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Library of New-England History.

No. 1.
MOURT'S RELATION

OR

Journal of the Plantation at Plymouth

WITH

AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

HENRY MARTYN DEXTER

Boston
JOHN KIMBALL WIGGIN
M DCCC LXV
No.

Edition,—Two Hundred and Fifty Copies, Foolscape Quarto.
Thirty-five Copies, Royal Quarto.

Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1865,

BY J. K. WIGGIN,

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the District of Massachusetts.

Boston:
TO THE

HONORABLE MARCUS MORTON,

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

"Relation,"

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

Is Dedicated with affectionate Regard,

BY HIS FRIEND AND KINSMAN,

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

The works forming this series will therefore be literally reprinted from the first editions,—the intention
being to reproduce every peculiarity of the original
down to the minutest errors of the press,—so that he
who holds one of them in his hand shall read the
ipsissima verba of the ancient volume; while such Intro-
ductions and Notes will be added as will give the reader
the benefit of the latest and broadest research in the de-
partment to which each belongs.

J. K. W.

Boston, 15 July, 1865.
INTRODUCTION.
Introduction by the Editor.

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

The Relation was first printed in London by John Bel-lamie, in 1622. In 1624, John Smith introduced an abstract of much of it into his General Historie, under the head of A Plantation in New-England. In 1625, it was condensed about one-half (and not very accurately) by Purchas, and inserted in the fourth volume of his Pilgrims. This abridgment was reprinted with notes by Dr. Freeman, in 1802, in 1 Mass. Hist. Coll., viii. [pp. 203–239.] In 1822, those portions which Purchas had omitted were reprinted with notes by Dr. Freeman and Judge Davis, in 2 Mass. Hist. Coll., ix. [pp. 26–74], from a manuscript copy, procured in 1819, by Mr. Du Ponceau, from the original volume in the City Library of Philadelphia. These dissetla membra were all that had been done in the way of reissue, until 1841, when Dr. Young reprinted the complete work, from the copy of the original in the library of Harvard College, in his Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers [pp. 109–249]. He added copious and very valuable notes, but did not seek to reproduce the volume in its original style. In 1848, Rev.
George B. Cheever, D.D., of New-York City, issued an edition, which he intended should be an accurate reproduction of the *Relation* in its spelling, though he made no attempt to cast his book in the mold of the original as to form, and freely modified it in the matter of paragraphs and punctuation; adding more than two hundred and fifty pages of comment or dissertation, suggested by the contents.

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

The hasty reader will not do justice to the accom-
plished press from which this volume proceeds, unless he remembers that the proofs of the first edition of the Relation were very imperfectly read; and, by consequence, have compelled this reprint to blush under a load of errors which would be the ruin of a modern printer of any pretension, if the facts were not kept in memory that these errors are, with him, blunders of skill, and not of carelessness. I have not usually thought it needful to call attention to them in the notes, except when they become liable to mislead the reader, or are of such a nature as very much to obscure the sense. Instances like "ny" for "many" (page 5, 11th line from the top), "Munday the 13. day," for "Munday the 18. day" (page 61, 5th line from the top), &c., it has not been thought necessary to refer to in the notes, as they sufficiently explain themselves. John Bellamie's printing-office appears to have run very low in punctuation-marks as the compositors approached the end of this book, so that Italic colons, and old English colons and periods, were not unfrequently made to do unwonted duty in plain Roman company,—all of which, so far as watchful eyes have been able to secure it, has been here faithfully duplicated; in the recollection of that suggestion of De Bury which has special force in its application to the re-
production of an ancient volume,—"Quantum impediat intellectus officium vel unius vocabuli sem plena notitia,"* and in the feeling that Alcuin's motto, in its most servile sense, is safest for a copyist, whether with pen or types:—

"Et punctos ponant ordine quosque suo." †

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

* Philobiblon. Cap. xii. l. 3. † Alcuini Opera, ii. 211.
which he is the most accomplished living authority, is necessarily final. I must not forget, also, to record my gratitude to M. le Baron W. J. C. Rammelman Elfevier, Archivist of the city of Leyden, for various items from the Leyden Ms. records, shedding new light upon some of the relationships and experiences of our Pilgrim fathers and mothers before their coming to these shores, of which I have freely availed myself.

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

1. He had been formerly associated with the writers of these Journals — Bradford and Winflow — to that degree that he could speak of them as "my both known and faithful friends" (see page xxxix).
2. He had always desired, and was now intending soon, to emigrate in person to join the company in New-Plymouth; inasmuch as he says, "Myself then much desired, and shortly hope to effect, if the Lord will, the putting to of my shoulder in this hope full business." (See page xxxix.)

