves, & it shall be done, provided yt all you, either joyntly or severally, seale ye like discharge to me. And for yt end I have drawn one joyntly, and sent it to Mr. Attwood, with yt I have sealed to you. Mr. Andrews hath sealed an acquittance also, & sent it to Mr. Winthrop, with such directions as he conceived fit, and, as I hear, hath given his debt, which he makes 544li. unto ye gentlemen of ye Bay. Indeed, Mr. Weld, Mr. Peters, & Mr. Hibbens have taken a great deal of paines with Mr. Andrews, Mr. Beachamp & myself, to bring us to agree and to yt end we have had many meetings and spent much time about it.

But as they are very religious & honest gentle-men, yet they had an end yt they drove at & laboured to accomplish (I meane not any private end, but for ye general good of their patente). It had been very well you had sent one over. Mr. Andrew wished you might have one 3. part of ye 1200li. & the Bay 2. thirds; but then we 3. must have agreed together, which were a hard matter now. But Mr. Weld, Mr. Peters, & Mr. Hibbens, & I, have agreed, they giving you bond (so to compose with Mr. Beachamp, as) to procure his general release, & free you from all trouble & charge yt he may put you too; which indeed is nothing, for I am perswaded Mr. Weld will in time gain him to give them all that is dew to him, which in some sort is granted already; for though his demands be great, yet Mr. Andrewes hath taken some paines in it, and makes it appear to be less then I thinke he will consente to give them for so good an use; so you neede not feare, that for taking bond ther to save you harmless, you be safe and well. Now our accord is, yt you must pay to ye gentle-men of ye Bay 900li.; they are to bear all charges yt may any way arise concerning ye free & absolute clearing of you from us three. And you to have ye other 300li. &c.

Upon ye receiving of my release from you, I will send you your bonds for ye purchase money. I would have sent them now, but I would have Mr. Beachamp release as well as I, because you are bound to him in them. Now I know if a man be bound to 12. men, if one release, it is as if all released, and my discharge doth cut them off; wherefore doubt

you not but you shall have them, & your commission, or anything else that is fit. Now you know ther is two years of ye purchase money, that I would not owne, for I have formerly certified you yt would but pay 7. years; but now you are discharged of all, &c.

Your loving and kind friend in what I may or can,

James Sherley.

June 14. 1642.

The copy of his release is as followeth.

Whereas diverce questions, differences, & demands have arisen & depended between William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prentice, Myles Standish, William Brewster, John Alden, and John Howland, gent: now or lately inhabitants or resident at New-Plimoth, in New-England, on ye one party, and James Sherley of London, marchante, and others, in th' other part, for & concerning a stock & partable trade of beaver & other comodities, and fraighting of ships, as ye White Angell, Friendship, or others, and ye goods of Isaack Allerton which were seized upon by vertue of a leter of attorney made by ye said James Sherley and John Beachamp and Richard Andrews, or any other matters concerning ye said trade, either hear in Old-England or ther in New-England or elsewhere, all which differences are since by mediation of friends composed, compromised, and all ye said parties agreed. Now know all men by these presents, that I, the said James Sherley, in performance of ye said compromise & agremente, have remised, released, and quite claimed, & doe by these presents remise, release, and for me, myne heires, executors, & Administrators, and for every of us, for ever quite claim unto ye said William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prentice, Myles Standish, William Brewster, John Alden, & John Howland, and every of them, their & every of their heires, executors, and administrators, all and all maner of actions, suits, debts, accounts, reckonings, commissions, bonds, bills, specialties, judgments, executions, claims, challenges, differences, and demands whatsoever, with or against ye said William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prentice, Myles Standish, William Brewster, John Alden, and John Howland, or any of them, ever I had, now have, or in time to come can, shall, or may have, for any mater, cause, or thing whatsoever from ye beginning of ye world until ye day of ye date of these presents. In witnes wherof I have hereunto put my hand & seale, given the second day of June 1642, in ye eighteenth year of ye raigne of our soveraigne lord, king Charles &c.

James Sherley.

Sealed and delivered in ye presence of:

Thomas Weld, Hugh Peters, William Hibbins. Arthur Tirrey, Scr. Tho: Sturges, his servant.

Mr. Andrews his discharge was to ye same effecte; he was by agreement to have 500li. of ye money, the which he gave to them in ye Bay, who brought his discharge and demanded ye money. And they took in his release and paid ye money according to agreement, viz. one third of the 500li. they paid down in hand, and ye rest in 4. equal payments, to be paid yearly, for which they gave their bonds. And whereas 44li. was more demanded, they conceived they could take it off with Mr. Andrews, and therefore it was not in the bond. But Mr. Beachamp would not part with any of his, but demanded 400li. of ye partners here, & sent a release to a friend, to deliver it to them upon ye receite of ye money. But his release was not perfect, for he had left out some of ye partners names, with some other defects; and besides, the other gave them to understand he had not near so much due. So no end was made with him till 4. years after; of which in its place. And in yt regard, that themselves did not agree, I shall insert some part of Mr. Andrews letter, by which he conceives ye partners here were wronged, as followeth. This leter of his was write to Mr. Edmond Freeman, brother in law to Mr. Beachamp.

Mr. Freeman,

My love remembred unto you, &c. I then certified ye partners how I found Mr. Beachamp & Mr. Sherley, in their perticuler demands, which was according to men's principles, of getting what they could; although ye one will not shew any accounte, and ye other a very unfair and unjust one; and both of them discouraged me from sending ye partners my accounte, Mr. Beachamp espetially. Their reason, I have cause to conceive, was, yt although I doe not, nor ever intended to, wrong ye partners or ye bussines, yet, if I gave no accounte, I might be esteemed as guiltie as they, in some degree at least; and they might seem to be ye more free from taxation in not delivering their accounts, who have both of them charged ye accounte with much interest they have payed forth, and one of them would likewise for much interest he hath not paid forth, as appeareth by his account, &c.

And seeing ye partners have now made it appear yt ther is 1200li. remaining due between us all, and that it may appear by my accounte I have not charged ye bussines with any interest, but doe forgive it unto ye partners, above 200li. if Mr. Sherley & Mr. Beachamp, who have between them wronged ye bussines so many 100li. both in principal & interest likewise, and have therein wronged me as well and as much as any of ye partners; yet if they will not make & deliver faire & true accounts of ye same, nor be contente to take what by computation is more than can be justly due to either, that is, to Mr. Beachamp 150li. as by Mr. Allerton's account, and Mr. Sherley's accounte, on oath in chancerie; and though ther might be nothing due to Mr. Sherley, yet he requires 100li. &c. I conceive, seeing ye partners have delivered on their oaths ye sume remaining in their hands, that they may justly detain ye 650li. which may remaine in their hands, after I am satisfied, until Mr. Sherley & Mr. Beachamp will be more fair & just in their ending, &c. And as I intend, if ye partners fairly end with me, in satisfying in part and ingaging themselves for ye rest of my said 544li. to returne back for ye poor my part of ye land at Sityate, so likewise I intend to relinquish my right & interest in their dear patente, on which much of our money was laid forth, and also my right & interest in their cheap purchase, the which may have cost me first & last 350li. But I doubt whether other men have not charged or taken on accounte what they have disbursed in ye like case, which I have not charged, neither did I conceive any other durst so doe, until I saw ye accounte of the one and heard ye words of ye other; the which gives me just cause to suspect both their accounts to be unfair; for it seemeth they consulted one with another about some perticulers therein. Therefore I conceive ye partners ought ye rather to require just accounts from each of them before they part with any money to either of them. For marchants understand how to give an account; if they mean fairly, they will not deny to

give an accounte, for they keep memorials to help them to give exact accounts in all perticulers, and memorial cannot forget his charge, if ye man will remember. I desire not to wrong Mr. Beachamp or Mr. Sherley, nor may be silent in such apparente probabilities of their wronging ye partners, and me likewise, either in denying to deliver or shew any accounte, or in delivering one very unjust in some perticulers, and very suspicious in many more; either of which, being from understanding marchants, cannot be from weaknes or simplisitie, and therefore ye more unfair. So commending you & yours, and all ye Lord's people, unto ye gracious protection and blessing of ye Lord, and rest your loving friend,

Richard Andrewes.

April 7. 1643.

This leter was write ye year after ye agreement, as doth appear; and what his judgmente was herein, ye contents doth manifest, and so I leave it to ye equal judgmente of any to consider, as they see cause.

Only I shall adde what Mr. Sherley further write in a leter of his, about ye same time, and so leave this bussines. His is as followeth on ye other side.

Loving friends, Mr. Bradford, Mr. Winslow, Cap: Standish, Mr. Prence, and ye rest of ye partners wth you; I shall write this general leter to you all, hoping it will be a good conclude of a general, but a costly & tedious bussines I thinke to all, I am sure to me, &c.

I received from Mr. Winslow a letter of ye 28. of Sept: last, and so much as concerns ye general bussines I shall answer in this, not knowing whether I shall have opportunitie to write perticuler letters, &c. I expected more letters from you all, as some perticuler writs, but it seemeth no fit opportunity was offered. And now, though ye bussines for ye maine may stand, yet some perticulers is altered; I say my former agreemente with Mr. Weld & Mr. Peters, before they could conclude or get any grante of Mr. Andrews, they sought to have my release; and ther upon they sealed me a bond for a 110li. So I sente my acquittance, for they said without mine ther would be no end made (& ther was good reason for it). Now they hoped, if yey ended with me, to gain Mr. Andrews part, as they did holy, to a pound, (at which I should wonder, but yt I observe some passages,) and they also hoped to have gotten Mr. Beachamps part, & I did thinke he would have given it them. But if he did well understand him selfe, & that account, he would give it; for his demands make a great sound. But it seemeth he would not part with it, supposing it too great a sume, and yt he might easily gain it from you. Once he would have given them 40li. but now they say he will not do that, or rather I suppose they will not take it; for if they do, & have Mr. Andrews's, then they must pay me their bond of 110li. 3 months hence. Now it will fall out farr better for you, yt they deal not with Mr. Beachamp, and also for me, if you be as kind to me as I have been & will be to you; and yt thus, if you pay Mr. Andrews, or ye Bay men, by his order, 544li. which is his full demand; but if looked into, perhaps might be less. The man is honest, & in my conscience would not wittingly doe wrong, yet he may forget as well as other men; and Mr. Winslow may call to mind wherein he forgets; (but sometimes it is good to buy peace.) The gentlemen of ye Bay may abate 100li. and so both sides have more right & justice then if they exact all, &c. Now if you send me a 150li. then say Mr. Andrews full sume, & this, it is nere 700li. Mr. Beachamp he demands 400li. and we all know that, if a man demands money, he must shew wherefore, and make proof of his debt; which I know he can never make good prof of one hundred pound do unto him as principal money; so till he can, you have good reason to keep ye 500li. &c. This I protest I write not in malice against Mr. Beachamp, for it is a real truth. You may partly see it by Mr. Andrews making up his accounte, and I think you are all perswaded I can say more than Mr. Andrews concerning that accounte. I wish I could make up my owne as plaine & easily, but because of former discontentes, I will be sparing till I be called; & you may injoye ye 500li. quietly till he begine; for let him take his course hear or ther, it shall be all one, I will do him no wrong; and if he have not on penny more, he is less loser then either Mr. Andrews or I. This I conceive to be just & honest; ye having or not having of his release matters not; let him make such proof of his debt as you cannot disprove, and according to your first agreemente you will pay it, &c.

Your truly affectioned friend,

James Sherley.

London, April 27. 1643.

Anno Dom: 1643.

I am to begine this year with that which was a matter of great sadness and mourning unto them all. Aboute ye 18. of April dyed their Reved Elder, and my dear & loving friend, Mr. William Brewster; a man that had done and suffered much for ye Lord Jesus and ye gospels sake, and had borne his part in well and woe with this poor persecuted church above 36. years in England, Holland, and in this wilderness, and done ye Lord & them faithful service in his place & calling. And notwithstanding ye many troubles and sorrows he passed throw, the Lord upheld him to a great age. He was nere fourscore years of age (if not all out) when he dyed. He had this blessing added by ye Lord to all ye rest, to dye in his bed, in peace, amongst ye mids of his friends, who mourned & wept over him, and ministered what help & comfort they could unto him, and he againe recomforted them whilst he could. His sicknes was not long, and till ye last day therof he did not wholly keep his bed. His speech continued till somewhat more then halfe a day, & then failed him; and aboute 9 or 10 a 'clock that evening he dyed, without any pangs at all. A few howers before, he drew his breath short, and some few minutes before his last, he drew his breath long, as a man fallen into a sound sleep, without any pangs or gasping's, and so sweetly departed this life unto a better.

I would now demand of any, what he was ye worse for any former sufferings? What do I say, worse? Nay, sure he was ye better, and they now added to his honour. It is a manifest token (saith ye Apostle, 2. Thes: 1. 5, 6, 7.) of ye righteous judgmente of God that you may be counted worthy of ye kingdome of God, for which ye also suffer; seeing it is a righteous thing with God to recompence tribulation to them yt trouble you: and to you who are troubled, rest with us, when ye Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven, with his mighty angels. 1. Pet. 4. 14. If you be reproached for ye name of Christ, happy are ye, for ye spirite of glory and of God resteth upon you. What though he wanted ye riches

and pleasures of ye world in this life, and pompous monuments at his funeral? yet ye memorial of ye just shall be blessed, when ye name of ye wicked shall rot (with their marble monuments). Pro: 10. 7.

I should say something of his life, if to say a little were not worse than to be silent. But I cannot wholly forbear, though hapily more may be done hereafter. After he had attained some learning, viz. ye knowledge of ye Latin tongue, & some insight in ye Greek, and spent some small time at Cambridge, and then being first seasoned with ye seeds of grace and vertue, he went to ye Courte, and served that religious and godly gentleman, Mr. Davison, diuerce years, when he was Secretary of State; who found him so discreet and faithful as he trusted him above all other that were aboute him, and only imployed him in all matters of greatest trust and secrecie. He esteemed him rather as a sonne then a servant, and for his wisdom & godliness (in private) he would converse with him more like a friend & familiar then a maister. He attended his master when he was sente in ambassage by the Queen into ye Low-Countries, in ye Earle of Leicester's time, as for other waighty affairs of state, so to receive possession of the cautionary towns, and in token & sign therof the Keyes of Flushing being delivered to him, in her Matis name, he kept them some time, and committed them to this his servant, who kept them under his pillow, on which he slept ye first night. And, at his returne, ye States honoured him with a gold chain, and his maister committed it to him, and commanded him to wear it when they arrived in England, as they ridd thorow the country, till they came to ye Courte. He afterwards remained with him till his troubles, that he was put from his place aboute ye death of ye Queen of Scots; and some good time after, doing him manie faithful offices of servise in ye time of his troubles. Afterwards he wente and lived in ye country, in good esteem amongst his friends and ye gentle-men of those parts, espetially the godly & religious. He did much good in ye cuntry where he lived, in promoting and furthering religion, not only by his practise & example, and provocking and incouraging of others, but by procuring of good preachers to ye places therabout, and, drawing on of others to assist & help forward in such a work; he himself most commonly deepest in ye charge, & sometimes above his abillitie. And in this state he continued many years, doing ye best good he could, and walking according to ye light he saw, till ye Lord reveiled further unto him. And in ye end, by ye tyranny of ye bishops against godly preachers & people, in silencing the one & persecuting ye other, he and many more of those times began to look further into things, and to see into ye unlawfulness of their callings, and ye burthen of many anti-Christian corruptions, which both he and they endeavored to cast of; as yey also did, as in ye beginning of this treatise is to be seene. After they were joyned together in communion, he was a spetiall stay & help unto them. They ordinarily met at his house on ye Lords day, (which was a manor of ye bishops,) and with great love he entertained them when they came, making provision for them to his great charge. He was ye cheefe of those that were taken at Boston, and suffered ye greatest loss; and of ye seven that were kept longest in prison, and after bound over to ye assises. After he came into Holland he suffered much hardship, after he had spente ye most of his means, haveing a great charge, and many children; and, in regard of his former breeding & course of life, not so fit for many employments as others were, espetially such as were toilsome & laborious. But yet he ever bore his condition with much cherfullnes and contentation. Towards ye later part of those 12. years spente in Holland, his outward condition was mended, and he lived well & plentifully; for he fell into a way (by reason he had ye Latin tongue) to teach many students, who had a desire to learn ye English tongue, to teach them English; and by his method they quickly attained it with great facilitie; for he drew rules to learn it by, after ye Latin maner; and many gentlemen, both Danes & Germans, resorted to him, as they had time from other studies, some of them being great men's soñes. He also had means to set up printing, (by ye help of some friends,) and so had employmente enough, and by reason of many books which would not be allowed to be printed in England, they might have had more than they could do. But now removing into this cuntry, all these things were laid aside againe, and a new course of living must be framed unto; in which he was no way unwilling to take his part, and to bear his burthen with ye rest, living many times without bread, or corn, many months together, having many times nothing but fish, and often wanting that also; and drunk nothing but water for many years togeather, yea, till within 5. or 6. years of his death. And yet he lived (by ye blessing of God) in health till very old age. And besides yt, he would labour with his hands in ye fields as long as he was able; yet when the church had no other minister, he taught twice every Sabbath, and yt both powerfully and profitably, to ye great contentment of ye hearers, and their comfortable edification; yea, many were brought to God by his ministrie. He did more in this behalfe in a year, then many that have their hundreds a year doe in all their lives.

For his personal abilities, he was qualified above many; he was wise and discreet and well spoken, having a grave & deliberate utterance, of a very cheerful spirite, very sociable & pleasant amongst his friends, of an humble and modest mind, of a peaceable disposition, under vallewing himself & his owne abilities, and some time over valewing others; inoffensive and innocent in his life & conversation, wch gained him ye love of those without, as well as those within; yet he would tell them plainly of their faults & evils, both publickly & privatly, but in such a maner as usually was well taken from him. He was tender harted, and compassionate of such as were in miserie, but espetially of such as had been of good estate and rank, and were fallen unto want & poverty, either for goodnes & religions sake, or by ye injury & oppression of others; he would say, of all men these deserved to be pitied most. And none did more offend & displease him then such as would haughtily and proudly carry & lift up themselves, being rise from nothing, and haveing little else in them to comend them but a few fine cloaths, or a little riches more than others. In teaching, he was very moving & stirring of affections, also very plaine & distincte in what he taught; by which means he became ye more profitable to ye hearers. He had a singular good gift in prayer, both publick & private, in ripping up ye hart & conscience before God, in the humble confession of sinne, and begging ye mercies of God in Christ for ye pardon of ye same. He always thought it were better for ministers to pray oftener, and devide their prayers, then be long & tedious in the same (except upon sollemne & spetiall occations, as in days of humiliation & ye like). His reason was, that ye harte & spirits of all, espetially ye weake, could hardly continue & stand bent (as it were) so long towards God, as they ought to do in yt duty, without flagging and falling off. For ye government of ye church, (which was most proper to his office,) he was carefull to preserve good order in ye same, and to preserve puritie, both in ye doctrine & communion of ye same; and to supress any error or contention that might begine to rise up amongst them; and

accordingly God gave good success to his endeavors herein all his days, and he saw ye fruit of his labours in that behalfe. But I must break off, having only thus touched a few, as it were, heads of things.

I cannot but here take occasion, not only to mention, but greatly to admire ye marvellous providence of God, that notwithstanding ye many changes and hardships that these people wente through, and ye many enemies they had and difficulties they mette with all, that so many of them should live to very olde age! It was not only this reved man's condition, (for one swallow makes no summer, as they say,) but many more of them did ye like, some dying aboute and before this time, and many still living, who attained to 60. years of age, and to 65 diverse to 70 and above, and some nere 80. as he did. It must needs be more then ordinarie, and above natural reason, that so it should be; for it is found in experience, that chaing of aeir, famine, or unwholesome food, much drinking of water, sorrows & troubles, &c., all of them are enimies to health, causes of many diseases', consumers of natural vigour and ye bodys of men, and shorteners of life. And yet of all these things they had a large part, and suffered deeply in ye same.

They wente from England to Holland, where they found both worse air and dyet then that they came from; from thence (induring a long imprisonment, as it were, in ye ships at sea) into New-England; and how it hath been with them hear hath already been shown; and what crosses, troubles, fears, wants, and sorrows they had been lyable unto, is easie to conjecture; so as in some sort they may say with ye Apostle, 2. Cor: 11. 26, 27. they were in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils of their owne nation, in perils among ye heathen, in perils in ye wilderness, in perils in ye sea, in perils among false brethren; in weariness & painfulness, in watching often, in hunger and thirst, in fasting often, in cold and nakednes. What was it then that upheld them? It was Gods vissitation that preserved their spirits. Job 10. 12. Thou hast given me life and grace, and thy vissitation hath preserved my spirite. He that upheld ye Apostle upheld them. They were persecuted, but not forsaken, cast down, but perished not. 2. Cor: 4. 9. As unknown, and yet known; as dying, and behold we live; as chastened, and yet not killed. 2. Cor: 6. 9. God, it seems, would have all men to behold and observe such mercies and works of his providence as these are towards his people, that they in like cases might be encouraged to depend upon God in their trials, & also blese his name when they see his goodnes towards others. Man lives not by bread only, Deut: 8. 3. It is not by good & dainty fare, by peace, & rest, and harts ease, in injoying ye contentment's and good things of this world only, that preserves health and prolongs life. God in such examples would have ye world see & behold that he can do it without them; and if ye world will shut ther eyes, and take no notice therof, yet he would have his people to see and consider it. Daniel could be better liking with pulse then others were with ye kings dainties. Jaacob, though he wente from one nation to another people, and passed thorow famine, fears, & many afflictions, yet he lived till old age, and dyed sweetly, & rested in ye Lord, as infinite others of Gods servants have done, and still shall doe, (through Gods goodnes,) notwithstanding all ye malice of their enemies; when ye branch of ye wicked shall be cut of before his day, Job. 15.32. and the bloody and deceitful men shall not live out halfe their days. Psa: 55.23.

By reason of ye plottings of the Narragansetts, (ever since ye Pequents war,) the Indeans were drawn into a general conspiracie against ye English in all parts, as was in part discovered ye year before; and now made more plaine and evident by many discoveries and free-confessions of sundrie Indeans (upon several occasions) from diverse places, concurring in one; with such other concurring circumstances as gave them sufficiently to understand the trueth therof, and to thinke of means, how to prevent ye same, and secure themselves. Which made them enter into this more nere union & confederation following.

Articles of Confederation between ye Plantations under ye Gouvernemente of Massachusetts, ye Plantations under ye Gouvernemente of New-Plimoth, ye Plantations under ye Gouvernemente of Conightecute, and ye Gouvernemente of New-Haven, with ye Plantations in combination therewith. Whereas we all came into these parts of America with one and ye same end and aime, namely; to advance the kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ, & to injoye ye liberties of ye Gospel in puritie with peace; and whereas in our settling (by a wise providence of God) we are further dispersed upon ye sea coasts and rivers then was at first intended, so yt we cannot, according to our desires, with convenience communicate in one government & jurisdiction; and whereas we live encompassed with people of several nations and strange languages, which hereafter may prove injurious to us and our posteritie; and for as much as ye natives have formerly committed sundrie insolencies and outrages upon several plantations of ye English, and have of late combined themselves against us; and seeing, by reason of those distractions in England (which they have heard of) and by which they know we are hindered from yt humble way of seeking advice or reaping those comfortable fruits of protection which at other times we might well expect; we therefore doe conceive it our bounden duty, without delay, to enter into a presente consociation amongst ourselves, for mutual help & strength in all our future concernments. That as in nation and religion, so in other respects, we be & continue one, according to ye tenor and true meaning of the insuing articles. (1) Wherefore it is fully agreed and concluded by & between ye parties or jurisdictions above named, and they joyntly & severally doe by these presents agree & conclude, that they all be and henceforth be called by ye name of The United Colonies of New-England.

2. The said United Collonies, for themselves & their posterities, doe joyntly & severally hereby enter into a firm & perpetual league of friendship & amitie, for offence and defence, mutual advice and succour upon all just occasions, both for preserving & propagating ye truth of ye Gospel, and for their own mutual saftie and welfare.

3. It is further agreed that the plantations which at present are or hereafter shall be settled within ye limits of ye Massachusetts shall be for ever under ye Massachusetts, and shall have peculiar jurisdiction among themselves in all cases, as an entire body. And yt Plimoth, Conightecutt, and New-Haven shall each of them have like peculiar jurisdiction and government within their limits and in reference to ye plantations which already are settled, or shall hereafter be erected, or shall settle within their limits, respectively; provided yt no other jurisdiction shall hereafter be taken in, as a distincte head or member of this confederation, nor shall any other plantation or jurisdiction in present being, and not already in combination or under ye jurisdiction of any of these confederates, be received by any of

them; nor shall any tow of ye confederates joyne in one jurisdiction, without consente of ye rest, which consent to be interpreted as is expressed in ye sixte article ensewing.

4. It is by these confederates agreed, yt the charge of all just wars, whether offensive or defensive, upon what part or member of this confederation soever they fall, shall, both in men, provissions, and all other disbursments, be borne by all ye parts of this confederation, in differente proportions, according to their differente abilities, in maner following: namely, yt the commissioners for each jurisdiction, from time to time, as ther shall be occasion, bring a true accounte and number of all their males in every plantation, or any way belonging too or under their several jurisdictions, of what qualitie or condition soever they be, from 16. years old to 60, being inhabitants ther; and yt according to ye differente numbers which from time to time shall be found in each jurisdiction upon a true & just accounte, the service of men and all charges of ye war be borne by ye pole; each jurisdiction or plantation being left to their owne just course & custom of rating themselves and people according to their differente estates, with due respects to their qualities and exemptions amongst themselves, though the confederates take no notice of any such privilege. And yt according to their differente charge of each jurisdiction & plantation, the whole advantage of ye war, (if it please God to blesse their indeaours,) whether it be in lands, goods, or persons, shall be proportionably devided among ye said confederates.

5. It is further agreed, that if these jurisdictions, or any plantation under or in combynacion with them, be invaded by any enemie whomsoever, upon notice & request of any 3. magistrates of yt jurisdiction so invaded, ye rest of ye confederates, without any further meeting or expostulation, shall forthwith send ayde to ye confederate in danger, but in differente proportion; namely, ye Massachusetts an hundred men sufficently armed & provided for such a service and journey, and each of ye rest forty five so armed & provided, or any lesser number, if less be required according to this proportion. But if such confederate in danger may be supplied by their next confederates, not exceeding ye number hereby agreed, they may crave help ther, and seeke no further for ye presente; ye charge to be borne as in this article is exprest, and at ye returne to be victualled & supplied with powder & shote for their journey (if ther be need) by yt jurisdiction which employed or sent for them. But none of ye jurisdictions to exceede these numbers till, by a meeting of ye commissioners for this confederation, a greater aide appear nessessarie. And this proportion to continue till upon knowledge of greater numbers in each jurisdiction, which shall be brought to ye next meeting, some other proportion be ordered. But in such case of sending men for presente aide, whether before or after such order or alteration, it is agreed yt at ye meeting of ye Comissioners for this confederation, the cause of such war or invasion be duly considered; and if it appeare yt the falte lay in ye parties so invaded, yt then that jurisdiction or plantation make just satisfaction both to ye invaders whom they have injured, and bear all ye charges of ye war themselves, without requiring any allowance from ye rest of ye confederates towards ye same. And further, yt if any jurisdiction see any danger of any invasion approaching, and ther be time for a meeting, that in such a case 3. magistrates of yt jurisdiction may sumone a meeting, at such conveniente place as themselves shall thinke meete, to consider & provide against ye threatened danger, provided when they are met, they may remove to what place they please; only, whilst any of these four confederates have but 3 magistrates in their jurisdiction, their request, or summons, from any 2. of them shall be accounted of equal force with ye 3. mentioned in both the clauses of this article, till ther be an increase of magistrates ther.

6. It is also agreed yt, for ye managing & concluding of all affairs proper, & concerning the whole confederation, two Comissioners shall be chosen by & out of each of these 4. jurisdictions; namely, 2. for ye Massachusetts, 2. for Plimoth, 2. for Conightecutt, and 2. for New-Haven, being all in church fellowship with us, which shall bring full power from their several General Courts respectively to hear, examene, waigh, and determine all affairs of war, or peace, leagues, aids, charges, and numbers of men for war, divisions of spoyles, & whatsoever is gotten by conquest; receiving of more confederates, or plantations into combination with any of ye confederates, and all things of like nature, which are ye proper concomitants or consequences of such a confederation, for amitie, offence, & defence; not inter-meddling with ye government of any of ye jurisdictions, which by ye 3. article is preserved entirely to themselves.

But if these 8 Comissioners when they meete shall not all agree, yet it concluded that any 6. of the 8. agreeing shall have power to settle & determine ye bussines in question. But if 6. do not agree, that then such propositions, with their reasons, so farr as they have been debated, be sente, and referred to ye 4. General Courts, viz. ye Massachusetts, Plimoth, Conightecutt, and New-haven; and if at all ye said General Courts ye bussines so referred be concluded, then to be prosecuted by ye confederates, and all their members. It was further agreed that these 8. Comissioners shall meete once every year, besides extraordinarie meetings, (according to the fifte article,) to consider, treat, & conclude of all affaires belonging to this confederation, which meeting shall ever be the first Thursday in September. And yt the next meeting after the date of these presents, which shall be accounted ye second meeting, shall be at Boston in ye Massachusetts, the 3. at Hartford, the 4. at New-Haven, the 5. at Plimoth, and so in course successively, if in ye meane time some middle place be not found out and agreed on, which may be commodious for all ye jurisdictions.

7. It is further agreed, yt at each meeting of these 8. Comissioners, whether ordinarie, or extraordinary, they all 6. of them agreeing as before, may chuse a president out of themselves, whose office & work shall be to take care and direct for order, and a comely carrying on of all proceedings in ye present meeting; but he shall be invested with no such power or respect, as by which he shall hinder ye propounding or progress of any bussines, or any way cast ye scales otherwise then in ye precedent article is agreed.

8. It is also agreed, yt the commissioners for this confederation hereafter at their meetings, whether ordinary or extraordinarie, as they may have comission or opportunitie, doe indeaover to frame and establish agreements & orders in general cases of a civil nature, wherein all ye plantations are interessed, for ye preserving of peace amongst themselves, and preventing as much as may be all occasions of war or difference with others; as aboute ye free & speedy passage of justice, in every jurisdiction, to all ye confederates equally as to their owne; not receiving those yt

remove from one plantation to another without due certificate; how all ye jurisdictions may carry towards ye Indeans, that they neither grow insolente, nor be injured without due satisfaction, least war break in upon the confederates through such miscarriages. It is also agreed, yt if any servant rune away from his maister into another of these confederated jurisdictions, that in such case, upon ye certificate of one magistrate in the jurisdiction out of which ye said servant fled, or upon other due proof, the said servant shall be delivered, either to his maister, or any other yt pursues & brings such certificate or prooffe. And yt upon ye escape of any prisoner whatsoever, or fugitive for any criminal cause, whether breaking prison, or getting from ye officer, or otherwise escaping, upon the certificate of 2. magistrates of ye jurisdiction out of which ye escape is made, that he was a prisoner, or such an offender at ye time of ye escape, they magistrates, or some of them of the jurisdiction where for ye presente the said prisoner or fugitive abideth, shall forthwith grante such a warrant as ye case will bear, for ye apprehending of any such person, & the delivering of him into ye hands of ye officer, or other person who pursues him. And if ther be help required, for ye safe returning of any such offender, then it shall be granted to him yt craves ye same, he paying the charges therof.

9. And for yt the justest wars may be of dangerous consequence, espetially to ye smaller plantations in these United Collonies, it is agreed yt neither ye Massachusetts, Plimoth, Conightecutt, nor New-Haven, nor any member of any of them, shall at any time hear after begine, undertake, or ingage themselves, or this confederation, or any part therof, in any war whatsoever, (sudden exigent, with ye necessary consequents therof excepted, which are also to be moderated as much as ye case will permitte,) without ye consente and agreemente of ye forementioned 8. commissioners, or at the least 6. of them, as in ye sixt article is provided. And yt no charge be required of any of the confederates, in case of a defensive war, till ye said commissioners have met, and approved ye justice of ye war, and have agreed upon ye summe of money to be levied, which sume is then to be paid by the several confederates in proportion according to ye fourth article.

10. That in extraordinary occasions, when meetings are summoned by three magistrates of any jurisdiction, or 2. as in ye 5 article, if any of ye commissioners come not, due warning being given or sente, it is agreed yt 4. of the commissioners shall have power to direct a war which cannot be delayed, and to send for due proportions of men out of each jurisdiction, as well as 6. might do if all met; but not less than 6. shall determine the justice of ye war, or allow ye demands or bills of charges, or cause any levies to be made for ye same.

11. It is further agreed, yt if any of ye confederates shall hereafter break any of these presente articles, or be any other ways injurious to any one of ye other jurisdictions, such breach of agreemente or injurie shall be duly considered and ordered by ye commissioners for ye other jurisdiction; that both peace and this presente confederation may be intirly preserved without violation.

12. Lastly, this perpetual confederation, and ye several articles therof being read, and seriously considered, both by ye General Courte for ye Massachusetts, and by ye commissioners for Plimoth, Conigtecute, & New-Haven, were fully allowed & confirmed by 3. of ye forenamed confederates, namely, ye Massachusetts, Conightecutt, and New-Haven; only ye commissioners for Plimoth haveing no comission to conclude, desired respite till they might advise with their General Courte; where upon it was agreed and concluded by ye said Courte of ye Massachusetts, and the commissioners for ye other tow confederates, that, if Plimoth consente, then the whole treaty as it stands in these present articles is, and shall continue, firme & stable without alteration. But if Plimoth come not in, yet ye other three confederates doe by these presents confirm ye whole confederation, and the articles therof; only in September next, when ye second meeting of ye commissioners is to be at Boston, new consideration may be taken of ye 6. article, which concerns number of commissioners for meeting & concluding the affaires of this confederation, to ye satisfaction of ye Courte of ye Massachusetts, and ye commissioners for ye other 2. confederates, but ye rest to stand unquestioned.

In ye testimonie wherof, ye General Courte of ye Massachusetts, by ther Secretary, and ye commissioners for Conightecutt and New-Haven, have subscribed these presente articles this 19. of ye third month, commonly called May, Anno Dom: 1643.

At a meeting of ye commissioners for ye confederation held at Boston ye 7. of Sept: it appearing that the General Courte of New-Plimoth, and ye several townships therof, have read & considered & approved these articles of confederation, as appeareth by comission from their General Courte bearing date ye 29. of August, 1643. to Mr. Edward Winslow and Mr. William Collier, to ratifie and confirme ye same on their behalves. We, therefore, ye Comissioners for ye Massachusetts, Conightecutt, & New Haven, doe also, for our several governments, subscribe unto them.

John Winthrop, Governor of ye Massachusetts.

Thomas Dudley. George Fenwick. Thomas Gregson. Theoph: Eaton. Edward Hopkins.

These were ye articles of agreemente in ye union and confederation which they now first entered into; and in this their first meeting, held at Boston ye day & year abovesaid, amongst other things they had this matter of great consequence to consider on: the Narragansetts, after ye subduing of ye Pequents, thought to have ruled over all ye Indeans aboute them; but ye English, espetially those of Conightecutt holding correspondencie & friendship with Uncass, sachem of ye Mohiggen Indeans which lived nere them, (as ye Massachusetts had done with ye Narragansetts,) and he had been faithful to them in ye Pequente war, they were ingaged to support him in his just liberties, and were contented yt such of ye surviving Pequents as had submitted to him should remaine with him and quietly under his protection. This did much increase his power and augment his greatness, which ye Narragansetts could not indure to see. But Myantinomo, their cheefe sachem, (an ambitious & politick man,) sought privatly and by treachery (according to ye Indean maner) to make him away, by hiring some to kill him. Sometimes they assayed to poyson him; that not taking, then in ye night time to knock him on ye head in his house, or secretly to shoot him, and such like attempts. But none of these taking effecte, he made open war upon him (though it was against ye covenants both between ye English & them, as also between themselves, and a plaine breach of ye same). He came suddenly

upon him with 900. or 1000. men (never denouncing any war before). Ye others power at yt presente was not above halfe so many;]but it pleased God to give Uncass ye victory, and he slew many of his men, and wounded many more; but ye cheefe of all was, he took Miantinomo prisoner. And seeing he was a great man, and ye Narragansetts a potent people & would seeke revenge, he would do nothing in ye case without ye advise of ye English; so he (by ye help & direction of those of Conightecutt) kept him prisoner till this meeting of ye commissioners. The commissioners weighed ye cause and passages, as they were clearly represented & sufficiently evidenced betwixte Uncass and Myantinomo; and the things being duly considered, the commissioners apparently saw yt Uncass could not be safe whilst Miantynomo lived, but, either by secrete treachery or open force, his life would still be in danger. Wherefore they thought he might justly put such a false & bloud-thirstie enimie to death; but in his owne jurisdiction, not in ye English plantations. And they advised, in ye maner of his death all mercy and moderation should be showed, contrary to ye practise of ye Indeans, who exercise tortures and cruelty. And, Uncass having hitherto shewed him selfe a friend to ye English, and in this craving their advice, if the Narigansett Indeans or others shall unjustly assault Uncass for this execution, upon notice and request, ye English promise to assist and protect him as farr as they may against such violence.

This was ye issue of this bussines. The reasons and passages hereof are more at large to be seene in ye acts & records of this meeting of ye commissioners. And Uncass followed this advice, and accordingly executed him, in a very faire maner, according as they advised, with due respect to his honour & greatness. But what followed on ye Narragansetts part will appear hear after.

Anno Dom: 1644.

Mr. Edward Winslow was chosen Governor this year.

Many having left this place (as is before noted) by reason of the straightness & barrenness of ye same, and their finding of better accommodations elsewhere, more suitable to their ends & minds; and sundrie others still upon every occasion desiring their dismissions, the church begane seriously to thinke whether it were not better joyntly to remove to some other place, then to be thus weakened, and as it were insensibly dissolved. Many meetings and much consultation was held hereabout, and diverse were men's minds and opinions. Some were still for staying together in this place, alleging men might hear live, if they would be contente with their condition; and yt it was not for want of necessitie so much yt they removed, as for ye enriching of themselves. Others were resolute upon removal, and so signified yt hear yey could not stay; but if ye church did not remove, they must; insomuch as many were swayed, rather than ther should be a dissolution, to condescend to a removal, if a fit place could be found, that might more conveniently and comfortable receive ye whole, with such accession of others as might come to them, for their better strength & subsistence; and some such like cautions and limitations. So as, with ye afforesaid provisos, ye greater part consented to a removal to a place called Nawsett, which had been superficially viewed and ye good will of ye purchasers (to whom it belonged) obtained, with some addition thereto from ye Courte. But now they begane to see their error, that they had given away already the best & most commodious places to others, and now wanted themselves; for this place was about 50. myles from hence, and at an outside of ye countrie, remote from all society; also, that it would prove so strait, as it would not be competente to receive ye whole body, much less be capable of any addition or increase; so as (at least in a short 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 removal took advantage of this agreement, & wente on notwithstanding, neither could ye rest hinder them, they haveing made some beginning. And thus was this poor church left, like an ancient mother, growne olde, and forsaken of her children, (though not in their affections,) yet in regard of their bodily presence and personal helpfulness.

Her ancient members being most of them worn away by death; and these of later time being 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 poor.

Some things handled, and pacified by ye commissioner this year.

Whereas, by a wise providence of God, tow of ye jurisdictions in ye western parts, viz. Conightecutt & New-haven, have been lately exercised by sundrie insolencies & outrages from ye Indeans; as, first, an Englishman, running from his master out of ye Massachusetts, was murdered in ye woods, in or nere ye limits of Conightecute jurisdiction; and aboute 6. weeks after, upon discovery by an Indean, ye Indean Sagamore in these parts promised to deliver the murderer to ye English, bound; and having accordingly brought him within ye sight of Uncaway, by their joynte consente, as it is informed, he was ther unbound, and left to shift for him selfe; whereupon 10. Englishmen forthwith coming to ye place, being sente by Mr. Ludlow, at ye Indeans desire, to receive ye murderer, who seeing him escaped, layed hold of 8. of ye Indeans ther presente, amongst whom ther was a sagamore or 2 and kept them in hold 2. days, till 4. Sagamore's ingaged themselves within one month to deliver ye prisoner. And about a week after this agreement, an Indean came presumptuously and with guile, in ye day time, and murderously assaulted an English woman in her house at Stamford, and by 3. wounds, supposed mortal, left her for dead, after he had robbed ye house. By which passages ye English were provoked, & called to a due consideration of their owne saftie; and ye Indeans generally in those parts arose in an hostile maner, refused to come to ye English to carry on treaties of peace, departed from their wigwams, left their corn unweeded, and shewed themselves tumultuously about some of ye English plantations, & shott of peeces within hearing of ye towne; and some Indeans came to ye English & tould them ye Indeans would fall upon them. So yt most of ye English thought it unsafe to travel in those parts by land, and some of ye plantations were put upon strong watches and ward, night & day, & could not attend their private occasions, and yet distrusted their owne strength for their defence. Whereupon Hartford & New-Haven were sent unto for aide, and saw cause both to send into ye weaker parts of their owne jurisdiction thus in danger, and New-Haven, for conveniencie of situation, sente aide to Uncaway, though belonging to Conightecutt. Of all which passages they presently acquainted ye commissioners in ye Bay, & had ye allowance & approbation from ye General Courte ther,

with directions neither to hasten war nor to bear such insolencies too long. Which courses, though chargeable to themselves, yet through God's blessing they hope fruit is, & will be, sweet and wholesome to all ye colonies; the murderers are since delivered to justice, the publick peace preserved for ye presente, & probabilitie it may be better secured for ye future.

Thus this mischeefe was prevented, and ye fear of a war hereby diverted. But now another broyle was begun by ye Narigansetts; though they unjustly had made war upon Uncass, (as is before declared,) and had, ye winter before this, earnestly pressed ye Governor of ye Massachusetts that they might still make war upon them to revenge the death of their sagamore, wch, being taken prisoner, was by them put to death, (as before was noted,) pretending that they had first received and accepted his ransom, and then put him to death. But ye Governor refused their presents, and tould them yt it was themselves had done ye wrong, & broken ye conditions of peace; and he nor ye English neither could nor would allow them to make any further war upon him, but if they did, must assist him, & oppose them; but if it did appeare, upon good prooffe, that he had received a ransom for his life, before he put him to death, when ye commissioners met, they should have a fair hearing, and they would cause Uncass to returne ye same. But notwithstanding, at ye spring of ye year they gathered a great power, and fell upon Uncass, and slue sundrie of his men, and wounded more, and also had some loss themselves. Uncass cald for aide from ye English; they tould him what ye Narigansetts objected, he denyed the same; they tould him it must come to triall, and if he was inocente, if ye Narigansetts would not desiste, they would aide & assist him. So at this meeting they sent both to Uncass & ye Narigansetts, and required their Sagamore's to come or send to ye commissioners now mete at Hartford, and they should have a faire & impartial hearing in all their greivances, and would endeavor yt all wrongs should be rectified where they should be found; and they promised that they should safely come and returne without any danger or molestation; and sundry ye like things, as appears more at large in ye messengers instructions. Upon wch the Narigansetts sent one sagamore and some other deputies, with full power to do in ye case as should be meete. Uncass came in person, accompanied with some cheefe aboute him. After the agitation of ye bussines, ye issue was this. The commissioners declared to the Narigansett deputies as followeth.

1. That they did not find any proof of any ransom agreed on.
2. It appeared not yt any wampam had been paied as a ransom, or any part of a ransom, for Myantinomo's life.
3. That if they had in any measure proved their charge against Uncass, the commissioners would have required him to have made answerable satisfaction.
4. That if hereafter they can make satisfying prooffe, ye English will consider ye same, & proceed accordingly.
5. The commissioners did require yt neither themselves nor ye Nyanticks make any war or injurious assault upon Unquass or any of his company until they make prooffe of ye ransome charged, and yt due satisfaction be denyed, unless he first assault them.
6. That if they assault Uncass, the English are engaged to assist him. Hereupon ye Narigansette sachim, advising with ye other deputies, ingaged him selfe in the behalfe of ye Narigansetts & Nyanticks that no hostile acts should be comitted upon Uncass, or any of his, until after ye next planting of corn; and yt after that, before they begine any war, they will give 30. days warning to ye Governor of the Massachusetts or Conightecutt. The commissioners approving of this offer, and taking their ingagmente under their hands, required Uncass, as he expected ye continuance of ye favour of the English, to observe the same termes of peace with ye Narigansetts and theirs.

These foregoing conclusions were subscribed by ye commissioners, for ye several jurisdictions, ye 19. of Sept: 1644.

Edward Hopkins, President. Simon Bradstreete. William Hathorne. Edward Winslow. John Browne.

George Fenwick. Theoph: Eaton. Thomas Gregson.

The forenamed Narigansetts deputies did further promise, that if, contrary to this agreemente, any of ye Nyantick Pequents should make any assault upon Uncass, or any of his, they would deliver them up to ye English, to be punished according to their demerits; and that they would not use any means to procure the Mowakes to come against Uncass during this truce.

These were their names subscribed with their marks.

Weetowish. Pampiamett. Chinñough. Pummunish.

Anno Dom: 1645.