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

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

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

Mourt.

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

Morton.

"Labouring to still the Diff- contents that sometimes would arise amongst some spirits, by oc- casion of the Difficulties of these new beginings," &c. — [N. E. Mem. 48.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The next earlier trace occurs in a letter of John Robinson from Leyden to John Carver in England, under date of 25 May, 1620, in which Mr. Robinson mentions incidentally that Mr. Westton "would come to Georg Mortton and enquire news of him aboute things, as if he had scarce been some accessarie unto it." — [Bradford’s Hist. Plym. Plant., 48.] Whether this "coming" took place in London or in Leyden, the letter gives no data for surely determining; though, for the reasons that Westton’s residence was in London (though he had visited Leyden a few months before), and that Mr. Robinson prefixes his account by saying, "I have heard that," &c., &c., as if that which he relates had happened further
from his own immediate observation than the city where he was then resided, I incline to the judgment that Welton came to George Morton, in London, and that the latter was therefore one of those agents who were sent over to England whose names are not given [Bradford's *Hist. Plym. Plant.*, 45], and was therefore officially in England at that time.

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

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

    with

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

---

* Others of this Carpenter family are down in these same records as from "Wrenten" [Wrington?], England,—which is a little village some sixteen miles, a little south of well, from Bath,—in Somersetshire.
"Alice Carpenter her sister, and Anna Robinson, her "acquaintance."

"The banns were published, 6 July, 1612.
"The marriage took place, 3 Aug. 1612."

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

* This Anna does not appear to have been a member of the family of the great and good pastor of this Leyden flock; at least, no one with that Christian name is in the list of his household.
probable; but it is easier to say so than to inform us what became of this prominent member of a very eminent family.” I trust the researches of the not distant future may settle the question, and reveal the point of contact between this Pilgrim and the lineage in the Father land.

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

George Morton, merchant, York, Eng., 21 July, 1612, m. at Leyden, Holl., Juliana, dau. of Alexander Carpenter of Wrington, Somersetshire, Eng. He d. Plymouth, N. E., June, 1623; she d. 2 Feb., 1668, æt. 81. Had five children; viz.: (1) Nathaniel; (2) Patience; (3) John; (4) Sarah; and (5) Ephraim.

Nathaniel, b. 1613? (d. 29 June, 1685,) m. (1) 1635; Lydia Cooper (d. 23 Sept., 1673); (2) Ann Templar (d. 5 Jan., 1697;) Had eight children; viz.: (1) Remember (1637); (2) Mercy; (3) Lydia; (4) Eliza-
INTRODUCTION.

beth 20 (13 May, 1652); (5) Joanna 21 (13 Nov., 1654); (6) Hannah,22 (7) Eleazer 13 (d. young); (8) Nathaniel 14 (d. young).

Patience,3 b. 1615? m. 1633, John Faunce; had nine children; viz.: (1) Priscilla 15 (m. Joseph Warren); (2) Mary 16 (9 July, 1658, m. William Harlow); (3) Patience 17 (29 Nov., 1661, m. John Holmes); (4) Sarah 18 (28 Feb., 1663, m. Edward Doney); (5) Thomas 19 (b. a. 1647); (6) Elizabeth 20 (b. 23 March, 1648, d. next yr.); (7) Mercy 21 (6 Apr., 1651, 20 Dec., 1662; m. Nathaniel Holmes); (8) John 22 (d. 29 Nov., 1654); (9) Joseph 23 (b. 24 May, 1653, d. 18 Jan., 1687).


Sarah,5 b. 1618? 30 Dec., 1644, m. (as second wife) George Bonham; had probably five children; viz.: (1) Ruth 33 (28 Nov., 1666, m. Robert Barron); (2) Patience 34 (28 Dec., 1670; m. Richard Willis); (3) Sarah 35 (b. 4 Dec., 1649, d. early in 1650); (4) Sarah 36 (b. 10 Jan., 1650; d. prob. soon); (5) Sarah 37 (b. 20 Dec., 1653, d. 28 Apr., 1704, æt. 86).

Ephraim,6 b. 1623? d. 17 Sept., 1693, m. (1) 38 Nov., 1644, Ann Cooper (d. 10 Sept., 1691); (2) Oct., 1692, Widow Mary Harlow. By the first wife had
nine children; viz.: (1) Ephraim\(^{38}\) (b. 7th Jan., 1649, d. 8th Feb., 1731); (2) Rebecca\(^{39}\) (b. 5th Mar., 1651); (3) Josiah\(^{40}\) (b. 1653); George\(^{41}\) [he sleeps on Burial Hill in Plymouth, with this inscription, “Here lies ye Body of Deacon George Morton, who Dec. 4th August ye 2nd 1727 in ye 82nd year of his Age”]; (5) Nathaniel;\(^{42}\) (6) Eleazer;\(^{43}\) (7) Thomas;\(^{44}\) (8) Patience\(^{45}\) (m. John Nelfon); (9) Mercy.\(^{46}\)

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

Nathaniel,\(^{49}\) m. 1720, Rebecca Ellis, widow of Mordecai (she m. Ellis in 1715), and daughter of Thomas Clark. They had four children; viz.: (1) Elizabeth;\(^{51}\) (2) Nathaniel\(^{52}\) (b. 1723); (3) Eleazer;\(^{53}\) (4) Ichabod.\(^{54}\) The father was lost at sea while still young, and his widow m. 1730, for her third husband, Thomas Swift, of Sandwich, by whom she had a numerous issue. [Ichabod\(^{54}\) (m. Deborah ——? who d. 17 Nov., 1789, aet. 59), lived in Middleborough, was 10th deacon of the Congregational Church there, where he d. 10 May, 1809, aet. 85. He had six sons; viz.: (1) Eleazer;\(^{55}\) (2) Elifsha;\(^{56}\) (3) Ichabod;\(^{57}\) John;\(^{58}\) (5) Nathaniel;\(^{59}\) (6) Mordecai.\(^{60}\)]
INTRODUCTION.

NATHANIEL,\textsuperscript{32} 1749, m. Martha Tupper, and had five children; viz.: (1) Rebecca;\textsuperscript{61} (2) Nathaniel;\textsuperscript{62} (3) Martha;\textsuperscript{63} (4) Elizabeth;\textsuperscript{64} (5) Job.\textsuperscript{65} [He lived first in Middleborough, but removed thence to Freetown, on the neck between Long Pond and Assawompsett and Quitticas, where he accumulated a large property; leaving each of his children a farm, and still holding four or five farms at his death. His son Job\textsuperscript{66} lived on his land, and reared a large family of boys.]

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

MARCUS,\textsuperscript{69} b. 19 Feb., 1781 (d. 6 Feb., 1864, æt. 79), 23 Dec., 1807, m. Charlotte Hodges, of Taunton. They had twelve children; viz.:—(1) Joanna Maria\textsuperscript{68} (b. 28 Oct., 1808, m. William T. Hawes, New Bedford); (2) Charlotte\textsuperscript{69} (b. 9 July, 1810, d. 15 Oct., 1814); (3) Lydia Mason\textsuperscript{70} (b. 29 June, 1812, m. Rev. Henry Lee, D.D., now Bishop of Iowa); (4) Nathaniel\textsuperscript{71} (b. 16 Apr., 1814, d. 10 May, 1814); (5) Charlotte\textsuperscript{72} (b. 19 Apr., 1815, m. Samuel Watson, Esq., Nashville, Tenn.); (6) Sarah Carey\textsuperscript{73} (b. 31 Mar., 1817, m. Willard Lovering, Esq., Taunton); (7) Marcus\textsuperscript{74} b. 8 April, 1819, m. Abby Hoppin of Providence, R. I.); (8) Nathan-
iel" (b. 3 Dec., 1821, m. Harriet, dau. of Hon. Francis Baylies of Taunton, d. 12 Feb., 1856); (9) James Hodges" (b. 21 June, 1824, m. Elizabeth, dau. of Hon. Geo. Ashmun of Springfield); (10) Susan Tillinghast" (b. 16 April, 1826, m. M. Day Kimball, Esq., Boston); 11 Frances Wood" (b. 17 Jan., 1828, m. Charles Henry French of Andover, Mass.); (12) Emily Matilda" (b. 10 Nov., 1831, m. Daniel Dawes of Brooklyn, N. Y.)

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

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

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

H. M. D.

HILLSIDE, Roxbury, {
15 July, 1865. }
A
RELATION OR
Iournall of the beginning and proceedings
of the English Plantation settled at Plimoth in New
England, by certaine English Adventurers both
Merchants and others.

With their difficult passage, their safe arriual, their
joyfull building of, and comfortable planting them-
selves in the now well defended Towne
of New Plimoth.

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

I. In a journey to Pyckanokick the habitation of the Indians grea-
test King Massafouyt: as also their message, the answer and entertainment
they had of him.

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

III. In their journey to the Kingdom of Namaschet, in defence of their
greatest King Massafouyt, against the Narrohiggonfets, and to revenge the
supposed death of their Interpreter Tisquantum.