The commissioners this year were called to meete together at Boston, before their ordinarie time; partly in regard of some differances fallen between ye French and ye government of the Massachusetts, about their aiding of Munseire Latore against Munsseire de Aulney, and partly about ye Indeans, who had broken ye former agreements aboute the peace concluded ye last year. This meeting was held at Boston, ye 28 of July.

Besides some underhand assaults made on both sides, the Narigansetts gathered a great power, and fell upon Uncass, and slew many of his men, and wounded more, by reason yt they farr exceeded him in number, and had gott store of peeeces, with which they did him most hurt. And as they did this without ye knowledge and consente of ye English, (contrary to former agreemente,) so they were resolved to prosecute ye same, notwithstanding anything ye English said or should do against them. So, being incouraged by ther late victorie, and promise of assistance from ye Mowaks, (being a strong, warlike, and desperate people,) they had already devoured Uncass & his, in their hops; and surly they had done it in deed, if the English had not timely set in for his aide. For those of Conightecute sent him 40. men, who were a garrison to him, till ye commissioners could meete and take further order.

Being thus met, they forthwith sente 3. messengers, viz. Sargent John Davis, Benedict Arnold, and Francis Smith, with full & ample instructions, both to ye Narigansetts and Uncass; to require them yt they should either come in person or send sufficiente men fully instructed to deal in ye bussines; and if they refused or delayed, to let them know (according to former agreements) yt the English are engaged to assist against these hostile invasions, and yt they

have sente their men to defend Uncass, and to know of ye Narigansetts whether they will stand to ye former peace, or they will assault ye English also, that they may provide accordingly.

But ye messengers returned, not only with a sleighting, but a threatening answer from the Narigansetts (as will more appear hereafter). Also they brought a letter from Mr. Roger Williams, wherein he assures them that ye war would presently break forth, & ye whole country would be all of a flame. And yt the sachems of ye Narigansetts had concluded a newtrality with ye English of Providence and those of Aquidnett Island. Whereupon ye commissioners, considering ye great danger & provocations offered, and ye necessitie we should be put unto of making war with ye Narigansetts, and being also careful, in a matter of so great waight & general concernment, to see ye way cleared, and to give satisfaction to all ye colonies, did thinke fitte to advise with such of ye magistrates & elders of ye Massachusetts as were then at hand, and also with some of ye cheefe military commanders ther; who being assembled, it was then agreed,—

First, yt our ingagmente bound us to aide & defend Uncass. 2. That this ayde could not be intended only to defend him & his forte, or habitation, but (according to ye comone acceptation of such covenants, or ingagments, considered with ye grounds or occasion therof) so to ayde him as he might be preserved in his liberty and estate. 3ly. That this ayde must be speedy, least he might be swallowed up in ye mean time, and so come too late. 4ly. The justice of this war being cleared to ourselves and ye rest then presente, it was thought meete yt the case should be stated, and ye reasons & grounds of ye war declared and published. 5ly. That a day of humiliation should be apoynted, which was ye 5. day of ye week following. 6ly. It was then also agreed by ye commissioners that ye whole number of men to be raised in all ye colonies should be 300. Wherof from ye Massachusetts a 190. Plimoth, 40. Conigtecute, 40. New-Haven, 30. And considering yt Uncass was in present danger, 40. men of this number were forthwith sente from ye Massachusetts for his succour; and it was but neede, for ye other 40. from Conigtecutt had order to stay but a month, & their time being out, they returned; and ye Narigansetts, hearing therof, took the advantage, and came suddenly upon him, and gave him another blow, to his further loss, and were ready to doe ye like againe; but these 40. men being arrived, they returned, and did nothing.

The declaration which they set forth I shall not transcribe, it being very large, and put forth in print, to which I refer those yt would see ye same, in which all passages are layed open from ye first. I shall only note their prowd carriage, and answers to ye 3. messengers sent from ye commissioners. They received them with scorne & contempte, and tould them they resolved to have no peace without Uncass his head; also they gave them this further answer: that it mattered not who began ye war, they were resolved to follow it, and that ye English should withdraw their garrison from Uncass, or they would procure ye Mowakes against them; and withal gave them this threatening answer: that they would lay ye English cattle on heaps, as high as their houses, and yt no English-man should sturr out of his dore to pisse, but he should be kild. And whereas they required guides to pass throw their countrie, to deliver their message to Uncass from ye commissioners, they deneyed them, but at length (in way of scorne) offered them an old Pequente woman. Besides also they conceived themselves in danger, for whilst ye interpretour was speaking with them about ye answer he should returne, 3. men came & stood behind him with ther hatchets, according to their murderous maner; but one of his fellows gave him notice of it, so they broak of & came away; with sundry such like affronts, which made those Indeans they carryed with them to run away for fear, and leave them to goe home as they could.

Thus whilst ye commissioners in care of ye publick peace sought to quench ye fire kindled amongst ye Indeans, these children of strife breath out threatenings, provocations, and war against ye English themselves.

So that, unless they should dishonour & provoak God, by violating a just ingagmente, and expose ye colonies to contempte & danger from ye barbarians, they cannot but exercise force, when no other means will prevail to reduce ye Narigansetts & their confederates to a more just & sober temper.

So as here upon they went on to hasten ye preparations, according to ye former agremente, and sent to Plimoth to send forth their 40. men with all speed, to lye at Seacunke, least any deanger should befall it, before ye rest were ready, it lying next ye enemie, and ther to stay till ye Massachusetts should joyne with them. Also Conigtecute & Newhaven forces were to joyne together, and march with all speed, and ye Indean confederates of those parts with them. All which was done accordingly; and the souldiers of this place were at Seacunk, the place of their rendevouze, 8 or 10 days before ye rest were ready; they were well armed all with snaphance peeces, and wente under ye command of Captain Standish. Those from other places were led likewise by able commanders, as Captaine Mason for Conigtecute, &c.; and Major Gibons was made general over ye whole, with such commissions & instructions as was meete.

Upon ye sudden dispatch of these souldiears, (the present necessitie requiring it,) the deputies of ye Massachusetts Courte (being now assembled immediately after ye setting forth of their 40. men) made a question whether it was legally done, without their comission. It was answered, that howsoever it did properly belong to ye authority of ye several jurisdictions (after ye war was agreed upon by ye commissioners, & the number of men) to provide ye men & means to carry on ye war; yet in this presente case, the proceeding of ye commissioners and ye comission given was as sufficiente as if it had been done by ye General Courte.

First, it was a case of such presente & urgent necessitie, as could not stay ye calling of ye Courte or Counsell.

2ly. In ye Articles of Confederation, power is given to ye commissioners to consult, order, & determine all affaires of war, &c. And ye word determine comprehends all acts of authority belonging thereunto.

3ly. The commissioners are ye judges of ye necessitie of the expedition.

4ly. The General Courte have made their owne commissioners their sole counsell for these affaires.

5ly. These counsels could not have had their due effecte except they had power to proceede in this case, as they have done; which were to make ye commissioners power, and ye maine end of ye confederation, to be frustrate, and that merely for observing a ceremony.

6ly. The commissioners having sole power to manage ye war for number of men, for time, place, &c., they only know their own counsells, & determinations, and therefore none can grant comission to act according to these but themselves.

All things being thus in readiness, and some of ye souldiers gone forth, and the rest ready to march, the commissioners thought it meete before any hostile act was performed, to cause a presente to be returned, which had been sente to ye Governor of the Massachusetts from ye Narigansett sachems, but not by him received, but layed up to be accepted or refused as they should carry themselves, and observe ye covenants. Therefore they violating the same, & standing out thus to a war, it was againe returned, by 2. messengers & an interpretour. And further to let know that their men already sent to Uncass (& other where sent forth) have hitherto had express order only to stand upon his & their owne defence, and not to attempt any invasion of ye Narigansetts country; and yet if they may have due reparation for what is past, and good securitie for ye future, it shall appear they are as desirous of peace, and shall be as tender of ye Narigansetts blood as ever. If therefore Pessecuss, Innemo, writh other saches, will (without further delay) come along with you to Boston, the Comissioners doe promise & assure them, they shall have free liberty to come, and retourne without molestation or any just greevance from ye English. But deputies will not now serve, nor may the preparations in hand be now stayed, or ye directions given recalled, till ye forementioned sagamors come, and some further order be taken. But if they will have nothing but war, the English are providing, and will proceede accordingly.

Pessecouss, Mixano, & Witowash, 3. principal sachems of ye Narigansett Indeans, and Awasequen, deputie for ye Nyanticks, with a large train of men, within a few days after came to Boston.

And to omitte all other circumstances and debates yt past between them and the commissioners, they came to this conclusion following.

1. It was agreed betwixte ye commissioners of ye United Collonies, and ye forementioned Sagamore's, & Nyantick deputie, that ye said Narigansetts & Nyantick Sagamore's should pay or cause to be payed at Boston, to ye Massachusetts commissioners, ye full sum of 2000. fathome of good white Wampame, or a third part of black Wampampeage, in 4. payments; namely, 500. fathome within 20. days, 500. fathome within 4. months, 500. fathome at or before next planting time, and 500. fathome. within 2. years next after ye date of these presents; which 2000. fathome ye commissioners accept for satisfaction of former charges expended.

2. The foresaid Sagamore's & deputie (on ye behalf of ye Narigansett & Nyantick Indeans) hereby promise & covenante that they upon demand and profe satisfie & restore unto Uncass, ye Mohigan Sagamore, all such captives, whether men, or women, or children, and all such canowes, as they or any of their men have taken, or as many of their owne canowes in ye room of them, full as good as they were, with full satisfaction for all such corn as they or any of their men have spoyled or destroyed, of his or his men's, since last planting time; and ye English comissioners hereby promise yt Uncass shall doe ye like.

3. Whereas ther are sundry differences & greevances betwixte Narigansett & Nyantick Indeans, and Uncass & his men, (which in Uncass his absence cannot now be determined,) it is hearby agreed yt Narragansett & Nyantick Sagamore's either come themselves, or send their deputies to ye next meeting of ye commissioners for ye collonies, either at New-Haven in Sept 1646. or sooner (upon conveniente warning, if ye said comissioners doe meete sooner), fully instructed to declare & make due proof of their injuries, and to submit to ye judgmente of ye commissioners, in giving or receiving satisfaction; and ye said commissioners (not doubting but Uncass will either come himself, or send his deputies,

in like maner furnished) promising to give a full hearing to both parties with equal justice, without any partial respects, according to their allegations and profs.

4. The said Narigansett & Nyantick Sagamore & deputies doe nearby promise & covenante to keep and maintaine a firm & perpetual peace, both with all ye English United Colonies & their successors, and with Uncass, ye Monhegan sachem, & his men; with Ossamequine, Pumham, Sokanoke, Cutshamakin, Shoanan, Passaconaway, and all other Indean Sagamore's, and their companies, who are in friendship with or subject to any of ye English; hearby ingaging themselves, that they will not at any time hereafter disturb ye peace of ye country, by any assaults, hostile attempts, invasions, or other injuries, to any of ye United Collonies, or their successors; or to ye aforesaid Indeans; either in their persons, buildings, cattle, or goods, directly or indirectly; nor will they confederate with any other against them; & if they know of any Indeans or others yt conspire or intend hurt against ye said English, or any Indeans subject to or in friendship with them, they will without delay acquaint & give notice therof to ye English commissioners, or some of them.

Or if any questions or differences shall at any time hereafter arise or grow betwext them & Uncass, or any Indians before mentioned they will, according to former ingagments (which they hearby confirme & ratifie) first acquaint ye English, and crave their judgments & advice therein; and will not attempt or begine any war, or hostile invasion, till they have liberty and allowance from ye commissioners of ye United Collonies so to do.

5. The said Narigansetts & Nyantick Sagamore's & deputies doe hearby promise yt they will forthwith deliver & restore all such Indean fugitives, or captives which have at any time fled from any of ye English, and are now living or abiding amongst them, or give due satisfaction for them to ye commissioners for Massachusetts; and further, that they will (without delays) pay, or cause to be payed, a yearly tribute, a month before harvest, every year after this, at Boston, to ye English Colonies, for all such Pequents as live amongst them, according to ye former treaty & agremente, made at Hartford, 1638. namely, one fathome of white wampam for every Pequente man, & halfe a fathome for each Pequente youth, and one hand length for each mal-child. And if Weequashcooke refuse to pay this tribute for any Pequents with him, the Narigansetts Sagamore's promise to assist ye English against him. And they further covenante yt they will resign & yeeld up the whole Pequente countrie, and every part of it, to ye English collonies, as due to them by conquest.

6. The said Narigansett & Nyantick Sagamore's & deputie doe hereby promise & covenante yt within 14. days they will bring & deliver to ye Massachusetts commissioners on the behalf of ye collonies, four of their children, viz. Pessecous his eldest son, the sone Tassaquanawite, brother to Pessecouss, Awashawe his sone, and Ewangsos sone, a Nyantick, to be kept (as hostages & pledges) by ye English, till both ye forementioned 2000. fathome of wampam be payed at ye times appoynted, and ye differences betweene themselves & Uncass be heard & ordered, and till these artickles be underwritten at Boston, by Jenemo & Wipetock. And further they hereby promise & covenante, yt if at any time hereafter any of ye said children shall make escape, or be conveyed from ye English, before ye premisses be fully accomplished, they will either bring back & deliver to ye Massachusetts comissioners ye same children, or, if they be not to be found, such & so many other children, to be chosen by ye comissioners for ye United Collonies, or their assignes, and yt within 20 days after demand, and in ye mean time, until ye said 4 children be delivered as hostages, ye Narigansett & Nyantick sagamors & deputy doe, freely & of their owne accord, leave with ye Massachusetts comissioners, as pledges for present securitie, 4. Indeans, namely, Witowash, Pumanise, Jawashoe, Waughwamino, who also freely consente and offer themselves to stay as pledges, till ye said children be brought & delivered as abovesaid.

7. The comissioners for ye United Collonies doe hereby promise & agree that, at ye charge of ye United Collonies, ye 4. Indeans now left as pledges shall be provided for, and yt the 4. children to be brought & delivered as hostages shall be kept & maintained at ye same charge; that they will require Uncass & his men, with all other Indean sagamors before named, to forbear all acts of hostilitie against ye Narigansetts and Nyantick Indeans for ye future. And further, all ye promises being duly observed & kept by ye Narigansett & Nyantick Indians and their company, they will at ye end of 2. years restore ye said children delivered as hostages, and retain a firm peace with ye Narigansetts & Nyantick Indeans and their successors.

8. It is fully agreed by & betwixte ye said parties, yt if any hostile attempt be made while this treaty is in hand, or before notice of this agreemente (to stay further preparations & directions) can be given, such attempts & ye consequents therof shall on neither part be accounted a violation of this treaty, nor a breach of ye peace hear made & concluded.

9. The Narigansetts & Nyantick sagamors & deputie hereby agree & covenante to & with ye comissioners of ye United Collonies, yt henceforth they will neither give, grant, sell, or in any maner alienate, any part of their countrie, nor any parcel of land therein, either to any of ye English or others, without consente or allowance of ye commissioners.

10. Lastly, they promise that, if any Pequente or other be found & discovered amongst them who hath in time of peace murdered any of ye English, he or they shall be delivered to just punishment.

In witness wherof ye parties above named have interchaingable subscribed these presents, the day & year above written.

John Winthrop, President.

Herbert Pelham.

Tho: Prence.

John Browne.

Geo: Fenwick.

Edward Hopkins.

Theoph: Eaton.

Steven Goodyeare.

Pessecouss his mark.

Pessecouss mark

Meekesano his mark

Witowash his mark

Aumsequen his mark (the Nyantick deputy). Abdas his mark. Pummash his mark. Cutchamakin his mark

This treaty and agreement betwixte the comissioners of ye United Collonies and ye Sagamore's and deputy of Narragansetts and Nyantick Indeans was made and concluded, Benedict Arnold being interpretour upon his oath; Sergante Callicate & an Indean, his man, being present, and Josias & Cutshamakin, tow Indeans acquainted with ye English language, assisting therein; who opened & cleared the whole treaty, & every article, to ye Sagamore's and deputie there present.

And thus was ye war at this time stayed and prevented. Anno Dom: 1646.

About ye middle of May, this year, came in 3 ships into this harbor, in war like order; they were found to be men of war. The captains name was Crumwell, who had taken sundrie prizes from ye Spaniards in ye West Indies. He had a comission from ye Earle of Warwick. He had aboard his vessels aboute 80. lustie men, (but very unruly,) who, after they came ashore, did so distemper themselves with drink as they became like madd-men; and though some of them were punished & imprisoned, yet could they hardly be restrained; yet in ye end they became more moderate & orderly. They continued here aboute a month or 6. weeks, and then went to ye Massachusetts; in which time they spent and scattered a great deal of money among ye people, and yet more sine (I fear) then money, notwithstanding all ye care & watchfulness that was used towards them, to prevent what might be.

In which time one sad accident fell out. A desperate fellow of ye company fell a quarrelling with some of his company. His captain commanded him to be quiet & surcease his quarelling; but he would not, but reviled his captain with base language, & in ye end halfe drew his rapier, & intended to run at his captain; but he closed with him, and wrasted his rapier from him, and gave him a box on ye ear; but he would not give over, but still assaulted his captain. Where upon he took ye same rapier as it was in ye scabbard, and gave him a blow with ye hilts; but it light on his head, & ye small end of ye bar of ye rapier hilts peirct his skull, & he dyed a few days after. But ye captain was cleared by a counsel of war. This fellow was so desperate a quarreller as ye captain was faine many times to chain him under hatches from hurting his fellows, as ye company did testifie; and this was his end.

This Captain, Thomas Cromuell set forth another vioage to the West indeas, from the Bay of the Massachusetts, well maned & victualled; and was out 3. years, and took sundry prizes, and returned rich unto the Massachusetts, and ther dyed the same somere, having got a fall from his horse, in which fall he fell on his rapier hilts, and so brused his body as he shortly after dyed therof, with some other distempers, which brought him into a feavor. Some observed that ther might be something of the hand of God herein; that as the forenamed man dyed of ye blow he gave him with ye rapier hilts, so his owne death was occasioned by a like means.

(Note: Captain Thomas Cromwell born London 1617 and died in Massachusetts in 1649)

The New England Historical and Genealogical Register Vol 3 (1849) p. 268 includes Thomas's will which reads as follows:

Thomas Cromwell 3(9) 1649

"I Thomas Cromwell of Boston doe by these p'sents make my last will and Testament. Deere wife Anne sole executrix. To daughter. Elizabeth Cromwell fyve pounds sterling at marriage, or at one & twenty. To wife all the remainder of my estate, excepting the ship Anne. To pay to goodwife sherman ten pounds sterling, & to goodife Spaule five pound sterling I give my six bells being in the Custody of Henry Walton unto the towne of Boston, This 29th of August, 1649.

Thomas Cromwell & a seale

Sealed signed & DD in presence of John Clark Henry Walton

Deposed that this was the will 26 (8) 1649.

Descriptive information regarding Thomas Cromwell can be found in "the Journal of John Winthrop 1630-1649" and in "Bradford's History of Plimoth Plantation." Both Winthrop and Bradford recount that Captain Thomas was a privateer, with a commission from the Earl of Warwick, under the command of Captain Thomas Jackson. He "worked" in the West Indies taking Spanish ships, and made his money there. Both accounts give details of the occasion in which he accidentally killed one of his own men in a fight. He was tried in a Council of War and was acquitted.

Seems like there should be a paper trail, both for the murder charges, and for his sale of one of his captured Spanish ships, which the Earl of Warwick protested, apparently considering it to be his own property. The Earl of Warwick was a good friend of Oliver Cromwell. This lends some circumstantial evidence to the idea that our Thomas was some kind of relative. The birth date that is often suggested for Thomas (the 1550s) is not credible. He died in 1649 after returning from a three year privateering adventure. He fell from his horse, impaling himself upon his rapier hilt. Possibly born in London around 1617.

This year Mr. Edward Winslow went into England, upon this occasion: some discontented persons under ye government of the Massachusetts sought to trouble their peace, and disturb, if not innovate, their government, by laying many scandals upon them; and intended to prosecute against them in England, by petitioning & complaining to the Parlemente. Also Samuell Gorton & his company made complaints against them; so as they made choyse of Mr. Winslow to be their agent, to make their defence, and gave him comission & instructions for that end; in which he so carried him selfe as did well answer their ends, and cleared them from any blame or dishonour, to the shame of their adversaries. But by reason of the great alterations in the State, he was detained longer than was expected; and afterwards fell into other employments there, so as he hath now bene absent this 4. years, which hath been much to the weakening of this government, without whose consente he took these employments upon him.

Anno 1647. And Anno 1648.

APPENDIX.

The names of those which came over first, in y^e year 1620.
and were (by the blessing of god) the first beginners, and
(in a sort) the foundation, of all the plantations, and
Colonies, in New-England. (And their families)

1.	Mr John Carver. Kathrine his wife. Desire Minter; & 2. men-servants John Howland. Roger Wilder. William Latham, a boy. & a maid servant, & a child y^e was put to him called Jasper More	2.	Captin Myles Standish and Rose, his wife
4.	Mr William Brewster. Mary his wife, with 2. sons, whose names were Loue, & Whasling. and a boy was put to him called Richard More; and another of his Brothers the rest of his Children were left behind & came over afterwards.	4.	Mr Christopher Martin, and his wife; and 2. servants, Salamon Prover, and John Langemore
5.	Mr Edward Winslow Elizabeth his wife, & 2. men servants, called Georg Somle, and Elias Story; also a little girl was put to him called Ellen, the sister of Richard More.	5.	Mr William Mullins, and his wife; and 2. Children Joseph, & Priscilla; and a servant Robert Carter.
6.	William Bradford, and Dorothy his wife, having but one child, a son left behind, who came afterward.	6.	Mr ~~White~~ William White, and Susana his wife; and one son called resolved, and one borne a ship-board called perigrine; & 2. servants, named William Holbeck, & Edward Thomson.
8.	Mr Isaac Allerton, and Mary his wife; with 3. Children Bartholmew Remember, & Mary. and a servant boy, John Hooke.	8.	Mr Hopin Steven Hopkins, & Elizabeth his wife; and 2. Children, called Giles, and Constanta a daughter, both by a former wife. And 2. more by this wife, called Damaris, & Oceanus, the last was borne at sea. And 2. servants, called Edward Doty, and Edward Lister.
1.	Mr Samuel Fuller, and a servant, called William Butten. His wife was behind & a child, which came afterwards.	1.	Mr Richard Warren, but his wife and Children were left behind and came afterwards
4.	John Craxton, and his son	4.	John Billinton, and Elen his wife; and 2. sons John, & Francis.
4.		4.	Edward Gillie, and Ann his wife; and 2. Children that were their Cousens; Henry Samson, and Humil- lity Coper
3.		3.	John Gillie, and his wife; and Elizabeth their daughter.

No. I. Passengers of the Mayflower.

The names of those which came over first, in ye year 1620. and were by the blessing of God the first beginners and (in a sort) the foundation of all the Plantations and Colonies in New-England; and their families.

8 = Mr. John Carver; Kathrine, his wife; Desire Minter; & 2. man-servants, John Howland, Roger Wilder; William Latham, a boy; & a maid servant, & a child yt was put to him, called Jasper More.

6 = Mr. William Brewster; Mary, his wife; with 2. sons, whose names were Love & Wrasling; and a boy was put to him called Richard More; and another of his brothers. The rest of his children were left behind, & came over afterwards.

5 = Mr. Edward Winslow; Elizabeth, his wife; & 2. men servants, called Georg Sowle and Elias Story; also a little girl was put to him, called Ellen, the sister of Richard More.

2 = William Bradford, and Dorothy, his wife; having but one child, a sone, left behind, who came afterward.

6 = Mr. Isaack Allerton, and Mary, his wife; with 3. children, Bartholomew, Remember, & Mary; and a servant boy, John Hooke.

2 = Mr. Samuell Fuller, and a servant, called William Butten. His wife was behind, & a child, which came afterwards.

2 = John Crakston, and his sone, John Crakston.

2 = Captain Myles Standish, and Rose, his wife.

4 = Mr. Christopher Martin, and his wife, and 2. servants, Solomon Prower and John Langemore.

5 = Mr. William Mullins, and his wife, and 2. children, Joseph & Priscila; and a servant, Robart Carter.

6 = Mr. William White, and Susana, his wife, and one sone, called Resolved, and one borne a ship-bord, called Peregreine; & 2. servants, named William Holbeck & Edward Thomson.

8 = Mr. Steven Hopkins, & Elizabeth, his wife, and 2. children, called Giles, and Constanta, a daughter, both by a former wife; and 2. more by this wife, called Damaris & Oceanus; the last was borne at sea; and 2. servants, called Edward Doty and Edward Litster.

1 = Mr. Richard Warren; but his wife and children were left behind, and came afterwards.

4 = Mr. John Billington, and Ellen, his wife; and 2. sones, John & Francis.

4 = Mr. Edward Tillie, and Ann, his wife; and 2. children that were their cousins, Henery Samson and Humility Coper.

3 = Mr. John Tillie, and his wife; and Elizabeth, their daughter.

2 = Mr. Francis Cooke, and his sone John. But his wife & other children came afterwards.

2 = Mr. Thomas Rogers, and Joseph, his sone. His other children came afterwards.

3 = Mr. Thomas Tinker, and his wife, and a sone.

2 = Mr. John Rigsdale, and Alice, his wife.

3 = Mr. James Chilton, and his wife, and Mary, their daughter. They had another daughter, yt was married, came afterward.

3 = Mr. Edward Fuller, and his wife, and Samuell, their sonne.

3 = Mr. John Turner, and 2. sones. He had a daughter came some years after to Salem, where she is now living.

3 = Mr. Francis Eaton, and Sarah, his wife, and Samuell, their sone, a young child.

10 = Mr. Moyses Fletcher, John Goodman, Thomas Williams, Digerie Preist, Edmond Margeson, Peter Browne, Richard Britterige, Richard Clarke, Richard Gardenar, Gilbert Winslow.

1 = John Alden was hired for a cooper, at South-Hampton, where the ship victualled; and being a hopfull young man, was much desired, but left to his owne liking to go or stay when he came here; but he stayed, and maryed here.

2 = John Allerton and Thomas English were both hired, the latter to goe master of a shalop here, and ye other was reputed as one of ye company, but was to go back (being a seaman) for the help of others behind. But they both dyed here, before the ship returned.

2 = There were also other 2. seamen hired to stay a year here in the country, William Trevore, and one Mr. Ely. But when their time was out, they both returned.

These, being about a hundred sowls, came over in this first ship; and began this worke, which God of his goodnes hath hitherto blessed; let his holy name have ye praise.

And seeing it hath pleased him to give me to see 30. years completed since these beginnings; and that the great works of his providence are to be observed, I have thought it not unworthy my paines to take a view of the

decreasing's & increasing's of these persons, and such changes as hath passed over them & theirs, in this thirty years. It may be of some use to such as come after; but, however, I shall rest in my owne benefit.

I will therefore take them in order as they lye.

Mr. Carver and his wife dyed the first year; he in ye spring, she in ye soffer; also, his man Roger and ye little boy Jasper dyed before either of them, of ye commone infection. Desire Minter returned to her friends, & proved not very well, and dyed in England. His servant boy Latham, after more than 20. years stay in the country, went into England, and from thence to the Bahamy Islands in ye West Indies, and ther, with some others, was starved for want of food. His maid servant married, & dyed a year or two after, here in this place.

His servant, John Howland, married the daughter of John Tillie, Elizabeth, and they are both now living, and have 10. children, now all living; and their eldest daughter hath 4. children. And ther 2. daughter, 1. all living; and other of their children marriageable. So 15 are come of them.

Mr. Brewster lived to very old age; about 80. years he was when he dyed, having lived some 23. or 24. years here in ye countrie; & though his wife dyed long before, yet she dyed aged. His sone Wrastle dyed a yonge man unmarried; his sone Love lived till this year 1650. and dyed, & left 4. children, now living. His daughters which came over after him are dead, but have left sundry children alive; his eldest sone is still living, and hath 9. or 10 children; one married, who hath a child or 2.

Mr. Richard More his brother dyed the first winter; but he is married, and hath 4. or 5. children, all living.

Mr. Edward Winslow his wife dyed the first winter; and he married with the widow of Mr. White, and hath 2. children living by her marriageable, besides sundry that are dead.

One of his servants dyed, as also the little girl, soone after the ships arrival. But his man, Georg Sowle, is still living, and hath 8. children.

Mr. William Bradford, his wife dyed soone after their arrival; and he married againe; and hath 4. children, 3. wherof are married.

Mr. Allerton his wife dyed with the first, and his servant, John Hooke. His sone Bartle is married in England, but I know not how many children he hath. His daughter Remember is married at Salem, & hath 3. or 4. children living. And his daughter Mary is married here, & hath 4. children. Himself married againe with ye daughter of Mr. Brewster, & hath one sone living by her, but she is long since dead. And he is married againe, and hath left this place long agoe. So I account his increase to be 8. besides his sons in England.

Mr. Fuller his servant dyed at sea; and after his wife came over, he had two children by her, which are living and growne up to years; but he dyed some 15. years ago.

John Crakston dyed in the first mortality; and about some 5. or 6. years after, his sone dyed; having lost him selfe in ye woods, his feet became frosen, which put him into a feavor, of which he dyed.

Captain Standish his wife dyed in the first sicknes, and he married againe, and hath 4. sones living, and some are dead.

Mr. Martin, he & all his, dyed in the first infection not long after the arrival.

Mr. Molines, and his wife, his sone, and his servant, dyed the first winter. Only his daughter Priscila survived, and married with John Alden, who are both living, and have 11. children. And their eldest daughter is married, & hath five children.

Mr. White and his 2. servants dyed soone after ther landing. His wife married with Mr. Winslow (as is before noted). His 2. sons are married, and Resolved hath 5. children, Peregrine two, all living. So their increase are 7.

Mr. Hopkins and his wife are now both dead, but they lived above 20. years in this place, and had one sone and 4. daughters borne here. Ther sone became a seaman, & dyed at Barbados; one daughter dyed here, and 2. are married; one of them hath 2. children; & one is yet to marry. So their increase which still survive are 5. But his sone Giles is married, and hath 4. children.

His daughter Constanta is also married, and hath 12. children, all of them living, and one of them married.

Mr. Richard Warren lived some 4. or 5. years, and had his wife come over to him, by whom he had 2. sons before dyed; and one of them is maryed, and hath 2. children. So his increase is 4. But he had 5. daughters more came over with his wife, who are all married, & living, & have many children.

John Billington, after he had bene here 10. years, was executed for killing a man; and his eldest sone dyed before him; but his 2. sone is alive, and married, & hath 8. children.

Edward Tillie and his wife both dyed soon after their arrival; and the girl Humility, their cousen, was sent for into England, and dyed ther. But the youth Henery Samson is still living, and is married, & hath 7. children.

John Tillie and his wife both dyed a little after they came ashore; and their daughter Elizabeth married with John Howland, and hath issue as is before noted.

Francis Cooke is still living, a very olde man, and hath seen his children's children have children; after his wife came over, (with other of his children,) he hath 3. still living by her, all married, and have 5. children; so their encrease is 8. And his sone John, which came over with him, is married, and hath 4. children living.

Thomas Rogers dyed in the first sicknes, but his sone Joseph is still living, and is married, and hath 6. children. The rest of Thomas Rogers [children] came over, & are married, & have many children. Thomas Tinker and his wife and sone all dyed in the first sicknes. And so did John Rigsdale and his wife.

James Chilton and his wife also dyed in the first infection. But their daughter Mary is still living, and hath 9. children; and one daughter is married, & hath a child; so their increase is 10.

Edward Fuller and his wife dyed soon after they came ashore; but their sone Samuell is living, & married, and hath 4. children or more.

John Turner and his 2. sones all dyed in the first sicknes. But he hath a daughter still living at Salem, well married, and approved of.

Francis Eaton his first wife dyed in the general sicknes; and he married againe, & his 2. wife dyed, & he married the 3. and had by her 3. children. One of them is married, & hath a child; the other are living, but one of them is an ideote. He dyed about 16. years 1. agoe. His sone Samuell, who came over a sucking child, is also married, & hath a child.

Moyses Fletcher, Thomas Williams, Digerie Priest, John Goodman, Edmond Margeson, Richard Britteridge, Richard Clarke. All these dyed sone after their arrival, in the general sicknes that befell. But Digerie Priest had his wife & children sent hither afterwards, she being Mr. Allerton's sister. But the rest left no posteritie here.

Richard Gardinar became a seaman, and died in England, or at sea.

Gilbert Winslow, after diverse years abroad here, returned into England, and dyed there.

Peter Browne married twice. By his first wife he had 2. children, who are living, & both of them married, and the one of them hath 2. children; by his second wife he had 2. more. He dyed about 16. years since.

Thomas English and John Allerton dyed in the general sickness.

John Alden married with Priscila, Mr. Mollines his daughter, and had issue by her as is before related.

Edward Doty & Edward Litster, the servants of Mr. Hopkins. Litster, after he was at liberty, went to Virginia, & ther dyed. But Edward Doty by a second wife hath 7. children, and both he and they are living.

Of these 100. persons which came first over in this first ship together, the greater halfe dyed in the general mortality; and most of them in 2. or three months' time. And for those which survived, though some were ancient & past procreation, & others left ye place and countrie, yet of those few remaining are sprung up above 160. persons, in this 30. years, and are now living in this presente year, 1650. besides many of their children which are dead, and come not within this account.

And of the old stock (of one & other) ther are yet living this present year, 1650. nere 30. persons. Let the Lord have ye praise, who is the High Preserver of men. Twelve persons living of the old stock this present year, 1679.

Two persons living that came over in the first ship 1620, this present year, 1690. Resolved White and Mary Cushman, the daughter of Mr. Allerton.

And John Cooke, the son of Frances Cooke, that came in the first ship, is still living this present year, 1694; & Mary Cushman is still living, this present year, 1698.

No. II.

[Commission for Regulating Plantations.]

Charles by ye grace of God king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of ye Faith, &c.

To the most Reved father in Christ, our wellbeloved & faithful counsellor, William, by devine providence Archbishop of Counterbery, of all England Primate & Metropolitan; Thomas Lord Coventry, Keeper of our Great Seale of England; the most Reverente father in Christ our wellbeloved and most faithful Counsellor, Richard, by devine providence Archbishop of Yorke, Primate & Metropolitan; our wellbeloved and most faithfull coussens & Counsellors, Richard, Earle of Portland, our High Treasurer of England; Henery, Earle of Manchester, Keeper of our Privie Seale; Thomas, Earle of Arundalle & Surry, Earle Marshall of England; Edward, Earle of Dorsett, Chamberline of our most dear consort, the Queen; and our beloved & faithful Counsellors, Francis Lord Cottington, Counsellor, and Undertreasourour of our Eschequour; Sr: Thomas Edmonds, knight, Treasurer of our household; Sr: Henery Vane, Knight, controller of ye same household; Sr: John Cooke, Knight, one of our Privie Secretaries; and Francis Windebanck, Knight, another of our Privie Secretaries,

Whereas very many of our subjects, & of our late fathers of beloved memory, our sovereign lord James, late king of England, by means of licence royal, not only with desire of inlarging ye territories of our empire, but cheefly out of a pious & religious affection, & desire of propagating ye gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, with great industrie & expences have caused to be planted large Collonies of ye English nation, in diverse parts of ye world altogether unmannered, and voyd of inhabitants, or occupied of the barbarous people that have no knowledge of divine worship. We being willing to provide a remedy for ye tranquillity & quietness of those people, and being very confidente of your faith & wisdom, justice & providente circumspection, have constituted you ye aforesaid Archbishop of Counterburie, Lord Keeper of ye Great Seale of England, ye Archbishop of Yorke, &c. and any 5. or more, of you, our Comissioners; and to you, and any 5. or more of you, we doe give and comite power for ye government & saftie of ye said collonies, drawn, or which, out of ye English nation into those parts hereafter, shall be drawn, to make laws, constitutions, & ordinances, pertaining ether to ye publick state of these collonies, or ye private profite of them; and concerning ye

lands, goods, debts, & succession in those parts, and how they shall demean themselves, towards foraigne princes, and their people, or how they shall bear themselves towards us, and our subjects, as well in any foraine parts whatsoever, or on ye seas in those parts, or in their returne sayling home; or which may pertain to ye clergie government, or to ye cure of soules, among ye people ther living, and exercising trad in those parts; by designing out congruent portions arising in tithes, oblations, & other things ther, according to your sound discretions, in political & civil causes; and by haveing ye advise of 2. or 3. bishops, for ye settling, making, & ordering of ye bussines, for ye designing of necessary ecclesiastical, and clergie portions, which you shall cause to be called, and taken to you. And to make provision against ye violation of those laws, constitutions, and ordinances, by imposing penalties & mullets, imprisonment if ther because, and yt ye quality of ye offence doe require it, by deprivation of member, or life, to be inflicted. With power also (our assent being had) to remove, & displace ye governours or rulers of those collonies, for causes which to you shall seem lawfull, and others in their stead to constitute; and require an account of their rule & government, and whom you shall find culpable, either by deprivation from their place, or by imposition of a mulete upon ye goods of them in those parts to be levied, or banishment from those provinces in wch they have been govern or otherwise to cashier according to ye quantity of ye offence. And to constitute judges, & magistrates political & civil, for civil causes and under ye power and forme, which to you 5. or more of you shall seem expediente. And judges & magistrates & dignities, to causes Ecclesiastical, and under ye power & forme which to you 5. or more of you, with the bishops vicegerents (provided by ye Archbishop of Counterbure for ye time being), shall seem expediente; and to ordaine courts, praetorian and tribunal, as well ecclesiastical, as civil, of judgments; to determine of ye forms and maner of proceedings in ye same; and of appealing from them in matters & causes as well criminal, as civil, personal, real, and mixt, and to their seats of justice, what may be equal & well ordered, and what crimes, faults, or excesses', of contracts or injuries ought to belong to ye Ecclesiastical courte, and what to ye civil courte, and seat of justice.

Provided never ye less, yt the laws, ordinances, & constitutions of this kind, shall not be put in execution, before our assent be had thereunto in writing under our signet, signed at least, and this assent being had, and ye same publicly proclaimed in ye provinces in which they are to be executed, we will & comānd yt those laws, ordinances, and constitutions more fully to obtain strength and be observed shall be inviolably of all men whom they shall concern.

Notwithstanding it shall be for you, or any 5. or more of you, (as is aforesaid,) although those lawes, constitutions, and ordinances shall be proclaimed with our royal assent, to chainge, revoke, & abrogate them, and other new ones, in forme aforesaid, from time to time frame and make as afforesaid; and to new evils arising, or new dangers, to apply new remedies as is fitting, so often as to you it shall seem expediente. Furthermore you shall understand that we have constituted you, and every 5. or more of you, the afforesaid Archbishop of Counterburie, Thomas Lord Coventrie, Keeper of ye Great Seale of England, Richard, Bishop of Yorke, Richard, Earle of Portland, Henery, Earle of Manchester, Thomas, Earle of Arundale & Surry, Edward, Earl of Dorsett, Francis Lord Cottinton, Sr Thomas Edmonds, knight, Sir Henry Vane, knight, Sr Francis Windebanke, knight, our comissioners to hear, & determine, according to your sound discretions, all maner of complaints either against those collonies, or their rulers, or govenours, at ye instance of ye parties greeved, or at their accusation brought concerning injuries from hence, or from thence, between them, & their members to be moved, and to call ye parties before you; and to the parties or to their procurators, from hence, or from thence being heard ye full complemente of justice to be exhibited. Giving unto you, or any 5. or more of you power, yt if you shall find any of ye collonies afforesaid, or any of ye cheefe rulers upon ye jurisdictions of others by unjust possession, or usurpation, or one against another making greevance, or in rebellion against us, or withdrawing from our allegiance, or our commandments, not obeying, consultation first with us in yt case had, to cause those collonies, or ye rulers of them, for ye causes afforesaid, or for other just causes, either to returne to England, or to command them to other places designed, even as according to your sound discretions it shall seem to stand with equitie, & justice, or necessitie. Moreover, we do give unto you, & any 5. or more of you, power & spetiall comānd over all ye charters, leters patents, and rescripts royal, of ye regions, provinces, islands, or lands in foraigne parts, granted for raising collonies, to cause them to be brought before you, & ye same being received, if anything surreptitiously or unduly have been obtained, or yt by the same privileges, liberties, & prerogatives hurtful to us, or to our crown, or to foraigne princes, have been prejudicially suffered, or granted; the same being better made known unto you 5. or more of you, to comānd them according to ye laws and customs of England to be revoked, and to do such other things, which to ye profite & safeguard of ye afforesaid collonies, and of our subjects resident in ye same, shall be necessary. And therefore we do command you that aboute ye premisses at days & times, which for these things you shall make provision, that you be diligent in attendance, as it becometh you; giving in precept also, & firmly injoyning, we do give command to all and singular cheefe rulers of provinces into which ye collonies afforesaid have been drawn, or shall be drawn, & concerning ye collonies themselves, & concerning others, yt have been interest therein, yt they give attendance upon you, and be observant and obedient unto your warrants in those affaires, as often as, and even as in our name they shall be required, at their peril. In testimoney wherof, we have caused these our letters to be made pattente. Witness ourself at Westminster the 28. day of April, in ye tenth year of our Raigne.

**By write from ye privie seale,
Willies - Anno Dom: 1634.**

I may not here omit how, notwithstanding all their great paines & industrie, and ye great hops of a large crop, the Lord seemed to blast, & take away the same, and to threaten further & more sore famine unto them, by a great drought which continued from ye 3. week in May, till about ye middle of July, without any raine, and with great heat (for ye most part), insomuch as ye corn began to wither away, though it was set with fish, the moysture wherof helped it much. Yet at length it begane to languish sore, and some of ye drier grounds were parched like withered hay, part wherof was never recovered. Upon which they set a part a solemn day of humiliation, to seek ye Lord by humble & fervente prayer, in this great distress. And he was pleased to give them a gracious & speedy answer, both to their owne, & the Indeans admiration, that lived amongst them. For all ye morning, and greatest part of the day, it was

clear weather & very hot, and not a cloud or any sign of raine to be seen, yet toward evening it begane to overcast, and shortly after to raine, with such sweete and gentle showers, as gave them cause of rejoycing, & blessing God. It came, without either wind, or thunder, or any violence, and by degrees' in yt abundance, as that ye earth was thorowly wet and soaked therewith. Which did so apparently revive & quicken ye decayed corn & other fruits, as was wonderfull to see, and made ye Indeans astonished to behold; and afterwards the Lord sent them such seasonable showers, with interchange of faire warm weather, as, through his blessing, caused a fruitful & liberal harvest, to their no small comforte and rejoycing. For which mercie (in time conveniente) they also set apart a day of thanksgiving. This being overslipt in its place, I thought meet here to insert ye same.

The above is written on the reverse of page 103 of the original, and should properly be inserted here. This passage, "being overslipt in its place," the author at first wrote it, or the most of it, under the preceding year; but, discovering his error before completing it, drew his pen across it, and wrote beneath, "This is to be here erased out, and is to be placed on page 103, where it is inserted."

Below are the names of the adventurers subscribed to this paper, taken from Bradford's Letter-Book, 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., III. 48; being forty-two in number. The names of six of these persons are found subsequently among the members of the Massachusetts Company, viz. John White, John Pocock, Thomas Goffe, Samuel Sharpe, John Revell, and Thomas Andrews. Mr. Haven, who edited the Records of the Massachusetts Company, is of opinion that the first person on the list is the celebrated clergyman of Dorchester, the reputed author of the Planter's Plea. Emnu. Alltham is probably the same person named in the Council Records, under date January 21. 1622-3: "Emanuel Altum to command the Pinnacle built for Mr. Peirce's Plantation." Smith speaks of "Captaine Altom" as commanding this vessel, but Morton says the name of the master of the Little James was Mr. Bridges, who it appears was drowned at Damaris cove, in March, 1624.

John White,	John Pocock,	Robert Kean,	Edward Bass,
William Hobson,	William Penington,	William Quarles,	Daniel Poynton,
Richard Andrews,	Newman Rookes,	Henry Browning,	Richard Wright,
John Ling,	Thomas Goffe,	Samuel Sharpe,	Robert Holland,
James Sherley,	Thomas Mott,	Thomas Fletcher,	Timothy Hatherly,
Thomas Brewer,	John Thorned,	Myles Knowles,	William Collier,
John Revell,	Peter Gudburn,	Emnu. Alltham,	John Beauchamp,
Thomas Hudson,	Thomas Andrews,	Thomas Ward,	Fria. Newbald,
Thomas Heath,	Joseph Tilden,	William Perrin,	Eliza Knight,
Thomas Coventry,	Robert Allden,	Lawrence Anthony,	John Knight,
Matthew Thornhill,	Thomas Millsop.		

The orthography of some of these words differs from the modern way of spelling them; and we have no means of ascertaining the accuracy of Bradford's copy from the original letter. This passage may be rendered thus:—

"Noble, worshipful, wise, and prudent Lords, the Governor and Councillors residing in New Plymouth, our very dear friends:—The Director and Council of New Netherland wish to your Lordships, worshipful, wise, and prudent, happiness in Christ Jesus our Lord, with prosperity and health, in soul and body."