III. Their voyage to the Massachufetts, and their entertainment there.

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

LONDON,
Printed for John Bellamie, and are to be sold at his shop at the two
Greyhounds in Cornhill neere the Royall Exchange. 1622.
TO HIS MUCH RESPECTED FRIEND, M' I. P.

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

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

That the initials R. G., appended by way of signature to this letter, were misprinted, seems to be made certain by the fact that there was no person then in the Plymouth colony who bore them except Richard Gardner, who was one of the humbler
unto: whose noble endeavours in these their [iv] actions the God of heaven and earth multiply to his glory and their owne eternall comforts.

As for this poore Relation, I pray you to accept it, as being writ by the several Actors themselves, after their plaine and rude manner; therefore doubt members of the party, and who, after a brief stay, left to become a sailor. — [Bradford, His Plym. Plant., 454.] It is to the last degree improbable that he should have been selected to introduce these Relations to the notice of the merchant adventurers.

Assuming, therefore, an error, the most probable rectification of it is found in the supposition that they should have been "R. C.,” standing for Robert Cushman. In favor of such a reading and interpretation are to be considered: (a) that, as a passenger in the Fortune bearing the Ms. of the "Relation" to England, he would naturally have been selected to introduce it to the notice of those likely to be interested in it there, unless some special reason existed to the contrary; (b) that, from his proved position as agent of the company and from his known culture, he was entitled to speak, as he does here, in a tone of semi-criticism and depreciation of the plainness, and even rudeness, of the authors and their work. On the other hand, it may be suggested, (a) that the author identifies himself by his language somewhat more fully with the colonists, as one of them in all their experiences, than would seem to be natural for one who had only been actually with them during the few weeks of the Fortune's stay; (b) that he dates from Plimoth, as if sending from thence; and (c) that his closing paragraph seems to intimate a less degree of acquaintance with Mr. Peirce than would be quite consonant with the facts in the case, if Cushman were the writer.

But it is to be considered that as Cushman had come out expressly to examine and report upon the probabilities of the successes of the colony, the members of it would be most anxious for that best endorsement of it, which would confit in his own asserted identification of himself with its fortunes,—which, indeed, he himself would feel to be most essential to its successes; and that, to feeling,—the more especially as he had left his son behind him there,—he would naturally be led both to write and to date as he did. While, as to the closing paragraph, I interpret it not as intimating any lack of acquaintance with Mr. Peirce, but as asserting that the main recommendation which Cushman had to the "further consideration" of the merchant adventurers for the colony which he represented, was in the
nothing of the truth thereof: if it be defective in anything, it is their ignorance, that are better acquainted with planting than writing. If it satishe those that are well affected to the business, it is all I care for. Sure I

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

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

The first appearance of Cuffman upon the histories of the time is in the Leyden records, where—he described as a woolcarder from Canterbury, and as having had a former wife named Sarah—he is set down, June 13, 1617, as marrying Mary Singleton [Chingleton?] of Sandwich, widow of Thomas. Soon after, he was sent to England with John Carver to open negotiations toward a settlement in North America. He seems to have returned to Leyden in November of the same year, and to have gone back to London on the same mission in the following December. Failing in these efforts, the Leyden church sent him again, with Brewster, in 1620; and, having formed an association, or joint-flock company, in England, which was to furnish the money for the enterprise, those envoys went back to Leyden to arrange the preliminaries. Carver and Cuffman were sent once more to England to provide for the voyage. When the Speedwell arrived at Southampton, Cuffman, with the Mayflower, was in waiting for them, and failed as “assilant governour” in her, but went back in the Speedwell, when she was finally condemned and returned, “his hart & courage” having gone before. He came over in the Fortune, with his son (see note 431, No. 9), probably as an agent of the adventurers to examine and report the condition of the colony. While here,—though not even an elder of the church,—he preached the famous sermon on “Self-Love,” which has been many times reprinted; and next day failed for England again in the same little ship, leaving his son in care of Gov. Bradford; was captured by the French; released, and reached London 17 Feb., 1622.

He evidently carried with him the Ms. of these “Relations,” and appended to them, when George Morton procured their publication, a dissertation, intended to persuade good men to become colonists. He never revisited this country, but acted as the agent for the Pilgrims in London until his death, which occurred not far from the beginning of 1625. His son perpetuated his name in this country.—[Leyden Ms. Rec.; Cuffman Genealogy, 14–77; Bradford, Hist. Plym. Plant., 70–74.]
am the place we are in, and the hopes that are apparent, cannot but suffice any that will not desire more than enough, neither is there want of ought among us but company to enjoy the blessings so plentifully bestowed upon the inhabitants that are here. While I was a writing this, I had almost forgot, that I had but the recommendation of the relation itself, to your further consideration, and therefore I will end without saying more, save that I shall alwayes rest.

From PLIMOTH in New-England.

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

Ourteous Reader, be intreated to make a favorable construction of my forwardnes, in publishing these insuing discourses, the desire of carrying the Gospell of Christ into those foraigne parts, amongst those people that as yet haue had no knowledge, nor taft of God, as also to procure vnto themselves and others a quiet and comfortable habitation: weare amongst other things the inducements (unto these undertakers of the then hopefull, and now experimentally knowne good enterprice for plantation, in New England, to set afoote and prosecute the same & though it fared with them, as it is common to the most actions of this nature, that the first attempts prove difficult, as the sequell more at large expresseth, yet it hath pleased God, euë beyond our expectation in so short a time, to giue hope of letting some of them see (though some he hath taken out of this vale of teares) some grounds of hope, of the accomplishement of both those endes by them, at first propounded.

And as myselfe then much desired, and short- [vi] ly hope to effect, if the Lord will, the putting to of my shouder in this hopefull business, and in the meane time, these relations comming to my hand from my both known & xxxix
To the Reader.

faithful friends, on whose writings I do much rely, I thought it not a misse to make them more generall, hoping of a cheerfull proceeding, both of Adventurers and planters, intreating that the example of the hon: Virginia and Bermudas Companies, encountering with so many disasters, and that for divers yeares together, with an unwearied resolution, the good effects whereof are now eminent, may preuaile as a spurre of preparation also touching this no lesse hopefull Country though yet an infant, the extent & commodities whereof are as yet not fully known, after time wil unsould more: such as desire to take knowledge of things, may in forme themselves by this unsuing treatise, and if they please also by such as have bin there a first and second time, my harty prayer to God is that the event of this and all other honorable and honest undertakings, may be for the furtherance of the kingdome of Christ, the inlarging of the bounds of our Soueraigne Lord King Iames, & the good and profit of those, who either by purfe, or person, or both, are agents in the same, so I take leaue and rest

Thy friend, G. MOYRT.

Capt. John Smith had been there, as had Clark and Coppin, maister's mates of the Mayflower, more than once; while Cufman had just returned from his voyage thither for a first and only visit, in the Fortune.

The probabilities that this was the signature of George Morton have been fully discusseid in the Introduction. See page xviii.
CERTAINE VSEFVL
ADVERTISEMENTS SENT
in a Letter written by a discreete friend to the Planters in New England, at their first setting
faile from Southampton, who earnestly desireth the prosperitie of that their new
Plantation.

***

Ouing and Christian friends, I doe heartily and in the Lord salute you all, as being they with whom I am present in my best 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 and much rather then otherwise I would haue haue borne my part with you in this first brunt, were I not by strong necessitie held backe for the present. Make account of me in the mean while, as of a man

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This letter of John Robinson's is written in the latter part of July, 1620.

Bradford has a period here; Morton a colon.
A Letter of advice

decided in my selfe with great paine, and as (naturall bonds set aside) having my better part with you. And though I doubt not but in your godly wisdomes you both foresee and resolue vpon that which concerneth your present [viii] state and condition both feuerally and ioynltly, yet haue I thought but my dutie to adde some further spurre of prouocation vnto them who run already, if not because you need it, yet because I owe it in loue and dutie.

And first, as we are daily to renew our repentance with our God, specially for our finnes knowne, and generall for our vnknowne trespasse; so doth the Lord call vs in a singular manner vpon occasiones of such difficultie and danger as lieth vpon you, to a both more narrow search and carefull reformation of our wayes in his sight, left he calling to remembrance our finnes forgotten by vs or vn-repented of, take advantage against vs, and in judgement leaue vs for the same to be swallowed vp in one danger or other; whereas on the contrary, sin being taken away by earnest repentance and the pardon thereof from the Lord, seale vp vnto a mans conscience by his Spirit, great shall be his securitie and peace in all dangers, sweete his comforts in all distresses, with happie deliverance from all euill, whether in life or in death.

f Bradford and Morton both add especially.
"it."

h Bradford and Morton both read

s Bradford and Morton both read your.”
to the Planters of New-England.