Another leter of his, that should have bene placed before:—

We cannot but take notice how ye Lord hath been pleased to crosse our proseedings, and caused many disasters to befall us therein. I conceive ye only reason to be, we, or many of us, aimed at other ends then Gods glorie; but now I hope yt cause is taken away; the bargaen being fully concluded, as farr as our powers will reach, and confirmed under our hands & seals, to Mr. Allerton & ye rest of his & your co-partners. But for my owne part, I confess as I was loath to hinder ye full confirming of it, being ye first propounder ther of at our meeting; so on ye other side, I was as unwilling to set my hand to ye sale, being ye receiver of most part of ye adventures, and a second causer of much of ye ingagments; and one more threatened, being most envied & aimed at (if they could find any step to ground their malice on) than any other whosoever. I profess I know no just cause they ever had, or have, so to do; neither shall it ever be proved yt I have wronged them or any of ye adventurers, wittingly or willingly, one penny in ye disbursing of so many pounds in those 2. years trouble. No, ye sole cause why they malign me (as I & others conceived) was yt I would not side with them against you, & the going over of ye Leyden people. But as I then card not, so now I little fear what they can do; yet charge & trouble I know they may cause me to be at. And for these reasons, I would gladly have perswaded the other 4 to have sealed to this bargain, and left me out, but they would not; so rather then it should fail, Mr. Allerton having taken so much pains, I have sealed with ye rest; with this proviso & promise of his, yt if any trouble arise hear, you are to bear halfe ye charge. Wherefore now I doubt not but you will give your generallitie good contente, and settle peace amongst your selves, and peace with the natives; and then no doubt but ye God of Peace will blese your going out & your returning, and cause all yt you set your hands unto to prosper; the which I shall ever pray ye Lord to grante if it be his blessed will. Assuredly unless ye Lord be merciful unto us & ye whole land in general, our estate & condition is farr worse than yours. Wherefore if ye Lord should send persecution or trouble hear, (which is much to be feared,) and so should put into our minds to flye for refuge, I know no place safer then to come to you, (for all Europe is at variencie one with another, but cheefly wth us,) not doubting but to find such friendly entertainment as shall be honest & conscionable, notwithstanding what hath lately passed. For I profess in ye word of an honest man, had it not been to procure your peace & quiet from some turbulent spirits hear, I would not have sealed to this last deed; though you would have given me all my adventure and debt ready down. Thus desiring ye Lord to blesse & prosper you, I cease ever resting,

**Your faithful & loving friend,
to my power,**

James Sherley.

Des: 27. [The above letter was written on the reverse of page 154 of the original manuscript.]

Hubbard, on page 101, notices the execution of Billington as taking place "about September" of this year. "The murtherer expected that, either for want of power to execute for capital offences, or for want of people to increase the plantation, he should have his life spared; but justice otherwise determined, and rewarded him, the first murtherer of his neighbour there, with the deserved punishment of death, for a warning to others." The first offence committed in the colony was by Billington, in 1621, who, for contempt of the Captain's lawful command, with opprobrious speeches, was adjudged to have his neck and heels tied together. Prince, l. 103, from Bradford's pocket-book.

This paragraph was written on the reverse of page 180 of the original manuscript, near this place.

This was about ye selling ye ship in Spaine.

They were too short in resting on Mr. Hatherley's honest word, for his order to discharge them from ye Friendship's accounte, when he and Mr. Allerton made ye bargane with them, and they delivered them the rest of the goods; and thereby gave them oppertunitie also to receive all the freight of both viages, without seeing an order (to have such power) under their hands in writing, which they never doubted of, seeing he affirmed he had power; and they both knew his honestie, and yt he was spetially employed for their agent at this time. And he was as short in resting on a verbal order from them; which was now denyed, when it came to a perticuler of loss; but he still affirmed the same. But they were both now taught how to deal in ye world, espetially with marchants, in such cases. But in ye end this light upon these here also, for Mr. Allerton had gott all into his owne hand, and Mr. Hatherley was not able to pay it, except they would have uterlie undon him, as ye sequell will manifest.

About ye Whit-Angell they all mette at a certaine taverne in London, where they had a diner prepared, and had a conference with a factore about selling of her in Spaine, or at Port a port, as hath been before mentioned; as Mr. Hatherley manifested, & Mr. Allerton could not deny.

Mr. Winslow deposed, ye same time, before ye Govr afore said, &c. that when he came into England, and the partners inquired of ye success of ye Whit Angell, which should have been laden wth bass and so sent for Port. of Porting-gall, and their ship & goods to be sould; having informed them that they were like to fail in their lading of bass, that then Mr. James Sherley used these termes: Feck, we must make one accounte of all; and ther upon pressed him, as agent for ye partners in Neu-England, to accept ye said ship Whit-Angell, and her accounte, into ye joynte partnership; which he refused, for many reasons; and after received instructions from New-England: to refuse her if she should be offered, which instructions he shewed them; and whereas he was often pressed to accept her, he ever refused her, &c.

So as a while before, whereas their great care was how to pay the purchase, and those other few debts which were upon them, now it was with them as it was sometimes with Saul's father, who left caring for ye Asses, and sorrowed for his son. 1. Sam. 10. 2. So that which before they looked at as a heavie burthen, they now esteem but a small thing and a light mater, in comparison of what was now upon them. And thus ye Lord oftentimes deals with his people to teach them, and humble them, that he may do them good in ye later end.

The above paragraph was written on the reverse of page 188 of the original manuscript.

The following account of Sir Christopher Gardiner, with the documents accompanying it, extending to page 357, does not appear in the text of the original manuscript,—having been perhaps inadvertently omitted,—but was written on the reverse of pages 189-191.

That is, in the original manuscript.

From the Original Manuscript. With a Report of the Proceedings Incident to the Return of the Manuscript to Massachusetts.

This eBook is for the use of anyone anywhere at no cost and with almost no restrictions whatsoever. You may copy it, give it away or re-use it under the terms of the Project Gutenberg License included with this eBook or online at www.gutenberg.org
Title: Bradford's History of 'Plimoth Plantation'

Creating the works from public domain print editions means that no one owns a United States copyright in these works, so the Foundation (and you!) can copy and distribute it in the United States without permission and without paying copyright royalties. Special rules, set forth in the General Terms of Use part of this license, apply to copying and distributing Project Gutenberg-tm electronic works to protect the PROJECT GUTENBERG-tm concept and trademark.

Chapter 9 – More history of the Billericay and Mayflower in Poem (by Lily Ager)

BILLERICAY'S MARTYRS

In the years which included Marian times
Men died, at the stake then set alight,
For daring to tread in Wycliff's ways,
And freedom of worship claiming as right.

Then shone forth in glory the martyrs here,
Billericay's gems in Liberty's crown.
Forgotten their names in tolerant days.
No tablet records them as worth renown.

A preacher of Luther's time, Thomas Mann,

As heretic tried, confessed he'd here
Instructed in Lollard faith. Condemned,
At Smithfield he died, with conscience clear.

From Ireland, John Tyrrell hence did remove,
In Henry the Eighth's time, tradesman he came,
Of liberal thought, he kept to his faith,
And faced unflinching, the death by flame.

A Draper of High Street, one Thomas Watts,
Forbidden by Mary, here preached the Word.
The fire lit in Chelmsford flickered fast
When Bonner consigned him, true to his Lord.

James Harris, and one Joan Potter were
Young folk, who life's joys might have claimed.
Of these they were robbed at Smithfield's stake
When God to the world they proclaimed.

Elizabeth Thackvel, too, there burned,
For faith more than life she cherished.
Young Margaret Ellis in Newgate died:
Joan Horns, maid, at Stratford perished.

Their exemplary lives in dark days showed
Great fortitude, right to the finish.
Here lighting a mystical torch whose glow
Neither change nor time's hand can extinguish.

THE OLD MILL

Down the hill, sweeping along,
Goes the road, Travellers pass
Old Mill Post, standing still strong
On Bell Hill, rooted in grass,
Ivy among: give but a glance - And go on.

Forgotten sails long ago
Creakily turned, as they ground
Wheat from the cornlands below,
Serving the district around.
Two mills stood, roadway apart - One on mound.

Not alone wheat was bushelled -
History measured a thrill.
Mayflower, carefully victualled,
Used for bread flour from our mill.
Martin, the storekeeper did Her bins fill.

Of Millers, famed was Tom Wood.
(Two Hundred years have since passed),
Overweight, through excess food,
New diet tried be at last.
From aught save well-wetted flour - He did fast.

His weight reduced then by much,
From ill-health freedom came too.
So that men, suffering such
Like symptoms, came to the one who
Might aid them. Advised be them Like to do.

Past twentieth Century dawn
One mill existed, e'en till
Sails and sides sorely were torn,
And her great grindstones were still.
Raging winds wreckage then heaped On the hill.

No carts came, heavy with sacks;
No gleaners bring their small store:
Toil won mid harvested tracks
Then freely ground for the poor,
And no one dusty stands there - At the Door.

Down the hill, sweeping along
Goes the road. Travellers pass
Old Mill Post, standing still strong
On Bell Hill, rooted in grass,
Ivy among: give but a glance - And go on.

ST. MARY MAGDALEN

Most Essex churches are of flint and stone,
Not ours: no alien rock rears head among
Old Tudor dwellings, later Georgian homes.
St. Mary's psalms within brick wall are sung.

The dull red tower of unique design
Since fourteenth century has nobly stood,
With foothold, maybe, on an older church
Ere Chantry chapel rose for people's good.

The way to Burstead was winter barred
By floods; the mother church, St. Mary's, there
A priest supplied, the alter here to serve,
So townsmen in the Sacrament could share.

The sixth King Henry lands and chantry sold
To one of Tyrell name. The townsfolk bought
The church from him, and kept their priest
Some independence our forefathers sought.

In days of pilgrimage, God's house here made
A place of rest and prayer on toilsome way
To shrine of Walsingham, and Becket's tomb
Within the walls of Canterb'ry.

John Ball, with revolution's creed to voice
Came preaching to the church then young of build,
And so to Billericay came the seeds
That in the reformation were fulfill'd.

In sixteen ninety-three our fathers gave
The church in care of London's Bishop, when
Some doubt of consecration soon arose,
Set right by blessing of the building then.

Chancel and nave about this time rebuilt
Gave present outlines to the old expanse,
Next, rented pews of plain design were made:
On gallery, the arms of Hanover drew glance.

But little change the past two hundred years
Have made in fabric, or in form of prayer.
St. Mary Magdalen, in brick bedlight,
To-day, as then, in worship bids you share.

BILLERICAY HIGH STREET

Main street, not only of our town,
But part of ancient main highway
'Twist south and east to ocean paths,
Our High Street gracious reigns today.

Its way so broad recalls the days
Of market bids for swine or corn;
While archways wide of old inn yards
Once echoed to the coaching horn.

On central site St. Mary's looms,
Her red brick tower an ancient pride:
Across the street the Chantry stands,
Four hundred years and more defied.

Nearby are shops which dwellings were,
When Good Queen Bess sat England's throne,
Red Lion's sign shows further off –
Five centuries the inn has known.

In Georgian times, a prosperous age,
 New dwellings rose beside the old,
 Their character of red brick built,
 And window spacing clear and bold.

Now Tudor dwelling next door stands
 To house of later century;
 The whole an aspect dignified;
 With little incongruity.

The street of beauty safe was kept
 Through war's grim bombs and rocket's blast.
 Pray townsfolk, too, well-guided may
 Preserve for future eyes the past.

Lily Ager wrote two other poems included in this Bygone Billericay booklet, One being "The Barn" and the other "Norsey Wood" but we have not included them in this, more direct tale of the Pilgrim Fathers.

Commemoration

A sculpture commemorating 400 years since pilgrims left Billericay, Essex, to set sail on the Mayflower has been installed. Created by sculptor John Doubleday, the statue has been placed in the Jim Shields garden at the bottom of the High Street.

Billericay Town Council commissioned the project after deciding back in June, 2019, that it wanted to provide a permanent structure to commemorate the 400th anniversary.



Councillor Jim Devlin, chairman of Billericay Town Council, said:

"We wanted to celebrate the 400th anniversary of pilgrims leaving Billericay and heading on the Mayflower to what became the United States and landing at Cape Cod 400 years ago in 1620. The idea was perhaps we should go for a statue to mark it as something permanent. We had a space that we could do it in, so we went out looking for people that could come up with an idea."

Councillor Moira Moore, chairman of the health, wellbeing and environment committee, explained that the council decided to contact Mr Doubleday, as he had previously made the Child in the Park statue in Lake Meadows.

She said: *"John did a mock [design] and brought it to us and everybody on the council absolutely loved it. It was a very simple process, he came up with one design, we loved it, that was the end of the process."*

As Mr Doubleday began the process of making the new sculpture, the council applied for planning permission and arranged for a plinth to be installed ready for the finished piece. Mr Doubleday explained the process he went through to make the statue, and revealed that along the way he discovered that he had links to the event he was helping to commemorate. He said:

"Once the design is agreed the process involves making the original in clay, which is about six months-ish of time and then the casting is about six months, that's the sort of standard time. The Covid-19 situation has made supplies and that sort of thing a bit difficult, so timing has drifted a bit, but I'm really pleased that we are here now. When I phoned my American cousin and said what I was doing I was absolutely staggered that he told me that we are descended from people who sailed on the Mayflower, so for me that gave me the most extraordinary connection. It's such a remarkable story of hardship, search for religious freedom and independence, it's absolutely got everything as far as I'm concerned."

The statue was put in place at its "forever" home on November 10, with the help of a crane to lift it into place. "Having a statue in the town, or having another statue in the town, I think will actually add to the sense of community, the sense of pride in the town," Cllr Devlin said.

Cllr. Moore added: "I think it's very important to celebrate 400 years of the sailing of the Mayflower, hopefully it will be something everyone is going to love and enjoy."

Early Jamestown Settlement.

The Virginia colony began not at Jamestown but farther south, on Roanoke Island in the Outer Banks of present-day North Carolina. There, between 1584 and 1587, settlers supported by Queen Elizabeth I and funded by her dashing court favourite, Sir Walter Raleigh, attempted to gain a foothold among the Algonquian-speaking Indians. Their purpose had been to harass Spanish shipping, mine for gold and silver, and discover a passage to the Pacific Ocean, but when the colonists brought disease and often-horrific violence, relations with the Indians soured. In 1607, the English attempted another colony, this time in the Chesapeake Bay, which was better suited to deepwater navigation and where they hoped the Indians might be friendlier. By then, James I had ascended to the throne and ended the long war with Spain. Riches would no longer come from stealing Spanish gold but from cultivating natural resources, a plan long advocated by Richard Hakluyt (the younger) and Thomas Hariot. Investors also hoped to take advantage of widespread underemployment in England caused, in part, by a population boom. Thousands of laborers would sail to Virginia and send back timber, glass, tar, sassafras, and perhaps even gold and silver, while spreading the Protestant faith to the Indians.

On April 10, 1606, the Virginia Company of London received a royal charter to settle two large, slightly overlapping areas along the eastern coast of North America. Run by a thirteen-member, royally appointed council, the company was funded by a number of well-placed private investors. Among them was Sir Thomas Smythe, a wealthy backer of the East India Company and a former ambassador to Russia who, despite having run afoul of Elizabeth, had been knighted by James. His cousin by marriage, Bartholomew Gosnold, had explored New England in 1602, while Gosnold's cousin, Edward Maria Wingfield, had served in Ireland and the Netherlands. John Smith came from more modest means, but his larger-than-life career fighting in northern France, in the Netherlands, and in Hungary against the Turks recommended him, even at the age of twenty-seven, for adventure in Virginia.

These men were not directly familiar with the Indians of Tidewater Virginia, but the Indians knew well the Europeans. In 1570 Spanish Jesuits had established a mission in the Chesapeake but were killed by one of their converts, Don Luís de Velasco (Paquiquineo), and other nearby Indians. Later, during the winter of 1585–1586, English colonists from Roanoke lived among the Chesapeake Indians and explored the Eastern Shore. The contact had been friendly, but Powhatan (Wahunsonacock), paramount chief of the land the Indians called Tsenacomoco, came to believe that tassantassas, or strangers, sailing from the east would be one of his kingdom's major threats. (He was more worried, however, about the annual raids of other Indians, such as the Massawomecks to the northwest.)

Powhatan, meanwhile, presented a dilemma for these new English settlers. As *mamanatowick*, or paramount chief, he held more power and influence over the village-based Indians of Tsenacomoco than any single *weroance*, or chief, had among the Indians around Roanoke. Both groups were Algonquian-speakers with similar religions, politics, and—in the nearby Iroquoian- and Siouian-speakers—enemies. But Powhatan's paramount chiefdom of twenty-eight to thirty-two groups, centered around the James, Mattaponi, and Pamunkey (York) rivers, could more quickly and easily mobilize against the Jamestown colonists. And Powhatan did not appear to trust the tassantassas. Some historians believe that shortly after the English landed in 1607, he ordered killed the last survivors of John White's "Lost Colony," men, women, and children who possibly had, in the twenty years since their disappearance, assimilated among the Algonquian-speaking Indians.

On December 20, 1606, three ships and 104 settlers set sail from London. The experienced privateer Christopher Newport captained the flagship *Susan Constant*, Gosnold the *Godspeed*, and John Ratcliffe the *Discovery*. A combustible and belligerent bunch by any standard, these original colonists included a proportion of gentlemen six times higher than could be found in England, many of them soldiers by occupation, all of them accustomed to leading, not following. While still at sea, they pounced on the yeoman's son John Smith and accused him of plotting to "usurp the government, murder the Counsell, and make himself king." The next month, when the fleet reached the West Indies, Newport built a gallows and only spared Smith after Gosnold's intercession.

The ships dropped anchor at the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay on April 26, 1607, and twenty to thirty men spent the day ashore before, at dusk, being attacked by Indians. Captain Gabriel Archer, an old comrade of Gosnold's, was wounded twice and might have hoped to be rewarded with a leadership position in the colony. Remarkably, the Virginia Company had not yet informed the men who would sit on the Council, the seven-man body charged with carrying out the company's orders in Virginia. Instead, that night Newport opened a sealed box containing the relevant names; to his horror, in addition to himself, Gosnold, Ratcliffe, Wingfield, Captain George Kendall, and Captain John Martin, the Council included Smith. Still in shackles, the prickly Lincolnshire native was not allowed to take his seat until the following June. In the meantime, the Council elected Wingfield president; on all matters he had two votes, but otherwise no significant power. As for Archer and George Percy—another high-ranking colonist denied a council seat—they resorted to grumbling about the council's decisions.

The colonists planted a cross at Cape Henry, and on May 13 they situated their camp on a marshy jut of land fifty miles up the James River. They called it Jamestown. Although the Indians did not find the spot particularly habitable, it satisfied the Englishmen's instructions by allowing them easy access to the shore and a good defensive position in case of Spanish attack. The historian J. Frederick Fausz has argued that because the land was not being used and so did not immediately threaten any of Powhatan's people, the location was accidentally brilliant: "the only site along the James and York rivers where they had any prospect of surviving more than a few days." By June 15, having explored the river up to the falls, having made contact with the Kecoughtans, the Paspaheghs, and the Quiyoughcohannocks, and having fought off a furious assault by the same (and others), the settlers finished their fort.

A week later, Newport sailed back to England full of wishful stories of gold mines. Only then did the men begin to die: "of the bloudie Flixe," according to Percy, "of the swelling," "of a wound given by the Savages," or, in one instance, just "suddenly." Gosnold died on August 22, and by the end of September, half of the other colonists had followed him, probably victims of polluted drinking water. In the shadow of all this, Ratcliffe, Smith, and Martin accused

Wingfield of hoarding food, and replaced him with Ratcliffe. Wingfield accused Smith of planning to steal a ship and strike out for Newfoundland. And a blacksmith sentenced to hang for striking Ratcliffe confessed his knowledge of a plot to rebel by Captain Kendall. The blacksmith lived, while Kendall, who many historians suspect was a Spanish spy, was executed.

The colonists happened to land in Virginia at the beginning of a seven-year drought (1606–1612)—it was the driest period in 770 years—and food was scarce. Moreover, they came intending to buy or trade for their food, or to be provisioned by England. Rather than hunt, farm, or fish, then, they depended on Smith, who showed a special talent for striking out with a few men and coming back with boatloads of corn, sometimes bargained for, often simply taken from the Indians. In December, while exploring the Chickahominy River, Smith ran into a communal hunting party under the leadership of Powhatan's younger brother or kinsman, Opechancanough. The Indians captured Smith, killing his two companions and eventually delivering him to the paramount chief. While it is unlikely, as Smith later claimed, that Powhatan's "dearest daughter" Pocahontas saved Smith's life, some kind of ceremony took place, and Smith returned to Jamestown in January 1608 probably having been adopted by the mamanatowick, who was attempting to absorb the English into his chiefdom.

In Powhatan's presence Smith had insisted on his allegiance to King James, but it hardly mattered to the surviving thirty-eight men back at the fort. The Council, now including Archer, accused Smith of causing his companions' deaths and, citing the book of Leviticus, sentenced him to hang the next day. All that saved him this time was the arrival of Newport and the first resupply: 100 to 120 additional settlers and a store of provisions. Five days later, a bit of spark turned into a fire and Jamestown burned to the ground. While others cleaned up, Smith and Newport met with Powhatan, presenting him with a hat and a greyhound, and exchanging young men, Thomas Savage for Namontack who would learn the other's customs and language in order to serve later as interpreters. Newport took the Indian to England with him in April. Smith, meanwhile, spent much of 1608 complaining about corruption and mismanagement; that year he published a long letter (*A True Relation*) that more than touched on the subject. When he wasn't writing, Smith was exploring, undertaking two major expeditions up and down the rivers of the Chesapeake Bay, meeting the Accomacs on the Eastern Shore, fighting the Patowomecks, and negotiating peace between the Rappahannocks and the Moraughtacunds. His reports gave the lie to Newport's earlier ones. Any discovery of riches was unlikely, the Indians being "ignorant of the knowledge of gold or silver, or any commodities." And if Smith hadn't found a passage to the Pacific Ocean, then, he believed, no one probably would. Smith made it clear that in Virginia there was "nothing to incourage us, but what accidentally we found Nature afforded." But the investors in London would not adjust their thinking accordingly for a number of years.

In September, with his competitors largely dead or gone, Smith was finally elected president. After arriving with the second resupply in the fall—more than twenty-five additional gentlemen, plus assorted laborers and craftsmen, and even two women—Newport scolded Smith for dealing too harshly with the Indians. Company policy emphasized the gentle hand, but in September, in an attempt to symbolically submit the chief to King James's rule, the two awkwardly crowned Powhatan at his capital Werowocomoco. The mamanatowick's dignity was offended and relations, already shaky, only worsened.

Second Charter

In January 1609, Powhatan attempted, but failed, to have Smith killed, and not long after, if one believes Smith, the Englishman humiliated Opechancanough by challenging him to one-on-one combat; the weroance declined. In the meantime, four Germans assigned to build Powhatan an English-style house likely began to spy for the paramount chief.

These events were unknown to Sir Thomas Smythe in London, but from his perspective, the Virginia undertaking already required a major reorganization. During the spring, he spearheaded an effort to defend, redefine, promote, and fund anew the struggling colony. Early in the year, the company announced that Virginia now was a joint-stock venture in which "adventurers" could buy shares at twelve pounds, ten shillings each; volunteers could win shares by paying their way to Virginia; and skilled laborers would be offered land. An English minister, the Reverend William Symonds, preached that as God had called Abraham in Genesis 12, so had he called the English to settle America. By May, Smythe had enticed investments from 55 guilds and 619 individuals, and on May 23 a new royal charter was approved. It transferred control from the Crown to private investors, extended Virginia's borders from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and installed a new, more powerful governor who, it was hoped, would introduce discipline to Jamestown.

At about the same time, the company issued its Crown-appointed governor, Sir Thomas Gates, confidential instructions on Virginia's priorities. The instructions still emphasized discovering gold, silver, and a passage to the Pacific as the primary purpose of the colony, but also included finding other natural resources; extracting tribute from the Indians; manufacturing various items for sale, such as wine, tar, iron, steel, hemp, and silk; and converting the native people to Christianity. Powhatan should be captured if at all possible and the capital city should be moved farther inland, away from disease-ridden Jamestown to the falls of the James, perhaps, and out of reach of the Spanish, who the English feared wanted to destroy the colony—rightly, as these letters between Spanish officials, from 1607–1608 and 1609–1610, suggest.

Gates departed England early in June 1609 aboard the flagship *Sea Venture*; eight other ships followed carrying, in all, 500 settlers, including Newport; John Rolfe; the colony's new secretary, William Strachey, and his Indian interpreter Machumps; the Reverend Richard Bucke; and one of the company's founding members and the current fleet's second-in-command, Sir George Somers. A tempest—later dramatized by William Shakespeare—struck the fleet, sinking two ships. While two ships made it directly to Virginia, the *Sea Venture* was driven by the storm to a fishhook-shaped group of islands thought to be dangerous and devilish. To everyone's surprise, however, the Bermudas, and particularly the island the colonists dubbed St. George, were heavenly. There was dissension, of

course—Gates and Somers soon formed two opposing camps—but the colonists lived well over the winter and built a pair of seaworthy ships out of the Sea Venture's wreckage: *Patience* and *Deliverance*. Having long been presumed lost, they triumphantly arrived at Jamestown on May 24, 1610, but what they found there shocked them. Of a population that had peaked at almost 400 the previous August, only 90 half-starved colonists survived.

During the previous summer, sickness had arrived anew to Jamestown. It was the product of malnutrition caused by hunger and poor conditions that, in turn, had bred lower resistance to various diseases, including those brought by the colonists themselves. In an effort to lighten the burden on Jamestown, Smith sent two groups of men to live off the land and, by extension, off the Indians. To the north, he sent a rival, Francis West, to occupy the town of Powhatan at the falls of the James River. After fighting there cost West about half his men, George Percy claimed the whole affair amounted to a conspiracy to have West killed. To the south, meanwhile, Smith sent Percy and John Martin, who ended up battling the Nansemond Indians and also lost about half their men. The Indians, they discovered, suffered during the drought like anybody else and had no interest in relinquishing their precious food supplies. Nansemond warriors even stuffed bread in the mouths of some English dead "in Contempte and skorne," according to Percy.

In September, Percy became president, and the next month Smith—the victim of a gunpowder explosion that some historians believe may not have been an accident—left the colony altogether. Beginning in November, the Indians blocked all access to James Fort and to any outside food supplies. This opening gambit in the First Anglo-Powhatan War (1609–1614) was, from the Powhatan point of view, gruesomely successful. Many English arrived to America thinking the Indians were cannibals; now, during what came to be known as the Starving Time, it was they who reportedly exhumed their own dead for nourishment. By spring, when the Indians lifted their siege, only 60 of about 240 colonists in the fort had survived.

The Virginia Company published *A True and Sincere Declaration* that tried to make the best of a real mess, but when Gates arrived in May 1610, he soon decided the colony must be abandoned. In fact, having packed everyone aboard ship, he was sailing down the James en route to Newfoundland when by chance he encountered the new company-appointed governor, Thomas West, twelfth baron De La Warr, who was entering the James River with supplies and reinforcements.

With the population now up to approximately 375, De La Warr set to work implementing the Second Charter. The governor dispatched Somers and Samuel Argall to Bermuda for supplies (Somers died there), ordered fishing in the Bay, and the construction of Forts Charles and Henry at the mouth of the Southampton River (now the Hampton River). War with the Powhatans, meanwhile, continued unabated. In July 1610, the colonist Humphrey Blunt was captured and tortured to death, and Gates responded by driving the Kecoughtans from their town and corn. The next month, George Percy led an attack on the Paspaheghs, killing fifteen or sixteen, burning the town, and decapitating captured warriors. The wife and two children of the weroance Wowinchopunk were also seized, and Percy later wrote that "my souldiers did begin to murmur becawse the queen and her Children were spared." To satisfy them, he allowed the youngsters to be tossed into the river and shot; their mother was executed at Jamestown that night.

A few months short of a year after he arrived, De La Warr left Virginia because of illness. A third of the colony's population was dead, mostly from disease. Miners, brought to Virginia to search for gold, silver, and copper, had planned a mutiny and seen their ringleader hanged. The governor's nephew, Captain William West, had been killed in battle, while the Paspahegh weroance Wowinchopunk, fell, like his wife and children, at the hands of Percy's soldiers.

Arrival of Sir Thomas Dale

The arrival of Sir Thomas Dale on May 19, 1611, marked a turning point in the history of Jamestown. Already in England the colony's fortunes were rebounding thanks to a public struck by the miraculous survival of the Sea Venture. Perhaps the Reverend Symonds had been correct all along: rather than God's curse, Virginia was God's calling. In Dale, who served as acting governor in the absence of De La Warr and Gates, the colony found a leader with the stubborn ruthlessness to make it work. (Smith, undoubtedly, shared that quality, having once declared that "he that will not work shall not eat," but the Virginia Company would not allow him to return.) On Dale's first day, the colonist Ralph Hamor later wrote, the governor "hastened" to Jamestown only to find his charges at "their daily and usual works, bowling in the streets." Archaeologists such as William M. Kelso and historians such as Karen Ordahl Kupperman have countered frequent charges that the colonists were lazy with the observation, in Kupperman's words, that malnutrition and disease "interacted with the psychological effects of isolation and despair and each intensified the other"—producing behaviour that could be mistaken for idleness.

Regardless, the behaviour did not last. Dale ordered crops to be planted, with the garrisons at Forts Charles and Henry specializing in corn, and the colonists at Jamestown and Fort Algernon, on Point Comfort, raising livestock and manufacturing goods. To instil discipline, Dale enforced what came to be known as the Lawes Divine, Moral and Martial, which included a law martial for soldiers as well as a strict code of conduct for civilians. The first English-language body of laws in the western hemisphere, the orders (they were not a legal code in the modern sense) were harsh enough to invite much criticism, both in Virginia and England. Convicted of stealing oatmeal, one man suffered a needle through his tongue, after which he was lashed to a tree until he starved.

In June Dale's men faced down a Spanish reconnaissance ship at Point Comfort at the mouth of the James. They managed even to capture three of its men, including the commander, Don Diego de Molina, and a turncoat Englishman, Francis Lembry, who in 1588 had piloted a ship in the Spanish Armada. The Spanish seized one of Dale's men, John Clark—he later served as master's mate on the Mayflower—increasing the fear that Spain might return in force and finish off a colony that seemed perpetually to be on the verge of the abyss. But the Spanish never came, and in August Sir Thomas Gates did, along with 300 new colonists who boosted the population to about 750. In September, Dale and Edward Brewster led an expedition to the falls of the James where they managed, finally, to

found a settlement outside of the by-now cramped Jamestown. They called it the City of Henrico, or Henricus, in honor of Dale's patron and the king's heir, Henry, Prince of Wales. In December, Henrico became the launching point for an attack on the nearby Appamattucks, whose defeat allowed for the founding of another settlement, Bermuda Hundred.

Expanding Virginia outside Jamestown was critical to its survival, but hardly solved all of the colony's problems. By 1612, the settlers were mutinous again and the Virginia Company worried about a public-relations backlash against Dale's stringent application of the law. Instead, in April 1613, Samuel Argall used his connections with a Patowomeck weroance to capture Pocahontas, a feat that eventually allowed Dale to negotiate an end to the long and bloody war. John Rolfe, meanwhile, who married Pocahontas in 1614, introduced to Virginia a West Indies variety of tobacco (*Nicotiana tabacum*) that eventually, and against the wishes of the king and company, transformed its economy.

A Permanent Foothold

The end of the First Anglo-Powhatan War and the introduction of marketable tobacco marked another important turning point in the early history of Virginia. The first English colonists had survived only with the help of the Indians of Tsenacomoco, and when that help was withdrawn, the Starving Time resulted. Yet more and more settlers continued to chance a new life in Virginia. They were motivated by potential riches, by lack of opportunity at home, by the search for adventure, and by the religious exhortations of men like the Reverend Symonds. Although death awaited most, the colony slowly expanded. By 1614, the English controlled much of the James River. They had made peace with the Powhatans and Chickahominies, while the Patowomecks were something closer to allies. Now the marriage of Rolfe and Lady Rebecca (née Pocahontas) created an opportunity to pursue the large-scale conversion of the natives. Powhatan likely did not see his daughter's marriage as a signal that he and his people were ready to accept Christianity, but many colonists became hopeful.

Tobacco provided a staple crop fed by an abundance of land and labor, the latter in the form of indentured servants and, eventually, African slaves. Despite the growth of the tobacco trade, though, the organization of the Virginia Company prevented settlers from having a personal stake in the colony's success. The so-called Great Charter of 1618 changed that, creating the headright system, which awarded 50 acres of land for each person who paid his or her own way or any other person's passage into Virginia. In addition, the General Assembly was established in 1619, with elected burgesses sitting in its lower house and members of the governor's Council in the upper. The Virginia Company treasurer Sir Edwin Sandys saw the assembly as a way of building personal and political investment in the colony, while also, perhaps, muting growing criticism of the Virginia Company at home. But this diffusion of power and influence into the greater James River Valley had another effect: it diminished the primacy of Jamestown. It would remain the often-bustling capital of Virginia until 1698, but its influence was already on the wane.

As for the Indians of Tsenacomoco, their paramount chief Powhatan died in 1618. Their peace with the English, meanwhile, held for seven years, with some—including the powerful weroance Opechancanough—seeming to flirt with conversion. Even so, on March 22, 1622, Opechancanough's warriors launched a massive and sudden attack on settlements up and down the James, killing perhaps a quarter of the colonists and inaugurating the long Second Anglo-Powhatan War (1622–1632). By 1644 and the Third Anglo-Powhatan War (1644–1646), however, Virginia's population was too large and the Indians too weak to pose a serious threat to the colony.

The Virginia Company of London and Plymouth.

The Virginia Company refers collectively to two joint-stock companies chartered under James I, with the goal of establishing settlements on the coast of North America. The two companies are referred to as the "Virginia Company of London" (or the London Company) and the "Virginia Company of Plymouth" (or the Plymouth Company), and they operated with identical charters in different territories. The charters established an area of overlapping territory in North America as a buffer zone and the two companies were not permitted to establish colonies within 100 miles of each other. The Plymouth Company never fulfilled its charter, but its territory was claimed by England and became New England.

As corporations, the companies were empowered by the Crown to govern themselves. This right was passed on to the colony following the dissolution of the third Charter in 1621. The Virginia Company failed in 1624, but the right to self-government was not taken from the colony. The principle was established that a royal colony should be self-governing, and this is credited with forming the genesis of democracy in America. The Charter of 1609 stipulates two distinct companies: "that they shoulde devide themselves into two collonies, the one consistinge of divers Knights, gentlemen, merchants and others of our cittie of London, called the First Collonie; and the other of sondrie Knights, gentlemen and others of the cities of Bristol, Exeter, the towne of Plymouth, and other places, called the Second Collonie.

The Royal Charters.

The First charter of the Virginia Company of London, 1606 The First Charter gave the company the authority to govern its own adventurers and servants through a ruling council in London composed of major shareholders in the enterprise. The members were nominated by the Company and appointed by the King. The council in England then directed the settlers to appoint their own local council, which proved ineffective. The council had to obtain approval from London for expenditures and laws, and limited the enterprise to 100 square miles.

The Second charter of the Virginia Company of London, 1609 The Second Charter expanded the area of the enterprise from sea to sea and appointed a governor, because the local councils had proven ineffective. Governor Thomas West, 3rd Baron De La Warr (known as Lord Delaware) sailed for America in 1610. The king delegated the governor of Virginia absolute power.

The Third Charter of the Virginia Company of London, 1612 The Third Charter expanded territory eastward to include Bermuda and other islands. The London Company's Royal Charter was officially extended to include the Somers Isles as part of the Virginia Colony. However, the isles passed to the London Company of the Somers Isles in 1615, which had been formed by the same shareholders as the London Company.

The Virginia Company of London failed to discover gold or silver in Virginia, to the disappointment of its investors. However, they did establish trade of various types. The company benefitted from lotteries held throughout England until they were cancelled by the Crown. The Company even considered titles of nobility to gain support for the colony.

The biggest trade breakthrough resulted after colonist John Rolfe introduced several sweeter strains of tobacco from the Caribbean. These yielded a product that was much more appealing than that of the harsh-tasting tobacco native to Virginia. Cultivation of Rolfe's new tobacco strains produced a strong commodity crop for export for the London Company and other early English colonies and helped to balance a national trade deficit with Spain.

The Great Charter On November 18, 1618, Virginia Company officers Thomas Smythe and Edwin Sandys sent a set of instructions to Virginia Governor George Yeardley that are often referred to as "The Great Charter", though it was not issued by the King. This charter gave the colony self-governance, which led to the establishment of a Council of State appointed by the governor and an elected General Assembly (House of Burgesses), and provided that the colony would no longer be financed by shares but by tobacco farming. The birth of representative government in the United States can be traced from this Great Charter, as it provided for self-governance from which the House of Burgesses and a General Council were created.

Dissolution of the Charter The Jamestown Massacre in 1622 brought unfavourable attention to the colony, particularly from King James I who had originally chartered the Company. There was a period of debate in Britain between Company officers who wished to guard the original charter, and those who wanted the Company to be disbanded. In 1624, the King dissolved the Company and made Virginia a Royal colony.

Timeline of events.

April 10, 1606 - King James I grants the Virginia Company a royal charter dividing the North American coast between two companies, the Virginia Company of London and the Virginia Company of Plymouth, overseen by the "Counsell of Virginia," whose thirteen members are appointed by the king.

November 20, 1606 - King James I issues "Articles, Instructions, and orders ... for the good order and Government of the two several Colonies and Plantations to be made by our Loving Subjects, in the Country commonly called Virginia and America."

December 10, 1606 - The Virginia Company of London issues "Certain Orders and Directions conceived and Set Down ... for the better Government of his Majesties Subjects ... that are now bound ... to Settle his Majesties first Colony in Virginia."

December 10–December 19, 1606 - The Virginia Company of London issues "Instructions by way of advice by us ... to be Observed by those Captains and Company which are Set at this present to plant there." These are specific orders for the colonists headed to Jamestown.

December 20, 1606 - Three ships carrying 104 settlers sail from London bound for Virginia. Christopher Newport captains the Susan Constant, Bartholomew Gosnold the Godspeed, and John Ratcliffe the Discovery.

February 13, 1607 - John Smith, aboard the Susan Constant and bound for Virginia, is arrested and accused of plotting to "usurpe the government, murder the Councell, and make himselfe kinge."

March 1607 - In the West Indies, colonists on the three Virginia-bound ships under the command of Captain Christopher Newport go ashore to hunt, fish, and rest. Newport builds gallows to hang John Smith, but Smith is spared when Bartholomew Gosnold and the Reverend Robert Hunt intercede on his behalf.

April 26, 1607 - Jamestown colonists first drop anchor in the Chesapeake Bay, and after a brief skirmish with local Indians, begin to explore the James River.

April 29, 1607 - Jamestown colonists plant a cross at the mouth of the Chesapeake Bay and name the place Cape Henry after King James's son, the Prince of Wales.

May 13, 1607 - The Jamestown colonists select a marshy peninsula fifty miles up the James River on which to establish their settlement.

May 26, 1607 - While Christopher Newport and a party of colonists explore the James River, an alliance of five Algonquian-speaking Indian groups—the Quiyoughcohannocks, the Weyanocks, the Appamattucks, the Paspahighs, and the Chiskiacks—attacks Jamestown, wounding ten and killing two.

May 28, 1607 - After an Indian attack, the settlers at Jamestown begin building a fort.

June 10, 1607 - Finally released from arrest, John Smith takes his seat as a member of the Council.

June 15, 1607 - English colonists complete construction of James Fort at Jamestown.

June 22, 1607 - Christopher Newport departs from Jamestown for England, carrying a letter to the Virginia Company of London that exaggerates the Virginia colony's commercial possibilities.

August 22, 1607 - Bartholomew Gosnold dies at Jamestown, probably from sickness caused by drinking polluted water.

September 10, 1607 - Council members John Ratcliffe, John Smith, and John Martin oust Edward Maria Wingfield as president, replacing him with Ratcliffe. By the end of the month, half of Jamestown's 104 men and boys are dead, mostly from sickness.

December 1607 - Late in the month, John Smith is brought before Powhatan, the paramount chief of Tsenacomoco. He later tells of his life being saved by Pocahontas; in fact, Powhatan likely puts Smith through a mock execution in order to adopt him as a weroance, or chief.

December 1607 - While exploring the upper reaches of the Chickahominy River, John Smith is captured by a communal hunting party under the leadership of Opechancanough.

January 2, 1608 - John Smith returns to Jamestown after being held captive by Powhatan. Only thirty-eight colonists survive, Smith's seat on the Council is occupied by Gabriel Archer, and the Council accuses Smith of killing his companions. Smith is sentenced to hang, but the charge is dropped when Christopher Newport arrives with the first supplies from England.

January 7, 1608 - Fire destroys the church, kitchen, storehouse, and most of the supplies at Jamestown. All but three houses burn.

February 1608 - Christopher Newport and John Smith visit Powhatan, the paramount chief of Tsenacomoco, at his capital, Werowocomoco. Powhatan feeds them and their party lavishly, and Newport presents the chief with a suit of clothing, a hat, and a greyhound. The English continue upriver to visit Opechancanough at the latter's request.

April 10, 1608 - Aboard the John and Francis, Christopher Newport leaves Jamestown for England. Among those with him are Gabriel Archer, Edward Maria Wingfield, and the Indian Namontack.

June 2, 1608 - John Smith and fourteen men embark from Jamestown on the first of two major Chesapeake Bay explorations. They visit the Eastern Shore and the falls of the Potomac River.

July 21, 1608 - John Smith and his party return to Jamestown after the first of two major Chesapeake Bay explorations.

July 24, 1608 - John Smith embarks on the second of his two major Chesapeake Bay explorations. He and his party explore the Susquehanna, Patuxent, and Rappahannock rivers and negotiate peace between the Rappahannock and Morahtacund Indians.

September 7, 1608 - John Smith and his party return to Jamestown after the second of his two major Chesapeake Bay explorations.

September 1608 - Christopher Newport returns from England with a plan to improve relations with Virginia Indians by bestowing on Powhatan various gifts and formally presenting him with a decorated crown. The subsequent crowning is made awkward by Powhatan's refusal to kneel, and relations sour.

September 10, 1608 - John Smith is elected president of the Council at Jamestown.

December 1608 - Christopher Newport returns to England from Jamestown accompanied by the Indian Machumps. John Smith, meanwhile, attempts to trade for food with Indians from the Nansemonds to the Appamattucks, but on Powhatan's orders they refuse.

January 1609 - John Smith meets with Powhatan, the paramount chief of Tsenacomoco, at his capital, Werowocomoco. Against Indian custom, Smith refuses to disarm in Powhatan's presence, and the chief attempts, but fails, to have Smith killed.

February 1609 - About this time, the Virginia Company of London publishes *For the plantation in Virginia. Or Nova Britannia*, a one-page announcement for a new voyage to the colony and the terms by which laborers will be accepted as colonists.

March 1609 - The Virginia Company of London sends a letter to Hugh Weld, the lord mayor of London; the city's aldermen; and the London trade guilds inviting them to invest in the company. The letter emphasizes the advantage of controlling England's booming population by sending people to Virginia.

April 25, 1609 - The English minister William Symonds publishes *Virginia: a sermon preached at Whitechapel in the presence of ... Adventurers and Planters for Virginia*. In it, he compares God's call to Abraham in Genesis 12 to England's call to settle Virginia.

May 1609 - With the Jamestown population at about 200, John Smith sends a third of the men downriver on the James to live off oysters. Twenty go with George Percy to Point Comfort to fish, and another twenty go with Francis West to live at the falls of the James. The rest stay at Jamestown.

May 7, 1609 - George Benson, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, publishes *A Sermon preached at Paules Crosse the Seaventh of May MDCIX*, which emphasizes the importance of converting Virginia Indians to the Protestant faith.

May 23, 1609 - The Crown approves a second royal charter for the Virginia Company of London. It replaces the royal council with private corporate control, extends the colony's boundaries to the Pacific Ocean, and installs a governor, Sir Thomas West, twelfth baron De La Warr, to run operations in Virginia.

May–June 1609 - The Virginia Company of London issues the colony's new governor, Sir Thomas Gates, confidential "Instruccions orders and Constitucions by way of advice sett downe declared and propounded to Sir Thomas Gates knight Governour of Virginia ... for the Direccion of the affaires of that Country."

Summer 1609 - John Smith unsuccessfully attempts to purchase from Powhatan, the paramount chief of Tsenacomoco, the fortified town of Powhatan in order to settle English colonists there.

June 2, 1609 - The largest fleet England has ever amassed in the West—nine ships, 600 passengers, and livestock and provisions to last a year—leaves England for Virginia. Led by the flagship *Sea Venture*, the fleet's mission is to save the failing colony. Sir Thomas Gates heads the expedition.

July 24, 1609 - A hurricane strikes the nine-ship English fleet bound for Virginia on a rescue mission. The flagship *Sea Venture* is separated from the other vessels and irreparably damaged by the storm.

August 11, 1609 - Four ships reach Jamestown from England: Unity, Lion, Blessing, and Falcon. Two others are en route; two more were wrecked in a storm; and one, Sea Venture, was cast up on the Bermuda islands' shoals.

August 18, 1609 - Two ships reach Jamestown from England: Diamond and Swallow. Four others arrived a week earlier; two more were wrecked in a storm; and one, Sea Venture, survived by making its way south to the Bermuda islands. The Diamond may have brought with it disease that will contribute to the colony's high mortality rate.

Early September 1609 - John Smith sends Francis West and 120 men to the falls of the James River. George Percy and 60 men attempt to bargain with the Nansemond Indians for an island. Two messengers are killed and the English burn the Nansemonds' town and their crops.