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

Neither yet is it sufficient that we keep our felues by the grace of God from giuing offence, except withall we be armed against the taking of them when they are\(^1\) giuen by others.\(^k\) For how vnperfect and lame is the worke of grace in that person, who wants charitie to couer a multitude of offences, as the Scriptures speake. Neither are you to be exhorted to this grace onely vpon the common grounds of Christianitie, which are, that persons ready to take offence, either want charitie to couer offences, or wifedome duly to weigh humane frailtie; or

\(^1\) Bradford and Morton both omit “end.”
\(^i\) Bradford has “be.”
\(^k\) Morton has a colon here.
A Letter of advice

lastly are grosse, though close hypocrites, as Christ our Lord teacheth, Math. 7. 1, 2, 3. as indeed in mine owne experience, few or none haue beene found which sooner giue offence, then such as easly take it; neither haue they euer proued found and profitable members in societies, which haue nourished in themselues that touche humour.¹ But besides these there are divers spetiall motives prouoking you aboue others to great care and conscience this way: As first, you are many of you strangers, as to the persons, so to the infirmities one of another, and so stand in need of more watchfulness this way, lest when such things fall out in men and women as you suspected not, you be inordinately affected with them; which doth require at your hands much wisdom and charitie for the couering and preuenting of incident offences that way. And lastly your intended course of ciovill communitie² wil minister continuall occasion of offence, and will be as fuel for that fire, except you diligently quench it with brotherly forbearance. And if taking of offence causelyly or easly at mens doings be so carefully to be avoided, how much more heed is to be taken that we take not offence at God himselfe, which yet we certainly

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

² Bradford and Morton both omit "spetiall."

³ I cannot interpret this otherwise than as an intimation that the Pilgrims left Holland with the full intention of establishing here a popular civil government; with the good will, if not at the prompting, of their noble pastor. And the "lastly" clause of this letter confirms this view.
to the Planters of New-England.

do so oft as we do murmur at his prouidence in our
crosses, or beare impatiently such affliictions as wherewith
he pleaseth to visit vs. Store we⁰ vp therefore patience
against the euill day, without which we take offence at
the Lord himselfe in his holy and iuft works.

A fourth thing there is carefully to be prouided for, to
wit, that with your common emploiments you ioyne com-
mon affections truly bent vpon the generall good, auido-
ing as a deadly plague of your both common and speciall
comfort all retirednesse of minde for proper aduantage,
and all singularly affected any maner of way; let every
man repreffe in himselfe and the whole bodie in each
person, as so many rebels against the common good, all
private respefts of mens felues, not forting with the gen-
erall conuenieiencie. And as men are carefull not to haue
a new house shaken with any violence before it be well
settled and the parts firmly knit:⁹ so be you, I befeech
you brethren, much more carefull, that the house of God
which you are and are [xi] to be, be not shaken with
vnnecessary nouelties or other oppositions at the firft
settling thereof.

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

⁰ Bradford has "oftē" (often).
⁹ Bradford has a comma.
⁻ Bradford and Morton both omit "we."
⁰⁰ Bradford omits "to."
A Letter of advice

the rest, to be chosen by you into office of government: Let your wisedome and godlinesse appeare, not onely in chusing such persons as do entirely loue, and will diligently promote the common good, but also in yeelding vnto them all due honour and obedience in their lawfull administrations; not beholding in them the ordinarinesse of their persons, but God's ordinance for your good; nor being like vnto the foolish multitude, who more honour the gay coate, then either the vertuous mind of the man, or glorious ordinance of the Lord. But you know better things, and that the image of the Lords power and authoritie which the Magistrate beareth, is honorable, in how meane persons foeuer. And this dutie you both may the more willingly, and ought the more conscionably to performe, because you are at leaft for the present to haue onely them for your ordinary gournours, which your selues shall make choise of for that worke.

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 thinke you heedlesse of these things, there being also divers among you so well able to admonishe both themselfes and others of what concerneth them. These few things therefore, and [xiii] the same in few words I do earnestly com-

* Bradford has a comma; Morton a semicolon.
† Bradford has a comma; Morton a colon.
‡ Bradford and Morton both have it, "not being like the foolish multitude."
§ See note 28 pof.
to the Planters of New-England.

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

An unsained well-willer
of your happie succeffe
in this hopefull voyage,

I. R.
A RELATION OR Iournall of the proceedings of the Plantation setled at Plimoth in New England.

Wednesday the first of September, the Wind comming East North East, a fine small gale, we loosed from Plimoth, hauing beene kindly intretained and curteously vfed by divers friends there dwelling, and after many difficulties in boysterous stormes, at length by Gods prouidence vpon the ninth of Novem-

1 Leaving Leyden in the latter part of July, 1620, the Pilgrims had arrived in the Speedwell at Southampton, Eng., and there met the Mayflower; failed thence on Saturday, 15 Aug.; put back into Dartmouth on account of the alleged leakage of the Speedwell, about Sunday, 23 Aug.; failed again about Wednesday, 28 Sept.; but, after they were one hundred leagues from Lands End, put back once more on account of the afferted condition of the Speedwell,—this time into Plymouth, where he was dismissed, a portion of the company went back in her to London, and the remainder—102 persons—failed in the Mayflower on Wednesday, 6 Sept.