September 10, 1609 - In the absence of Governor Sir Thomas Gates and his implementation of the Second Charter, George Percy is elected president of the Council in Virginia.

November 1609 - Powhatan Indians lay siege to Jamestown, denying colonists access to outside food sources. The Starving Time begins, and by spring 160 colonists, or about 75 percent of Jamestown's population, will be dead from hunger and disease. This action begins the First Anglo-Powhatan War (1609–1614).

Mid-December 1609 - The Virginia Company of London publishes A True and Sincere Declaration defending its colony in the wake of the apparent loss of the Sea Venture and reasserting the company's desire to maintain the settlement.

May 1610 - Powhatan Indians lift their winter-long siege of Jamestown.

May 21, 1610 - Having been stranded in the Bermuda islands for nearly a year, the party of Virginia colonists headed by Sir Thomas Gates arrives at Point Comfort in the Chesapeake Bay.

May 24, 1610 - The party of Virginia colonists headed by Sir Thomas Gates, now aboard the Patience and Deliverance, arrives at Jamestown. They find only sixty survivors of a winter famine. Gates decides to abandon the colony for Newfoundland.

June 8, 1610 - Sailing up the James River toward the Chesapeake Bay and then Newfoundland, Jamestown colonists encounter a ship bearing the new governor, Thomas West, Baron De La Warr, and a year's worth of supplies. The colonists return to Jamestown that evening.

June 10, 1610 - The Virginia colony's new governor, Sir Thomas West, twelfth Baron De La Warr, arrives at Jamestown and hears a sermon delivered by Reverend Richard Bucke.

July 9, 1610 - After the colonist Humphrey Blunt is taken by Indians and tortured to death near Point Comfort Sir Thomas Gates attacks a nearby Kecoughtan town, killing twelve to fourteen and confiscating the cornfields.

July 20, 1610 - Sir Thomas Gates leaves Jamestown for England, where he will use his story of the Sea Venture to advocate for the colony and spur further investment. Aboard ship with him are two Virginia Indians recently taken prisoner: the weroance, or chief, Sasenticum and his son Kainta.

August 10, 1610 - At night, George Percy attacks a Paspahugh town, killing fifteen to sixteen, burning houses, and taking corn. The wife and two children of the weroance, Wowinchopunk, are captured and executed.

May 19, 1611 - Sir Thomas Dale arrives at Jamestown. The colony's marshal, he assumes the title of acting governor in the absence of Lieutenant Governor Sir Thomas Gates and Governor Sir Thomas West, twelfth Baron De La Warr.

June 22, 1611 - Sir Thomas Dale issues military regulations under which his soldiers are to act while in Virginia, supplementing civil orders released in 1610. The combined orders are printed in London the next year with the title For the Colony in Virginea Britannia. Lawes Divine, Morall and Martiall, &c.

June 1611 - Don Diego de Molina, in command of a Spanish reconnaissance ship, arrives at the Chesapeake Bay. He and two others, including the turncoat Englishman Francis Lemby, are captured and held at Jamestown for five years. One Englishman, John Clark, is captured by the Spanish, raising concerns they will return in force.

September 1611 - Sir Thomas Dale marches against Indians farther up the James River from Jamestown and establishes a settlement on a bluff that he calls the City of Henrico, or Henricus, in honor of his patron Prince Henry.

December 1611 - Sir Thomas Dale and his forces attack the Appamattuck towns near the City of Henrico on the James River and later found on the Indians' land the settlement known as Bermuda Hundred.

March 12, 1612 - King James I grants the Virginia Company of London a third charter, which extends the colony's boundaries to Bermuda, grants more power to common investors, and institutes a public lottery to attract investment.

April 1613 - Samuel Argall uses his extensive knowledge of the Potomac River–northern Chesapeake area and its Indian population to kidnap Pocahontas while she is with the Patawomeck—an event that ultimately helps to bring the devastating First Anglo-Powhatan War to a conclusion in 1614.

April 5, 1614 - On or about this day, Pocahontas and John Rolfe marry in a ceremony assented to by Sir Thomas Dale and Powhatan, who sends one of her uncles to witness the ceremony. Powhatan also rescinds a standing order to attack the English wherever and whenever possible, ending the First Anglo-Powhatan War.

1619 - At the first meeting of the General Assembly in Jamestown, the members agree to assess each person in the colony a tax of one pound of tobacco to compensate the legislature's speaker, clerk, and sergeant at arms.

May 24, 1624 - Following a yearlong investigation into mismanagement headed by Sir Richard Jones, justice of the Court of Common Pleas, the Crown revokes the Virginia Company of London's charter and assumes direct control of the Virginia colony.

1662 - The Crown revokes Jamestown's privilege as the mandatory port of entry, helping to transfer the colony's economic, and therefore political, power westward.

1699 - Williamsburg is designated capital of the English colony.

Other emigrant Ships during the early seventeenth century.

Ships that sailed to the Americas in the early sixteen hundreds have been a lifetimes work of research by Anne Stevens who came up with the following information and of course some mention is made in this document, whilst also noting some snippets of information including the fact some Indian tribes were able to either speak or understand English at the time of the Mayflower arrival.

Ship	Master	Departure	Arrival
Concord	Bartholomew Gosnold	26 March 1602 Falmouth	15 May 1602 Plymouth & Maine

"We Took Great Store of Codfish and Called it Cape Cod:" Bartholomew Gosnold Sails Along North eastern North America, 1602. Compared to the French, Spanish, and Dutch, the English were slow to develop an interest in North American colonization. By the later part of the sixteenth century, however, a group of interested and well-connected Englishmen with experience in Irish colonization began to consider permanent settlements in North America. Bartholomew Gosnold undertook a small prospecting expedition on the vessel Concord in 1602, passing down the coasts of Maine and Massachusetts to explore the northern Virginia coast. Gosnold was the first European to see and set foot on Cape Cod—which received its name for its abundance of cod fish—and built a small fur trading station there. The successful voyage enticed English colonization efforts to turn toward this part of North America. Four years later, Gosnold commanded a voyage to bring the first colonists to Jamestown, Virginia. Several accounts of the 1602 prospecting expedition quickly appeared in print.; this complete one was first published by Samuel Purchas in 1625.

Speedwell	Explorer Martin Pring	10 April 1603 Bristol England	June 1603 Penobscott Bay Maine
------------------	-----------------------	-------------------------------	--------------------------------

Martin Pring (1580-1626), was born to a Devonshire family, but the details his early life remain obscure. By age twenty-three, Richard Hakluyt and a group of Bristol merchants considered Pring "sufficient Mariner for Captaine" and placed him in command of the voyage to northern Virginia recounted by this text. Impressed by the success of Captain Gosnold's 1602 voyage, the group of Bristol merchants underwrote this voyage to discover and exploit commercial opportunities along the northern Virginia coast (present-day New England). Pring's backers focused primarily on the valuable sassafras Gosnold had discovered but unlike Gosnold, they first secured Sir Walter Raleigh's permission prior to undertaking their venture.

Pring left England on April 10, 1603, and reached the shores of what is now Maine and New Hampshire in the late spring. Pring, on the flagship Speedwell and the bark, Discoverer, explored the islands, rivers, and harbors of New England, including the Piscataqua Saco, Kennebunk, and York Rivers. They sailed south to present-day Plymouth Harbor and to the Elizabeth Islands south of Cape Cod. The Discoverer sailed home first with a boatload of sassafras. On the Speedwell, Pring and his men had a near-disastrous encounter when the local Indians tried to attack their ship. Two mastiffs brought along on the journey woke the crew and held the Indians at bay before they could take the ship. The Indians then set fire to the woods along shore and nearly two hundred shouted at the departing boats from the land. The Speedwell departed August 8 or 9 and reached England on October 2, 1603.

Richard	Henry Challons	22 August 1606 Plymouth	September 1606. Jamestown Virginia.
----------------	----------------	-------------------------	-------------------------------------

The Richard left Plymouth August 22, 1606, commanded by Captain M. Henry Challons, and Master Daniel Tucker, intended for the North Plantation of Virginia, with fifty five tons of supplies, twenty nine Englishmen and two savages, Manedo and Assacomit, brought to England the year before from Virginia. There was a second ship sent two months later, with Captain Thomas Hanham as commander and Martin Pring of Bristol, as master, no names of the ships are known, but they returned to England about March of the next year. Captain Challons, the ship and the crew were captured by the Spaniards in the West Indies, November of 1606. November 2, 1608, John Stoneman, the pilot of the Richard, escaped from the prison and reached Plymouth about the 6th of December. Challons would also make it back to England in 1608.

Susan Constant	Christopher Newport	20 December 1606 England	13 May 1607 Jamestown Virginia.
Godspeed	Bartholomew Gosnold	20 December 1606 England	13 May 1607 Jamestown Virginia.
Discovery	John Ratcliffe	20 December 1606 England	13 May 1607 Jamestown Virginia.

The original Susan Constant, Godspeed and Discovery set sail from London on December 20, 1606, bound for Virginia. The ships carried 105 passengers and 39 crew members on the four-month transatlantic voyage. A 17th-century source noted that a total of 71 people were aboard the Susan Constant, 52 aboard the Godspeed and 21 aboard the Discovery. The expedition was sponsored by the Virginia Company of London, a business venture that had been organized to form a colony in Virginia. The fleet reached the Virginia coast in late April and, after two weeks of inland waterway exploration, arrived at the selected settlement site on May 13, 1607. At the time of the voyage, the Susan Constant was about one year old and was leased from Dapper, Wheatley, Colthurst and other partners. The origins of the Godspeed and Discovery are uncertain. The Susan Constant and Godspeed returned to England in June 1607, while the Discovery remained in Virginia and was used for Chesapeake Bay and coastal exploration.

Mary & John	Raleigh Ager / Gilbert	01 June 1607 Plymouth Devon.	19 August 1607 Maine.
------------------------	------------------------	------------------------------	-----------------------

Raleigh Gilbert was the son of the Elizabethan explorer and soldier/sailor Humphrey Gilbert who had died in service of Queen Elizabeth after having claimed Newfoundland for England. Raleigh Gilbert continued the colonizing efforts of his father and family and in 1606 was one of eight grantees to receive Letters Patent from King James I.

Monday, 1st June 1607 - Departed from Plymouth, England. Wednesday, 19th August 1607 -- Arrival in Maine

"Wednesday being the 19th August we all went to the shore where we made choice for our plantation and there we had a sermon delivered in by our preacher."

19 Aug 1607 - Established Fort at mouth of Kennebec River in Maine. The colony was called the "Sagadahoc Colony."

Captain James Davis again set sail for Sagadahoc and arrived, it is supposed, about the month of May 1608. He found the colonists had been through a severe winter. George Popham, the first president, had died, and Raleigh Gilbert was now the president. Sir John Gilbert, eldest son of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and the brother of Raleigh Gilbert, had also died in England and left his estate to his brother Raleigh Gilbert to settle. Raleigh Gilbert therefore desired to return to England to settle his brothers estate.

17 October 1608 The Colonists returned to England before another harsh winter finished them off.



Although its author is unknown, this work has been attributed to James Davies, the navigator of Raleigh Gilbert's ship, the Mary and John.

Popham's Expedition to Maine, 1607-1608

On April 10, 1606, James I signed a charter for two colonies, one in the northern part of Virginia and the other in the south. The promoters of the northern colony included Sir Fernando Gorges and Sir John Popham. In May 1607, the investment group sent out two ships, the Gift of God and the Mary and John, under the command of Popham's son George. They carried a total of about 120 settlers, including gentlemen, soldiers, craftsmen, and farmers.

They hoped to establish a settlement that would profit from trade with the Native Americans and exploit the wealth of America's natural resources, particularly through the discovery of precious metals such as the Spanish had found in the south.

When George Popham sailed in 1607 to settle the Sagadahoc colony at the mouth of the Kennebec River, he first landed at Monhegan Island. Leaving Monhegan, he sailed south, first landing at New Harbor, and ultimately choosing a site at the mouth of the Kennebec, east across the bay from present-day Portland, Maine. Here the colonists built a fort, houses, a stockade, and a storehouse. An alliance with local Wawenoc, Canibas and Arosaguntacook Indians soon deteriorated and eventually resulted in an attack on the colonists that caused thirteen deaths. A particularly severe winter set in early, food supplies gave out, the colony's sponsor in England passed away, the site of the little settlement was exposed to brutal winter winds, and George Popham himself died on February 5, 1608. When a supply ship finally arrived the following June, the colonists learned that Gilbert's older brother had also died, leaving him to head the family. He decided to return to England to tend to his affairs and all the other colonists, reluctant to face another severe winter without their leader, joined him.

Until this document resurfaced in 1875, most scholars believed that the charter for a northern colony had never been acted upon and that the Pilgrims at Plymouth, who arrived thirteen years later, were the first English colonists in New England. Archaeological evidence has settled the debate. While the venture did not prove to be permanent, the Popham Colony's experiences likely provided valuable information for colonists who later settled in New England.

John & Francis	Christopher Newport	18 October 1607 Gravesend Kent - 12 January 1608 Jamestown.
Phoenix	Francis Nelson	18 October 1607 Gravesend Kent - 12 January 1608 Jamestown.

The John and Francis departed London 4 October 1607, bound to meet the Phoenix at Gravesend. Both ships departed Gravesend about two weeks later, on the 18th. After "having been waiting for the wind," the two ships finally left for Virginia from Falmouth on 2 November 1607. The ships arrived at Santo Domingo on 9 December 1607/8, but became separated in a fog on 3 January 1607/8. The John and Francis arrived Jamestown on 12 January 1607/1608. The Phoenix arrived quite sometime later.

Between the two ships, about 120 emigrants had departed England--"near 100" lived to reach Virginia.

Upon Captain Newport's arrival, "Of the 104 men left by Newport in Virginia in July [eighteen months earlier], he found only 38 or 40. The rest had died of the sickness, or had been killed by the Indians."

The John and Francis remained several months at Virginia, finally departing for England on 10 April 1608. Returning with Newport were "Wingfield, Archer, McGuire, an Irishman, and Namontack, an Indian." Not until ten days after the John and Francis had set sail for England did Captain Nelson and the Phoenix arrive Jamestown. Nelson left Virginia with Phoenix on 12 June 1608, accompanied by Captain John Martin.

St George's Church Gravesend in Kent is the burial place of Pocahontas, daughter of Chief Powhatan. She married John Rolfe in 1614 and travelled with him to England.

The early years in Jamestown for the settlers were miserable. Despite inspired leadership of John Smith, chaplain Robert Hunt and others, starvation, hostile relations with the Indians, and lack of profitable exports all threatened the survival of the Colony. But it was John Rolfe who introduced a strain of tobacco which was successfully exported in 1612, and the financial outlook for the colony became more favorable. Two years later, Rolfe married the Indian

princess Pocahontas, daughter of Wahunsunacock, Chief of the Powhatan Confederacy, and a period of relative peace with the Natives followed.

In 1616, the Rolfs made a public relations trip to England, where Pocahontas was received as visiting royalty. Returning to Virginia in 1617, she fell ill and died on board ship and was brought ashore at Gravesend, aged just 22.

Gift of God George Popham 13 August 1607 Plymouth Devon - 2 November 1607 then February 1608.

The first recorded ship built in America by English settlers was at the Popham settlement near the mouth of the Sagadahoc river in Maine about 1607. The Popham colony was established a few months after the Jamestown settlement in Virginia but only lasted approximately one year before being abandoned. The settlers at Popham were more successful than Jamestown in some important ways; they managed to build a substantial fort and a practical seagoing ship while keeping healthy, recording only one fatality. The colony was not abandoned due to lack of practical success. Colony leader George Popham died during the winter and his successor, Raleigh Gilbert, chose to return to England on the resupply ship in order to claim a family inheritance. The other colonists decided not to remain without a leader and returned with him. The ship built at Popham was named "Virginia" or "Virginia of Sagadanoc". Few details of the construction have survived in the historic records.

When the Jamestown and Popham colonies were established the entire Eastern seaboard of North America was referred to as Virginia, and entirely controlled by a private company, the Virginia Company. The first group of 120 colonists left Plymouth, England May 31, 1607 and arrived at the mouth of the Sagadahoc river (today the Kennebec) on August 13, 1607 aboard the ship "Gift of God". A second ship, the "Mary and John" arrived on August 16th. Among the responsibilities assigned to the Popham colonists by their English sponsors was to prove that English ships could be built from new world forests. Construction of the settlement buildings was the obvious first priority, since they arrived at the end of the summer. The first winter in Maine was much colder and longer than the settlers had expected. It would have been possible for the boat builders to cut timber for the keel and framing in the fall of 1607 and do some shaping of major parts during the winter, along with making the sails, but it is likely that the actual building of the Virginia was started in the Spring of 1608.

English shipbuilding at this time used carvel construction which called for the keel to be laid first, stem and sternposts attached, followed by a skeleton of frames and beams. Planks were nailed flush with each other with either iron nails or wooden trenails, and all seams were sealed with oakum caulking and overlaid with tar.

The Virginia was an example of the pinnace design, which had great flexibility since it could be rigged for a variety of tasks such as offshore fishing, coastal exploration and trans-Atlantic passages. In early records of New England watercraft the shallop and pinnace are recorded as the most common types. Shallops were generally smaller than the pinnace, but usually the same general shape and relatively narrow beam to move easily under sail and oar. The term pinnace was often more a reference to use than a type of design in the early 17th century. A pinnace was often towed by a larger ship and used for inshore work or offloading cargo and passengers. There was no standardization of pinnace design, they were constructed from 12 tons up to 40 tons. Generally they were more lightly built, single decked with flat stern, and usually with a greater length to beam ratio than larger ships. Pinnaces typically used oars or sweeps to move during calms or in harbors. Probably due to its versatility, the pinnace was a preferred small ship design in the first decades of English settlement of the New World. The Virginia's rig was adaptable to multiple different configurations depending on immediate purpose.

Mary & Margaret Christopher Newport 01 August 1608 England - 01 October 1608 Jamestown Virginia.

Captain Christopher Newport commanded the Mary and Margaret, as part of the Second Supply leaving England the first of August 1608, with Captains Richard Waldo and Peter Wynne appointed to be of the King's Council in Virginia. The Indian, Namontack returned with Newport. They reached Virginia in October with seventy emigrants, and found Jamestown consisting of about sixty persons. Newport left Virginia Dec 1608 with John Ratcliffe, arriving in England late January.

Mistress Forrest (Margaret Foxe) and her maid servant Anne Burras, were the first two European women to come to the Virginia Colony. Arriving on October 1, 1608 in what is known as the Second Supply aboard the English ship the Mary and Margaret (or Mary-Margaret, both names appear in the records) under Captain Christopher Newport to resupply the colony at Jamestown, Virginia. Her husband Thomas Forrest (colonist) Esq. was listed as a gentleman on that ship as shown on its manifest, whereas she was listed only as Mistress Forrest. Thomas and Margaret had married on August 16, 1605, in St. Giles in the Fields, London, England.

Dr. Doug Owsley and Karin Bruwelheide of the Smithsonian Institute examined the skeleton in the field. Their preliminary conclusions were that JR156C was a caucasian woman, about 35 years old. She was very small, possibly only about 4'9" or so in height. She had only 5 teeth at the time of her death, the rest having been lost many years before. The cause of her death was not evident. Stable isotope analysis done on the bones indicated that she had a diet primarily of wheat, rather than corn. This usually indicates a recently landed European. Documents indicate that the first women at Jamestown were Mistress Forest and her maid Anne Burras, who landed with the Second Supply in 1608. Anne Burras is known to have married John Laydon, and both were listed in the 1625 muster. Mistress Forrest, probably the wife of gentleman Thomas Forrest, is not mentioned again in the historical record, and may have died soon after her arrival at Jamestown. Scholars speculate that JR156 could be the grave of Mistress Forrest.

Starr. Three sailings of this vessel – 1608, 1610 and 1611.

Susan Constant. Christopher Newport. 22 June 1607. Probably this ship is the Sarah Constant

Susan Constant, possibly Sarah Constant, captained by Christopher Newport, was the largest of three ships of the English Virginia Company (the others being Discovery and Godspeed) on the 1606–1607 voyage that resulted in the founding of Jamestown in the new Colony of Virginia. The alternative name Sarah Constant has been cited, and is

shown as being the name noted on the earliest document, leading to a belief that Samuel Purchas had the name wrong in his Pilgrims book. There is growing support for the name Sarah Constant. The article that cites Sarah Constant, presumably written by Sir Walter Raleigh, is as follows:

He told me of three barques on route to the New World, those whose names are, as he told me thereon, be consisted of Godspeed, Discoverie or Discovery, and one whose name split twice, I think was Sarah Constant.

Sea Venture Christopher Newport 18 June 1609 London/Plymouth 28 July 1609 Bermuda.

Sea Venture was part of the Third Supply mission to the Jamestown Colony, that was wrecked in Bermuda in 1609. She was the 300 ton purpose-built flagship of the London Company and a highly unusual vessel for her day, given that she was the first single timbered, merchantman built in England, and also the first dedicated emigration ship. Sea Venture's wreck is widely thought to have been the inspiration for William Shakespeare's play *The Tempest*.

The proprietary of the London Company had established the settlement of Jamestown in Virginia in 1607, and delivered supplies and additional settlers in 1608, raising the English colony's population to 200, despite many deaths. The entire operation was characterized by a lack of resources and experience. The Company's fleet was composed of vessels that were less than optimal for delivering large numbers of passengers across the Atlantic Ocean, and the colony itself was threatened by starvation, diseases, and warfare with native peoples.

The colony at Jamestown seemed doomed to meet the same fate as the Roanoke Colony and the Popham Colony, two earlier failed English attempts to settle in North America, unless there was a major relief effort, despite the delivery of supplies in 1608 on the First and Second Supply missions of Captain Christopher Newport. Yet the investors of the London Company expected to reap rewards from their speculative investments. With the Second Supply, they expressed their frustrations and made demands upon the leaders of Jamestown in written form.

They specifically demanded that the colonists send commodities sufficient to pay the cost of the voyage, a lump of gold, assurance that they had found the South Sea, and one member of the lost Roanoke Colony. It fell to the third president of the Council to deliver a reply. Ever bold, Captain John Smith delivered what must have been a wake-up call to the investors in London. In what has been termed "Smith's Rude Answer", he composed a letter, writing (in part): *When you send againe I entreat you rather send but thirty Carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons and diggers up of trees, roots, well provided; than a thousand of such as wee have: for except wee be able both to lodge them and feed them, the most will consume with want of necessaries before they can be made good for anything.*

Smith did begin his letter with an apology, saying "I humbly intreat your Pardons if I offend you with my rude Answer". There are strong indications that those in London comprehended and embraced Smith's message. Their Third Supply mission was by far the largest and best equipped. They even had the newly constructed purpose-built flagship Sea Venture placed in the most experienced hands of Christopher Newport.

On 2nd June 1609, Sea Venture set sail from Plymouth as the flagship of a seven-ship fleet (towing two additional pinnaces) destined for Jamestown, Virginia as part of the Third Supply, carrying 500 to 600 people (it is unclear whether that number includes crew, or only settlers). On 24th July, the fleet ran into a strong storm, likely a hurricane, and the ships were separated. A pinnacle, Catch, went down with all aboard lost. Sea Venture however, fought the storm for three days. Comparably sized ships had survived such weather, but Sea Venture had a critical flaw in her newness: her timbers had not set. The caulking was forced from between them, and the ship began to leak rapidly. All hands were applied to bailing, but water continued to rise in the hold.

The ship's starboard-side guns were reportedly jettisoned to raise her buoyancy, but this only delayed the inevitable. The Admiral of the Company himself, Sir George Somers, was at the helm through the storm. When he spied land on the morning of 25th July, the water in the hold had risen to 9 feet (2.7m), and crew and passengers had been driven past the point of exhaustion. Somers deliberately had the ship driven onto the reefs of Discovery Bay, in what later proved to be eastern Bermuda, in order to prevent its foundering. This allowed 150 people, and one dog, to be landed safely ashore. The survivors, including several company officials (Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Gates, the ship's captain Christopher Newport, Sylvester Jordain, Stephen Hopkins, later of Mayflower, and Secretary William Strachey), were stranded on Bermuda for approximately nine months.

During the time on Bermuda, the survivors constructed two new ships, the pinnaces Deliverance and Patience, from local Bermuda cedar, which was a wood especially prized by regional ship builders because it was as strong as oak, yet lighter. This misnamed juniper species could be worked with immediately after felling, and it has high resistance to rot and wood worms. Materials salvaged from the beached wreck were also used, especially her rigging. They were constructed between late fall 1609 and early spring 1610 under the guidance of Admiral Somers and James Davis, Captain of the "Gift of God" who possessed considerable ship building knowledge. These ships represented the second and third pinnaces built in the English colonies in the Americas, the first being the 1607–08 construction of Virginia at the Popham Colony in New England.

The original plan was to build one vessel, Deliverance, but it soon became evident that she would not be large enough to carry the settlers and all of the food that was being sourced on the islands. While the new ships were being built, Sea Venture's longboat was fitted with a mast and sent under the command of Henry Ravens to find Virginia, but the boat and its crew were never seen again. Finally, under the command of Newport, the two ships with 142 survivors set sail for Virginia on 11 May 1610, and arrived at the Jamestown settlement on the 23rd, a journey of less than two weeks. Two sailors, Christopher Carter and Edward Waters (whom some records name Robert Waters), remained behind; Waters faced possible trial for the killing of another sailor and fled into the forest. Carter, like many others of the settlers and crew, did not wish to leave Bermuda and had joined Waters in the forest to avoid being compelled to leave.

On reaching Jamestown, only 60 survivors were found of the 500 or so who had preceded them. Many of these were themselves dying, and Jamestown was quickly judged to be nonviable. Everyone then boarded Virginia, Deliverance, and Patience, which set sail for England. The timely arrival of another relief fleet, bearing Governor Baron De La Warre, granted Jamestown a reprieve. All the settlers were re-landed at the colony, but there was still a critical shortage of food. In the fall of 1610, Admiral Somers returned to Bermuda in Patience to obtain wild pigs and food that had been stockpiled there. Unfortunately, Somers died in Bermuda from a "surfeit of pork" and the pinnace, captained by his nephew Mathew Somers, returned directly to Lyme Regis in Dorset, England with the body in order to claim his inheritance. Christopher Carter and Edward Waters, who evidently had been forgiven their earlier desertion, remained behind in Bermuda, again, joined by Edward Chard, the first permanent settlers of Bermuda (Christopher Carter and Edward Waters were to be among the Counsell of Six appointed to advise the first Lieutenant-Governor of Bermuda, Richard Moore, in 1612, and amongst whom the Lieutenant-Governorship was rotated during the period in 1616 between the departure of Moore and the arrival of his successor). Overall, the food and supplies brought by the Third Supply were not adequate. 80% of the colonists would die during the Starving Time of 1610. Afterwards, survivors at Jamestown had boarded Deliverance and Patience and were sailing downstream to the ocean when they met yet another resupply fleet. Lord Delaware was this expedition's leader and he turned the distraught settlers back. He had brought a doctor but food supplies remained inadequate.

Deliverance	Christopher Newport	Built in Bermuda	30 May 1610 Jamestown Virginia.
Patience	Christopher Newport	Built in Bermuda	30 May 1610 Jamestown Virginia.
Diamond	John Ratcliffe.	18 June 1609 London.	28 July 1609 Bermuda.

Jamestown – A Time Line.

Summer 1609 - John Smith unsuccessfully attempts to purchase from Powhatan, the paramount chief of Tsenacomoco, the fortified town of Powhatan in order to settle English colonists there.

June 2, 1609 - The largest fleet England has ever amassed in the West—nine ships, 600 passengers, and livestock and provisions to last a year—leaves England for Virginia. Led by the flagship Sea Venture, the fleet's mission is to save the failing colony. Sir Thomas Gates heads the expedition.

July 24, 1609 - A hurricane strikes the nine-ship English fleet bound for Virginia on a rescue mission. The flagship Sea Venture is separated from the other vessels and irreparably damaged by the storm.

August 11, 1609 - Four ships reach Jamestown from England: Unity, Lion, Blessing, and Falcon. Two others are en route; two more were wrecked in a storm; and one, Sea Venture, was cast up on the Bermuda islands' shoals.

August 18, 1609 - Two ships reach Jamestown from England: Diamond and Swallow. Four others arrived a week earlier; two more were wrecked in a storm; and one, Sea Venture, survived by making its way south to the Bermuda islands. The Diamond may have brought with it disease that will contribute to the colony's high mortality rate.

Late August 1609 - After being damaged by a hurricane, eight of nine English ships bound for Virginia arrive safely at Jamestown under the assumption that the flagship Sea Venture, carrying Captain Christopher Newport and Sir Thomas Gates, had been lost at sea. The news sends the colony into a political tailspin.

Early September 1609 - John Smith sends Francis West and 120 men to the falls of the James River. George Percy and 60 men attempt to bargain with the Nansemond Indians for an island. Two messengers are killed and the English burn the Nansemonds' town and their crops.

September 10, 1609 - In the absence of Governor Sir Thomas Gates and his implementation of the Second Charter, George Percy is elected president of the Council in Virginia.

October 1609 - John Smith leaves Virginia. The Jamestown colony's new leadership is less competent, and the Starving Time follows that winter.

November 1609 - Powhatan invites a party of about thirty colonists, led by John Ratcliffe, to Orapax on the promise of a store of corn. The English are ambushed and killed; Ratcliffe himself is tortured to death.

November 1609 - Powhatan Indians lay siege to Jamestown, denying colonists access to outside food sources. The Starving Time begins, and by spring 160 colonists, or about 75 percent of Jamestown's population, will be dead from hunger and disease. This action begins the First Anglo-Powhatan War (1609–1614).

Early May 1610 - Powhatan Indians lift their winter-long siege of Jamestown.

May 21, 1610 - Having been stranded in the Bermuda islands for nearly a year, the party of Virginia colonists headed by Sir Thomas Gates arrives at Point Comfort in the Chesapeake Bay.

May 24, 1610 - The party of Virginia colonists headed by Sir Thomas Gates, now aboard the Patience and Deliverance, arrives at Jamestown. They find only sixty survivors of a winter famine. Gates decides to abandon the colony for Newfoundland.

June 8, 1610 - Sailing up the James River toward the Chesapeake Bay and then Newfoundland, Jamestown colonists encounter a ship bearing the new governor, Thomas West, Baron De La Warr, and a year's worth of supplies. The colonists return to Jamestown that evening.

June 10, 1610 - The Virginia colony's new governor, Sir Thomas West, twelfth baron De La Warr, arrives at Jamestown and hears a sermon delivered by Reverend Richard Bucke.

Falcon	John Martin	18 June 1609 Plymouth	August 1609 Jamestown Virginia.
Blessing	Gabriel Archer	18 June 1609 Plymouth	August 1609 Jamestown Virginia.
Unitie.	Wood.	18 June 1609 Plymouth	August 1609 Jamestown Virginia.
Lion.	Webb	18 June 1609 Plymouth	August 1609 Jamestown Virginia.
Swallow	Moone	18 June 1609 Plymouth	August 1609 Jamestown Virginia.

Virginia	James Davis.	18 June 1609 Plymouth	August 1609 Jamestown Virginia.
Catch	Matthew Finch	18 June 1609 Plymouth	Lost at Sea.
Sea Venture	Christopher Newport	18 June 1609 Plymouth	August 1609 Jamestown Virginia.

The fleet stayed together for seven weeks as they crossed the Atlantic Ocean, but 32 yellow fever victims from two ships were buried overboard, and the "London plague" broke out on Diamond - diseases that were transplanted to the New World, and probably contributed to the colony's high mortality rate during the Starving Time. On Saint James Day, July 25, 1609, the fleet ran into a massive 'tempest', believed to have been a hurricane, which lasted for three days, and became separated. After the storm, Blessing, Falcon, Lion, and Unitie came together and headed for Virginia, "falling into the James River" on August 11. Diamond appeared a few days later, and Swallow a few days after that (around August 18, 1609). Virginia arrived some six weeks later on October 3, 1609.

All in all, seven ships arrived safely at Jamestown, delivering most of the colonists, but relatively few supplies. In the colony, there was no word of the fate of Sea Venture (which had been wrecked in Bermuda) or Catch (which had been lost at sea), including the supplies, passengers, and leaders who had been aboard them.

Blessing, Diamond, Falcon, and Unitie soon returned to England on October 14, 1609, to advise of Jamestown's plight carrying Captain Samuel Argall, an injured John Smith, and 30 young men sent from England but rejected by the colony.

However, no further supply ships from England arrived that year, nor the following spring. In the absence of strong leadership, and most of the supplies, all of which had been aboard Sea Venture, the existing and newly-brought settlers at James Fort were ill-prepared to survive the winter, resulting in the siege and "Starving Time" of 1609-1610, when most of the inhabitants perished.

During the storm, Sea Venture was soon separated from the seven other vessels of the third supply fleet and began taking on water through her new caulking. On July 28, 1609, and with bailing efforts failing, Admiral Sir George Somers had the ship deliberately driven onto the reefs at Discovery Bay in eastern Bermuda to prevent her sinking. The 150 passengers and crew members all landed safely, but the ship was now permanently disabled. Over a period of nine months, the survivors built two new pinnaces — Deliverance and Patience — using local Bermuda cedar and hardware salvaged from the wreck. The original plan was to build only one vessel, Deliverance, but it soon became evident that one would not be large enough to carry the settlers and all of the supplies that were being sourced on the islands. During the building, Sea Venture's longboat was fitted with a mast and sent to find Jamestown, but neither it, nor its crew, were ever seen again. The ships were provisioned with salvaged and local goods - from Bermuda the crew were able to gather pork from feral pigs, sweet potatoes, and onions, figs and olives from stock grown first in Bermuda.

The vessels were both readied by May 10, 1610, and sailed on the 20th. By May 23 they had reached Comfort Point. The survivors of Sea Venture, led by Sir Thomas Gates (the new governor) and Sir George Somers, assumed they would find a thriving colony in Virginia. Instead, they found the colony in ruins and practically abandoned. Of the 500 or so colonists living in Jamestown in the autumn, they found only 60 survivors with many of those also sick or dying. Worse yet, many supplies intended for Jamestown had been lost in Bermuda, and Gates and Somers had brought along with them about 140 additional people, but only a small food supply. The decision was soon made to abandon James Fort, and on June 7, 1610, everyone boarded Deliverance, Discovery, Patience, and Virginia to return to England, and began to sail down the James River.

In the interval between the departure of Smith for England, and the arrival of the Sea Venture survivors, George Percy became President of the council in Jamestown. He however accomplished little while in charge, other than to order to construction of Fort Algernon at Old Point Comfort. To secure food, he had sent Francis West and James Davis up the Chesapeake Bay (in Virginia) to obtain corn from the Patowomekin 1609, but instead of delivering that food to the starving colony, West sailed directly back to England, and avoided the Starving Time by abandoning Percy and the colonists. Percy wrote later that when West brought his ship loaded with corn back to Point Comfort, the captain in charge of Fort Algernon told everyone about the hunger at Jamestown, and instead of hurrying upstream to feed the colonists, "Captain Weste, by the persuasion, or rather by the enforcement, of his company hoisted up sails and shaped by their course directly for England, and left us in that extreme misery and want.

During the period that Sea Venture suffered its misfortune, and its survivors were struggling in Bermuda to continue on to Virginia, the publication of Captain John Smith's books of his adventures in England sparked a resurgence of interest and investment in the Company. There was also a religious call in England by clergymen and others to support the stranded colonists. Another mission was soon prepared, equipped with additional colonists, a doctor, food, and supplies, and heading this group was the new governor, Francis West's older brother, Thomas West, who also recruited and equipped an armed contingent of 150 men at his own expense.

The ships were:

Blessing of Plymouth

De La Warr with Admiral Thomas West and Samuel Argall

Hercules of Rye

West and his fleet departed London on March 12, 1610, from England on April 1, and arrived on the James River on June 9, just as the existing colonists were sailing downriver to leave Virginia. Intercepting them about 10 miles (16 km) downstream from Jamestown near Mulberry Island, the new governor directed the ships to return to the abandoned colony. This was not a popular decision at the time, but it was to prove a turning point in the English colonization of North America.

After the return to Jamestown, and with the population now at around 375 people, Captain Robert Tyndall was directed to take Virginia to catch fish in the Chesapeake Bay between Cape Henry and Cape Charles.

On June 19, 1610, Admiral Somers, not wanting to be subordinate to West, departed for Bermuda (known later as the "Somers Isles") aboard Patience, accompanied by Captain Argall on Discovery, with the intention of gathering more food, including fish, sweet potatoes and live pigs for Jamestown. Blown north towards Newfoundland, the ships became separated in thick fog. Argall attempted fishing before returning, reaching the Chesapeake on August 31, while Somers, who had continued on to Bermuda, became ill on the journey. He died in Bermuda on November 2, 1610 at age 56 before completing the mission. Captain Matthew Somers, now in charge of Patience, and probably keen to secure his uncle's inheritance, then disobeyed orders by returning to Lyme Regis in England with the preserved body of his uncle. However, by doing so, he was also able to provide an update to the Company on the status of the colony.

On July 25, 1610 Hercules with Captain Adams was sent from Jamestown for supplies. It returned "soon after" the departure of Thomas West, who had left Virginia for the island of Mevis in De La Warr on April 7, 1611. Blessing and Hercules returned to England in September 1610 with Gates, Newport, Adams and "others from Virginia".

When the Jamestown garrison again required provisions in December 1610, Captain Argall was dispatched to the Potomac River and procured maize and furs there from Iopassus (Japazaws), a Patowomeck town.

Newport, now vice Admiral of Virginia, and Sir Thomas Dale, Lieutenant Governor or Marshall of Virginia, left England in March 1611 for Jamestown with a fleet of three ships, 300 people, and supplies including horses and livestock. Sailing via Dominica and Puerto Rico, they arrived at Point Comfort on the night of May 22, 1611. The ships were Elizabeth, Prosperous, and Starr with Newport.

The last major fleet of this time, under Sir Thomas Gates, lieutenant General of Virginia, sailed from England towards the end of May 1611 with three ships, 280 men, 20 women, 200 cattle, and "many swine and other necessities". They sailed via the West Indies, and arrived in Virginia on August 30, 1611. The ships were Sara, Swan, and Trial.

By 1610, with the end of the Starving Time, the majority of the colonists who had arrived at the Jamestown settlement had died and its economic value was negligible with no active exports to England and very little internal economic activity. Only financial incentives including a promise of more land to the west from King James I to investors financing the new colony kept the project afloat. The timely arrival of Lord West resulted in a renovation of the settlement, and a counter-offensive against the Powhatan Confederacy, whose refusal to trade and siege of the fort had threatened the food security of the colony. The campaign ended the Powhatan siege and resulted in the marriage of Pocahontas and John Rolfe (a Sea Venture survivor) which introduced a short truce between the English and the Powhatan Confederacy.

This allowed the English to fully secure the colony's fortifications and housing, expand its farming, develop a network of alliances with other Indian nations, and establish a series of outlying smaller settlements. Colonists continued to die from various illnesses and disease, and the Company, in due, continued to finance and transport settlers to sustain Jamestown. For the next five years, Governors Gates and Sir Thomas Dale continued to keep strict discipline (see Dale's Code), with Sir Thomas Smythe in London attempting to find skilled craftsmen and other settlers to send to Jamestown. By 1612, Rolfe would also successfully pioneer new strains of hybrid tobacco that would allow the colony to cultivate and export its own cash crop, thereby ensuring a new form of financial security.

Hercules		A number of sailings between 1609 and 1618	
Jonathan		A number of sailings between 1609 and 1620.	
Swan		A number of sailings between 1610 and 1624.	
Tryall		A number of sailings between 1610 and 1620.	
Godspeed		Possibly Summer of 1610	
Mary Ann		Possibly Summer of 1610	
Noah		Possibly Summer of 1610	
Dainty		Possibly Summer of 1610	
De La Warr	Samuel Argall	01 April 1610 Cowes.	July 1610 Jamestown Virginia.
Blessing of Plymouth		01 April 1610 Cowes.	July 1610 Jamestown Virginia.
Hercules of Rye		01 April 1610 Cowes.	July 1610 Jamestown Virginia.

The Jamestown supply missions were a series of fleets (or sometimes individual ships) from 1607 to around 1611 that were dispatched from England by the London Company (also known as the Virginia Company of London) with the specific goal of initially establishing the Company's presence and later specifically maintaining the English settlement of "James Fort" on present-day Jamestown Island. The supply missions also resulted in the colonization of Bermuda as a supply and way-point between the colony and England.

The Jamestown colonists initially chose the fort's location because it was favorable for defensive purposes. Although some of them did some farming, few of the original settlers were experienced farmers, and as hunters they quickly exhausted the area's supply of small game. To make matters worse, the most severe drought in 700 years occurred between 1606 and 1612. Consequently, the colonists quickly became dependent upon trade with the Native Americans and periodic supply from England for their survival. Captain Christopher Newport was tasked with the duty of leading the first three re-supply missions back to Jamestown. However, it was not until a fourth mission under Lord Thomas West that the settlement was finally able to establish both defensive and food security.

Starr	Christopher Newport	March 1611	22 May 1611 Jamestown Virginia
Elizabeth		March 1611	22 May 1611 Jamestown Virginia
Prosperous		March 1611	22 May 1611 Jamestown Virginia

Lord De La Warr serves as governor from June 10, 1610 through late March 1611 and then departs for England. George Percy serves as deputy governor through the end of May, when Thomas Dale arrives and replaces him.

Hercules	Adams	May 1611	30 August 1611 Jamestown Virginia
Trial	Thomas Gates	May 1611	30 August 1611 Jamestown Virginia
Sarah		May 1611	30 August 1611 Jamestown Virginia
Swan		May 1611	30 August 1611 Jamestown Virginia

Thomas Dale leads a group of colonists to establish Henricus (later Henrico), one of the first outlying settlements in Virginia.

John & Francis		A number of sailings between 1611 and 1623.	
Sarah Constant		8 March 1612	June 1612 Jamestown Virginia .
Un-named	Thomas Button	April 1612	Jamestown Virginia.

The third charter of the Virginia Company of London reaffirms its independence from the Crown in matters of trade and governance. A new council, drawn from all Company members, makes policy and writes instructions for Jamestown. Meetings of the weekly "court" or assembly made up of officers and some members will be more frequent, and there will be a great quarterly court, made up of council members, interested officials, and members. The governor and his council in Jamestown are responsible to the Company. The Crown licenses lotteries and one is established to raise funds for the Virginia Company. The British establish a colony on the island of Bermuda.

Elizabeth	Adams	January 1613	24 May 1613 Virginia via Bermuda.
Elizabeth	Adams	October 1613	February 1614 Virginia via Bermuda.

At Jamestown, Captain Samuel Argall and others who have captured Powhatan's daughter Pocahontas, bring her to Jamestown. Governor Sir Thomas Dale determines to keep her hostage until Powhatan releases captured Englishmen.

Settlements branch into the interior. There are now four: Jamestown, Kecoughtan (Elizabeth City after 1621), Henrico, and Charles City. The term of the first indentured servants in Jamestown expires and they are now free laborers. Some return to England, while others remain to become tenant farmers. John Rolfe is the first in Jamestown to grow marketable tobacco after obtaining superior seed from the West Indies, where the Spanish have outlawed the sale of tobacco seed to other nations on penalty of death.

This year, Captain Samuel Argall negotiates a written treaty with the Chickahominy Indians, who are semi-independent of the Powhatan confederation. Jamestown is still largely dependent on Indian tribes for food supplies. In March 1614 John Rolfe and Robert Sparkes travel up the Pamunkey River with Pocahontas, who has been held captive at Jamestown for almost a year. Powhatan negotiates a truce.

April 1614, John Rolfe and Pocahontas are married. Before she is married, Pocahontas converts to Christianity and assumes the Christian name "Rebecca." On 28 June 1614 John Rolfe sends the first shipment of Virginia tobacco to England. Samuel Argall and Ralph Hamor depart for England.

Treasurer	Samuel Argall	February 1615	Summer 1615 Jamestown Virginia.
	A number of sailings between 1613 and 1618.		

In 1615, The Bermuda Company is chartered. In 1609, the Virginia Company claimed Bermuda as part of its original charter but did nothing to establish a colony there. In 1612, some Virginia Company members purchased rights from their own Company and formed the Somers Island Company, which is chartered as the Bermuda Company in 1615. London meetings of the Virginia and Bermuda Companies often involve the same people. An Extraordinary Court Held for Virginia and the Sumer Isles

Flying Hart		Summer 1615	1615 Jamestown Virginia.
Susan		July 1616	October 1616 Jamestown Virginia.

May 1616. Governor Sir Thomas Dale, John Rolfe, Pocahontas, and ten other Powhatan Indians sail for England on board the Treasurer, arriving in June. George Yeardley is deputy governor while Dale is in England. Dale has been recalled under criticism and in an effort to redeem his leadership writes A True Relation of the State of Virginia, Left by Sir Thomas Dale, Knight, in May last, 1616. A Proclamation Giving License to "Any Who Are in Virginia," to Return Home, 1616/17. Late Summer 1616, Under Deputy Governor George Yeardley's leadership, friendly relations with the Chickahominy Indians deteriorate. Jamestown is unable to supply itself, instead devoting land and labor to the cultivation of tobacco. The Chickahominy Indians are sometimes unable to supply the colony with food, or they grow impatient of repeated requests and refuse supplies. Governor Yeardley and a group of men kill twenty to forty Chickahominy Indians, and as a result the tribe draws closer to the Powhatan confederation.

The Company fails to win a monopoly in tobacco trade from the Crown. This would have made the Company and colony the sole importers of tobacco. James I, who has a strong distaste for the habit of smoking, opposes excessive cultivation of the crop. Tobacco exports grow from twenty-five hundred pounds in 1616 to of fifty thousand pounds in 1628. In London the Company creates a subsidiary joint-stock company called the "Magazine" or "Society of Particular Adventurers for Traffic with the People of Virginia in Joint Stock." This almost-completely-independent company receives a monopoly in supplying Jamestown and outlying settlements. Its director and courts meet separately from the Virginia Company's, and profits are returned to its investors alone.

November 1616 Ending the first seven-year period, the Virginia Company attempts to issue dividends to its investors, but profits are so small that it distributes land in Virginia instead. The Company allows the establishment of private plantations, called "hundreds." Land grants are made to several of the Company's major adventurers. Thereafter,

some people buy stock in the Virginia Company for the specific purpose of getting private land grants. After 1618, English settlement significantly encroaches on Indian lands, especially along the Chickahominy and James Rivers. Most of these encroachments are due to private land grants by the Company.

Charles	A number of sailings between 1616-1633.
Edwine	A number of sailings between 1616-1619.
George	April 1617. May 25 1617 Jamestown Virginia
Providence	A number of sailings between 1616-1623.
William & John	A number of sailings between 1616-1624.

On 21 March 1617, Pocohontas dies of illness at Gravesend, England. While in England, her husband, John Rolfe, has written A True Relation of the State of Virginia, which puts a good face upon conditions in Virginia. A Letter from John Rolfe to Edwin Sandys upon His Return to Virginia

George	Samuel Argall	Apr 1617 Gravesend, Kent	May 25, 1617 Jamestown Virginia
Treasurer	Samuel Argall	1617-1618	Jamestown Virginia
Falcon		A number of sailings between 1617-1620.	
Neptune	Henry Spelman	1618 England	1618 Jamestown Virginia.
William & Thomas	Capt. Maggner	Sept 1618 England	Jan/Mar 1619 Jamestown Virginia.

On 29th October 1618, Sir Walter Raleigh is executed for treason in London, in part to satisfy the Spanish. In 1616, Raleigh had been paroled from the Tower of London, where he had been imprisoned since 1606. After his release, Raleigh had attacked a Spanish settlement in Orinoco, where he had been searching for "El Dorado," the fabled Indian leader of a city of gold. The expedition a failure, Raleigh then sailed north along the Carolina coast and Chesapeake Bay and on up to Cape Cod and the mouth of the Kennebec River before sailing home to face trial and execution.

In December 1618 The Company's instructions to the Colony's new governor, George Yeardley, recognize tobacco as a medium of exchange. This year, Virginia Company officials in London discover that rather than yielding a profit, the original investment of seventy-five thousand pounds has been almost entirely lost.

This year begins what is called the "Great Migration," which by 1623 brings the population of the Virginia colony to forty-five hundred.

Gift of God	Early 1619	1619 Jamestown Virginia
Bona Nova	John Huddleston	A number of sailings between 1618 – 1621.
Diana	January 1619 England	April 1619 Jamestown Virginia.

The 1619 voyage took place Jan to April, with 100 children from London, but arrived with only 80 children.

Dutie A number of sailings between 1618-1620.
Coldham reports the Duty was sent by the Virginia Company in January 1620 with 51 persons.

Gift of God A number of sailings between 1618-1623.

Mary Gold A number of sailings between 1618-1622.

Sampson John Ward 1619 April 22 1619 Jamestown Virginia

The Sampson with Captain John Ward arrived in Virginia April 22nd 1619 with 50 emigrants, including Rev Thomas Bargrave, a nephew of Captain John Bargrave, to whom the pinnace belonged, and of Dr Bargrave, the Dean of Canterbury. On 23 April 1619, Sir Edwin Sandys, a western English merchant with leanings toward Puritanism, is elected treasurer of the Virginia Company at a quarterly court. John Ferrar is deputy treasurer. Sandys calls for a decrease in tobacco cultivation, the creation of industries, such as the reestablishment of the glassworks and saltworks, which had fallen away, the production of naval stores, an ironworks, sawmill, silkworming, and vineyards. He calls for the cultivation of subsistence crops and of the neglected Company or "public" lands in Virginia. Women are recruited in London to come to the colony and marry. Sandys's predecessor and political enemy, Sir Thomas Smith, becomes head of the Bermuda Company. When Sandys's laudable projects fail, he becomes vulnerable to attacks.

George George Yardley Jan 29 1619 England April 29 1619 Jamestown Virginia
Governor Sir George Yeardley is empowered to charge and try Governor Samuel Argall for neglect of duty and malfeasance. Yeardley had been governor from April 1616 to May 1617 and was then succeeded by Samuel Argall, who had returned from England. Argall had established harsh martial law during his tenure, which had caused adverse publicity for the Company in London. Yeardley assures colonists that in Virginia they shall enjoy the same rule of common law as in England. The Company has instructed him to establish a legislature, settle disputes about private land patents, regularize the relationship between private plantations, or hundreds, and the Company, and to re-cultivate the Company or public lands. Instructions to Governor Yeardley.

July 30 to 4 August 1619, The first legislative assembly meets in Jamestown, in the choir of the church. None of the Assembly's laws are official unless ratified by one-fourth of the Company's Court. Guided by the Company's instructions, the Assembly passes measures to encourage the production of wine, hemp, flax, and, above all, an adequate food supply. The cultivation of tobacco is restricted. Colonists have complained about the high prices charged by the Magazine, and the Assembly limits its profits to twenty-five percent. Other measures address social behaviour, such as idleness, drunkenness, gambling, and the wearing of apparel beyond one's social station. Seven private plantations, or hundreds, are represented in this first Assembly. John Pory, A Report of...the General Assembly Convened at James City, July 30-August 4, 1619.

John Rolfe, who has returned from England, becomes a member of the Council. He marries Jane, the daughter of Captain William Pierce. In the Summer of 1619, Unceasing torrid heat adds to the crop, food supply, and health problems of the Virginia settlements. There are about a thousand people living in the Virginia colony.

The first African slaves are brought to Virginia by Captain Jope in a Dutch ship. Governor Yeardley and a merchant, Abraham Piersey, exchange twenty of them for supplies. These Africans become indentured servants like the white indentured servants who traded passage for servitude. John Rolfe to Edwin Sandys, Jan 1619/20, "About the latter end of August..."

The duty-free status of the Company and the colony ends. The Crown now expects to derive revenue from the Colony in the form of custom duties. Opechancanough replaces Itopatin as leader of the Powhatan confederation.

Unknown Trial	Christopher Lawne	March 1619 England	May 27 1619 Jamestown Virginia
Margaret of Bristol	John Woodleefe	Sept 1619 England	July 5, 1619 Jamestown Virginia
			Dec 4 1619 Jamestown Virginia.

During the year 1619, a ship, the Margaret of Bristol [47 tons] was sent out with thirty-two colonists under John Woodleef, with instructions to establish the town of Berkeley and the Plantation of Berkeley Hundred on the James River. John Woodleef sailed on the Margaret September 14, 1619, in charge of the expedition, and arrived in the James December 10th, the same year. George Thorpe followed on the Merchant of London March of 1620. Ferdinando Yate, Gentleman, who came over in the Margaret was commissioned to keep a record of the voyage, which he prepared under the date of November 30th, 1619, and which closes with this glowing tribute, "If I had the eloquence of the skilful art of Apellese I could not pen neither paint out a better praise of the countrie than the euntic it selfe deserveth."

At the session of the court of Virginia Company, of January 26th, 1619, an indenture was granted to William Tracy, esq. Of Halees, Gloucestershire, a brother of Sir Thomas Tracy, baronet, for the establishment of a colony of five hundred persons in Virginia, and on May 7th, 1620 Sir William Throckmorton transferred his interest in the plantation of Berkeley Hundred. At the subsequent session of the court of the Virginia Company, on June 28, 1620, and upon the recommendation of Governor George Yeardley as to the need of a council, George Thorpe and William Tracy were, with four others, constituted the Council of the State of Virginia.

William Tracy was a cousin of Richard Berkeley. John Smyth was an Oxford graduate and the legal adviser of his friend Lord Berkeley, and both he and Sir William Throckmorton were connected with Tracy by family ties. There are but few details known of the voyages of the many ships which sailed across the Atlantic during the first half century of settlement - - if all the frail boats of thirty tons and upwards may be properly characterized as ships. Owing to the partnership agreements and the correspondence attending the assembling of the colonists from Gloucestershire who comprised the small company of the Supply, and who constituted the advance guard of the five hundred persons whom William Tracy undertook to embark in his scheme of colonization, certain records were preserved which enable a fairly correct understanding to be had of his expedition.

Under date of July 5th, 1620, Tracy wrote to Smyth:

"My household will be wife, daughter, and sune, 4 mayd servants and 6 men; so then for ye rest as many or as few as you will. Mr. Palet & Mr. Gifort must be two more of my company, so I shall be 16 persons at least. My meaning is all these shall be employed in ye common business."

A post script was added:

"I would carry 10 or 13 dogs yt would be of great use to us -- let me know if they will let us carry them."

Delay in the date of sailing caused Tracy to grow more impatient and in his next letter to Smyth he wrote:

"You have Nibli, he [Richard Berkeley] has Stoke, I have nothing but Virginia and it am I held from to live in shame and disgrace in England." The outlook of younger sons was never more gloomy in England than during the period covered by the early emigration to the colony of Virginia. The list of Berkeley colonists comprised many men whose social station was attested by the addition of "gentleman" to their names and who engaged to remain for periods of from two to seven years in the colony. The word servant of the Virginia Company, so often used, did not imply that the person referred to was a menial.

The mayor of Bristol, in clearing the Supply, retained a list of those embarking, and upon arrival of the ship in the James, Sir George Yeardley furnished a certificate with the names of those who arrived safely at Berkeley Hundred. An examination of correspondence and available county records makes it very evident that William Tracy organized the first detachment of his five hundred colonists mainly from his kinsmen and neighbours in Gloucestershire. William Tracy was descended from Sir William de Tracy, one of the four knights, who, in 1170, at the instigation of King Henry II, assassinated Thomas a Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. The family connection, especially in Gloucestershire, was very large.

The Supply [80 tons] Captain Tobias Felgate, was chartered from William Ewins of Bristol, England, and was fitted out at that city for the voyage to Virginia. Owing to its restricted accommodations and the well-known results of overcrowding such ships on long voyages at that time, a number who had prepared to sail were left behind to follow on the next ship. The fitting out of the Supply embarrassed Tracy financially, but his kinsmen came promptly to the relief. The remarkable health record on the voyage was almost wholly due to his wise forethought and able preparation. With the colonists went books on English husbandry and the care of silk worms; a great quantity of garden seeds and "a reasonable quantity of the seed of cotton wool." Mr. Smyth sent from his own nurseries "a great number of the young stocks and of apple trees grafted with pippens, pearmaynes and the other best applies, which

he hopeth for his own humor and affeccon sake therein you will have somewhat more care of, as also the bagg of abricots, damosell, and other plum stones he now sendeth.”

The Town and Hundred of Berkeley on James river --- the present landing for this ancient plantation known as Harrison's landing-- had been previously under the management of Captain Woodleefe but as the Supply brought the revocation of his appointment and the new commissions of William Tracy and George Thorpe to be governors of Berkeley Town and Hundred...Soon after the arrival of the Supply a census was taken ... and showed that only 843 survived in March of 1621.Tracy gave every evidence to his followers that he had come to cast his fortunes with the new country for his wife, a son Thomas, and a daughter, Joyce, and one of her young kinsmen accompanied him. Not many months after his arrival, his daughter married Captain Nathaniel Powel, a member of the council in 1621 and for a time governor of the colony, and her young kinswoman, Frances Grevell, married De la Warr.[Lord Delaware.]

The death of Tracy proved the first blow, soon followed by the appearance of ... “the Indian Question.” On April 21, 1622, the Indians throughout the tidewater region fell upon the scattered settlers, and those who had come with Tracy ... of the fifty who arrived on the Supply, more than half fell by the hand of treachery .George Thorpe, Tracy's daughter, Joyce, and her husband Captain Nathaniel Powell [died] several of the party, including Tracy's son Thomas, made their way back to England. [Carter, General William Giles Harding, Giles Carter of Virginia, Genealogical Memoir, 1909.]

Giles Carter was recorded as one of those who made his way back to England. Giles Carter married Elizabeth Tracy, daughter of Sir Paul Tracy in 1623 in Gloucestershire, England. Giles was the son of John Carter of Gloucestershire, who died in 1627. John Carter's wife, the mother of Giles, was Mary Lawrence, the daughter of Robert Lawrence and his first wife. John Carter was the son of Gyles Carter of Badgworth, Gloucestershire, who died in 1585, His wife was not known. The line is “traced” back to a signer of the Magna Carta and other “interesting ancestors.”

Of the 35 colonists who had sailed from Bristol in 1619 on the Margaret, and the 50 who sailed on the Supply in 1620, the majority were from the Gloucestershire area and were related. Giles Carter's sister-in-law, Barbara Tracy, also a daughter of Sir Paul Tracy, had married Richard Smyth. Sir Paul Tracy was the head of the Stanway branch of the Tracys, and William Tracy was from the other branch of the Tracys, the Tudington group. William's father was Sir John Tracy, and his mother was Ann Throckmorton.

After returning to England, Giles was the head of the family after his father, John's, death in 1627, which may be why he never returned to Virginia. About 1649, during Cromwell's great rebellion, when King Charles was beheaded, Giles Carter was sequestered and made to pay a fine of over 900 pounds. Our Giles Carter [born about 1634] found in Virginia about 1650, is very probably the younger son or nephew of this first Virginia traveller, Giles Carter. General Carter makes a case for Giles being the son of the first Giles, and needing to emigrate due to the poverty of the family, and also because our Giles would have been a younger son [given the ages, etc.] Other researchers seem to think that Giles was probably a nephew of the original Giles. Apparently, no one has a definite proof either way, so at this time, we are still unsure of the exact connections, however this give us a basis for future research.

Prosperous	1619	Virginia?
Ellinor		April 16, 1619 Virginia
London Merchant	A number of sailings between 1619-1621.	
The Merchant of London was sent by the Virginia Company in March 1620 with 200 persons.		
Abigaile	A number of sailings between 1620-1622.	
Bonadventure	A number of sailings between 1620-1622.	
Elizabeth	A number of sailings between 1620-1621.	
Francis Bonaventure	1620	1620. Virginia?
Margaret & John	Anthony Chester	A number of sailings between 1620-1623.

To Virginia in the year 1620, as narrated by a distinguished passenger; translated into Dutch and published by Peter Vander A, bookseller at Leyden, in 1707. In the beginning of February 1620 I left England in the ship Margaret & John, our ship was of 160 ton burden, our Captain was Anthony Chester a brave seaman. Besides the crew we had on board a good many passengers of whom I was one, our ship carried 8 cannon with a valconet, our destination was Virginia where we hoped to transact some profitable business.

About the 14th of March we came in about 20 miles off Metallica; the next day we passed Dominica and neared Guadaloupe where we intended to take in fresh water. Nearing this place we observed two vessels lying at anchor which we took to be Hollanders, not only because the ships were built after the model of that nation, but more so because the Admiral had the Dutch flag flying from the mizzenmast. Expecting no harm we kept straight on & anchored in their immediate vicinity; but so as not to be taken by surprise we sent some sailors in a boat towards the Admiral's ship to reconnoitre, who returned in a very short time with the report that they were two Spanish men of war. Notwithstanding this we sent the boat out a second time to make a more thorough investigation while we commenced busying ourselves to make things ready in case it should come to a fight. But our ship was so full of household goods that we could not place our cannon as we wanted to, and so we had to make out the best we could.

Upon our boat reaching the Vice Admiral's ship our men inquired from whence the ship, but instead of receiving a polite reply the Spaniards demanded their surrender which of course our men declined and rowed back to our ship as rapidly as possible. Meanwhile several shots were fired at them striking and breaking some of their oars, but not a man of them was hurt. When within about a musket shot from our ship, they were fired at from a big cannon, and as soon as our men were on board of our ship, the Spaniards hoisted sail preparatory to attack us. We on our part anticipated a bloody encounter and were much troubled by our inability to properly place our guns for reasons

mentioned above. The Vice Admiral approached us with great rapidity, and in passing greeted us with a broadside which we ignored altogether, as our aim was to save ourselves by flight rather than risk an unequal contest with two such powerful vessels. The Spaniard however gave us no chance for flight, so that we found we had to choose between two evils, either to fight desperately or to surrender ourselves into slavery. In this manner we were forced into a fight, and we attacked the Spaniard so bravely and fought as heroes or rather as madmen and played upon them with our muskets and 4 cannon so furiously that they were forced to leave us the victory, taking to flight and returning to their former anchor-

As soon as the Spanish Admiral saw this he took down the Dutch flag and hoisted the Spanish colors weighed anchor and sailed towards us, but before firing upon us they spoke us enquiring what nationality we were, we replied we were English and had no intention of harming them unless we were forced to do so and that it was our desire to proceed peacefully on our voyage.

Hereupon, the Spaniard demanded that we take down our mainsail which according to him was required by the rights of the King of Spain and marine usage, whereupon our Captain replied that he could not subject himself to any such rights nor did he intend to harm the subjects of the King of Spain. While friendly relations existed between their respective sovereigns he wished the same to exist between their subjects. After exchanging a few more words, our Captain went down in the cabin, tired of listening any longer to the unjust demands of this Spaniard, but at the request of the Admiral our Captain came again on deck and was ordered to come on board the Admiral's ship to show his papers, but this our Captain refused to do saying if they wished to see them they could come on board his ship and he would show them his papers. But what happens? Instead of answering by word of mouth, they saluted us with two pieces of cannon and a hail storm of musket balls, drew their swords, threatened to cut us to pieces, and calling us dogs, grappled us and thought they had subdued us already, when, at a sign previously agreed upon, our men sprang forward with their muskets and received them well, supported by our 4 pieces of cannon, that they had to retreat.

It was not long though before they returned attacking us with a loud noise, grappled us again, and began to come on board our ship but our men led by our brave and courageous Captain received them so well with their muskets, spears, and grappling axes that we drove them off a second time sending many of them to a watery grave. This, however, did not satisfy the Spaniard, they attacked and grappled us a third time and during the fierce hand to hand fight, which now ensued, we had the good luck to shoot their Admiral down upon which they raised such a hue and cry that it astonished all of us, and they immediately took to flight leaving us the victory.

In this fierce and bloody encounter we, for reasons mentioned before, could not bring but 4 of our 8 cannons into use, but these were handled so rapidly and skilfully that several times the Spaniard would have gotten away from us but for their ship being lashed to ours until finally one of our men, with orders from our Captain, cut the ropes with his grappling axe upon which they immediately took to flight giving us several volleys from their big and small guns as they retreated.

The Vice Admiral, seeing we did not pursue his Admiral, acted as if he wanted to fight us again, but we did not mind him much, and set to work to face them both if they were so inclined. But the admiral's ship held off and we now attacked the Vice Admiral so furiously that we disabled his ship to such an extent that the whole crew had to take to shore to save themselves from a watery grave.

The night following this battle, all on board our ship, passengers as well as crew, were busy filling cartridges, cleaning cannons and muskets repairing damages etc. so as to be ready in case the Spaniard should feel inclined to attack us again, and by dawn of day it looked as if we had not been working all night in vain, the Spaniards seemingly preparing to attack us again. However, after looking at each other for about two hours with frowning faces, the Spaniard hoisted sail and took their course towards the nearest island, their movements being such that it was plain that they must have a good many dead and wounded. On our side we had 8 dead, and of the 16 wounded 2 died afterwards; how many of the Spaniards were killed we never knew but certain it is that during the encounters we saw many of them fall and not a few find their grave in the water which was actually red with their blood. The Admiral's ship was of 300 ton burden, carried 22 big guns and was well supplied with men and ammunition; the Vice Admiral's ship was also of 300 ton burden and carried 16 big guns with a correspondingly ample supply of men and ammunition; on the other hand ours was a small ship, as stated before, with 8 big guns of which we could use only 4, notwithstanding which we were so fortunate as to come out victorious. We now proceeded on our voyage and landed without further accidents in Virginia. Soon thereafter Captain Chester obtained a return cargo and set sail again for England.

It is not my purpose to give a description of the country and its inhabitants; this has been done by the invincible and courageous John Smith in his Voyages in such a way that it cannot be improved upon.

From the beginning that our people settled in Virginia, they have been subjected to a great many adversities, difficulties and hard labor; but what I wish to relate here has been one of the greatest setbacks they ever could have encountered, for the devil had through the medium of the priests such an influence upon the natives that they only waited for a good opportunity to extirpate the foreigners. In order to accomplish this Powhatan, King of the savages, succeeded in closing a treaty with the English by which he and his subjects promised to be faithful subjects of the King of England, in gratitude of which they offered to pay a yearly tribute. These articles of peace were engraved in copper and fastened to an oak tree close by the residence of King Powhatan, while both parties were greatly rejoiced over the success of closing this treaty. The savages were rejoiced, because they found the English too powerful to successfully resist and also because now the English were to defend them against attack of hostile tribes; the aim of the English was to obtain by means of this treaty a better and safer opportunity to inspect and conquer the country. This treaty lasted uninterruptedly for quite a while and both parties adhered to the terms of it so well that our people went among them unarmed and the Savages became so friendly that they often visited the English and dined with them which complement the English frequently returned hoping by these means to reform the savages and induce them to embrace the Christian religion.

For some reason, best known to the English government, in March 1622 the King of England had to remind King Powhatan of the articles of the treaty of peace existing between them, in answer to which King Powhatan said that he would prefer seeing the country turned upside down rather than break a single act of the treaty, but as will be proved later on, this conduct of the savages was nothing but hypocrisy and deceit, they only awaiting a favorable opportunity to kill out the English. Several days before this bloodthirsty people put their plan into execution, they led some of our people through very dangerous woods into a place from which they could not extricate themselves without the aid of a guide, others of us who were among them to learn their language were in a friendly way persuaded to return to our colony, while new comers were treated in an exceedingly friendly manner. On Friday before the day appointed by them for the attack they visited, entirely unarmed, some of our people in their dwellings, offering to exchange skins, fish and other things, while our people entirely ignorant of their plans received them in a friendly manner.

When the day appointed for the massacre had arrived, a number of the savages visited many of our people in their dwellings, and while partaking with them of their meal the savages, at a given signal, drew their weapons and fell upon us murdering and killing everybody they could reach sparing neither women nor children, as well inside as outside the dwellings. In this attack 347 of the English of both sexes and all ages were killed. Simply killing our people did not satisfy their inhuman nature, they dragged the dead bodies all over the country, tearing them limb from limb, and carrying the pieces in triumph around.

The valiant and noble gentleman George Thorpe, one of the most influential among the English then in Virginia, took a great interest in the savages, and embraced every opportunity that presented itself to speak to them about the Christian religion, and was either held in such high esteem or so feared by the Indians that they would apparently not harm him in any way whatever. In fact, they submitted to punishment for misbehaviour if Mr. Thorpe deemed such a course necessary. Mr. Thorpe in order to befriend King Powhatan [i.e., Opechancanough] as much as possible caused a good substantial house to be built for him, of which the King was very proud, in place of his hut built of mats and straw; he was particularly pleased with the locks and keys, amusing himself frequently for an hour or more at a time locking and unlocking the doors; by these means Mr. Thorpe tried to win the friendship and confidence of the King and his subjects, embracing every opportunity to speak on religious topics, until finally the King confessed that he had come to the conclusion that the God whom the English worshipped was mightier and far superior to the gods they served; for, he said, the God of the English had done him more good than all his gods combined, upon which Mr. Thorpe answered that if he and his subjects would be converted to the Christian religion, they would receive many more and much greater blessings.

The result of Mr. Thorpe's efforts was that the King and his subjects began to show much inclination to embrace the Christian religion, from which the English expected much good, but it was not long before they found out that the savages were false and great hypocrites, for in the general massacre mentioned heretofore even Mr. Thorpe was not spared though he could have saved his life by flight. An hour before his death he was warned of the danger by one of his Indian servants who had embraced the Christian religion, but he had such faith in these savages that he remained at his post; his servant though was more prudent and fled to Jamestown, a place fortified by the English to protect themselves against the attacks of the Indians.

At the time of this massacre a party of Indians embarked in four boats for Jamestown, with the intention of attacking and murdering the English in this town and the surrounding country, but this hellish plan was frustrated by the disclosure of the project by a converted Indian in the employ of a Mr. [Richard] Pace; on the night preceding the contemplated attack two Indians, brothers, who had embraced the Christian religion, one in the employ of a Mr. Perry [possibly William Perry], the other in the employ of a Mr. Pace, on retiring for the night discussed the plan of murdering their masters and by thus doing assist and please their King Powhatan and thus also to aid the massacring party who were to arrive the following day by order of King Powhatan to murder all the settlers. Apparently the plan as discussed by the two brothers was agreed upon, but the Indian in the employ of Mr. Pace arose early in the morning while his brother was yet asleep and repairing to his master's residence he disclosed to him the entire murderous plan, for he regarded and loved Mr. Pace as a father while Mr. Pace loved this Indian as a son. Mr. Pace was not slow in heeding the warning, at once placing his residence in a state of defence; and hastily rowed in a canoe across the river to Jamestown to notify the Governor of the impending danger. Hardly had we completed our defensive preparations when the boats bearing the savages hove in sight, but as soon as we opened fire upon them with our muskets they retreated in a cowardly manner.

By the mercy of the Lord who had moved the heart of this converted Indian to give us timely warning the lives of more than a thousand of our people, of whom I was one, were spared. About a year previous to the event just narrated King Opechancanough had made strenuous efforts to obtain from another Indian King Esmy Shichans, of the Accomack Indians], whose land was very fertile in poisonous herbs, a large quantity of poison with the intention to therewith exterminate the English, but neither presents nor threats could induce this King to accede to the demands of Opechancanough.

In regard to the reason of this murderous attack of the Indians upon the English there is considerable difference of opinion; some say that a certain Indian by the name of Nemaltenow [Nemattanew], by the English named Jack-of-the-Feather, who was looked upon by the Indians as supernatural, had induced a certain Englishman, by the name of Morgan, to go with him to Pamunkey to barter his wares, and Morgan not returning after the lapse of a reasonable time his friends investigated the matter and found that he had been murdered by this Indian, whereupon they took Nemaltenow prisoner and brought him before Mr. Thorpe to be dealt with according to his misdeed; on the way thither, however, the Indian escaped from his captors, and being unable to overtake him they shot him dead. This occurrence enraged King Opechancanough so that they say he swore to revenge the death of this Indian upon the English on the first favorable opportunity; but my opinion is that their heathen priests, who are the tools of the devil, were constantly working upon the credulity and ignorance of this people to make them believe that the English had

come to exterminate them in the same way as the Spaniard had done in other parts of the West Indies, and to prevent this the murderous attack was decided upon and brought into execution.

When the occurrence of this massacre became known in the mother country, the English were ordered to take revenge by destroying with fire and sword everything of the Indians; consequently they set out for Pamunkey, destroyed both the houses and crops of the Indians, took Opechankenough prisoner and shot him on the very place where his house stood before it was burned down. On this spot the English then built a new town. By these means the Indians became very much subdued and lived in constant dread of the English.

The English in the meantime became thereafter more prudent in their dealings with the Indians. Moreover, the King of England sent from his arsenals all sort of weapons and ammunition and ordered his subjects to cultivate the land and bring the Indians into submission.

Temperance	Edmond Raysine	12 July 1621 and other Sailings between 1620-1621.	
Warwick		Sailings between 1620-1622.	
Abigaile		1620	1620 Virginia.
Mayflower	Christopher Jones	Sept 6 1620 Plymouth.	11 Nov 1620 Plymouth, Mass.
Speedwell	John Thomas Chappell	Sept 6 1620	returned.

The Speedwell was actually a 60 ton pinnace built in 1577 with the name Swiftsure. It was used against the Spanish Armada in 1586, it's captain was Sir Gilly Merick. After the conflict, the ship was decommissioned and named the Speedwell in 1605. The ship was purchased by Separatists from Leiden, Holland, refitted with two masts and left Delfshaven on 22 July 1620 under Captain John Thomas Chappell. They sailed to Southampton to meet the Mayflower where they awaited at anchor at Rotherhithe on the Thames, and pick up more Separatists. The Speedwell was already leaking at this point, both ships remained in harbour for two weeks while repairs and port fees were paid by the passengers who sold some of their belongings and goods. At long last, both ships set sail on the 5th of August, 1620, but turned about quickly to Dartmouth as the Speedwell was still taking on water. Another try proved to be equally disastrous, both ships turned around a few hundred miles off shore of Land's End, returning to Plymouth. Eleven of the Separatists boarded the Mayflower for the voyage to the colonies, twenty returned to London including Cushman Robert. Thomas Blossom and his son returned to Leiden, and arrive at the colonies on the Mayflower's second trip.

The Mayflower left Plymouth a third time without the Speedwell on 06 Sept 1620. Speedwell's replacement, the Fortune, including Philippe de Lannoy and presumably the remaining 102 Speedwell passengers) arrived at the colonies the following year on November 9th. According to Governor Bradford, the Speedwell was repaired, made several trips for her new owners, and was finally sold at auction in London. A 1635 trip was captained by the same John Thomas Chappell. It was suspected that the leaks might have been caused by the crew in order to avoid the trip.

Supply Sept 1620 Plymouth, England Jan 1621 Barklay, Virginia.
The Supply was the companion ship to the Mayflower. It left three weeks late from Bristol, England and found its way to Barclay, Virginia on January 29, 1620/1

Abigaile	1621	1621 Virginia
Addam	1621	1621 Virginia
Charles	1621	1621 Virginia
Concord	1621	1621 Virginia
Discovery	1621	1621 Virginia
Eliaior	1621	1621 Virginia
Flying Hart	1621	1621 Virginia

Fortune **Thomas Barton** 1621 London, England Nov 9, 1621 Plymouth Mass.

The ship Fortune with Master Thomas Barton, arrived at Plymouth on November 9, 1621, just a few weeks after the First Thanksgiving. This passenger list is based on the 1623 Division of Land, the passenger list compiled by Charles Edward Banks in Planters of the Commonwealth, and by the information found in Eugene Aubrey Stratton's Plymouth Colony: Its History and its People, 1620-1691. The Fortune carried Philippe Lannoy and Robert Cushman from the unfortunate 1620 Speedwell, presumably along with the remaining Separatists from the Speedwell who did not return to London, Leiden or board the Mayflower.

Passengers including Thomas Cushman (son of Robert aged 12) Canterbury Kent. Also, Martha Ford, Daughter and son and son John Ford born on day of arrival.

Sea Flower 1621 1621

Marmaduke Edmond Raysine Sailing between 1621-1622.
Captain Edmond Raysine shipped goods in the Temperance and Marmaduke 12 July 1621 from London to Virginia

Tyger Sailing between 1621-1623.

Abigaile	1622 Virginia
Furtherance	1622 Virginia
James	1622 Virginia
Margaret	1622 Virginia
Mary Providence	1622 Virginia

Sparrow May 1622 London, England 1622 Maine/Plymouth Mass.
May, 1622 The Sparrow, at Maine from England, sent passengers in a boat to Plymouth, New England.

Fishing vessel, Master Rogers. A boat arrived at the Plymouth Plantation from the Sparrow (fishing vessel at Maine, hired and sent out by Thomas Weston and John Beauchamp, salter of London, for their personal profit) with 7 men passengers sent by Weston to work for him in New England. They remained at Plymouth until the Charity and the Swan moved them to "Wessagusset" (Weymouth, Massachusetts) where they were to establish a settlement.

Charity		July 1622 England	late 1622 Cape Cod Mass.
The Charity, left England mid-summer (before or early July) 1622, arriving in Cape Cod late 1622. The Charity accompanied by the pinnace Swan arrived with 60 men and no provisions. Thomas Morton, later of Mare Mount ("Merry Mount"), may have been with this group. The new arrivals remained, temporarily, at the Plymouth colony, placing a heavy burden on the provisions there. Also on board these vessels were "some" passengers for Virginia.			
Swan		July 1622 England	late 1622 Cape Cod Massachusetts.
Hopewell		Sailing between 1622-1624	Virginia
Southampton		Sailing between 1622-1624	Virginia
Ambrose			1623 Virginia
Anne	William Peirce	1623 London.	June or July of 1623 Plymouth, Mass.
The Anne and the Little James left London, England with her Master, William Peirce, and arrived in Plymouth June or July of 1623, carrying many family members left behind from the Mayflower and The Fortune.			
Passengers from Essex include: Edward Bangs, his wife Lydia and children Jonathan and John from Panfield.			
John Faunce, his brother Manasseh from Stow Maries in Essex			
Manasseh Kempton from Colchester in Essex.			
Little James	Emanuel Altham & John Bridges	June / July 1623 London	June or July of 1623 Plymouth, Mass
Bonny Bessie		1623	
Due Return		1623 Plymouth	Virginia?
Gist of God (God's Gift).		1623 Plymouth	Virginia?
Jonathan		1623 Plymouth	Boston, Massachusetts.
Katherine	Stratton	1623 Weymouth	Boston, Massachusetts.
Passengers included Reverend William Blackstone from Horncastle Lincolnshire.			
Prophet	Daniel Poole	1623	
Samuel		1623	Virginia
Yorke Bonaventure	Levitt	1623	Casco Bay Maine.
Return		Sailing between 1623-1624	
Delaware		Sailing before 1624	
Unity		Sailing before 1624	
Passengers included LT. Edward Barkley, Jane his wife on the Sea Flower with four servants.			
Charity	William Pierce / Tobias White?	1624 London.	Plymouth, Massachusetts.
Elizabeth		1624	
Elizabeth of London sailed November 1624 for Virginia, despite motion for release dated Jan 7 1625. She broke her masts and was at Dover January 1625.			
Jacob		1624	Virginia
Unity	Wollaston	1624	Braintree, Massachusetts.
Zouch Phoenix		1624 Weymouth	Cape Anne
De Eendracht		Jan 25, 1624 Amsterdam	New Netherland
Nieuw Nederland		Mar 1624 Amsterdam	New Netherland
The Eendracht sailed from Amsterdam on January 25, 1624 to New Netherland. Joris Rapalje and Catalina Trico were married in Amsterdam on January 21, and we know from her depositions that they sailed on this ship. Jean Monfort and his wife Jacqueline Moreau and their son Pierre (and any other children still living) also sailed on the Eendracht.			
Ghislain and Adrienne (Cuvellier) Vigne and their children Marie, Christine, and Rachel were on either Nieuw Nederland or De Eendracht, as their son Jan would be the first male child born in the new colony.			
Jacob	Pierce	1625 Bristol.	Plymouth, Massachusetts.
Bonny Bessie		Sailing before 1626	
Phoenix		Sailing before 1626	Virginia
Return		Sailing before 1626	Virginia
Peter and John	John Preen.	1626 London.	Virginia
July 6, 1626. Petition of Captain John Preen of London, merchant, for a warrant to enable him to proceed in the Peter and John to Virginia with his people. Examinations of John Preen, a passenger Thomas Willoughby and John Pollington who declare that the only intention of the voyage is to carry passengers and goods to Virginia.			
Amity	Evans	February 27, 1626 Weymouth.	New England
Abigail	Henry Goding	1628 Weymouth.	6 September 1628 Salem Mass,
Passengers included John Endicott Governor of Massachusetts. Shortly after Endicott's arrival and the settlement of Salem there "came over from England several people at their own charge, and arrived at Salem". There were the 350 passengers on the fleet of six ships listed above. Included in this fleet were the three brothers, Ralph, Richard and			

William Sprague. These three brothers, with several others, with Endicott's permission travelled through the woods to the peninsula on which Charlestown is now located. The Town Records refer to this event and from them the following is quoted: "Amongst others that arrived at Salem at their own cost, were Ralph Sprague, with his brethren Richard and William, who with three or four more, by joint consent and approbation of Mr. John Endicott, Governor, did the same summer of Anno 1629, undertake a journey from Salem, and travelled the woods about twelve miles to the westward, and lighted of a place situate and lying on the north side of Charles River, full of Indians called Aberginians. Their old Sachem being dead, his eldest son, by the English called John Sagamore, was their chief, and a man naturally of a gentle and good disposition, by whose free consent they settled about the hill of the same place, by the said natives called Mishawum."

"The inhabitants yet: first settled in this place and brought it into the denomination of an English Towne, was in Anno 1629 as follows, viz: Ralph Sprague; Richard Sprague; William Sprague; John Meech; Simon Hoyte; Abraham Palmer; Walter Palmer; Nicholas Stower; John Stickline. Thomas Walford Smith yet lived here alone before. Mr. Graves who had charge of some, of the servants of the Company of Patentees with whom he built the great house this year for such of the said Company as are shortly to come over which afterwards became the Meeting house. And Mr. Bright Minister to the Companies Servants."

Marmaduke	Gibbs	1628	
Pleasure	Peters	1628 Barnstable, England	1628 Virginia
Three Kings	(Drie Koning)	1628 Amsterdam	1628 New Amsterdam (NYC)
White Angel	Christopher Burkett	18 January 1628 Barnstable	1628 Plymouth, Massachusetts.

Passengers included Reverend John Rogers.

Lyon's Whelp Gibbs 24 Apr 1629 Gravesend, Kent. July 1629 Salem, Massachusetts
The Lyon's Whelp left the Thames, Gravesend, England April 5, 1629 along with five other ships, George Bonaventure, Four Sisters, Lyon, the Mayflower and the Talbot, arriving in Salem June 1629.

"Now in this year 1629, a great company of people (The Higginson Fleet) of good rank, zeal, means and quality have made a great stock, and with six good ships in the months of April and May, they set sail from Thames for the Bay of the Massachusetts, otherwise called Charles River. The fleet consisted of, the George Bonaventure of twenty pieces of ordnance; the Talbot nineteen; the Lion's Whelp eight; the Mayflower fourteen; the Four sisters fourteen and the Pilgrim four, with 350 men women and children, also 115 head of cattle, as horses, mares, cows and oxen, 41 goats, some conies (rabbits), with all provision for household and apparel, 6 pieces of great ordnance for a fort, with muskets, pikes, corselets, drums, colors, and with all provisions necessary for a plantation for the good of man."

Talbot	Beecher	24 Apr 1629 Gravesend, Kent.	July 1629 Salem, Massachusetts
George Bonaventure	Cox	24 Apr 1629 Gravesend, Kent.	July 1629 Salem, Massachusetts.
Lyon	Peirce	24 Apr 1629 Gravesend, Kent.	July 1629 Salem, Massachusetts.
Mayflower #14	Pierce	24 Apr 1629 Gravesend, Kent.	July 1629 Salem, Massachusetts.
Four Sisters	Harman	24 Apr 1629 Gravesend, Kent.	July 1629 Salem, Massachusetts.
Higginson	Fleet	Apr May 1629	Massachusetts Bay.
Pilgrim #4		24 Apr 1629 Gravesend, Kent.	July 1629 Plymouth,

Massachusetts.

Hand Maiden		1630 London.	Plymouth, Massachusetts.
Gift (French)	Mr. Brook	1630	Charlestown, Virginia
Mary & John	Edcombe	1630 Plymouth, Devon.	
Swift	Reekes	1630 Home Port Bristol.	Casco Bay
Thomas & William	Burdick	1630 Gravesend, Kent.	

Mary & John Thomas Chubb March 20, 1630 Plymouth. May 30 Nantasket, Massachusetts. The Mary & John left Plymouth, England March 20, 1630 with her unknown Master, arriving in Nantasket Point, now Dorchester, Mass., at the entrance of Boston Harbor on May 30, 1630, two weeks before the Winthrop Fleet arrived.

These families and passengers were recruited by the Reverend John White of Dorchester, Dorset. Nearly all of the Mary and John 1630 passengers came from the West Country counties of Somerset, Dorset, Devon, and West Country towns of Dorchester, Bridport, Crewkerne and Exeter. The passengers of the Mary and John 1630 founded one of the first towns in New England, Dorchester, Massachusetts in 1630 and also founded the town of Windsor, Connecticut five years later in 1635. Other information says the master was Thomas Chubb, and they landed in Dorchester. "140 passengers, but the list has never been found."

Ambrose Winthrop April 8 1630 Yarmouth, Isle of Wight June 13 1630 Salem Massachusetts
The Winthrop Fleet consisted of eleven ships sailing from Yarmouth, Isle of Wight to Salem. Some sailed April 8, arriving June 13, 1630 and the following days, the others to sail in May, arriving in July. The total count of passengers is believed to be about seven hundred, and presumed to have included the following people. Financing was by the Mass. Bay Company.

The ships were the Arabella flagship with Captain Peter Milburne, the Ambrose, the Charles, the Mayflower, the Jewel, the Hopewell, The Success, the Trial, the Whale, the Talbot and the William and Francis. Sailed April 8 1630: Ambrose, Arabella, Hopewell, Talbot, Sailed May 1630: Charles, Jewel, Mayflower, Success, Trial, Whale, William and Francis

Winthrop wrote to his wife just before they set sail that there were seven hundred passengers. Six months after their arrival, Thomas Dudley wrote to Bridget Fiennes, Countess of Lincoln and mother of Lady Arabella and Charles

Fiennes, that over two hundred passengers had died between their landing April 30 and the following December, 1630. That letter travelled via the Lyon April 1, 1631 and reached England four week later.

Passengers included William Agar from Nazeing in Essex, Mrs. Alcock, sister of Reverend Thomas Hooker. Thomas Alcock, John and Samuel Brown from Roxwell aboard the Talbot bound for Salem. William Buckland of Essex. Jehu Burr of Essex,

Possibly John Cable of Essex. Thomas Cakebread of Hatfield Broad Oak Essex. William Chase of Essex. William Colbron and wife Margery of Brentwood Essex. Robert Cole of Navestock. Edward Converse and wife Sarah of Shenfield with children Phineas, John, Josiah and James. Hugh Garrett wife and two children from Chelmsford. Bridget Gyver of Saffron Walden. Robert Harding of Boreham. Henry Harwood of Shenfield. Samuel Hosier of Colchester. Matthias Irons/Ijons of Roxwell. Thomas Munt of Colchester.

John Page of Dedham. James Penniman of Chipping Ongar, Josiah Plaistow of Ramsden Crays. Mrs. Anne Pollard Saffron Walden as a girl aged 9 or ten who died at 105 years old. William Pynchon of Writtle aboard the Arabella bound for Dorchester Springfield Massachusetts. Thomas Reade, Mrs. Priscilla Reade of Wickford. Robert Sampson of High Ongar. Robert Sharp of Roxwell. Israel Stoughton of Coggeshall. Arthur Tyndal of Great Maplestead aboard the Arabella. William Vassall of Pritttlewell.

Arbella Winthrop	Milburne	April 8 1630	Yarmouth, Isle of Wight	June 13 1630	Salem Mass.
Talbot Winthrop		April 8 1630	Yarmouth, Isle of Wight	June 13 1630	Salem Mass.
De Eendracht (NYC)		Mar 21 1630	Texel, Holland	May 24 1630	New Amsterdam
Charles Winthrop		May 1630	Yarmouth, Isle of Wight	July 1630	Salem, Mass.
Hopewell Winthrop		April 8 1630	Yarmouth, Isle of Wight	June 13, 1630	Salem, Mass.
Jewel Winthrop		May 1630	Yarmouth, Isle of Wight	July 1630	Salem, Mass.
Mayflower Winthrop		May 1630	Yarmouth, Isle of Wight	July 1630	Salem, Mass.
Success Winthrop		May 1630	Yarmouth, Isle of Wight	July 1630	Salem, Mass.
Trial Winthrop		May 1630	Yarmouth, Isle of Wight	July 1630	Salem, Mass.
Whale Winthrop		May 1630	Yarmouth, Isle of Wight	July 1630	Salem, Mass.
Winthrop Fleet		April 8 1630	Yarmouth, Isle of Wight	1630	Salem, Mass.

Friendship	Purst	1631	Barnstable, Devon.	Virginia
Lyon 1	Pierce	1631	Bristol, England	
Plough of Woolwich	Graves	1631	London.	Massachusetts
White Angel		1631	Bristol, England	Saco, Maine
Robert Bonadventure		May 1631	London, England	St. Christopher's

The Earl of Carlisle commissioned the Robert Bonaventure to carry passengers from London to St Christophers' 31 May 1631, 50 passengers plus Robert Trelawney and Robert Grande.

De Eendracht		July 7 1631	Texel, Holland	New Amsterdam (NYC)
Lyon 2	Pierce	Feb 1631	Bristol, England	May 1631 Salem, Mass.

Passengers including Rev. Roger Williams and Mrs. Mary Williams, bound for Salem. John Throckmorton, bound for Salem, Mrs. Rebecca Throckmorton, children John Throckmorton and Patience Throckmorton, John Perkins, of Hilmorton, Warwick, bound for Boston with wife Mrs. Judith Perkins and children John Perkins, Elizabeth Perkins, Mary Perkins, Thomas Perkins and Jacob Perkins. Edmond Onge, of Lavenham, Suffolk, bound for Watertown with Mrs. Frances Onge and children Simon Onge, Jacob Onge. William Parke, bound for Roxbury.