2 East north east was the fairest possible wind for leaving Plymouth, as the direct course down the Sound to the Channel, and thence toward the open sea, would not be far from S. W. by S. and W. S. W.
ber following, by breake of the day we espied land which we deemed to be Cape Cod, and so afterward it proved. And the appearance of it much comforted vs, especially, seeing so goodly a Land, and woodde to the brinke of the sea, it caused vs to rejoyce together, and praise God that had giuen vs once againe to see land. And thus wee made our course South South West, purposing to goe to a Riuere ten leages to the South of the Cape, but at night the winde being contrary, we put round againe

3 Thursday, 9 Nov.

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

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

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

7 Bradford says, "After they had failed yt course aboute halfe ye day, they fell amongst dangerous shoulds and roring breakers, and they were so farr intangled ther with as they conceived them selves in great danger; & ye wind shrinking upon them withall, they resolved to bear up againe for the Cape, and thought them selves happy to get out of those dangers before night overtooke them, as by God's Providence they did." — [Hist. Plym. Plant. 77.] Dr. Palfrey suggests [Hist. N. E., i. 162] that these "shoulds" might be those of Monomoy, near Chatham, or Nantucket Shoals. Dr. Young took the same view [Chron. of Plym. 103]. But Mr. Amos Otis and Prof. Agassiz have made it much more probable [N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg. xviii. 42–44] that they were those around what Gofnold named Point Care and Tucker's Terror [see Archer's Account of Gofnold's Voyage, 3 Mafs. Hist. Col., viii. 74], off Eastham and Orleans; since obliterated by the action of the sea. The map of New England in Ogilby's huge folio lays down "Ile Nauet" in the precise spot assigned by Mr. Otis.
for the Bay of Cape Cod: and upon the 11. of November, we came to an anchor in the Bay, which is a good harbour and pleasant Bay, circled round, except in the entrance, which is about four miles over from land to land, compassed about to the very Sea with Okes, Pines, Juniper, Sassafras, and other sweet wood; it is a harbour wherein 1000. saile of Ships may safely ride, there we relieved our felues with wood and water, and refreshed our people, while our shallop was fitted to coast the Bay, to search for an habitation: there was the greatest flore of fowle that ever we saw.

And every day we saw Whales playing hard by us, of

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8 Saturday, 11 Nov.
9 Provincetown harbor.
10 As the inner shore of the Cape trends away S. E. by S., the distance across the entrance varies, according to the angle at which it is taken, from 2 1/2 miles, which is the nearest line from Long Point light to the East-harbor shore, to 5/4 miles, from the same light to the opening of Pamet River, in Truro.
11 The changes of near two centuries and a half have not abridged this capacity. Freeman says [History of Cape Cod, ii. 619], "the harbor is sufficiently capacious for 3000 vessels, and is a haven of the greatest importance to navigation, whether as respects vessels doing business in the neighboring waters, or ships from foreign voyages arriving on the coast in thick and stormy weather."
12 "Sea-fowl are plenty on the shores and in the bay; particularly the gannet, curlew, brant, black-duck, sea-duck, old wife, dipper, sheldake, penguin, gull, plover, coot, widgeon, and peep."—[1 Mofs. Hist. Col., iii. 199.]
13 Dougals says of the whales, "Formerly they set in along shore by Cape Cod" [Summary, &c., i. 60]. So he elsewhere adds, "Formerly (they are passengers according to the seafons), in New England, Cape Cod embayed them" [Ibid. i. 296]; and Freeman says, "The shores of the Cape were, within the remembrance of persons now living, filled in places with huge bones of whales, these remaining unawasted many years. Fifty years back, rib-bones set for posts in a fence was no unusual sight."—[Hist. Cape Cod; ii. 623.]
which in that place, if we had instruments & meanes to take them, we might haue made a very rich returne, which to our great grieve we wanted. Our master and his mate, and others experienced in fishing, proffessed, we might haue made three or foure thousand pounds worth of Oyle; they preferred it before Greenland Whale-fishing, & purpose the next winter to fishe for Whale here; for Cod we assayed, but found none, there is good store no doubt in their season. Neither got we any fish all the time we lay there, but some few little ones on the shore. We found great Mussels, and very fat and full of