Lyon	William Pierce	23 August 1631	Bristol.	02 November 1631	Nantasket
-------------	----------------	----------------	----------	------------------	-----------

Passengers included Mrs. Margaret Winthrop (wife of Governor), bound for Boston and children Adam Winthrop, Anne Winthrop, John Winthrop, Jr., of Groton, Suffolk, bound for Boston. Rev. John Elliot, of Nazeing, Essex, bound for Roxbury and Philip Elliot, of Nazeing, Essex, bound for Roxbury. Richard Lyman, of High Ongar, Essex, bound for Roxbury, wife Mrs. Sarah Lyman and children Phyllis Lyman, Richard Lyman, Jr. Sarah Lyman. John Lyman, Robert Lyman. Samuel Wakeman, bound for Roxbury with Mrs. Elizabeth Wakeman. Believed passengers: John Steele, of Fairstead, Essex, bound for Cambridge, Mrs. Rachel Steele and children Samuel Steele, John Steele, Hannah Steele.

George Steele, of Fairstead, Essex, bound for Cambridge. Mrs. Margery Steele, Margery Steele, Joan Steele, Mary Steele, James Steele. Andrew Warner, of Essex, bound for Cambridge wife Mrs. Warner and Mary Warner, Andrew Warner. Stephen Hart, bound for Cambridge, Nicholas Clark, of (possibly) Nazeing, Essex, bound for Cambridge (Dup of Lyon 3).

Charles		1632	Barnstable, England	Boston, Massachusetts.
James	Mr. Grant	1632	London, England	Boston, Massachusetts.
Swallow		1632		
Whale	Graves	1632	Southampton, England.	
Lyon 3	Pierce	Feb 1632	London, England	May 1632 Boston, Massachusetts.

Passenger list confused with Lyon's trip in August 1631.

William and Francis2	Thomas	Mar 9, 1632	London, England	June 5, 1632
-----------------------------	--------	-------------	-----------------	--------------

Passengers included Rev. Stephen Bachiler (71 years of age) and his third wife, Helena; his widowed daughter, Deborah Wing, and her three sons, Daniel, John, and Stephen; also three Sanborne grandsons (Stephen, John, and William). Charles Banks Topo lists the following Passengers:

Bachiler, Stephen, from Barton Stacey or Wherwell, Hampshire, aboard the William and Francis, bound for Lynn, MA.

Banister, John, from Yorkshire, aboard the William and Francis. Oliver, Thomas, from Bristol, Gloucestershire, aboard the William and Francis, bound for Boston. Woodford, Thomas, from Essex, aboard the William and Francis, bound for Boston and Roxbury.

Lyon (x4) Pierce June 22, 1632 London, England September 16 1632 Boston, Mass.
Four Lyon trips: 1630, 1631, 1632, 1632. The Lyon hit a reef April 10, 1633 (Peirce was 'driving') and it sunk, replaced by the Rebecca, built in the colonies.

Sailed from London June 22, 1632, arriving in Boston September 14/16, 1632. The master, William Pierce, brought 123 passengers. "He brought one hundred and twenty three passengers, whereof fifty children, all in health. They had been twelve weeks aboard and eight weeks from Land's End."

Essex Passengers included Nicholas Clark from Nazeing. John Cogsworth of Halstead and wife Mary. William and Sarah Curtis and Children Thomas, Mary, John and Philip from Nazeing. William Goodwin, wife and child Elizabeth from Bocking. Ozias Goodwin his wife and child William from Bocking. William James from Walthamstow. Isaac Morrill, his wife and children Sarah and Katherine from Hatfield Broad Oak. James Olmstead, his wife Joyce and children Nehemiah, Nicholas, Richard, John and Rebecca from Fairstead. Robert and Anne Shelley from Nazeing. John Talcott, his wife Dorothy and children John and Mary. William Wadsworth of Braintree, with wife and children Sarah, William, Mary and John. John Whipple of Bocking. John Coggeshall from Halstead bound for Roxbury the seven times Great Grandfather of Francis Herbert Brownell. George and John Throckmorton from Essex bound for Boston.

Southberg		July 27 1632	Texel, Holland	April 1633	New Amsterdam (NYC)
James	Grant	1633	Gravesend, Kent.		Boston, Mass.
Bird	Yates	1633	Gravesend, Kent.		Boston, Mass.
Clement & Job		1633			Boston, Mass.
Elizabeth Bonaventure	Graves	1633	Yarmouth		Boston, Mass.
Elizabeth & Dorcas		1633			Boston, Mass.
Jonas	Crowther	1633	London, England		Boston, Mass.
Margarett		1633/4	Plymouth		St Christophers

The passengers were mainly from Devon and Cornwall.

Mary & Jane	Rose	1633	London, England	
Neptune		1633		New England and..

The ship Treasurer met with the Neptune during their voyage, eleven men were transferred from the Neptune to the Treasurer.

Seaflower		1633		Boston, Mass.
Truelove		1633		Boston, Mass.
Unknown	Corbin	1633		Piscataqua, Maine
Welcome		1633	Plymouth, England	Richmond Island, Maine
William & Jane Burdock		1633	London, England	Boston, Mass.

Recovery Cornish 31 March, 1633 Weymouth, Dorset 1633 Massachusetts Bay
31 March 1633: Planters carrying with them household goods, clothing and provisions for themselves, their wives, children and servants, valued at £920 and allowed to pass free of customs by His Majesty's patent, to be shipped on the Recovery of London, Mr. Gabriel Cornish, from Weymouth to New England.

William	William Trevore	1633		1633 Massachusetts Bay
----------------	-----------------	------	--	------------------------

He was one of the Ships Hands sailing the Mayflower in 1620.

Hercules	John Kiddey	Mar 24, 1633/4	London, England	New England
-----------------	-------------	----------------	-----------------	-------------

The Hercules left London, England March 24, 1633/4 and Southampton on April 18, 1634 with her master, John Kiddey, arriving in New England at an unknown date.

Ark and Dove	Lowe and Winter	25 March 1634	Gravesend/Cowes I.O.W - 1634	26 July 1634. St. Clements Island.
---------------------	-----------------	---------------	------------------------------	------------------------------------

Two ships, the Ark and the Dove, financed by Caesilius Calvert, Second Lord Baltimore, took between 100 and 300 people, most of whom were Roman Catholics, to Maryland. Richard Lowe commanded the Ark, a 350 ton ship, and Captain Winter commanded the Dove, a 40 ton pinnace. They left Gravesend for Cowes, then to the Isle of Wight and St Clement's Island in Maryland, naming the island after the fourth Bishop of Rome. The journey took 123 days, from 25 March 1634 to 26 July 1634. There is mention of a high number of passengers who were being 'Transported'.

Christian	White	1634	London, England	Massachusetts Bay
Privy		1634		
Rebecca		1634		
Reformation	Graves	1634	London, England	
Regard		1634	Barnstaple, England	Boston, Mass.
Robert Bonaventure		1634	Plymouth, England	St Christopher's

The Earl of Carlisle commissioned the Robert Bonaventure to carry passengers from London to St Christophers' 31 May 1631, 50 passengers plus Robert Trelawney and Robert Grande.

Un-named	Romsey	1634		Barbados
Hercules of Dover	Witherley	March, 1634/5	Sandwich, England	
Mary & John	Robert Sayres.	Mar 26, 1634	Plymouth, England	May 30, 1634 Massachusetts

Elizabeth Andrewes April 1634 Ipswich, Suffolk 1634 Massachusetts Bay
The Elizabeth left Ipswich, Suffolk, England mid-April of 1634 with her master, William Andrewes (Andres), arriving in Massachusetts Bay.
04 Feb 1634 Henry Dade writes from Ipswich to the Archbishop of Canterbury that the Francis and the Elizabeth with 60 men in each intend to sail for New England on about March 10 and he supposes they are debtors or persons disaffected with the established church. Note: These ships and nine others bound for New England were stayed but on 28 Feb allowed to proceed on condition that the passengers took the oath of allegiance.
12 Nov 1634: John Cutting and William Andrews pray to be released from bonds of presentation of certificates, enclosing that passengers of the 30 May 1634 Francis and 30 May 1634 Elizabeth did not take the oaths.
21 Jan 1635: John Cuttunge, Master of the Francis and William Andrewes, Master of the Elizabeth, both of Ipswich, have brought a list of all the passengers that went in their ships to New England in April 1634 with certificates of their having taken the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance.
Essex passengers included John Bernard or Barnard from Dedham bound for Watertown with his wife Phebe aged 27 and sons John aged 2 and Samuel aged 1 year. John Sherman from Dedham. There were many others from the area between Dedham and Ipswich in Suffolk.

Francis John Cutting April 1634 Ipswich, Suffolk 1634 Massachusetts Bay
The Francis left Ipswich, Suffolk, England mid (30th) April 1634 with her master, John Cutting, arriving in Massachusetts Bay.
30 April 1634. Passengers of the Francis of Ipswich, Mr. John Cutting, captain, bound for New England (landed at Plymouth or Boston, Massachusetts).
04 Feb 1634 Henry Dade writes from Ipswich to the Archbishop of Canterbury that the Francis and the Elizabeth with 60 men in each intend to sail for New England on about March 10 and he supposes they are debtors or persons disaffected with the established church. Note: These ships and nine others bound for New England were stayed but on 28 Feb allowed to proceed on condition that the passengers took the oath of allegiance.
12 Nov 1634: John Cutting and William Andrews pray to be released from bonds of presentation of certificates, enclosing that passengers of the 30 May 1634 Francis and 30 May 1634 Elizabeth did not take the oaths.
21 Jan 1635: John Cutting, Master of the Francis and William Andrewes, Master of the Elizabeth, both of Ipswich, have brought a list of all the passengers that went in their ships to New England in April 1634 with certificates of their having taken the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance.
Passengers includes Hugh and Hester Mason from Lawford Essex bound for Boston. John Pease aged 27 years, from Great Baddow (Baddow Magna) bound for Salem. Robert Pease aged 27 years, Robert Pease aged 3 from Great Baddow (Baddow Magna) bound for Salem. Richard Pepy or Pepper aged 27 from Ashen, wife Mary and daughter Mary aged 3 years bound for Boston. Roland Stebing aged 40, his wife Sarah aged 43, son Thomas aged 14, daughters Sarah 11, Elizabeth 6, son John 8 years. Robert Winge from Lawford aged 60, wife Judith aged 43 from either Lawford or Bergholt in Suffolk. William French aged 30, a servant from Halstead Essex.

De Eendracht May 1634 Texel, Holland New Amsterdam (NYC)
Griffin 1 August 1634. Sept 18, 1634 Boston, MA.
The Griffin left England Aug 1, 1634 with her master, arriving in September 18, 1634, at Boston with about one hundred passengers and cattle for the plantations. Passengers included Reverend John Lothrop and family. Reverend John Cotton from Derby, Reverend Zachariah Symmes and family from Kent (maybe Dunstable through his ancestry dating back to 1176).. John Haynes from Copford in Essex. Joseph Mygatt from Essex,

Hopewell Thomas Wood 17 February 1635 London. Barbados
Bonaventure (Merchant) Ricroft 1634/5 London, England St. Domingo/Virginia

Abigail Robert Hackwell 1635 Plymouth, England Massachusetts Bay
The Abigail left London, England April to July 1635 with her master, Robert Hackwell, arriving in Massachusetts Bay. Passengers from Essex included Henry Bullocke aged 40, his wife Susan 42, children Henry 8, Mary 6 and Thomas 2 years, the family from St. Lawrence bound for Charleston. Edmund Monnings aged 40, his wife Mary 30, children Mary 9, Anna 6 and Michelaliel 3 years from East Donyland.

Abraham John Barker 1635 London, England Virginia
They had 51 passengers on board.

Alexander Burche & Grimes 2 May 1635 London, England Barbados
Theis under-written names are to be transported to ye Barbados imbarqued in the Alexander Capt Burchie and Gilbert Grimes Certificate from the Minister where they late dwelt the Men took oaths of Alleg. & Supremacie die et Ao prd."

Amity George Downes 13 Octobris 1635 London, England St.Christopher's
Ann & Elizabeth Joseph Brookhaven 27 April 1635 London, England Barbados
Assurance Bromwell & Pewsie 1635 London, England Virginia
David Hogg 21 August 1635 London, England Virginia
Passengers included a Daniel Bacon aged 30 from Colchester bound for Charlestown.
Desire Pearce. 22 June 1635 London, England
In the Desire de London Edward Boswell for New England per Cert. From St. Henry Mildmaye and Minister of Baddow in Essex: John Browne 27 Taylor, Thomas Hart 24 Servant, Mary Denny 24 Servant, Anne Leake 19.

Dorset	John Flowers	1635	London, England	Barbados
Many teenage passengers on this vessel nearly all were under 30 years of age.				
Expectation	Cornelius Billinge	16 April 1635	London, England	Providence.
Expedition	Peter Blackwell	20 November 1635	London, England	Barbados
Friendship		1635	London, England	Massachusetts Bay
Globe	Jeremy Blackman	1635	London, England	Virginia
Passengers included a John Bland from Colchester.				
John	James Waymoth	2 Octobris 1635	London, England	St Christopher's
Mathew	Richard Goodladd	2 May 1635	London, England	St Christopher's
Peter Bonaventure	Thomas Harman	26 March 1635	London, England	Barbados
Thomas	Henry Tavener	August 1635	Gravesend.	Virginia.
Truelove	Dennis	1635	London, England	Somer Islands
William and Anne		May 1635	Wrecked off the Brittany Coast.	Providence.

05 Mar 1635: The Providence Island Company receives news that the William and Anne has been wrecked on the Brittany coast.

William & John	Rowland Langram	Septembris 1635	London, England	St Christopher's
Thomas & John	Richard Lambard	16 June 1635	London, England	Virginia.

The ship "Thomas and John" was owned by Thomas and John Culpeper, the sons of John Culpeper of Salehurst, Kent, England. Esquire, Sheriff of Worcestershire. Son of John Culpeper and Elizabeth Sedley, grandson of William Culpeper and Cecily Barrett, William Sedley and Anne Grove.

Husband of Ursula Woodcock, daughter of London Grocer Ralph Woodcock and widow of Solomon Pordage who died in 1599. They married in 1600 and had two sons and two daughters; John, Thomas, Cecily and Frances, the wife of James Medicote. His sons Thomas and John would own the pilgrim ship the "Thomas & John" which carried hundreds of Englanders to the colonies. Secondly, husband of Eleanor Norwood, daughter of William Norwood and widow of Sir George Blount. Eleanor died in 1624.

Christian	John White.	16 March 1635	London, England.	Massachusetts Bay.
------------------	-------------	---------------	------------------	--------------------

Roll dated Mar 16, 1635, all passengers being sworn in at St. Mildred Bread Street, London.
 Theis under-written names are to transported to New-England imbarqued in ye Christian de Lo: Jo: Thite. Mr bound thither, the Men have taken ye oath of Allegiance & Supremacie."

16 Mar 1635: The following persons with certificate from St. Mildred, Bread Street, London, and having taken the oaths are to be transported from London to New England in the Christian of London, Mr. John White.

Mary Gould	Edward Cuttance	30 Mar 1635	Weymouth Dorset.	New England
-------------------	-----------------	-------------	------------------	-------------

Probably the ship was Marygold or a version of the name..

Hercules John Witherley March or April 1635 Sandwich Kent.
 The 'Good ship Hercules of Sandwich' left Sandwich, England in 1634 with her master, John Witherley. Hercules of Dover. Of all such persons as embarked themselves in the good ship called the Hercules, of Sandwicxh, of the burthen of 200 tons, John Witherley, master, and therein transported from Sandwich to the plantation called New England in America; with the certificates from the ministers where they last dwelt of their conversation, and conformity to the orders and discipline of the church, and that they had taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy. (The certificates, all dated February and March, 1634, are here omitted.)"
 Nearly all passengers were from Kent.

Paul of London	John Acklin	3 April 1635	Gravesend Kent.	St.Christopher's.
-----------------------	-------------	--------------	-----------------	-------------------

The Paul of London, sailed April 1635 from Gravesend to St Christophers. "3 Aprilis 1635 At Gravesend.

Theis under written names are to be transported to St Christopher's imbarqued in the Paul of London, Jo. Acklin, Mr bound thither, there was Cert: brought from the Minister of St Katherin's of their conformitie of the discipline & orders to ye Church of England the Men did take ye oath of Allegiance: and Supremacie." 03 April 1635: Passengers with certificates of conformity from St. Katherine's, London, and having taken the oaths, to be transported from Gravesend to St. Christopher's by the Paul of London, Mr. John Acklin.

Planter	Nicholas Trerice	2 April, 1635	London, England	June 7, 1635 Boston, Mass.
----------------	------------------	---------------	-----------------	----------------------------

"22 Mareij 1634. Theis under written names are to be imbarqued in ye Planter Nico.Trarice Mr bound for New England p Certificate from Stepney pish, and Attestacon from St Tho: Jay, Mr Simon Muskett 2 Justices of the Peace. the Men have taken the oaths of Supremacie & Allegiance"
 The Planter, under Master Nicholas Trerice/Travice, the Planter sailed from London April 2, 1635, arriving at Boston June 7, 1635.

James	William Cooper	April 6, 1635	London, England	1635 Massachusetts Bay
--------------	----------------	---------------	-----------------	------------------------

No apparent Essex individuals or families on board but a very mixed spread across the south of England.

Increase	Robert Lea	April 1635	London, England	1635 Massachusetts Bay
-----------------	------------	------------	-----------------	------------------------

Passengers included a Thomas Jostlin 43, a Husbandman from Roxwell, his wife Rebecca 43, children Rebecca 18, Dorothy 11, Nathaniel 8, Eliza 6 and Mary 1 year old. Matthew Marvyn 35, a Husbandman from Bentley Magna and his family Elizabeth 31, children Matthew 8, Marie 6, Sara 3 and Hannah 1 year old. Isaac More 13, from Boxted. Samuel Morse 50 Husbandman from Foxearth, his wife Elizabeth 48, children Joseph 20. William Rusco 41, Husbandman of Billericay, his wife Rebecca 40, children Sara 9, Marie 7, Samuel 5, William 1 year old. Symon Stone

50, Husbandman from Bromley Magna and his family Joan 38 wife, Francis 16, Anna 11, Symon 4, Marie 3 and John 1 month along with a servant Elizabeth Streaton aged 19. John Warner aged 20 from Boxted.

Rebecca John Hodges April 1635 London, England New England
06 - 09 April 1635: Passengers embarked in the Rebecca, Mr. John Hodges, bound [from London] to New England.

Hopewell William Bundocke 1 April 1635 London, England 1635
Passengers from Essex included Martha Carter aged 27 from Nazeing. Robert Day 30/39 from Stanstead Abbots. Elizabeth Elliott 30 and children Elizabeth 8, Sarah 6, Lydia 4, Philip 2 from Nazeing. William Peacock from Stanstead Abbots. Lawrence Whitmore aged 63 Husbandman, his wife Elizabeth 57 from Stanstead Abbots. John Ruggles 44, Barbaie his wife aged 30, Children Jo. aged 10 and Jo. aged 2, from Nazeing. Isaak Morris aged 9 from Nazeing. Giles Payson 26 from Nazeing. Sarah Elliott aged 6 from Nazeing.

Elizabeth William Stagg late April 1635 Ipswich, Suffolk 1635 Massachusetts Bay
The Elizabeth left London, England April 1635 with her master, William Stagg, arriving in Massachusetts Bay. About 77 passengers. Oaths were sworn April 8 - 17, 1635 at several locations.

Speedwell John Chappell May 28, 1635 Gravesend Kent. Virginia
"Theis under-written names are to be transported to Virginea imbarqued in the Speedwell of London Jo: Chappell Mr being examined by the Minister of Gravesend of their conformities to the orders & discipline of the Church of England and have taken the oath of Allegiance."

Elizabeth and Ann Robert Cooper 6/14th May 1635 London, England 1635 Massachusetts Bay
105 Passengers on board.

Hopewell John Driver 6th May 1635 Weymouth Dorset. Massachusetts Bay.
Plain Joan Richard Buckam. May 15, 1635 London, England Virginia.

Susan and Ellin Edward Payne May 1635 London, England 1635 Massachusetts Bay
"Theis under-written names are to Virginea: imbarqued in the Plain Joan Richard Buckam Mr. the parties having brought Attestacon of their conformities to the orders & discipline of the Church of England. Passengers included Edward Lummus aged 24 from Braintree. (Loomis). Thomas Wells 30 and Ann Wells 20 from Boxted. Some 94 passengers on board.

Angel Gabriel Robert Andrews May 23, 1635 King's Road, Bristol Aug 15, 1635 Wrecked Maine
The Angel Gabriel left King's Road in Bristol on 23 May 1635 with her master, John Taylor, along with the James, the Elizabeth (the Bess), the Mary and the Diligence. The James and the Angel Gabriel stayed together while the three faster and smaller boats went on to Newfoundland. The Angel was wrecked off the coast of Maine, but the James made it into Boston, torn and shredded.

The 250 ton Angel Gabriel and her Master Robert Andrews, carrying immigrants and supplies, left in June (other sources say May 23) and wrecked and sunk in a great storm off the coast of Maine while docked at Pemiquid Harbour August 15, 1635. Thankfully, the ship had already achieved its target and loss of livestock and supplies was minimal. The Angel Gabriel was a famous armed Merchant ship and privateer with 16 guns and space for more.

James John Taylor May 23, 1635 King's Road, Bristol Aug 17, 1635 Boston, Mass.

The James left King's Road in Bristol on 23 May 1635 with her master, John Taylor, along with the Angel Gabriel, the Elizabeth (the Bess), the Mary and the Diligence. The James and the Angel Gabriel stayed together while the three faster and smaller boats went on to Newfoundland. The Angel was wrecked off the coast of Maine, but the James made it into Boston, torn and shredded.

Mary	May 23, 1635	King's Road, Bristol	Aug 15, 1635 Newfoundland
Elizabeth	May 23, 1635	King's Road, Bristol	Aug 15, 1635 Newfoundland
Diligence	May 23, 1635	King's Road, Bristol	Aug 15, 1635 Newfoundland
Truelove	Robert Dennis. June 1635.	Gravesend Kent.	Bormoodes or Somer Islands
America	William Barker 23 rd June 1635	Gravesend Kent.	Virginia
Phillip	Richard Morgan June 20, 1635	Gravesend Kent.	Virginia.
Alice	Richard Orchard July 1635	London, England	Virginia

Abigail Robert Hackwell July 1635 London, England - 6th October 1635. Massachusetts Bay
Passengers included Henry Bullocke aged 40 from St. Lawrence, his wife Susan 42, Children Henry 8, Mary 6, Thomas 2. Possibly their second trip. Edmond Monnings 40 from East Donyland, again second trip. Perhaps the most intriguing passengers were Mrs. Margaret Lake, widow and her daughter Hannah. Hannah later married John Gallup Jnr at Boston in 1643.

Defence Edward Bostocke July 1635 London, England 8th October 1635 Massachusetts Bay.
Passengers from Essex included Col. George and Joseph Cook(e) Yeldham. Elizabeth French 30 Children Elizabeth 6, Marie 2 Francis 10 Jo. 5 months William husband aged 30 from Halstead. Roger Harlakenden 23 from Earls Colne, Elizabeth his wife 18, Mable 21 his sister and it could be that William French above was his servant. William Hubbard 40 Husbandman, Judith 25, John 15, William 13 Martha 22, Mary 20, Nathaniel 6 and Richard 4 all from Tendring (Little Clacton).

Blessing John Lester July 1635 London, England 1635 Massachusetts Bay
Passenger from Essex included Gilbert Brooke 14, William Brooke 20 from Chelmsford. Thomas King 21, Susan King 30 from Cold Norton.

James John May July 1635 London, England Sept 1635 Massachusetts Bay
The second voyage of 1635: James left London, England July, 1635 with her master, John May, arriving in Massachusetts Bay the last week of September 1635.

Love Joseph Young July 1635 London, England New England

Merchant's Hope Hugh Weston July 1635 Gravesend Kent. St Domingo / Virginia.
The Merchant's Hope sailed July 1635 from Gravesend to Virginia under master Hugh Weston. The Merchant's Hope was owned in 1635 by a wealthy English ship owner William Barker.

"Vltimo Julij 1635

Theis under-written are to be transported to Virginea, imbarqued in e Merchant's Hope Hugh Weston Mr. p examinacon by the Minister of Gravesend touching their conformities to the Church discipline of England & have taken the oaths of Alleg: & suprem:."

Paul Leonard Betts July 1635 Gravesend Kent. Virginia
In the Paule of London (Pool of London) Leonard Betts Master bound to Virginea p Certificate from the Minister of Gravesend of their conformitie to the Church of England."

Transport Edward Walker July 4, 1635 London, England Virginia

Pied Cow Ashley July 23, 1635 London, England New England
The Pied Cow (pide Cowe) left London, England July 23, 1635 with her Master Mr Ashley, arriving in New England

Primrose Douglass July 1635 London, England Virginia

"27 July 1635

Theis under-written names are to be transported to Virginea imbarqued in the Primrose Capten Douglass Mr p Certificate under ye Ministers hand of Gravesend, being examined by him touching their Conformitie to the Church Discipline of England. The Men have taken the oaths of Allegiance & Supremacie."

Globe Jeremy Blackman Aug 1635 London, England Virginia

Safety Gaunt Aug 1635 London, England Virginia

George Jo. Severne Aug 21, 1635 London, England Virginia

Elizabeth Christopher Brown Aug 1, 1635 London, England Virginia

Elizabeth of London to Virginia 1 Aug. 1635 - Primo de Augusti 1635

Theis under written names are to be transported to Virginea imbarqued in the Elizabeth de Lo: [London] Christopher Browne Master examined by the Minister of Gravesend touching their conformities to the order and discipline of the Church of England the men have taken Oaths of Allege & Supremacie

Bachelor Thomas Webb Aug 11, 1635 London, England New England

Hopewell Thomas Babb Sept 1635 London, England 1635 Massachusetts Bay

Truelove John Gibbs Sept 1635 London, England 1635 Massachusetts Bay

Passenger count was listed as 66, but there are 67 names listed.

Dorset Sept 1635 **Barbados**
Unity John Taylor Sept 12, 1635 Weymouth, England Massachusetts Bay.

Constance Clement Campion Oct 24, 1635 London, England Virginia

Falcon Thomas Irish Dec 1635 Gravesend, England Barbados

Un-named Mar 20, 1635/6 Weymouth, England New England

About March 20, 1635/6 An undesignated vessel departed Weymouth, England, for New England. Most likely the same ship as the 1635 Mary Gould. Source: "Passengers to America", pages 77-79.

The source information provides no indication of the name of this vessel nor of its master. The list is dated "Waymouth ye 20th of March 1635" (1635/6) and is signed "John Porter Deputy Clerk to Edward Thoroughgood".

(105 passengers listed. Source states 106, but skipped the number 45.)

Friendship Leonard Betts Mar 1636 London, England Virginia
"These men Whose names are heere under written belongings unto the Friendshipe of London, nowe ridinge att an Ankere in the reuer of Themes bound for Vergenia: March 1636."

Abigail 1636 England New England

Hector 1637 London, England June 26, 1637 Massachusetts Bay.
From Ship Passenger Lists by Carl Boyer referencing a previous work by Isabel MacBeath Calder entitled Passengers on the Hector, 1637-38, The New Haven Colony pp. 29-31.

The vessel Hector, which brought the passengers accompanying John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton to Connecticut in 1637. There is another ship called the Hector that brought the first Scottish Highlanders to Nova Scotia in the mid-1700's, but the Hector Heritage Foundation in Nova Scotia states that the ship that brought the Davenport/ Eaton party is a different vessel.

The Hector that brought the Davenport party to Massachusetts was a new vessel of 250 tons, which had already made a previous passage to Massachusetts Bay. The records indicate that the ship actually arrived in Massachusetts, but other references mention that the Hector also took the party to Connecticut in late 1637 or 1638. A passenger ship list for the trip from Massachusetts Bay to New Haven, Connecticut has not been located.

Passengers on the Hector sold their belongings in preparation for the sailing, but then the English government impressed the ship for the service of the crown. The owners petitioned for its release in January 1637, but the ship

was not freed until May. According to the records of John Winthrop of Massachusetts Bay, the ship arrived in Boston (from London England) on June 26, 1637.

According to an Edward R Hale, the Hector left London about 10 May 1637 and arrived in Boston 26 June 1637, with Thomas Hale, is wife, Thomasine and sons Thomas and John. His source is the Descendants of Thomas Hale by Robert Safford Hale, LLC on page 4 and Mass. Hist. Soc 4th series, vol. vii, page 19.

John & Dorothy	William Andrews	1637	Ipswich, England	
Rose	William Andrews	1637	Yarmouth, England	Boston, Mass.

A small parchment volume (also in the Rolls Office) labelled on the cover "T G 27.299 A. D, 1637---13 Car. I" is occupied with a record of persons" desirous to pass beyond seas." Its upper right hand corner has been destroyed, by which much of the record is gone. What is not destroyed of the title of the volume is "A Register of the ... of such persons a ... and upwards and have ... to passe into formigne partes ... March 1637 to the 29th day of September... by verts of a commission granted to Mr Thomas Mayhew gentleman." " These people went to New England with William Andrews of Ipswich, Mr of the John and Dorothy of Ipswich, and with William Andrewes his Sons Mr of the Rose of Yarmouth.

Mary Anne	William Goose	1637	Yarmouth England	New England
------------------	---------------	------	------------------	-------------

The passenger list was made up predominantly of Suffolk and Norfolk families.

Tristram and Jane	Joseph Blowe	26 April 1637	London	Virginia
--------------------------	--------------	---------------	--------	----------

Den Harinck	Sept 7, 1637	Texel, Holland	March 28, 1638	New Amsterdam. (NYC)
Dolphijn	Sept 7, 1637	Texel, Holland	March 28, 1638	New Amsterdam. (NYC)
Rensselaerswyck	Oct 8 1637	Texel, Holland	Mar 4 1638	New Amsterdam (NYC)

Susan and Ellin	Edward Payne.	April 11, 1638	London, England	July 17, 1638	New England
------------------------	---------------	----------------	-----------------	---------------	-------------

Joseph Hills, age about 36, woolen draper, of Charlestown, New England, later of Malden. From Billericay or Malden, Essex, bound for Charlestown, MA.

Shippers of goods:

Joseph Loomis [late] of Brayntree, Co. Essex; cargo transported from Malden, Co. Essex, to Custom House, London, and loaded about April 11, 1638 and others.

Confidence	John Gibson	April 1638	Southampton, England
-------------------	-------------	------------	----------------------

The Confidence left Southampton April 11, 1638 or April 24, with Master John Gibson, and 84 passengers
Other sources say the master was John Jobson, arriving in Boston from Southampton April 24, 1638.

Bevis (Beuis)	Robert Batten	May 1638	Southampton, England
Arms of Norway		May 1638	Texel, Holland Aug 1638

Het Wapen Van Noorwegen (Arms of Norway) sailed from the Texel about 12 May 1638, arrived New Amsterdam before 4 August 1638 [as per the account submitted by Cornelis Melyn against Kiliaen van Renselaer in New Netherland on 4 August 1638 for freight of horses and passage of 'sundry persons' on board this ship.

Diligent	John Martin	June of 1638	Ipswich, Suffolk.	August 10, 1638	Boston, Mass.
-----------------	-------------	--------------	-------------------	-----------------	---------------

Diligent of Ipswich, John Martin, Master. She sailed from Ipswich, Suffolk, in June 1638 (or April 26 from Gravesend) and arrived August 10, 1638 at Boston, with about one hundred passengers, principally from Hingham, Norfolk, destined for Hingham, Massachusetts.

John (of London)	George Lamberton	Summer 1638	Hull.	Boston Massachusetts,
-------------------------	------------------	-------------	-------	-----------------------

John of London sailed from Hull, England to Boston, MA in the summer of 1638 with Master George Lamberton. The passage was known for its passenger, Ezekiel Rogers who settled in Rowley, as well as carrying the first printing press to the colonies.

De Nassau		30 Aug 1638	Netherlands	New Amsterdam (NYC)
Love (De Liefde)	Martin Cael	Sept 25 1638	Texel, Holland	Dec 27 1638
Unity		Nov 22, 1638	Cowes, Isle of Wight	Maryland
Calmer	Sleutel	1638	Texel, Holland	Delaware
Castle		1638		
Martin		1638	Bef July 13, 1638	Boston, MA
Abigaile		unknown		Virginia
Fellowship		unknown		
Mary Ann Margaret		unknown		
Mary & James		unknown		
Southampton		unknown		
Temperance Duty		unknown		

Chapter 10 – A biography of some of the Essex passenger and families.

Edward Bangs of Panfield.

The passenger manifest for the "Anne" which sailed in April 1623 for the Bangs family is in need somewhat of a chronological listing. and explanation.

Edward Bangs was born in October 1591 in Panfield which is part of the Braintree District in mid-Essex. He was baptised at St. Mary the Virgin Panfield on 28th October 1591.

The initial embarkation occurred on 16th October 1622 when the "Paragon" set out from London with sixty-seven passengers. By the time they had reached the South Downs severe storms had disabled the boat, which was an old and faulty one and they returned to port arriving fourteen days after leaving. The vessel was put in dock for repairs which included the mending of a leakage and of a broken cable costing £100, besides the six or seven weeks delay, during which time the living expenses of all the passengers were an added obligation on the Adventurers Company which had arranged with John Pierce owner of the boat, for their transportation. They travelled on the "Anne" arriving in the latter part of July 1623. But it is presumed two children travelled with him but that they had died before 22nd May 1627. (Land acquisition records).

Assuming the manifest is correct then Lydia Bangs (nee Hicks) and the two children, one named John had died, assumed before 1627 and that Edward Bangs remarried Rebecca Hobart in 1634, she having been born on 26th December 1611 in Hingham Norfolk. Her death in 1655 in Eastham Barnstable Massachusetts preceded her husbands who died on 16th February 1678 also in Eastham Barnstable Massachusetts.

So we could conclude that Rebecca Bangs (1635-1667), Captain Jonathan Bangs (1640-1728), Hannah Bangs (1644-1681), Lydia Bangs (1645-1706), Lieutenant Joshua Bangs (1646-1709), Bethia Bangs (1650-1696), Mercy Bangs (1651-1690) and Apphia Bangs (1651-1722) were all born in Plymouth Massachusetts from the marriage of Rebecca and Edward Bangs.

As these days of deferment dragged on, an apprehension of the menace of winter storms during their postponed voyage must have been heavy on them. In order to offset somewhat this unexpected expenditure and the consequent claim for damages which the Adventurers would make against the owner, he increased to one hundred and nine, the list of emigrants to be carried and a second start was made on 22nd December 1622. This time they journeyed approximately half way to New England when, about the middle of February, a terrific storm of fourteen days duration struck them. During this time the storm, so violent, forced them to cut down their mainmast. They returned to Portsmouth (England).

A letter dated 9th April 1623 from England to Governor Bradford in Plymouth Colony told of these woeful tidings.

Instead of giving up they at once arranged for other means of conveyance, engaging the "Anne" a boat of one hundred and forty tons, which would carry sixty passengers and a similar amount of freight, and the "Little James" a Pinnace of forty-four tons which had just been built for coastwise trade along the New England shores. They started again in the latter part of April 1623, and the two boats reached their destination in the latter part of July 1623. It was after this that Edward received four acres of land for himself, Rebecca and two children but by 1627 they no longer appear except himself at the "Division of Cattle" on 1st June 1627.

Edward Bangs served on at least twelve juries between October 1636 and November 1643 and four grand juries between March 1637 and March 1642 as well as again in 1652. He was on a committee with John Doane to apportion meadows in 1633 and other committees to assess taxes and assign watch between 1634 and 1636 and to view the "Hay Ground" betwixt the Eele River and the town of Plymouth and with Governor Bradford, Edward Winslow and others to lay out the bounds of John Alden's land at Duxbury 1637-1638. He also acted as an Appraiser and other "official" tasks asked of him. The will of Edward Bangs dated 19th October 1677, giving his age as eighty-six years, was exhibited in court for probate on 5th March following and showed that his children were all living except Rebecca.

Samuel Brown (Judge)

Samuel Browne (c. 1598–1668), of Arlesey, Bedfordshire, was Member of Parliament during the English Civil War and the First Commonwealth who supported the Parliamentary cause. However he refused to support the trial and execution of Charles I and, along with five of his colleagues, resigned his seat on the bench. At the Restoration of 1660 this was noted and he was made a judge of the Common Pleas.

He was called to bar at Lincoln's Inn, 1623; Member of Parliament for Clifton-Dartmouth-Hardness, 1640; an active member of the Commons committee for the impeachment of Archbishop Laud, 1644; one of the commissioners to treat with Charles I in the Isle of Wight, 1648; serjeant-at-law, 1648. M.P. for Bedford in 1659 and in 1660 M.P. for Bedfordshire. He was justice of the Common Pleas and knighted, 1660.

Samuel Browne, was born about the year 1598 and was the eldest son of a vicar, Nicholas Browne of Polebrook in Northamptonshire, and Frances, daughter of Thomas St. John, of Cayshoe, Bedfordshire (who was the grandfather of Oliver St John, the chief justice of the Common Pleas during the Protectorate). Browne was admitted pensioner of Queens' College, Cambridge on 24 February 1614, and was entered at Lincoln's Inn on 28th October 1616, where he was called to the Bar in October 1623, and elected reader in Autumn 1642. Browne, along with a number of other men who would support Parliamentary cause in the Civil War, had connections to the Feoffees for Improvements, a body set up in 1625 to purchase livings for Puritan preachers, or the Massachusetts Bay Company. Brown was both a feoffee and a lawyer for the company. Browne along with John Browne, member for Dorset, and Richard Browne member for New Romney, were all zealous about matters of religion in the Long Parliament, and it is not always possible to identify which of the Brownes made a statement on the subject.

Although he is often associated with parliamentary radicals, his position like other "Royal Independents" was that they wanted more tolerance of other Protestant creeds than King Charles was willing to allow, and so Browne took up arms to force the King into toleration (see also Cromwellian State Church, 1654–1660).

Browne inherited from his father various small properties lying in Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Kent, Surrey and London. He also purchased the manor of Arlesey in Bedfordshire from Florence, daughter of Thomas Emery of Arlesey (died 1636), widow of Henry Goodwin in 1646 or 1649, but he must have been living in it before that date as in 1644 he complained that Arlesey was used for quartering troops, and he procured an order for their removal.

Browne probably served as a Justice of the Peace in Essex, his wife's county, however, and had been named in 1630 for the sewers commission in Bedfordshire.

He was returned as a member for the boroughs of Clifton-Dartmouth-Hardness, in the Long Parliament of November 1640. He appears to have had no connection with the constituency before he was elected and he may have gained it through the patronage of his cousin Oliver St John who was MP for Totness and had been in Lincoln's Inn at the same time as Browne. In February 1643, possibly through the influence of his cousin St. John (who was then solicitor-general), Browne, Serjeant Richard Creswell and John Puleston, were recommended by the parliament to be Barons of the Exchequers, in the peace proposals laid before the king at Oxford, which came to nothing. Around the same time he joined the newly formed Committee of Both Kingdoms on which he continued to sit until 1648, and the Committee for the Preservation of the Records. In November of that year Browne and St. John were two of the four members of the House of Commons to whom, with two lords, the new Great Seal was entrusted.

The commoners appointed as commissioner of the Great Seal still continued to perform their other parliamentary functions. Lord Commissioner Browne was most active in the proceedings against Archbishop Laud, summing up the case in the House of Lords and carrying up the ordinance for his attainder passed by the Commons in November 1644. His speech has not been preserved, but from the constant references which Laud makes to it he appears to have put the case against the archbishop in a very effective way. After the trial was ended (2nd January 1645) he was deputed, with Serjeants John Wilde and Robert Nicolas, to lay before the House of Lords the reasons which, in the opinion of the House of Commons, justified an ordinance of attainder against the archbishop. This had already been passed by the Commons, and the Lords immediately followed suit.

In July 1645 a paper was introduced to the House of Commons, emanating from Lord Savile, and containing what was in substance an impeachment of Denzil Holles and Bulstrode Whitelocke, of high treason in betraying the trust reposed in them in connection with the recent negotiations at Oxford, of which they had had the conduct. After some discussion the matter was referred to a committee, of which Browne was nominated chairman. The affair is frankly described by Whitelocke as a machination of the independents, designed to discredit the Presbyterian party, of which both Hollis and himself were members; and as he accuses Browne of displaying a strong bias in favour of the impeachment, it may be inferred that at this time he had the reputation of belonging to the advanced faction. The charge was ultimately dismissed.

In 1646 Browne sat on the Committee for Exclusion from Sacrament and the Committee for the Abuse of Hereditary, and after remaining a commissioner of the Great Seal for nearly three years, the lords commissioners were removed in October 1646, and the Great Seal transferred to the speakers of the two houses. With his workload in Parliament reduced he resumed his practice at the bar. In 1648 Browne sat on the Committee for Scandalous Offences and his time of sitting on the Committee of Both Kingdoms came to an end. He was also sent as one of the commissioners to treat with the king in the Isle of Wight. On the receipt of letters from the commissioners containing the king's ultimatum (the Treaty of Newport), the House of Commons, after voting the king's terms unsatisfactory, resolved "that notice be taken of the extraordinary wise management of this treaty by the commissioners".

The next day, 12th October 1648, he was included in the batch of twenty-two who were made Serjeants by the parliament, when both he and his cousin St. John were also elevated to the bench, he as judge of the King's Bench, and St. John as chief justice of the Common Pleas. With the failure of the Newport negotiations (and the reconstitution of the House of Commons by Pride's Purge), the House of Commons resolved to try King Charles for treason, Browne with five of his colleagues, resigned their seats on the bench rather than participate in the Regicide. Browne took no further part in public life until the last year of the Interregnum. After the fall of the Protectorate Browne was elected to Parliament for the constituency of Bedford in 1659 and to Bedfordshire in the Convention Parliament of 1660.

After the restoration of the monarchy, he was not only immediately reinstated as a serjeant, and within six months was reinstated to a place on the bench, being constituted, on 3rd November 1600, a judge of the Common Pleas. On 4 December of that year he was knighted. He retained his seat as a judge of the Common Pleas until his death on 11 April 1668. He was buried under a monument still existing in the church of Arlesey in Bedfordshire, where he had a house. Browne's renown derives less from his work as a jurist than from his astute performance as a parliamentary manager during the critical years of the English civil war. ... Browne's success as a parliamentary manager derived from his reputation as a man of genuine integrity. He was widely admired by moderates and radicals alike for his intelligence, his learning, and his consummate professionalism.

Browne married Elizabeth, daughter of John Meade, of Nortofts, Finchingfield, Essex.

William Buckland

Born about possibly on 23rd November between the years 1606 and 1609 but probably not in Essex. He married Mary Bosworth in 1630 (in England) However, research has indicated there are two William Bosworth's in the 1630's who are confused to historians. William Buckland died in 1683 at Weymouth Norfolk Massachusetts.

If William was married at England, then he probably immigrated in 1634 with his father-in-law, Edward Bosworth. If this was the case, then William was probably also associated with Henry Sewall, and this would point to "an origin in or near Manchester, Lancashire, England."

William Buckland came over on the Elizabeth Dorcas in 1634 with his wife, Mary, their son, Joseph, and Mary's parents, the Bosworth's. The family first settled in Hingham, Plymouth, MA. He had land on the north side of Otis (Weary-All) hill. In 1635, the house lot was near the old railroad station located in West Hingham, Plymouth, MA. In 1666, he owned land at Broad Cove. The Elizabeth & Dorcas had a difficult journey in 1635. First there was the delay in starting, and then the ship was damaged when it hit a rock in the Scilly Islands. Limping along, they finally arrived, after a voyage of over 100 days (usually 72 to 77 days). They ran out of provisions, and suffered many deaths, among these was William's father-in-law, Edward Bosworth, who survived only as far the Boston Harbor, where he died on the deck.

The shipboard passage for the Bosworth family was paid by Henry Sewall, which again implies that they sailed aboard the Elizabeth & Dorcas, although no passenger list is in existence. On 7th July, 1635, the Massachusetts Bay Court Record includes the document in which each Bosworth family group member agrees to make repayment to Henry Sewall. These persons were: Jonathan Bosworth, William Buckland, Nathaniel Bosworth, Benjamin Bosworth.

Their children were: Joseph, born around 1634 although if dated back from his gravestone it indicates 26 June 1633. He married Deborah Allen. Lydia, born around 1637. William "Bucly", born around 1644 and married by 1666 to Elizabeth Williams. On 3 April 1636, William was granted a house lot and five acres, and he continued to attain other lots at Hingham over the next few years. William or his wife had become a member of the Hingham Church by 1640 when their son was baptized there, but he took the Oath of Fidelity in Rehoboth in 1659.

About 1655 or so the family moved to Rehoboth, Bristol, Massachusetts. There William served as grand jury man, 19 May 1656, and constable, 25 May 1657. From the Rehoboth Propriety Records William drew lot #46. He was freeman on February 12, 1657. Death and Legacy. William was buried at Rehoboth on 1 September 1683. On 1 November 1684, William's son, Joseph, posted bond in order to administer his father's estate. Wife, Mary, was buried on 29 July 1687, also at Rehoboth.

Hugh Garrett

The question about Hugh Garrett is of any relationship to the Richard Garrett following. Hugh was an Inhabitant of Charlestown 1630. He is reported to have come from Chelmsford, married and have a daughter Hannah and another child.

Richard Garrett

The family were from Boston in Lincolnshire who possibly came to Chelmsford in Essex, or vicinity for gathering and later departure at Southampton. He was a shoemaker by profession. A Member church 1630. Applied freeman 19 Oct 1630. He died on 28th December 1630.

This book, published in 1930 is held in the Library of Congress has references to others mentioned in this booklet, so again perhaps this part of Essex became a meeting place for later departure on the Arbella from Southampton. The book has no known restrictions; no copyright renewal found, Apr 11 2019.

Hannah Garrett, Daughter of Richard. Died December 1632.

From a record of the inhabitants remaining in Charlestown, on 28th September a levy was imposed upon several plantations, of which Charlestown was to pay £7, and Boston £11. So it would seem the majority of immigrants had removed across the river at this time. The town records of 1630 states "A list of the names of the town in this year 1629 includes Hugh Garrett, Rice Cole, Edward Converse and fourteen others.

Jehu (John) Burr.

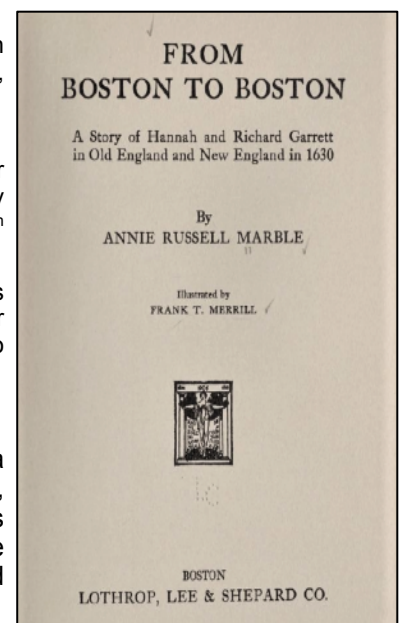
Born 1596 possibly in Great Canfield Essex and died 1672) Jehu was the son of Jonathan Burr & Esther Stedman. On his arrival in America he settled in Roxbury, Massachusetts where he was made a freeman on 18th May 1631. In 1633 he served on a committee with William Pynchon, the Colony Treasurer. In 1636 he went with Pynchon to Springfield. He was appointed Collector for the Connecticut Colony. He was Deputy for Springfield to the Connecticut Legislature in April 1638 and September 1641. Soon after 1641 he removed to Fairfield. He was a Deputy to the Connecticut Legislature for Fairfield in September 1645 and April 1646. He was a carpenter.

Jehu married Miss Elizabeth Cable and they had numerous children. All of these children married and had families. Among the descendants one finds many individuals who were leaders in military, political, and human affairs. Their monuments can be found in the Old Burying Ground of Fairfield and other cemeteries in surrounding towns.

On 12 Jan 1673, a record was made of the land held in Fairfield by John Burr and Jehu Burr, "per virtue of the last will of his deceased father". John Burr had three and three-quarters acres in the Old Field, four acres in the New Field or Mill Plain, eight acres on Sascoe Hill, ten and a half acres and 20 rods in Great Meadow, and two and a half acres and thirty-four rods of meadow in Sascoe Neck

John Cable

Born around 1610 possibly in Essex and died in Fairfield Connecticut in 1682. A hypothesis is that John Cable is the brother of Elizabeth Cable, wife of Jehu Burr. All three arrived on the Arbella and there are many links between John Cable and Jehu Burr. His occupation seems to be a Sawyer. He was one of the first eight subscribers to establish a settlement in Springfield, but did not remain here but a few years. In April, 1641, he sold his lot to the town and it was afterwards sold to Thomas Cooper. He had one child born here, and on leaving here went to Fairfield, Connecticut. His son John born 12th January 1640, daughter Rebecca born about 1642 who married a John Knowles in 1662.



On 22 March 1631 John Cable was one of three men ordered to be "whipped for stealing three pigs of Mr. Ralfe Glover's" On the basis of this record Pope places Cable at Dorchester, but this must be based on the mistaken confusion of Ralph Glover of Charlestown with John Glover who was in Dorchester some years later. The three men charged with the theft all seem to be young single men, perhaps servants, and their residences are not certain. John Cable is placed provisionally in Roxbury because of his move to Springfield with William Pynchon in 1636. John Cable appeared as a defendant in lawsuits on 2nd June 1640, 7th June 1649, 21st May 1650 and 20th May 1652.

On 2nd April 1641 John Cable sold to the inhabitants of Springfield for £40 "all that his right in his lot, house and grounds broken up or unbroken up, also all his right in future dividends". In his will, dated 4th April 1682 and proved on 21st September 1682, "John Cable Sr" bequeathed to "my grandchild John Cabell my housing, homelot and all the rest of my lands" and a fowling piece, to "my grandchild John Knowles my featherbed, one rug, sheets, bolster and pillows," to "my loving wife Ann Cabell the rent or use of all my housing and lands and household goods during her natural life" (and she to be executrix), and to "my daughter Rebecca and my grandchild John Cabell all my movables after my wife's decease" (except those already given), and appointed "my loving kinsman Jehu Burr and John Burr my overseers"; witnessed by Ezbon Wakeman and John Banks.

The inventory was taken 21 September 1682 and totalled £261 11s., of which £220 was real estate. Ann Cable refused the appointment as executrix, and "impleads to the Court her weakness and imbecility and her uncapableness to perform that trust," and requests that Mr. Jehu Burr and Mr. John Burr be appointed. On 28th September 1682 Mr. Jehu Burr and Mr. John Burr, administrators on the estate of John Cable, deceased, and "Samuell Bets of Bruantford" prepared articles of agreement in which Samuel agreed that "he will take care of and maintain his dear mother Ann Cable" and in which all parties agreed as to how this would be done; the agreement was signed by mark by "Ann Cabells". In her will, dated 6 February 1673 and proved 21 November 1683 (the year dates underlined in the original), Anne Betts ordered that "my son Samuell shall have my whole estate, he paying to the rest of my children five shillings per child, & to my daughter Mary my wearing clothes"; the inventory totalled £25 9s. 6d., of which £13 10s. was real estate; in the margin the testator was identified as "Anne Cable"

His first marriage by 1640 possibly to Sarah (in depositions relating to the witchcraft trial of Goody Knapp, Bethia Brundish, aged sixteen, deposed on 26th April 1654 about something she observed while in the company of Deborah Lockwood and Sarah Cable; as Deborah Lockwood was at that time seventeen it might be thought that Sarah Cable herself was about the same age; this record is, then, the only known record for the first wife of John Cable or for an otherwise unknown daughter). And secondly after 31st August 1658 Ann Betts, widow of Roger Betts. (This identification is based on the probate records cited above. The date of Ann's will leaves two possibilities: either she was still the widow of Roger Betts on 6 February 1673, and did not marry Cable until after that date; or the date of her will is in error and should be "6 February 1683", in which case she chose to revert to her previous married name in making a will in which she only named her Betts children).

Thomas Cakebread

Born around 1595, and died on 04 January 1642 in Sudbury Middlesex Massachusetts. Although it is claimed he was from Hatfield Broad Oak in Essex there is no record. He was granted fifty acres in Great Dividend in Watertown, 25 July 1636, eight acres in Beaverbrook Plowlands 28 Feb 1636/7, and eight in Remove Meadows 26 June 1637. "In the inventory of possessions and the composit inventory, most of these parcels were held by John Grout, who married Cakebread's daughter." "In an undated but early Sudbury record is a list of 'such lands as were given to gratulate some persons for some service done by them which meadows are rateable.... Given to Thomas Cakebread for and in consideration of building a mill..."

Thomas Cakebread was part of the Winthrop fleet of passengers in 1630. He was a Miller in Sudbury Massachusetts in 1639. Sarah appears to have re-married in Sudbury Massachusetts on 7th November 1649 as the second wife of Philemon Whales and she died at Sudbury on 28th December 1656. Captain John Grout and the Cakebread family were very intertwined in the early 1600's. John was very close to Thomas Cakebread in Watertown and married to a Mary Cakebread. After she died a few years later Morse reports he married to the widow of Thomas Cakebread, Sarah Busby. But this has been disproved by the fact Thomas arrived with a wife "Sarah" with the Winthrop Fleet in 1630 and Sarah Busby arrived with her family aboard the Rose in 1637. However, the incorrect facts continue to be perpetuated on the internet.

In fact there are two competing theories regarding the relationships between the Grout's and Cakebread's in the early 1600's. In the first theory, put forward by Morse, John Grout first marries Mary, and Thomas Cakebread is married to Sarah Busby. By 1643 Mary dies and Thomas also dies then John marries Thomas's widow Sarah (Busby) Cakebread.

Conventional wisdom is that Sarah Busby was first married to Thomas Cakebread because John Grout took possession of his Mill in Sudbury by 1643. It is also thought she brought a daughter to the marriage named Sarah Cakebread who later briefly marries John's son. However there are big holes in this theory.

In Sudbury town records Thomas is referred to as John's "father" and a Sarah Cakebread is referred to as "widow" beyond the date John and Sarah Busby had children together. What seems clear is that Morse did not know Mary --- was Mary Cakebread, as proved by the Cutler family history, or that Mrs. Sarah Cakebread and Sarah Busby arrived in Boston aboard separate ships 7 years apart.

The Sudbury Massachusetts Miller Thomas Cakebread was of an older generation than Captain John and took in young John and his brother when their father died around 1634. Thomas was married to a Sarah, (but not Sarah Busby). Captain John first married Mary Cakebread who was the daughter of Thomas thus making Thomas both John's adoptive father and father-in-law. They have one child in Watertown: John2 in 1641. After Mary's death John remarries to Sarah Busby in 1642. When Thomas Cakebread dies in 1643 he leaves his Mill to John. This John and

Sarah live out long and eventful lives and have many children together. Also, the second John never married his step sister as others claim. It was in fact Captain. John who brought the legal claim and accurately calls Thomas Cakebread his former father-in-law. Finally, the widow of Thomas Cakebread, Sarah, is the one who marries Philemon Whale on 7th November, 1649.

William Chase

Born on 20th November 1595 in Essex and died on 4th May 1659 in Cape Cod Plymouth Colony Massachusetts. He married Mary Hammond (5th March 1603 Norfolk -1659). Information points to the identity of William Chase's parents as Benjamin Chase (14th August 1570 - 1643) and Helen Harvie 1570 living in Wivenhoe, Essex.

The recent research work of Helen Barrell on historic marriage and baptism records at Wivenhoe St. Mary the Virgin Parish Church is now in publication. These documents show the marriage of Benjamyin Chase and Hellen Harvie on 18 Jan 1591 at Wivenhoe, near Colchester, England. The church of St. Mary the Virgin is located in the High Street and existed by 1254 when Simon Battle was the patron. These records are a trove of information that include baptism records of their three children: Anne 1591, William 1597, and George 1600. Baptism records can post-date a birth years.

In 1630, the Chase family settled first in Roxbury, Massachusetts. Chase became a Founder of the "First Church of Roxbury". The Reverend John Eliot, known as the Apostle to the Indians, was pastor. On October 19th 1630, Chase applied for Freemanship and was admitted a Freeman of the Massachusetts Bay Colony on 14th May 1634. Chase was a carpenter (cabinetmaker), cooper, whaler, and angler. He became one of Reverend Stephen Bachiler's company who planned to settle at Mattacheese (Yarmouth), Massachusetts, in 1618, but due to a rough winter all the congregation, but the Chase family returned to their homes.

In 1639, the Chase's had settled in Yarmouth on Cape Cod, where the General Court of the Plymouth Colony appointed him constable for the town of Yarmouth, 5th March 16389. He took the oath of office 4th June 1639. William and he and his son, William Chase, Jr., were among the Yarmouth men able to bear Arms (August 1643). Chase seemed to have quite a bit of trouble with his neighbours. Trouble with Marmaduke Mathewes brought him before the Court almost immediately, on 1 September 1640 he was censured for his "miscarriages" against Mr. Mathewes and disturbance of the proceedings of the church, Court, and "contrey," and he gave the General Court bond for his appearance at the next Court, 2nd March. 1641. In 1641 he was again in Court on account of a disagreement with Nicholas Sympkins concerning a fence. On 7th March 1648 the Plymouth Colony Court authorized Captain Myles Standish to go to Yarmouth and put an end to the differences in that town, which involved Chase, and Captain Standish was able and settled the troubles, 13th May 1648. The first two record books for the town of Yarmouth were burned, but wills and other sources can document the names of his children.

In his will, dated 4 May 1659 and witnessed by Richard Hoar and Mary Dennis, "William Chase of Yarmouth the elder; being aged," made the following bequests and provisions: To "my son Benjamine ... one heifer Calfe and two steer Calves of a yeare old and upwards." To "my son William who hath had of mee already a good portion; "the sume of five shillings ... if he Demand it. All the rest of my goods, Cattles and Chattels I give ... unto Mary my wife together with this my Dwelling house the land and all appurtenances thereunto belonging; as also halfe of my lott of land att the Basse pond which I bought of William Palmer a middle line made and that halfe next to Darbeyes I give unto her ... also my orchyard and land I bought of goodman White ... all unto her use and Disposing During her natural life; if shee continew a widdow; and when shee Dies to Dispose a third parte of that estate God shall leave her as shee shall thinke good; the other two partes to our son Benjamines use; but if it shall please God that shee shall marry ... shee shall have a third parte of that estate and the other two partes to bee to our son Benjamine aforesaid. I Do make my wife Mary aforesaid sole executrix ... and Doe appoint my Neighbours Robert Dennis and Richard Tayler overseers of this my last will."

[The mark of William Chase.]

The witnesses to this will deposed before Governor Thomas Prentice of the Plymouth Colony 13th May 1659. The inventory of the personal estate of the deceased, taken 14th September 1659, is as follows: An Inventory of the goods and chattels of William Chase late of Yarmouth deceased taken and prised by us Robert Dennis, Richard Taylor and Edmond Hawes the 14th of September 1659.

William Colbron

Born on 25 May 1589 in Brentwood Essex and married Margery Huxton on 22nd October 1618. He died on 1st August 1662 at Brentwood Massachusetts. Margery died in 1677. They had five children born around the Brentwood and South Weald area before they travelled on the Ambrose Winthrop in 1630.

He was firstly married on 14th May 1614 to Agnes Erburie (born 1593) in Burton Somerset and they had a son Nathaniel Colbron born on 25th July 1615 in Dedham Essex and died on 14th May 1691 in Massachusetts. Agnes had died in 1615 in Dedham Essex.

Robert Coles

Born around 1600 possibly in Navestock Essex although his parents appear to be from Sussex and Robert died 1655 in Rhode Island) was a New England colonist who is known for the scarlet-letter punishment he received in the Massachusetts Bay Colony and his role in establishing the Providence Plantations, now the state of Rhode Island.

Coles arrived in Massachusetts Bay in 1630 on the Winthrop Fleet where he became a first settler of the towns of Roxbury and Agawam, now Ipswich, and an early settler of Salem. After repeated fines for drunkenness, he was ultimately sentenced to wear a red letter "D" as a badge of shame for a year, an event that may have served as an inspiration for Nathaniel Hawthorne's 1850 novel The Scarlet Letter.

In 1631, Coles was fined five marks (about £3 then and US \$600 in 2019) for drunkenness aboard the *Friendship* and at Winnissimmet, now Chelsea. The *Friendship* was carrying two hogsheads (more than 120 gallons) of flavoured mead called metheglin. Cole's fellow carousers—who were not pious Puritans—included Edward Gibbons, a former polytheist "who chose rather to Dance about a May pole...than to hear a good Sermon" and Samuel Maverick, a wealthy Anglican "very ready to entertain strangers." In 1632, Coles was again fined for drunkenness, this time in Charlestown. In addition to his fine of £1 he was required to appear before the General Court and the Court of Assistants to publicly confess.

Coles was charged a third time for drunkenness in 1633, along with fellow settler John Shatswell, at Agawam. Shatswell was fined £2, but Coles was fined £10 (about US \$2400 in 2019) for multiple offenses: drunkenness, encouraging Shatswell's wife to drink, and "enticing her to incontineny and other misdemeanour." Coles was also sentenced "to stand with a white sheete of pap on his back wherein a drunkard shall be written in great letters, & stand therewith soe long as the Court thinks meete...." He was charged a fourth time in 1634, this time in Roxbury, and the court responded with more severe penalties: he was forced to wear a red letter "D" (for drunkenness) for a year and was disenfranchised (deprived of voting rights). The court orders that Coles, for drunkenness by him committed at Roxbury shall be disfranchized, weare about his neck & soe to hange upon his outward garment a D made of redd clothe & set upon white, to contynue this for a yeare & not to leave it off at any tyme when he comes amongst company. Coles was re-enfranchised just two months later and was never again charged with drunkenness. However, his wife, Mary, was accused of intemperance in the Roxbury church records, where it was noted that "after her husband's excommunication and falls, she did too much favour his ways.

Cole's red-letter punishment is mentioned in Anya Seton's 1958 bestselling historical novel, *The Winthrop Woman*, about the governor's daughter-in-law, Elizabeth Fones. Some scholars argue that Coles's punishment was among those Nathaniel Hawthorne had in mind when he wrote the 1850 novel, *The Scarlet Letter*, which chronicles the struggles of a fictional woman sentenced to wear a red letter for adultery. Melissa McFarland Pennell, a University of Massachusetts English professor, recounts Coles's punishment in her book *The historian's Scarlet letter: reading Nathaniel Hawthorne's masterpiece as social and cultural history* (2018). In Henry Augustin Beers' *Initial Studies in American Letters* (1895), the late Yale University literary historian wrote:

The reader of Winthrop's *Journal* comes everywhere upon hints which the imagination has since shaped into poetry and romance. The germs of many of Longfellow's "New England Tragedies," of Hawthorne's "Maypole of Merrymount," and Endicott's "Red Cross," and of Whittier's "John Underbill" and "The Familists' Hymn" are all to be found in some dry, brief entry of the old Puritan diarist. "Robert Cole, having been oft punished for drunkenness, was now ordered to wear a red D about his neck for a year," to wit, the year 1633, and thereby gave occasion to the greatest American romance, "The Scarlet Letter."

He left Massachusetts Bay to join Roger Williams at Providence where he was one of the new colony's 13 original proprietors and a founding member of the First Baptist Church in America. In the Providence Plantations he was a first settler of Pawtuxet and an early settler of Shawomet, now the Rhode Island towns of Cranston and Warwick. His greatest achievement, however, was his co-authorship of the Plantation Agreement at Providence of 1640. Ratified by both men and women in Providence, it established the first secular, representative democracy in America.

Robert Coles, whose ancestry remains unclear, He and his first wife, Mary, appeared together for the first time in the records of the Roxbury church. Because Mary's death was recorded in an undated note in Roxbury church records, it is thought she died before he moved to Providence. His second wife, Mary Hawxhurst (c. 1602–1656), was the daughter of Sampson Hawxhurst (1571–1627), vicar of Nuneaton in Warwickshire, England, and Elizabeth. After Robert Coles's death, Mary Hawxhurst married Matthias Harvey and moved to Oyster Bay on Long Island.

Coles had at least seven children, four of whom were under 18 years of age when he died. His children by his first wife, Mary, were John Coles (married Ann), Deliverance Coles (married Richard Townsend), and Ann Coles (married Henry Townsend). His children by his second wife, Mary Hawxhurst, were Daniel Coles (married Maher Shalalhasbaz Gorton, daughter of Samuel Gorton), Nathaniel Coles (married Martha Jackson, Deborah Wright, Sarah Harcourt), Sarah Coles (married Captain Thomas Townsend), and Captain Robert Coles Jr. (married Mercy Wright).

Coles died intestate in 1655 in Warwick, Providence Plantations. The Warwick town council settled his debts and distributed net assets of about £400 (about US \$102,000 in 2019) to his heirs. The settlement included the sale of the "Mill of Warwick" and land in Pawtuxet to establish a trust worth £170 (about US \$44,000 in 2019 for his minor children.

Three of Coles's daughters married into the Townsend family. The Townsends came to Warwick after conflicts over religious liberty with authorities in the Dutch colony of New Netherland. Ann Coles's husband, Henry Townsend, was fined and imprisoned more than once in New Netherland for hosting Quaker meetings and for political agitation. He signed the Flushing Remonstrance in 1657 to protest the persecution of Quakers and others in New Netherland. A year later Ann Coles was charged with support of the "odious sect." The Townsends later settled in Oyster Bay, which was out of Dutch jurisdiction. Three of Coles's sons—Robert Jr., Nathaniel, and Daniel Coles—were original proprietors of Musketa Cove Plantation, now the city of Glen Cove, New York, near Oyster Bay. The home that Robert Coles Jr. built there in 1668 still stands.

The notable descendants of Robert Coles include industrialist Walter Chrysler (1875–1940) who founded the Chrysler Corporation, novelist Miriam Coles Harris (1834–1925), American Revolutionary War spies Robert Townsend (1753–1838) and Sarah "Sally" Townsend (1760–1842) who were siblings and members of the secret Culper Ring,[82] spy Jesse Coles (1757–1839) who was captured while carrying a message to General Washington, and Robert R. Coles (1907–1985) who was chairman of the Hayden Planetarium. After Cole's death his family moved to Long Island, New

York. Three of his sons founded the city of Glen Cove, New York, while three of his daughters married into the Townsend family who engaged in civil disobedience to promote the separation of church and state.

Edward Converse

Edward Convers(e) was possibly born on 23rd February 1588 in Navestock Essex. His first marriage was to a Jane Clarke about 1608. He died in Woburn Massachusetts on 10th August 1663. He was a Puritan settler in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and was one of the founders of Woburn, Massachusetts. He built the first house and first mill in Woburn. Converse was very active in town affairs, serving as one of its first selectmen. He served on "every committee and had a part in every movement that had this new settlement in view." He also helped establish Charlestown. He was one of the colony's wealthy landowners, and was a farmer, miller and surveyor. His wife Jane had died before 1614.

He married his second wife, Sarah Parker, Born in Great Burstead Essex on 29th June 1614 at St. Mary Magdalene also in Great Burstead. The baptismal date of Edward Converse of Navestock agrees with his deposition given 10th March 1661/2 when he gave his age as then about 73 years. They resided at South Weald, Essex, where they had the baptisms of three children recorded between 1618 and 1623.

He and his family arrived in Salem, Massachusetts, with the Winthrop Fleet on June 12th 1630, in the early stages of the Great Migration. Sarah died at Woburn on 14th January 1662

He also founded the First Church of Charlestown, and established the first ferry from Charlestown to Boston. The ferry operated where the Charles River Bridge is now located, and was referred to as the "Great Ferry" (to distinguish it from a smaller ferry operating between Charlestown and Winnisimmet). Edward Converse died on 10th August 1663, in Woburn, Massachusetts.

His last marriage was to Joanna Sprague (nee Warren widow of Lieutenant Ralph Sprague (formerly of Fordington St. George Dorset of Charlestown) on 9th September 1662, in Woburn Middlesex Massachusetts. She died on 24th February 1679.

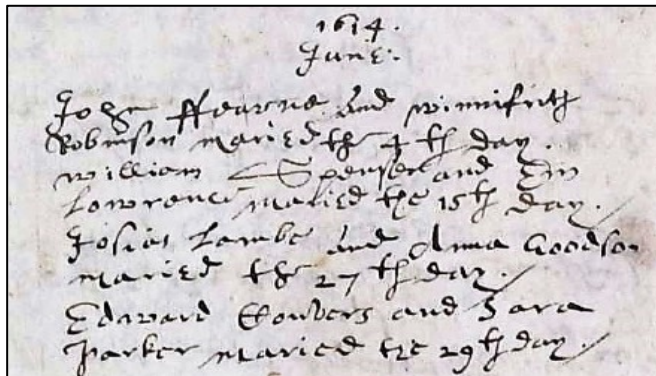
Edward Converse made his will leaving 40 shillings to his "kinsman," John Parker, who was to be one of the overseers. (a) Josiah Converse assisted Jacob Parker in the administration of the estate of Jacob's brother, John Parker; and (b) in 1672, after the death of Jacob Parker, James Converse (brother of Josiah) joined the widow Sarah Parker and her brother-in-law, James Parker of Groton, Massachusetts in petitioning the court for a division of the property left by Jacob Parker. The fact that Edward Converse's wife, Sarah, was a Parker, explains Edward's having referred to John Parker of Billerica as "kinsman" in his will dated 1659.

The parish registers of South Weald. In addition to the baptisms of Edward Converse's three children as reported by the Petersons, two previously overlooked burials were found at South Weald: Sara, daughter of Edward Converse, in 1623 and Sara, wife of Edward in 1625. Moreover, the South Weald registers revealed that Edward Converse's brother, Allen Converse, Jr. (baptized at Navestock, Essex, in 1586) also resided at South Weald, where he and his wife, also named Sara, had five children: Theophilus, Allen, Aron, Abraham, and Sara) baptized between March 1613/14 and 1621. Allen's wife Sara was buried there 5 December 1626. Of the five children of Allen Converse, Jr. recorded, only three, Theophilus, Allen and Sara survived infancy. Since only Theophilus appears as an adult in the South Weald registers, it is reasonable to suppose that Allen and Sara are identical with the Allen Converse "kinsman" and Sarah Smith "kinswoman" named in the 1659 will of the immigrant Edward Converse of Woburn, Massachusetts. Allen Converse, nephew of Edward, did in fact immigrate to New England where he joined his uncle at Woburn. He married about 1641 Elizabeth (1618-1691), and died at Woburn 19 April 1679. Edward Converse's niece, Sara (Converse) Smith appears to be identical with Sarah (died 1687) wife of John Smith (died 1673) of Charlestown, Massachusetts who were married 1646.

Children of Edward and Sarah (Parker) Converse were Josiah Converse, baptised at South Weald, Essex on 30th October 1618 as "**Josiah Convers** son to Edward Convers", died 3rd February 1691 aged 72 years. He married at Woburn, Massachusetts, 26th March 1651, Esther Champney, daughter of Richard and Jane of Cambridge, born 1638 in England and died at Billerica, Massachusetts on 5th April 1713, aged 80. She married secondly at Billerica, on 17th November, 1690, (as his 2nd wife), (Captain) Jonathan Danforth, Sr. of Cambridge and Billerica, widower of Elizabeth Poulter, stepdaughter of John Parker of Billerica. Jonathan died on 7th September 1712 aged 85 years.

James Converse baptised at South Weald, Essex on 29th November, 1620, as "John Convers son to Edward Convers and Sarah his wife." Died at Woburn, Massachusetts, 10th May 1715 aged 95 years. He married at Woburn on 24th October 1643, Anne (or Anna) Long, baptised on 1st June 1623 at St. Albans, Hertfordshire, and died at Woburn 10th August, 1691 aged 69 years. daughter of Robert and Sarah (Taylor) Long of St. Albans, Hertfordshire, and Dunstable, Bedfordshire, and Charlestown, Massachusetts, and younger sister of Elizabeth Long, wife of James Parker

Sarah Converse baptised at South Weald, Essex on 2nd June 1623, as "Sara Convers daughter to Edward Convers & Sara, his wife"; buried there 30th December, 1623,, as "Sara Conbers daughter to Edward Convers."



Mary Converse, born around 1625 no baptism record found. She married firstly at Woburn, Massachusetts on 19th December, 1643, Simon Thompson, who died there in May, 1658. She then married at Billerica, 1st February 1659/60, John Sheldon who died there on 24th May 1690, aged about 63 years.

With his wife, Sarah, Edward had: **Samuel**, baptised at Charlestown on 12th March 1636/7 and died at Woburn on 20th February, 1669. He married at Woburn, 8th June 1660 Judith Carter, daughter of Rev. Thomas and Mary (Parkhurst) Carter of Watertown and Woburn, Massachusetts. Judith was baptised at Watertown 15th March 1642/3; she married secondly, at Charlestown, 2nd May 1672 (as his 2nd wife), Giles Fifield of Charlestown and Hampton, New Hampshire. Mariner and Tobacco Winder, baptised 1629 (aged 46 in 1675) and died testate at Charlestown on 5th October, 1676. She died there of Small Pox, 3rd October, 1678.

Allen Converse (or Combers), Jr., brother of Edward Converse the immigrant (see above) was baptized at Navestock, Essex in 1586, the son of Allen Converse, Sr. of Navestock and South Weald, Essex with his first wife, Joanna. He was buried at Navestock on 24th April 1639. He married around 1613, Sara who was buried at South Weald on 5th December 1626. As an adult, he was styled "junior", to distinguish him from his father of the same name. Children, all baptized at South Weald, Essex:

Theophilus Converse (or Cumbers) baptised 13th March 1613/4, as "Theophilus Convers the sonne of Allen Convers (junior);" buried at South Weald "as Theophilus Cumbers of Brentwood" 16th August 1672; He married first at South Weald, 25th September, 1644, Elizabeth, whose surname is not included in the record. She was buried at South Weald as "Elizabeth the Wife of Theophilus Convers of Brentwood" 5th February 1667/8. He married secondly, at South Weald, on 6th October 1668, Margery (nee) Hurrall. Children: baptised at South Weald: **John Converse** baptised 28th September, 1645; buried at South Weald 9th April 1679. **Japhet Converse** baptised 14th September. 1648. **James Converse** baptised 11th April 1652.

Allen Converse immigrant to New England baptised 18th August, 1616 as "Allen Convers sonne to Allen Convers" died at Woburn, Massachusetts, 19th April 1679. He married circa 1641, Elizabeth who died at Woburn 9th August 1691. In his will dated 14th April 1679, proved 17th June 1679, he named his wife, Elizabeth; two children of his deceased son, Zachariah; son, Samuel; and daughters Sarah and Mary.

Aaron Converse, baptised 2nd February 1618/19, as "Aron Convers ye sonne to Allin Convers" buried at South Weald 7 March 1618/19, as "Aron Convers sonne to Allin Convers.

Abraham Converse, baptised 7th January 1619/20 as "Abraham Convers sonne to Aleyn Convers"; buried at South Weald 3 May 1620, as "Abraham Convers son to Allen Convers."

Sarah (or Sara) Converse, immigrant to New England, baptised 17th April 1621, as "Sara Convers daughter to Allen Converse & Sara, his wife", living 1659 when she was mentioned in the will of her uncle, Edward Converse of Woburn, Massachusetts. She married by 1659, John Smith of Charlestown Massachusetts, a Ship's Carpenter. He died on 26th March 1673, leaving a Will dated 8th March 1673 and proved on 17th June 1673, that named his wife Sara, sons, John, James, and Josiah; daughters, Elizabeth, Sarah, and Mary. The widow Sarah died at Charlestown 12 November. 1687.

John Faunce

He appears to have been born in Purleigh or Stow Maries about 1602 and died in Plymouth Massachusetts on 29th November 1653. At the time of his passing he was married to Patience Morton who was born in Leyden Holland in 1615 and her death in Plymouth on 16th August 1691. They had married around 1634 in Plymouth.

Including in the passenger manifest for the "Anne" and Faunce, was Manasseh Faunce which is arguably not John's wife but was a male relative, probably John Faunce younger brother born circa. 1613 in Stow Maries. His father was John Faunce born circa. 1580, married circa 1599 and who died on 19th April 1626 with a Maldon Essex registration.

John's wife, Patience Morton was born in Leyden, Holland, the daughter of George and Juliana (Carpenter) Morton. She died Aug 16, 1691 at Plymouth. The Morton line can be traced back to Hugh de Mountfort and the Battle of Hastings.

John and Patience came to New England aboard the Anne, 1623. In addition to being a planter, John was a businessman, designated as one of the Purchasers for the colony. John was not a member of the original Scrooby group, but was a "stranger" recruited by the merchant adventurers who financed the colony. They had eight children all born in Plymouth. Patience married second after June 9, 1660, Thomas Whitney.

Bridget Gyver

Of Saffron Walden in Essex. formerly of Boston Church No. 147 Massachusetts.

This is a difficult research in that a possible name of Bridgette Gyver was married on 14th October 1576 to a John Burles in Shalford Essex. Shalford and Saffron Walden are about thirteen miles apart. Was she the person named on the Arbella.

Robert Harding

Born about 1610 Boreham Essex is mentioned. He firstly married Phillipa Ruggles (1599-1645) around 1639 and secondly to Esther Wyllis on 17th October 1645 in Hartford Connecticut. He lived in Boston before moving to Portsmouth in 1638, Newport by 1640 and Boston by 1646. He returned to England permanently by 1651. He was a Merchant and Mercer by profession and several of his business debts were paid in "merchantable Sound West Indie Tobacco".

He was admitted to Boston Church as member no.11, which would be in late August or early September 1630. And became an elected Freeman on 18th May 1631 and Portsmouth on 20th August 1638. He served in the offices of Grand Jury on 19th September 1637 and was a Boston Selectman from 1st September 1634, 21st March 1637 (six

months), 5th November 1638 (six months), 13th May 1639 (six months), 15th December 1639 (six months). He was Assistant for Newport to the combined Government of Portsmouth and Newport from 16th March 1640. The committee for "Procuration of a Patent for this Island" 19th September 1642. He was Sergeant to Captain Underhill on 14th May 1634. Ensign for Boston on 9th March 1636. Admitted to the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company in 1637. He gave £5 to the building of a new fortification on Forthill on 23rd January 1636. On 28th November 1636 it was ordered and agreed that "Robte Harding" shall remove the little house in his yard and take it away from thence before the first of the next third month.

On 7th November 1640 Captain Robert Harding of Newport leased to William Withington of Portsmouth for nine years "all that the farm granted unto the said Robert by the said town of Newport containing 300 acres at the least lying near to an island called Canonicute."

On 17th October 1654 Massachusetts Bay General Court ordered that Captain Hardings estate be released from its sequestration and he be released from his bond to the court for his continuance "in this country". By this date he has returned permanently to England.

Another comment to be further researched is that Captain Robert Harding of Boston, a merchant, purchased the ship "Separation" from Captain Thomas Cromwell in the summer of 1646.

Henry Harwood

Born in 1605 in Shenfield Essex and died in 1637 in Charlestown Suffolk Massachusetts. He married Elizabeth (Isabel) Isecke (1612-1675) in St. James Clerkenwell Middlesex on 22nd February 1628. His forenames may well have been William Henry (and known as Harry).

The Salem Massachusetts family descended from Henry Harwood and Elizabeth, his wife, who came from England with Governor Winthrop, in 1630. They lived for a little time in Boston, and were members of the church there, but were dismissed in 1631, to help found the church in Charlestown. Henry Harwood desired to be admitted freeman, Oct. 10, 1630, and took the oath of freeman, in 1633. It is claimed that Henry died about 1635, his life having been shortened by extraordinary suffering in a storm, mentioned by Winthrop in some of his writings. There was a Henry Harwood living in Salem, Mass., in 1638, made freeman, Feb. 28, 1643, died about 1664.

Samuel Hosier

Born by about 1609, possibly in Colchester based on freemanship. (The "Streeter Bible" gives his birth as 1 June 1614, which seems too late more like 1610.) Came to Massachusetts Bay in 1630 & settled in Watertown. Died in Watertown 29 July 1665.

Married in Charlestown 13th October 1657 "Urslin Streeter," widow of Stephen Streeter. She was Ursula Adams, daughter of Henry Adams, and she married four times, to Stephen Streeter, Samuel Hosier, William Robinson and Griffin Crafts [1630, Roxbury].

No children recorded. James Wall, who came in the Winthrop fleet but returned to England almost immediately, referred to "my kinsman Samueller Hosyer."

He is listed on Watertown Founders Monument, commemorating the first settlers of Watertown, Massachusetts. The town was first known as Saltonstall Plantation, one of the earliest of the Massachusetts Bay Colony settlements. Founded in early 1630 by a group of settlers led by Richard Saltonstall and George Phillips, it was officially incorporated that same year. The alternate spelling "Waterton" is seen in some early documents.

Matthew Irons

Born about 1613 in Roxwell Essex and died on 16th April 1661 in Boston Massachusetts. He married Hannah Brown (born 13th January 1604 in Sawbridgeworth Hertfordshire and died in 1655 in Boston Suffolk County Massachusetts.

He was born about 1613 based on an estimated marriage date of about 1636. He emigrated in 1630, probably as the servant of William Coulborne, and settled in Boston where he was an innkeeper. Matthew became a freeman in Boston in 1636. His land in Boston was near the intersection of South and Summer Streets.

Manasseh Kempton

Born around 1589 in Berwick upon Tweed Northumberland and died in Plymouth Colony on 14th January 1662.

Baptized at Berwick-upon-Tweed, Northumberland, 26 February 1589/90, son of George Kempton. Came to Plymouth Colony in 1623 on the "Anne." Died in Plymouth, 14th January 1662/3. Married by 1627, Juliana (Carpenter) Morton, widow of George Morton. She died Plymouth 19 February 1664/5 "aged fourscore and one years."

Manassas moved from Colchester, Essex, to London, in 1620. He came to Plymouth Colony in 1623 on the "Anne".

Before 22nd May 1627 Juliana's' second married to Manasseh Kempton, son of George Kempton (before 1569-after 1595), at Plymouth, Massachusetts. Baptized at Berwick-upon-Tweed, Northumberland, 26 February 1589/90, son of George Kempton. Came to Plymouth Colony in 1623 on the "Anne." Died in Plymouth, 14 January 1662/3. Married by 1627, Juliana (Carpenter) Morton, widow of George Morton. She died Plymouth 19 February 1664/5 "aged fourscore and one years." No children recorded.

Robert Lyman

The Lyman family (also known in earlier history as Leman) were major landowners in Essex and Suffolk over the centuries before and after Henry Layman of Navestock sold his lands in order to emigrate with his family and at the same time with his brother Richard Lyman in 1631 also Richard's wife Sarah and children Phyllis, Richard, John and Robert were accompanying.

The Lyman Genealogy has been extensively researched in recorded in a book, a copy of which is held in the Boston Public Library entitled "Genealogy of the Lyman Family in Great Britain and America" The ancestors and descendants of Richard Lyman from High Ongar in England 1631 by Lyman Coleman D.D. Professor in Lafayette College Easton Pennsylvania 1872.

Thomas Munt

Born about 1610 in the vicinity of Colchester Essex. He was a Bricklayer by profession. Died suddenly in Boston, Suffolk County, Massachusetts 27 July 1664 ("forasmuch as he the said Munt was taken away by a sad & sudden stroke of death.") His widow married before March 1668, Thomas Hill, and was living 23 July 1668. .

Thomas was in Boston as early as 1635, a mason, when he was given permission to fence in a piece of marsh before his house for the making of brick. Thomas was apprentice to Richard Garrett (Winthrop) (Suffolk Deeds III). He finished his time with John Winthrop when Garrett died. Thomas' first wife, Dorothy, died 28th February 1640 in Boston. (Boston VR 1630-1699: 1638, p. 8: Dorothy, wife of Thomas Munt, d. 12th month 28th day). Thomas then married Elinor Hill by whom he had Faith, who died young (Savage); Faith again, born 24th April 1645, and two more daughters whose names are not seen.

On 25 March 1650 he was given liberty to mow the marsh at Bird Island. On 29 February 1654 three competent men were ordered to view the land "that was granted unto Thomas Munt, whether it be a meet competency for the land that the town makes use of his for a highway near unto Mr. Farnesid's house" . On 9 April 1649, with others, Thomas Munt agreed to pay 6d. an acre a year for the support of the school for his land at Spectacle Island.

On 12 April 1653 Thomas Munt of Boston, bricklayer, and Elinor his wife sold to William Penne of Braintree, sawyer, thirty-eight acres of upland and four acres of upland in Braintree; "Thomas Munt" and "Alice " made their marks to this deed. On 28 Jul 1656: With Walter Merry, Thomas Munt was surety for Thomas Harding when he was admitted an inhabitant this date. On 2 March 1657 John Samuells of Boston, fisherman, and Lucy his wife, sold to Thomas Munt of Boston, bricklayer, one-quarter acre of land "with the trees and brick chimneys" in Boston. On 1 February 1659 James Hawkins, aged fifty-six or thereabouts, deposed that Thomas Munt held title to a parcel of land near the mill in Boston containing one and a half acres and that in the year 1636 the said Munt showed me an indenture by the which one Richard Garrit (with whom the said Munt came from England) was bound to give the said Munt at the end of the term which the said Munt was to serve the said Garrit the sum of £20 or fifty acres of land in New England next adjoining to the lands of the said Garrit; within a short time after the said Garrit died, and the deceased Mr. Winthrop, then Governor, entertained the said Munt for the remainder of time to serve, after the time was expired the said Munt demanded his covenant, which was referred to Mr. Cotton deceased and to Mr. Wilson to determine. They ordered the said Munt should have the abovenamed piece of land for full satisfaction of the said Garrit's engagement. On 23 January 1663 Thomas Munt of Boston, mason, and Elinor his wife sold to Robert Sanderson of Boston, goldsmith, sixteen and a half rods of land in Boston near the water mills.

On 10 March 1667/8 Thomas Hill of Boston, tanner, and Ellioner his wife "the relict & administratrix of the estate left by Thomas Munt of said Boston, bricklayer," stated that Munt "in the time of his life together with the said Elenor his then wife" in 1662 sold to George Ruggles of Boston, weaver, twenty-six rods with a drain for a cellar for a new dwelling house, also another parcel of four rods nearby. The deed was drawn but Munt died suddenly and did not complete it and by the present document Thomas Hill and Elinor honoured the original deed. On 28 March 1668 Thomas Hill of Boston, tanner, and "Elenor his wife the relict and administratrix of the estate left by Thomas Munt of said Boston, bricklayer, deceased," confirmed to James Wiseman of Boston, brazier, "a parcel of land in Boston ... containing six rods and one tenth part of a rod" which "Thomas Munt in the time of his life together with the said Elenor his then wife" sold to Wiseman in 1662, but Munt died before the deed was completed. Education: He made his mark to deeds. Estate: In the Boston Book of Possessions of 1645 Thomas Munt held "one house and lot"

"Inventory of ye Goods & chattels of Thomas Munt, deceased, prised by James Johnson, Robert Sanderson, Edward Raynesford, 6th July 1664. Amt.L.214.07-1/2. Mentions "one peece of land lying between Robert Sanderson and John Brackett;" "one peece of Land lying by Peter Warren."

9th July 1664. Power of Administration to this Estate granted to Elinor his late wife on behalf of herself and her 3 daughters. Elinor Munt deposed to the inventory of said estate, on the same day. According to an Order from the Honoured Governor and Major Leverett to us, whose names hear underwritten, for the divisions of the Estate of Thomas Munt deceased, Between Thomas Hill the Husband of the Relict of Thomas Munt and his three children is as followeth: The whole Estate amounted unto 216:4:3 [pounds]. To Thomas Hill the one Half, 108:2:1-1/2 [widow's half To Clement Short, Husband to Faith Munt, Imp. a piece of Land Lying night the Mill dam between Robert Sanderson and John Brackett, 30 pounds; 2-1/2 acres of Land at Spectacle Island, 3 pounds; for Thomas Hill in goods 6s: 8-1/2 etc. Amt. 36 pounds... To Thomas Kingston, Husband to Mary Munt-- to a piece of Land lying at the upper end of Thomas Hills lot fronting upon the Common, 16 pounds... to 2 acres of Land at Long Island, 2 pounds etc. Amt. 36 pounds. To Patient Munt, 2 piece of Land lying by Peter Warrens, 20 pounds, a debt which William Hersey of Hingham, owes, etc. Amt. 36 pounds.

The inventory of Thomas Munt was taken 6 July 1664 and totalled £214 9s. 1½d., including real estate valued at £156 7s.: "dwelling house, garden and barn," £101 7s.; "four acres of land," £5; "one piece of land lying between Robert Sanderson and John Brackett," £30; and "one piece of land lying by Peter Warren," £20. Administration on the estate of Thomas Munt was granted on 9 July 1664 to Elinor, his late wife, "on behalf of herself and her three daughters". On 28th April 1666 the court allowed the division of the estate, one half to Thomas Hill (husband of widow Elinor) and the remaining half equally divided to the three daughters: land at the mill dam and at Spectacle Island to Clement Short, husband to Faith Munt; land at the common and at Long Island to Thomas Kingston, husband to Mary Munt; and two pieces of land near Peter Warren's and a debt owed by William Hersey of Hingham to Patience Munt

Children (by 2nd wife): Faith, born Boston 24 April 1645, married Boston 21st November 1660 to Clement Short. Mary, born circa. 1647; married by 1666 to Thomas Kingston (eldest known child born Boston 29th September 1666. Patience, born. say 1649; unmarried at 28th April 1666; no further record.

James Penniman.

Born about 1599 in Chipping Ongar Essex and baptised on 29th July 1599 in Chipping Ongar. He married Lydia Eliot on 26th July 1631 at High Laver in Essex and had ten children, all born in Boston Massachusetts. James Penniman died on 26th December 1664 at Braintree Suffolk Massachusetts. Lydia Eliot, who was baptized at Nazeing, Essex, on 1st July 1610, daughter of Bennet and Lettice (Aggar) Eliot.

James came probably in the Lion, 1631, with John Winthrop, Jr. Admitted freeman, March 6, 1631-2; of Boston at first; of Braintree, 1639. His will is dated Dec. 18, 1664; proved Jan. 31, 1664-5; recorded Suff. Prob., 1 :443."

Lydia married secondly at Medfield, Massachusetts, 7 December 1665, to Thomas Wight. She died, probably in Medfield, before 19 July 1676, when her estate was inventoried."

Josiah Plaistow.

Born about 1600 in Ramsden Crays (Basildon Borough) in Essex. He married Anne Hickman in 1626 at St. Martin's Ludgate London. There is a record of Anne Hickman, daughter of Joseph Hickman being baptised at St. Peters Church Cornhill London on 1st April 1605.

In the notebook of Governor Winthrop made while on the voyage to the New World, he records some of the passengers. Among other persons, he mentions that William Buckland is on board as a servant of Mr. Josias Plaistow.

The records of the Massachusetts Bay Colony then have several mentions of Plaistow. They start with an entry of 1st March 1630/1: "Mr. Plaistow" was one of six men to be sent back to England on the Lyon, or as soon thereafter as possible "as persons unmeet to inhabit here"

On 27th September 1631: "It is ordered, that Josias Plaistow shall (for stealing 4 baskets of corn from the Indians) return them 8 baskets again, be fined £5, & hereafter to be called by the name of Josias, & not Mr, as formerly he used to be, & that William Buckland & Tho: Andrewe shall be whipped for being accessory to the same offense". Winthrop reports this case, adding the details that the corn had been stolen from Chickatabot and his men (who were present at court) and that Buckland and Andrews were Plaistow's servants.

On 5th June 1632: "There is a commission granted to Mr. Pinchon & Mr. Mavericke, Senior, to make inquiry, & to take depositions of the creditors of Josias Plaistow & their witnesses, that it may appear what debts are owing by him, & so his estate to be preserved here till the next Court". The commissioners on Plaistow's estate were from Dorchester and Roxbury, it would seem that Plaistow was active somewhere on the south shore of Massachusetts Bay; this is consistent with the involvement of Chickatabot, an Indian of that area. This court record of June 1632 indicates a settlement of an estate of a debtor, not as of a deceased person, and yet the debtor is not a party to the proceedings. Thus, Plaistow had departed from Massachusetts Bay, sometime after the September 1631 court record and before the June 1632 court record, leaving behind some estate, and also some debts. Ordinarily, ships did not depart/arrive New England to/from England in the winter, so it is most likely that if Plaistow had not departed in September/October of 1631, then he departed with the resumption of the ship schedules in the spring of 1632.

What about his servants Andrews and Bucklin?

As for the Thomas Andrews mentioned in this 27 September 1631 order of the Court of Assistants of Massachusetts Bay that "Tho. Andrewe and Will Buckland " be whipped as an accessory to Josias Plaistow in the theft of corn from the Indians - does not show up in any records after that according to all researchers. Anderson, *The Great Migration Begins*, 1620, at entry for Thomas Andrews comes to the conclusion that it can reasonably or could be supposed that he went back to England as a servant to Plaistow. The same reasonable supposition can be made about William Buckland. That is, from the time of the court orders about Plaistow until 1634 there is no record of anyone named Buckland or its soundex equivalents (e.g., Bucklin). After 1634, and the mention of "our" William Buckland/Bucklin, there is no mention of any other William Buckland/Bucklin except for "our" William Bucklin [We exclude a later William Buckland who is clearly not either the Will Bucklin of the Plaistowe court order or "our" William Bucklin of the 1635 record.] We can reasonably think that he went back to England with Plaistow in the spring of 1632.

Mary Bosworth Clarke, records the arrival on the ship Elizabeth Dorcus, in 1634 of "Edward Bosworth, who with his wife Mary had with them their sons, a daughter Mary, and her husband William Buckland. This statement by Clarke may not be accurate as to William Buckland. It certainly is not accurate as to "their sons". Edward and Mary had only three sons. But son Jonathan was in Cambridge by 1633, perhaps sent to prepare the way or send back a report whether the rest of the family should come.

Shortly thereafter, in 1635, Hingham MA records show "Wm. Buckland had land granted to him as follows: 4 acres Wearyall Hill; a house lot of 5 acres near present West Hingham; 2 acres at Great Plain; 2 acres at Layford Meadow; and 3/4 acres of salt meadow at Cohasset. He also owned 1 lot at Broad Cove" Thereafter, in the Colony's court records of July 1635 William Buckland appears along with the sons of Edward Bosworth as one of "Edward Bosworth & his family" whose transportation had been paid by Henry Sewall. The most reasonable supposition is that the William of the 1630 record of Winthrop and the William of the ship arrival of 1634 is the same William. While this identification remains in our view as "most likely", it is not certain.

The gravestone for William's son Joseph Buckland provides an age at death from which a calculated birth date of 26 June 1633 may be derived. To have the William Buckland of the 1631 record be the same as the 1634 husband of Mary Bosworth, we have to believe that William Buckland returned to England in 1632 (this is likely, the servants of Plaistow would have returned to England with him in 1632), fathered his son Joseph, and then sailed for New England again in or before 1634. It is possible that the 1630 William was a different person than the husband of Mary Bosworth. We think not. The name William Buckland/Bucklin was not a common name. There is a short time frame in which Will Buckland/Bucklin shows up in the same area of the south shore of the Massachusetts Bay.

William Pynchon (The Honourable, Colonel)

Born 27th December 1590 in Writtle (Chelmsford) Essex the son of John Pynchon and Frances (nee Brett) William married by about 1618 at England, to Anne Andrew. The name "Andrew" was not spelled with an s; her father was William Andrew. Anne died in 1630, the same year of their immigration to Roxbury, Massachusetts.

William married by late 1632, as his 2nd, to Frances (Unknown) Smith Sanford. She died on 10 October 1657 at Wraybury Buckinghamshire in England. Frances had a son by her first marriage, Henry Smith. He was remembered in William Pynchon's will as "my son Master Henry Smith." Henry was not only step-son but also a son-in-law, as Henry married to his step-sister, Anne Pynchon, the daughter of William Pynchon and his first wife, Anne (Andrew). Children of William Pynchon and Anne Andrew (Anne, Mary, John and Margaret - born in Springfield, England). Anne Pynchon, married about 1658, Henry Smith, died after 1682. Mary Pynchon, married 20th November 1640, Elizur Holyoke, died 25th October 1657. Margaret Pynchon, married 6th December 1644, Captain William Davis, died 3rd July 1653. John Pynchon, born about 1625, married 6th November 1645, Amy Wyllys, died 17th January 1703. The children above are the only known children of William and Anne.

"Mr Pynchon was one of the Patentees of the Charter granted by King Charles I to the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 18 Mar. 1628/9." He left Springfield, Essex, England in 1630, with his wife Anne, and their three daughters. There is some question as to whether William's son John was with the family on this journey.

The Pynchon family were certainly aboard one of the ships which made up the Winthrop Fleet, probably one of the Arbella's three escorts; exactly which ship is unknown. There are no actual passenger lists. The Shipboard Journal of John Winthrop is probably our best record, and this entry was written on Friday, 23 April 1630:

About eleven of the clock, our captain sent his skiff and fetched aboard us the masters of the other two ships, and Mr. Pynchon, and they dined with us in the round-house, for the lady and gentlewomen dined in the great cabin. Some contend that the Pynchon's sailed aboard the Arbella/Arabella, flagship of Governor Winthrop's Fleet, but evidence is lacking.

Founder Roxbury 1630

William settled in Roxbury, Massachusetts, a new village less than two miles from Dorchester. "In founding Roxbury, Massachusetts in 1630, Pynchon settled land near a narrow isthmus, which was necessary to cross in order to reach the Port of Boston — thus all of Massachusetts' mainland trade needed to pass through his town." The family attended First Church in Dorchester, because Roxbury had not yet built a church. John Eliot, who eventually became minister of the church in Roxbury, wrote in his journal of how the congregation from Roxbury would, if the weather permitted, take a winding path through the woods to Dorchester to attend services. William married the widow Frances Sanford (formerly Smith) in Dorchester in 1630. "Essex Men Who Built the United States: Part Two - Massachusetts"

From 1629 (in England) to 1630-1636 in Massachusetts, William was Assistant to Massachusetts Bay, and also Treasurer from 1632-1636. In Roxbury, besides working as one of the principals in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, he was trading for pelts of beaver, mink and other furs, with the Indians.

Founder Springfield 1636

In 1634 William, with some companions, explored up the Connecticut River to discover a likely place to plant a new settlement. The next year one of the company built a house at the place they chose. It was "just north of the Connecticut River's first large falls, the Enfield Falls, which was the river's northern terminus navigable by sea-going ships. By founding Springfield where Pynchon did, much of the Connecticut River's traffic would have to either begin, end, or cross his settlement."

From May 14 through 16, 1636, William Pynchon and his associates drew up and signed the Articles of the association at Agawam, since renamed Springfield. The beginning of the Articles are reproduced on page 14 of The First Century of the History of Springfield. Among other things, they were concerned about 'the killing of wolves, the scouring of ditches, and the training up of children in some good calling'. "Our Plural History, Springfield, MA-Colonial Period, William Pynchon"

"In founding "The Great River's" northernmost settlement, Pynchon sought to enhance the trading links with upstream Native peoples such as the Pocumtucks, and over the next generation he built Springfield into a thriving trade town..." "Pynchon built a warehouse in what was once Springfield, but is present-day East Windsor, Connecticut, known as Warehouse Point — and to this day, it still bears the name. In the years 1636-1652, Pynchon exported between 4,000 to 6,000 beaver pelts a year from that location, and also was the New World's first commercial meat packer, exporting pork products. The profits from these endeavors enabled him to retire to England as a very wealthy man."

Authored First Book Banned in America

After a life full of responsibilities, honours, and prosperity, William Pynchon wrote and published a book, The Meritorious Price of Christ's Redemption, which ended up being the first book banned in Massachusetts.

Returned to England, 1652

The basic principle of William's Book, "The Meritorious Price of Our Redemption", caused him to be labelled a church heretic, have his book burned in Boston's public market place, and forced him to return to England.

The authorities in Boston wished to punish him for what they considered heretical views, so William transferred his properties to his only son, John Pynchon. William and his wife Frances, sailed back to England about 1652, accompanied by William's daughter Anne, her husband Henry Smith - son of Frances, and the minister, Mr. Moxon.

"After Pynchon's return to England, his son John extended his father's settlements in the Connecticut River Valley northward, founding Northampton, Westfield, Hadley, and other towns." In England, William was an advocate for Springfield and the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Death and Legacy

William died on October 29, 1662 at his comfortable country home at Wraybury, Buckinghamshire, England.

Robert Sampson

His notes mention he was from High Ongar in Essex but he appears to originate in Kersey Suffolk, born around 1602 and possibly returned there in later life. A Death record of 1682 in Kersey Suffolk could be of him.

Thomas Read(e)

Born in North Benfleet Essex son of Edmund Reade and brother of Edmund, Mary, Margaret (Lake) William, Martha (Symonds) Thomas, Samuel and Elizabeth (Winthrop). He was the husband of Priscilla Banks.

Captain Thomas Read died in 1662 in Wickford Essex. He had migrated to New England. He was Baptised on 15th August 1612 at North Benfleet Church where the family lived, possibly in a small manor adjoining the church. Thomas' sister Elizabeth married John Winthrop Jnr who became Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Thomas was made freeman on 1st April 1634 at Salem, Massachusetts. He was on the list of Salem church members, which was compiled late in 1636, with the notation, "removed." Thomas had returned to England by 8th December 1634, when John Endicott wrote to John Winthrop, Jr. concerning "Thomas Read who is now in England."

Thomas owned a property called "Soper's" in Wickford, co. Essex, England, which he left to his wife for her lifetime, and afterwards to Samuel. After his final return to England (after 31st August 1649), Thomas was made a Colonel in the Parliamentary Army and was appointed Governor of Stirling Castle. He was said to have participated with General George Monck in restoring King Charles II to the throne, but was arrested in October, 1661 and held at the Gatehouse, Westminster with several other officers. Thomas died sometime between when he wrote his will on 25 July 1662, and when it was probated on 6 November 1662. Thomas made his home at Wickford, Essex, England, and this may be the place he died.

The Reade family of Wickford.

Edmund Reade (later Colonel) was baptised in Wickford Essex on 23rd May 1563 and married Elizabeth Cooke at Pebmarsh Essex in 1594 following the death of his first wife Thomasin Wallenger who died in Wickford in 1592. Edmund held a considerable amount of land in the Wickford area and his ancestry can be further traced back in the Wickford and Runwell area to at least the late 1400's. Although of minor gentry, he was obviously of some wealth borne out by his will of 1623. His death recorded on 1st December 1623.

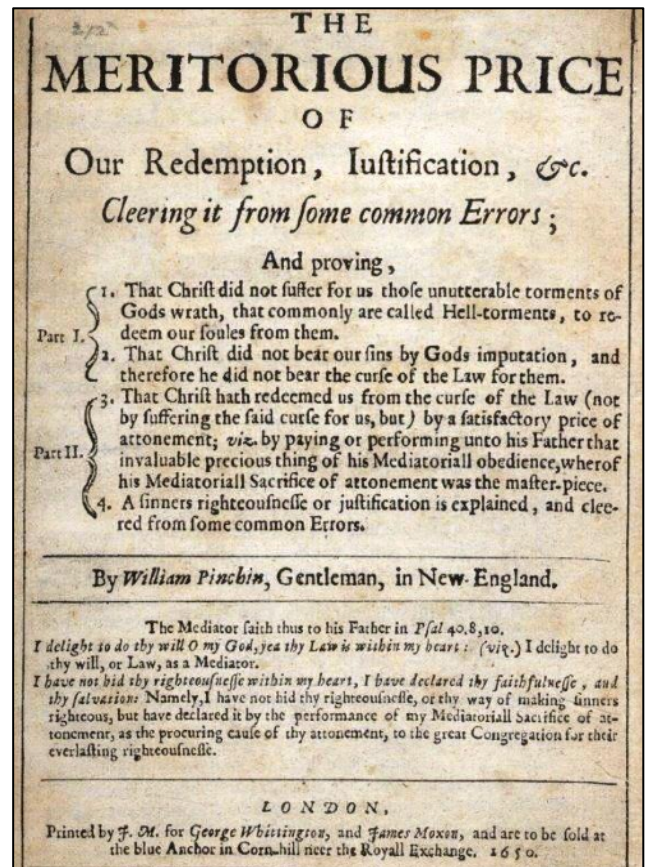
His will showed that he was also generous, for example he gave twenty shillings to the poor of Wickford, five pounds to his servant John Weald and two shillings to his other servants. Most of his lands and chattels went to his eldest son William but he made sure the rest of his children were well catered for.

Elizabeth Winthrop (nee Reade and second wife of Governor John Winthrop Jnr.) was not his only daughter that emigrated to America, Margaret Lake (nee Reade) and her two daughters Hannah and Martha went along with their brother Thomas sailing on the "Abigail" to Massachusetts in July 1635. For some unknown reason Margaret Lake had left her husband John Lake and remaining children in England. John Lake was born in Normanton in Yorkshire on 26th September 1590 and following the death of his father, (also John in 1612, he inherited Great Fanton Hall, North Benfleet where he married Margaret in 1616 at North Benfleet Church.

It has been suggested that considering the family were wealthy landowners, not only in North Benfleet but also neighboring parishes of Nevendon, Basildon, Wickford and Rawreth, that she looked to the colonies of North America for sanctuary of her religious beliefs. Or perhaps that she had lost at least two of her children to the Plague, or was it an unhappy marriage?

One must recall the religious upheaval and civil unrest previously described with the populous unhappy with James I and later Charles I which eventually ended in two Civil Wars. This unrest was as evident in Essex as anywhere in the country and preceding the Civil Wars, saw approximately thirty thousand people leave these shores for new lives in New England in what has been referred to as "the Great Migration". This had begun in 1630 when Elizabeth Winthrop's father-in-law John Winthrop Snr. with a small fleet of Puritan settlers founded the Massachusetts Bay Colony, albeit Christopher Martin had sailed some ten years earlier.

Margaret Reade was born on 11th July 1598 in North Benfleet. The daughters who travelled with her were Hannah, who according to the Parish Register of All Saints Church, was baptised on 3rd July 1621 and Martha was baptised on



20th July 1624. As a side issue their grandfather John Lake Snr., served as a Juror for Barstable Hundred in the year of the Armada in 1588.

The lands the settlers occupied was the tribal homeland of the native Indians. By 1637 the Massachusetts Bay Company had taken control of lands and John Winthrop Jr. was given some of these and some eight years later, he visited the area to finalise his plans and his sister-in-law Margaret Lake (nee Reade) joined him and was the first woman to set foot in the area that later became known as New London. Whatever Margaret's reasons for leaving England, she still tried to keep in touch with her husband. Her step-father, Reverend Hugh Peters, wrote from London to John Winthrop Jr. in 1654 to say the "John Lake is alive and lusty". He wrote again in 1657 saying "John Lake lives still" however, he died some four years later.

Margaret's daughter Hannah, at the age of twenty-two, in 1643 married John Gallup and became part of a famous frontier family. John Gallup fought in many of the frontier wars and Hannah's sons, John and William followed in his footsteps and her grandsons, great grandsons and great-great grandsons continued in that tradition that would see them fight in the Wars of Independence and the American Civil War. Hannah died a wealthy and respected woman on 19th December 1675 whose later descendants, like Elizabeth Winthrop, include George H.W. Bush and George W. Bush.

Margaret had died only three years earlier on 24th September 1672 in Ipswich Massachusetts where she had been living at the time with her daughter Martha who had married Thomas Harris on 15th November 1647. Martha died on 5th April 1700 in Ipswich, Essex, New England. Elizabeth, Margaret, Hannah and Martha are just four of the Essex women who had the courage to seek a new life in America and helped to open up its frontiers.

What happened to Elizabeth and Margaret's brother who had sailed out with them, well at some later date he had returned to England and became a Colonel in Oliver Cromwell's army; General Monck following the siege of Stirling Castle in August 1651 left Thomas Reade in command. Then following the death of Cromwell, Thomas also assisted the General in the restoration of the monarch with Charles II.

Elizabeth Reade of Wickford Essex and Wickford of Rhode Island.

Another of the links between the Borough of Basildon and the New World as then known, relates to the Winthrop ancestry. John Winthrop sailed with his two sons. Another son, John the younger, followed his father a year later but then returned to England after a couple of years. Then in July 1635 he returned again, this time with his second wife Elizabeth Reade. Both Johns became influential people holding governorships in the American Colonies. Wickford Rhode Island takes its name from Elizabeth's birthplace. In a letter from her grandson John Winthrop, son of Major General Waitstill Winthrop, in 1704 he states "Wickford also had its name from her being ye place of her nativity in Old England."

There is also a spring on the outskirts of East Greenwich, Rhode Island that was named Elizabeth Spring's after her by Roger Williams (1599-1683). The spring was first used by the Indians who travelled the Pequot trail and it is believed that Elizabeth probably stopped to drink at the spring on her way to New London from Boston.

In 1866 a Millstone with a marble tablet bearing the following inscription was placed by the spring by Dr. James Etheridge. Elizabeth Spring's so called from mistress Elizabeth Winthrop drinking at it in her travels up to Connecticut in ye beginning of ye country as early as 1645. Roger Williams laments; here is the spring say I, with a sign, but where is Elizabeth? My Charity answers; "She is gone to the Eternal Spring and Fountain of Living Waters."

Elizabeth died on 14th November 1672 in Hartford Connecticut and John Winthrop the younger died on 6th April 1676 in Boston Connecticut.

William Ruscoe.

There are a number of spelling variations of his name.

What appears established is that he was born around 13th April 1594 in Great Burstead Billericay and had married Rebecca Esther Stillwell around 1618 also in Billericay. The family that emigrated consisted of William, Rebecca, Nathaniel (aged about 14 born in 1620 Billericay) John (aged 10 born around 1624) Sara (aged 9 born around 1626), Marie or Mary (aged 7 born around 1628), Samuel (aged 5 born around 1630) and William (aged 1 born around 1634).

His first wife Rebecca died soon after emigrating in 1635 and William married Hester Musse around 1636. Daughter Ruth born around 1645. Hester died in 1680 in Jamaica Long Island New York.

William Ruscoe is mentioned on the 1640 Hartford Connecticut Founders Monument. As is Nathaniel.

William and his wife Rebecca sailed aboard the Increase with four of their children (Sarah, Mary or "Marie," Samuel and William) in 1635. Sons, Nathaniel and John, were not listed as passengers aboard the Increase, but there are records of their presence in the colonies. The family settled first at Cambridge but removed to Hartford, Connecticut by 1639. From there, Norwalk, Connecticut in 1654 and finally Jamaica, Long Island, New York in 1665.

William was the prison keeper at Hartford as evidenced by the town record allowing him on 9 March 1647/8 payment of 40 shillings for keeping the prisoners. William sold his property at Norwalk and removed to Jamaica in about 1665. He wrote his will on 5 August 1680 as William Ruscoe "of Jemeca in the North Rydeing of Yorkeshire of Long Island," and it was proved on 13, 14, or 15 December 1682.

John Sandford

John Sandford (born circa 1605 probably in Alford Lincolnshire and died on 15th November 1653 in Portsmouth Newport Rhode Island). He married Elizabeth Webb (1612 - 1637) in 1631 Massachusetts. His second marriage was

to Bridget Hutchinson (15th January 1618 Alford Lincolnshire – died 1698 Boston Massachusetts) Her parents were Judge William Hutchinson (born 14 August 1586 Alford Lincolnshire and died 20 February 1642 in Boston Massachusetts and her mother was Anne Marbury (born 20th July 1591 in Burgh on Bain Lincolnshire and died 20 August 1642 Long Island Queens New York. She was a controversial Puritan teacher.

His children included John and Samuel with Elizabeth his first wife and Eliphal, Peleg, Endcome, Restcome, William, Esbon, Frances, Elisha and Ann with Bridget.

It is again mentioned that he was from High Ongar in Essex but this may have been a meeting point from those travelling to Massachusetts. He travelled on the Lyon. Sanford named after Governor Peleg Sanford. The town is built on land that Peleg inherited from his Mother and Step-father.(perhaps several thousand acres. There was eight square miles of land 19000 acres mentioned in Pelegs step fathers will.) Both Peleg and his father John served as Governors in Rhode Island. Sanford is a large town and now has a few miles outside of town an airport named Sanford Airport.

Robert Sharpe

Born about 1612 possibly in Roxwell Essex and died in 1653 at Muddy River Suffolk Massachusetts.

Robert may be the son of Richard Sharpe of Islington, Norfolk, England, who was baptized 21st September 1617 at St. Mary's Parish, Islington, England. There is an old tradition, published in 1874, that the family traces back to a Robert Sharp of Islington, England to 1534. The author, Theodore F. Jones, (Director of New York University Library) examined the parish register of St. Mary's and found a baptismal entry that fit the immigrant. 21st September 1617, son of Richard, and a baptism for a brother William 14th February 1618. He felt positive that this was the immigrant.

Anderson mentions the article in the comments section of Robert's Great Migration sketch, but states: "While not sufficient to prove the English origin, this clue should be examined further." Robert was a youth of twenty when he came to Boston in the ship Abigail from London, in 1635.

He married Abigail Wright, daughter of Richard Wright, in about 1642, likely at Braintree, Massachusetts. After Richard's death she married Thomas Clapp and then Thomas Holbrook. They were first of Braintree, then went to Seekonk (Rehoboth) as first settlers.

1643: Robert Sharpe had an 8 acre lot at Seekonk, adjoining that of his father-in-law Richard.

1645: June 9: Robert Sharpe among those granted lots on the great plain.

1646: Feb. 18: Robert Sharpe among those granted lots for the new meadow.

1648: April 12: Robert Sharpe chosen grand jurymen.

1649: May 11: Robert Sharpe chosen surveyor of highways.

1650: August: Robert Sharpe and Peter Aspinwall purchased a farm of 150 acres at Muddy River. They removed to Boston by 1650.

By his wife Abigail he had one son John born March 12, 1643, and two daughters Abigail and Mary.

"Robert Sharpe", householder, was buried July 1653. The inventory of his estate was take on January 19th 1654, leaving legacies to his wife Abigail and his children.

On April 15, 1665, widow Abigail Clapp, relict and administratrix of the estate of Robert Sharpe, and her son John Sharp, petitioned the court for the division of the estate amongst the widow and children of Robert Sharpe, John being then age 22, daughter Abigail age about 17, and Mary age about 12, as Peter Aspinwall had managed the properties and estate up to this time.

Children were: John born at Braintree March 12th 1643; married by 1655, Martha Vose, daughter of Robert Vose.

Abigail born in 1647/8 at Rehoboth; married Edward Vose, son of Robert. Mary baptized December 5th, 1652 at Roxbury; married Nathaniel Tilden Nov. 5, 1673 at Scituate.

Israel Stoughton

Israel Stoughton (c.1603 possibly in Coggeshall Essex-died 1644) was an early English colonist in Massachusetts and a colonial commander in the Pequot War. Returning to England, he served as Parliamentary officer in the First English Civil War. Born in England, a younger brother of John Stoughton, Stoughton emigrated to the Massachusetts Colony in 1632. He settled at Dorchester near Richard Callicot's trading post. Stoughton was admitted as a freeman at Dorchester on 5 November 1633. In 1634 Stoughton was allowed to build the first mill on the Neponset River in what is now the Dorchester-Milton Lower Mills Industrial District. Stoughton was chosen as a representative for Dorchester in the Massachusetts General Court in 1634 and 1635. Stoughton had several apprentices and servants, including John Whipple.

During the height of the Antinomian Controversy in the colony, Stoughton wrote a book that attacked the colony's constitution. The book offended some members of the General Court, which barred Stoughton from holding any colony offices for three years. Stoughton later petitioned that the book be 'forthwith burnt, as being weak and offensive.' Despite this reversal, the General Court maintained their ban until 1636. In 1637, the General Court allowed Stoughton to become an assistant.

In 1636, war broke out between the Pequot tribe and the three New England colonies and their Native American allies. Appointed commander of the Massachusetts Colony militia, Stoughton reportedly employed brutal tactics against the Pequots.

In 1637 Stoughton transported Pequot prisoners to Massachusetts to serve as servants, and Stoughton requested "the fairest and largest" of the Pequot female prisoners to be his servant. He also had African American slaves or servants, including the well-known, Dorcas Ye Blackmore, who joined the First Parish Church of Dorchester in 1641,

and evangelized Native American servants and eventually attempted to gain her freedom with the help of the local church congregation.

In 1639 Stoughton and John Endecott acted as commissioners on behalf of Massachusetts Colony to settle a boundary dispute with Plymouth Colony. He gave a lease for a pasture to the residents of Dedham, Massachusetts for their cattle to graze.

Toward the end of 1643, Stoughton made a brief trip to England, returning home by the beginning of 1644. In late 1644 he went to England again, never to return to Massachusetts. With the advent of the First English Civil War, the English Parliament appointed Stoughton as a lieutenant colonel in their army. Stoughton died very soon afterwards in Lincoln.

Stoughton's children included William Stoughton, best known as the chief magistrate of the Salem witch trials in Massachusetts.

William Stoughton (1630?–1701), son of the above, born probably in England about 1630, graduated B.A. at Harvard and was called to the ministry, but soon abandoned it for civil life. He came to England, was incorporated at New College, Oxford, on 28 April 1652, and, after being elected fellow of that society, graduated M.A. on 30 June 1653. After the Restoration he was ejected from New College, and, returning to America, was continuously elected assistant from 1671 to 1686. In 1684, however, and again in 1686, he was so displeased with the general result of the election that he refused to qualify for office by taking the necessary oath. In the politics of his colony he was identified with the moderate party, whose general policy towards the crown was one of concession. In spite of this he seems to have retained the confidence of his fellow-colonists, as he was chosen one of the federal commissioners from 1673 to 1677, and again from 1680 to 1686. In 1677 he was appointed one of two agents to represent the colony in England in a boundary dispute with the proprietors of New Hampshire. In 1692 he was appointed lieutenant-governor under the new charter of Massachusetts, and held that office till his death. In the year of his appointment he presided over the court specially constituted for the trial of the Salem witches, and acted with great severity. He died unmarried at Dorchester, New England, on 7 July 1701. He was a liberal benefactor to Harvard University, founding a hall, called by his name, at a cost of 1,000l., and bequeathing twenty-seven acres of land.

Arthur Tyndal

Assumed to be the child of Sir John Tyndal of (Hockwood?) and Great Maplestead Essex who was born in 1556 or later and died 1616 and who married Lady Anne Deane Egerton, born 1560 Wallegrange Suffolk and died 1620 at Much (Great) Maplestead Essex.

Arthur was born around 1600 in (Muche) Great Maplestead Essex where records say he also died on 3rd October 1633. His grandfather Sir Thomas Tyndal was High Sheriff of Hockwood and Great Maplestead, and his father Sir John Tyndal (Knight Order of the Bath) born around 1475, was also Governor of the Tower of London.

The senior branch of the English Tyndall family, last seated at Maplestead Magna in the 17th century, died out in the direct male line in the 17th century and in the female line over a hundred years later. The senior English branch is thus the Tindal (now Tindal-Carill-Worsley) family, whose history is related in the 1973 volume of Burke's Landed Gentry. This family derived from Rev John Tindal, rector of Bere Ferris, Devon, in the mid-17th century, said (in the Nichols genealogy) to have been the younger son of Sir John Tyndall of Maplestead, the brother of Dean Humphrey Tyndall, president of Queens' College, Cambridge.

There is, however, support for the contention that Rev. John was the son of Sir John's elder son Dean. Rev John's migration to Devon (after his studies for Holy Orders) was typical of the many migrations of the Tyndall/Tyndale/Tindal/Tindell family since the late 15th century. The use of 'Tindal' represents a more Latinised usage which was common amongst many literary figures in this era and there is evidence that it was first used by his sons, Matthew (1657–1733), Thomas (1658–1714) and Richard (1659–1697). Matthew had been described as 'Tyndall' when at Oxford University in 1688; two of his brothers, Thomas and Richard, emigrated to Fenwick's Colony in 1674 and his other brother, John, was the father of Rev Nicolas Tindal (see below). Rev John Tindal married Ann Hals, who was descended from the Fortescue and Clifford families and was the first cousin of Thomas, Lord Clifford, Lord High Treasurer of England to Charles II. Through this connection and those of Diana Pocklington, the wife of Captain George Tindal, RN, Lord Chief Justice Tindal (see below) was descended from Lords Chief Justices Sir William Yelverton and Sir John Fortescue and from Sir Roger Manwood, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

William Vassall

William Vassall (baptized August 27, 1592, Stepney, Middlesex (London), England, died 1656) was an English settler in North America. He was from the educated gentry, and a supporter of freedom of religion. In March 1629 he was recorded in the Charter for the Massachusetts Bay Company as a patentee, along with his brother Samuel.

He was a son of John Vassall and Anne Russell. William Vassall's paternal grandfather, also named John Vassall, sent William's father to England to escape persecution in France[4], as the Vassall family were Huguenots from Normandy in the time of French religious purges in the 16th century. William Vassall's father had been recognized by Queen Elizabeth I as achieving merit in the war with the Spanish Armada in 1588 by providing two ships which he commanded at his own expense, the Samuel and the Little Toby. A 'Mayflower' (not the Pilgrim ship), of 250 tons out of London, owned by William Vassall's father John Vassall and others, was outfitted in 1588 for the Queen, possibly also for Armada service. The Vassall arms can be noted on the National Armada Memorial in Plymouth England. In 1609, John Vassall was recorded as a shareholder on the Second Charter of The Virginia Company. Anne Russell was John Vassall's second of three wives and with her had five children, William being the youngest.

In England in March 1629, William Vassall was recorded in the Charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company as an Assistant to the Governor. He was a signatory to both the Massachusetts Bay Charter and the Cambridge Agreement

in 1629. The Cambridge Agreement was to move the entire government of Massachusetts from England to the New World.

At an October 1629 meeting of the Company, William Vassall, with others, was appointed to travel out to New England. Per page 256 of *The Mayflower Quarterly* of September 2010, William Vassall sailed on the *Lyon* to New England in 1630 and returned on the *Lyon* to England about one month later. There is some confusion in the article as it states that Vassall travelled in company with Governor John Winthrop, who was just assuming his post. Other sources state that Winthrop did not travel on the *Lyon* but was on the *Arbella*, flagship of what became known as The Winthrop Fleet - eleven ships bringing over 700 persons. This was the beginning of what came to be known as the historic event called The Great Migration – thousands of English settlers coming to New England in the early-to-mid-1630s.

Regarding William Vassall's first trip to New England, research indicates that if he did travel on the *Lyon* to New England, he may have arrived in February 1630 as per the Letter from Deputy Governor Thomas Dudley to Lady Bridget, Countess of Lincoln, March 1631: in this letter the *Lyon* is noted several times, once for its arrival date from Bristol of February 5, 1630 and another for being in-port in Salem on July 7, 1630. Additionally, some sources state that his family came with him on this first trip, but this cannot be confirmed.

In mid-1635 William Vassall returned to New England on the ship "Blessing" out of London with his family - per the manifest: William, 42, wife Anna, 42 and children: Judith 16, Frances 12, John 10, Ann 6, Margaret 2, and Mary age 1. The family first settled in Roxbury and then Scituate, Massachusetts Colony. He is recorded as owning 200 acres of upland and some acreage of meadow land and was licensed to operate a ferry on the North River. On November 28, 1636 William Vassall joined the church of Rev. John Lathrop. What followed were many years of rancorous events involving Vassall over his perception of Puritan religious intolerance in New England. In 1639 William Vassall was granted the liberty "to make an oyster bank in the North River, in some convenient place near his farm which was called the 'West Newland' and to appropriate it for his own use, forbidding all others to use same without his license."

William Vassall was an advocate of religious freedom for all in the New England church. He was very much against those whose religious opinions followed the strict Puritan line and agitated against the heavy-handed methods of the colonial government. He had strong convictions in the rights and religious freedoms of his fellow colonists and worked hard for religious tolerance which caused him no end of problems with the conservative colonial government.

In 1644-45 Vassall was involved in a controversy involving the church in Scituate about baptism, which caused half the congregation, with the minister, to relocate to Barnstable. Meanwhile, the part of the congregation that included William Vassall and his daughter Judith White, wife of Mayflower passenger Resolved White, remained at Scituate. The "Vassall group" left behind, called their church the "Second church" of Scituate, the first Church apparently the one that moved to Barnstable. The Vassall church also brought the pastor from the Duxbury church to Scituate to be their pastor, ordaining him in September 1645 in spite of the refusal of the Duxbury church to dismiss him.

He was known for the Remonstrance of 1646, in which Robert Child and others petitioned the Bay Colony General Court for greater religious and political freedom and closer adherence to the laws of England. Vassall, as a resident of Plymouth, did not sign the Bay Remonstrance of 1646, but Governor Winthrop, and most other persons, believed it was actually his creation. In order to counter Vassall's charges, the very conservative Edward Winslow was sent to London in 1646 on behalf of Governor Winthrop and other Bay Colony leaders.

The conservative Winslow would be the liberal Vassall's nemesis for a number of years and they should have been friends, since they were in-laws - Vassall's daughter Judith was married to Resolved White, who was Edward Winslow's stepson. Both men died in the Caribbean in the 1650s - Vassall in Barbados and Winslow off the coast of Jamaica.

Though Vassall is known for his work on the famous 1646 Bay Colony Remonstrance, he was earlier involved in a 1645 incident whereby he petitioned to the Plymouth General Court asking for full religious toleration for well-behaving men - i.e. religious freedom. Many of the town deputies, plus assistants, including Myles Standish, William Collier, Thomas Prence and Edward Winslow were opposed. The petition could have passed, but a delaying action by William Bradford gave the conservative side time to manoeuvre against it which caused its defeat. In a letter to Governor Winthrop, Winslow expressed his pleasure at the defeat.

With the Bradford-engineered defeat of Vassall's 1645 petition, even though most of the deputies were for it, Winslow described what happened to Gov. Winthrop: "but our Governour and divers of us having expressed the sad consequences would follow, especially my selfe and Mr. Prence, yet notwithstanding it was required according to order to be voted: But the Governour would not suffer it to come to vote as being that indeed would eat out the power of Godliness etc."

Winthrop stated in his *History of New England*, that Vassall was "a busy and factious spirit, and always opposite to the civil governments of this country and the way of our churches." He describes Vassall's several petitions to the Bay Colony and Plymouth courts, and to Parliament, as asking that "the distinctions which were maintained here, both in civil and church estate, might be taken away, and that we might be wholly governed by the laws of England."

Former Pilgrim leaders, William Bradford and Edward Winslow, both prior Plymouth governors, still had much power over religion in New England and were adamantly opposed to Vassall's freedom of religion policy.

Edward Winslow, in his letters to Governor Winthrop, often expressed his feelings against democratic tendencies in both colonies, Plymouth and Bay Colony. In 1645, following the abortive Vassall attempt to obtain more civil and religious freedom, Winslow wrote Governor Winthrop, "I utterly abhorred it," and he added that if such a change came

about, he would move from Plymouth to Massachusetts (Bay colony), "I trust that we shall find (I speake for many of us that groan under these things) a resting place amongst you for the soules of our Feet".

In 1646, after several years of religious controversy, he found that his religious beliefs were not compatible with those of others in his community. He returned to England to make his grievances known with a petition to parliament to expose his perception of the Massachusetts Puritan leaders' political corruption, religious intolerance and abuse of power. He never returned to New England. While in England, Vassall's intention was to petition for the rights of non-Puritans in that very religious community - a petition which failed. This process ended his friendship with Edward Winslow, a Mayflower Pilgrim of 1620, and a diplomat representing Plymouth Colony's interests in England, who was much against Vassall's efforts. The two men had been friends, as Winslow was the step-father-in-law of Vassall's daughter Judith, wife of Resolved White. During his time in England, Vassall was known to be friend of trans-Atlantic merchant Isaac Allerton, another Mayflower Pilgrim of 1620. Vassall was a member of the London merchant group Merchant-Adventurers, which had provided funding for the 1620 Mayflower voyage, and Allerton was an associate of this group. William Vassall had property in Rotherhithe on the Thames, across from where the Mayflower had boarded its passengers. Being a wealthy man, Vassall was known to businessmen throughout Europe. He was the owner of the ship "Lion" (Lyon) which he offered to Isaac Allerton, who put it to much use in his trans-Atlantic trading business. Both Vassall and Allerton were close associates of Matthew Craddock, who had been the first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Company.

About 1648, after two years in England, Vassall sailed for Barbados in the West Indies where he settled at St. Michael's Parish purchasing land and remained there for the rest of his life.

William Vassall married at Cold Norton, Essex, England in June 1613, Anna King (Kinge), born about 1593. She was a daughter of George Kinge and Joane Lorrان of Woodham Mortimer, Essex.

Children of William and Anna Vassall: Anna, born September 6, 1614 at Cold Norton, Essex - buried September 22, 1614. Judith, born about 1619. Buried April 3, 1670. Married November 5, 1640 to Mayflower passenger Resolved White, son of Pilgrim William White (Mayflower passenger). Eight children. Frances, born about 1623. Married Jul 16, 1637 at Scituate, Massachusetts to James Adams, son of John Adams. Samuel, (twin), born June 22, 1624 - buried November 16, 1624. Mary (twin), born June 22, 1624 - died before 1634. John, born about 1625. Married Anna Lewis, daughter of John Lewis, and English resident of Genoa, Italy. He became quite wealthy acquiring large tracts of land in Jamaica after the 1655-57 British capture of Jamaica from the Spanish. He died between August 10, 1684 and July 6, 1688 at Jamaica, West Indies. William, baptized February 2, 1627 at Little Baddow, Essex. No further record. Anna, baptized April 20, 1628 at Little Baddow, Essex. Married before 1655 Nicholas Ware. Margaret, born about 1633. Married April 25, 1656 at St. Michael's Parish, Barbados, Joshua Hubbard (Hobart). She died prob. in Barbados, West Indies. Mary, born 1634 - died unmarried in 1657, probably in Barbados, West Indies.

The Will of William Vassall, Barbadoes. William Vassall, now resident of this Island, Esq., 31 July 1655, proved 12 June 1657. Son in law Nicholas Ware and his wife Anna, my daughter. My two other daughters, Margaret and Mary Vassall. All now here with me. My estate in this Island, New England, or any other part or place in the world. To my daughters, Judith, wife of Resolved White, Frances, the wife of James Adams, Anna, the wife of Nicholas Ware, and Margaret and Mary Vassall, the other two thirds, to be equally divided among them, to each a fifth. My son John not being now in the island, my son in law Nicholas Ware to act and manage for him and he and his wife, child and family, to remain, abide and dwell on my plantation until my said executor's arrival, or an order from him concerning same. The Testator made his mark in the presence of Humphrey Davenport, Humphrey Kent and Lion Hill. The will was proved by John Vassall, sole executor.

William Vassall died in Barbados between July 1655 and June 1657 in the Parish of St. Michael. It is believed that Vassall's wife Anna died, location unknown, before his will was written in 1655 as she is not named. His grave no longer exists and his wife's is unknown. In 1657 Resolved White and his wife Judith of Scituate in New Plymouth of this island (Barbados), Esq. sold to Nicholas Ware of St. Michael's, merchant, his one fifth of two thirds of William Vassall's plantation in St Michael's. In May 1657 Mary Vassall sold her share of William Vassall's plantation in St. Michael's to her brother-in-law Nicholas Ware.

The Vassall family and the Mayflower.

There is information, largely unsourced, that states that John Vassall or the Vassall family was the builder of the ship Mayflower that came to Plymouth in 1620. There is no documented evidence of Vassall ownership of the Mayflower of 1620 Plymouth fame, but Marsden does note on page 675 'a Mayflower' of London of 250 tons, owned by John Vassall and others, fitted out by Londoners for the queen in 1588, and mentioned in documents until 1594.

As a result of his Armada service, the Queen authorized him to bear arms and use an English family coat of arms in place of his French one, with his name and services commemorated on a memorial erected in 1888 in Portsmouth, England. In 1609 John Vassall was recorded as a shareholder on the Second Charter of The Virginia Company. Anne Russell was John Vassall's second of three wives and with her had five children, William being the youngest.

Notes:

Currency

In this document we have used the Pounds abbreviation of Libra (shown after the numeric figure ie 500li) not the more descriptive £ itself evolved from lsd (Pounds, shillings and pence) As The Huffington Post has so cleverly pointed out, "lb" is an abbreviation for the Latin word libra, which is the seventh sign of the zodiac and is symbolized by scales (cue lightbulb moment). The word libra referred to balance or scales in Roman times and was also part of a unit of measurement known as "libra pondo," which when translated is "pound weight" or "a pound by weight." The

"pondo" part of the measurement is the origin behind the English word "pound," while the "libra" part is the origin behind "lb" being the abbreviation.

To add even more confusion to the matter, Americans use the word "pound" as a measurement for weight, but the British associate it with their currency, which is known as the pound. This is because the original value of what was used for money in Britain was equivalent to a pound of silver. The symbol for the British pound (£) is an ornate capital letter "L" — which is another reference to the word "libra."

A retrospect of the family and village connections with Essex.

George Bush.

The 41st (and the 43rd) Presidents. Descended from an Essex family who farmed land around the village of Messing from at least the fourteenth century and can be traced back to Reynold Bush, recorded in Messing's Sixteenth Century Church Baptismal Register

Dedham (near Colchester).

This village was the home of the Sherman's. At least eleven descendants of this family emigrated to New England between 1633 and 1640. Their mark in American history includes General William Tecumseh Sherman of Civil War fame.

The Grade I listed Sherman Hall at Dedham is now owned by the National Trust. There is also a memorial in the east window at St. Mary's Church whilst shields in the nave roof mark the connection with the town of Dedham in Massachusetts, also they helped with the restoration of the church and in recognition, pews show the first seal of the US and Mayflower.

High Laver (near Harlow)

After graduating from Cambridge, Roger Williams (1599-1683) went to work as the family Chaplain of the wealthy Masham family at High Laver. He married Mary Barnard at All Saints Church in 1629. Three years later Williams set sail for Boston Massachusetts aboard the Lyon. He was later banished for his religious views from the Massachusetts Bay Colony and went on to found Rhode Island in 1636.

John Locke (1632-1704) the famous English philosopher lived at High Laver for the last fourteen years of his life. His political writings were used by American rebels to justify their actions – his words echoed in the Declaration of Independence and his ideas embodied in the United States Constitution. Locke is buried in All Saints Church High Laver.

Abraham Lincoln.

His first known ancestor is Richard Lincoln, a Churchwarden (1599-1620) who lived at a Manor House (now the Angel Inn) in the village of Swanton Morley near Dereham in Norfolk. Richard's seal can be seen in one of the church windows. In 1615 he disinherited his eldest son Edward and forced him into poverty that three of his four sons emigrated to America. One of them, Samuel was born at Hingham in Norfolk in 1622 and baptised at St. Andrew's Church. He became an apprentice to Francis Lawes, a Norwich Weaver and in April 1637 Samuel and his master sailed from Great Yarmouth to settle in Hingham Massachusetts. His four times great grandson Abraham was born in 1809.

George Washington.

His great, great Grandfather was Lawrence Washington (born 1602), who was Vicar of All Saints Church Purleigh from 1633 to 1643. In his honour the flint tower of the church was repaired through the generosity of American citizens. After leaving the parish, he and his family lived for a short while in Tring Hertfordshire. Washington died in 1653 and is buried in All Saints Church at Maldon Essex, where there is also a window dedicated to his memory, presented by the citizens of Maldon Massachusetts in 1928. His son John sailed for Virginia in 1656. The Washington's family Coat of Arms contains the inspiration for the US Stars and Stripes flag and the South Porch at Chelmsford Cathedral shows the shield in stained glass.

Draft booklet prepared by Norman Bambridge – December 2020.