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

15 Dr. Freeman and Dr. Young supposed that the giant clam, or sea-hen, (*maistra solidissima*) is here referred to. But Capt. Smith — whose *Description of New England*, published in 1616, must have been in the hands of the Mayflower men, and their chief authority and guide — speaks of clams (*clampe*) as found, with lobsters, in almost all the sandy bays; so that they would most likely have known that fish by that name. Mussels (*mytilus edulis*) they were familiar with at home; and as these are found in abundance about low-water mark in Long Point, near their anchorage, while the giant clam is only found on the bars at the east end of Province-town, and along the Truro shore, and is accessible only at the lowest tides, and would seem, therefore, to have been so much more removed from their ready discovery, it is perhaps most probable that mussels, of a size to them unfamiliar, — probably the *mytilus modiolus,* — were what they meant. The hearty eating of these, after sixty-four days of falt provender, might produce the described effects upon their systems; indeed, under any circumstances, at certain seaons, such results might follow. “There can be no doubt of the poisonous qualities of shellfish, particularly mussels and clams, at certain seaons.” — [Dr. Benj. Hafkell, of Rockport, in Appendix to Muffly’s *Health, its Friends and its Foes*, p. 369.] The mention of “pearls” — which are plentifully found in mussels, but not in clams — confirms this view.
Sea pearle, but we could not eat them, for they made vs all sicke that did eat, as well saylers as passengers; they caufed to caft and scour, but they were soone well againe. The bay is so round & circling, that before we could come to anchor, we went round all the points of the Compasse. We could not come neere the shore by three quarters of an English mile, because of shallow water, which was a great prejudice to vs, for our people going on shore were forced to waide a bow shoot or two in going a-land, which caused many to get colds and coughs, for it was ny times freezing cold weather.

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

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

17 Says Bradford, "I shall a little returne backe and begine with a combination made by them before they came a-shore, being ye first foundation of their governente in this place; occasioned partly by ye discontented & mutinous speeches that some of the strangers amongst them [i.e. not Leyden men, but adventurers who joined them in England] had let fall from them in ye ship, That when they came a-shore they would use their owne libertie; for none had power to command them, the patente they had being for Virginia, and not for New England, which belonged to an other Government, with which ye Virginia Company had nothing to doe. And partly that such an acte by them done (this their condition considered) might be as firme as any patent, and in some respects more sure." — [Ibid. Plym. Plant., 89.] Morton says, "It was though meet for their more orderly carrying on of their Affairs, and accordingly by mutual content they entred into a solemn Combination as a Body Politick, To submit to such Government and Governours, Laws
be an association and agreement, that we should combine
together [3] in one body, and to submit to such govern-
ment and governours, as we should by common consent
agree to make and choose, and set our hands to this that
followes word for word. 3.

IN the name of God, Amen. We whose names are
underwritten, the royall Subiects of our dread sover-
aigne Lord King IAMES, by the grace of God of Great
Britaine, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the
Faith, &c.

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

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

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

19 Morton leaves out "of."

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

21 Bradford [Hist. Plym. Plant., 90]
and Morton both infers "and" here;
but Morton misprints "officers."
which we promishe all due submission and obedience. In
witness whereof we haue here-vnder" subscribed our
names, "Cape Cod" 11. of November, in the yeare of the
raigne of our soveraigne Lord King Iames, of
England, France, and Ireland 18. and of Scotland 54.
Anno Domino 1620."  

22 Morton says, "hereunto."
23 Bradford and Morton both here
infeft "at."
24 Bradford and Morton both infert
"the."
25 Morton leaves out the words
"the yeare of."
26 Bradford and Morton both here
infeft "the," and again before "54;",
and read "18th" and "54th."
27 The names of the signers of this
most interesting and significant docu-
ment were first printed by Nathaniel
Morton, in 1669, in the New-England
Memorial. As corrected by Prince,
and illustrated by Bradford in the Ap-
pendix to his History, they stand as
follows, with the number reprefented
by each, and the names of their fam-
ilies: viz., —

1. John Carver (8).
   Catherine, his wife.
   Desire Minter.
   John Howland, men-
   Roger Wilder, servants.
   William Latham, boys.
   Jasper More, maid-servant.
2. William Bradford (2).
   Dorothy, his wife.

3. Edward Winflow (5).
   Elizabeth, his wife.
   George Soule, men-
   Elias Story, servants.
   Ellen More.
   Mary, his wife.
   Love, sons.
   Wrefling, boys.
   Richard More, boys.
5. Ifaac Allerton (6).
   Mary, his wife.
   Bartholomew, children.
   Remember, Mary.
   John Hooke, boy.
6. Miles Standlif (2).
   Rofe, his wife.
7. John Alden (1).
8. Samuel Fuller (1). [His fervant,
   William Butten, had d. at fea.]
   ———, his wife.
   Solomon Prowr, men-
   John Langemore, servants.
10. William Mullins (5).
    ———, his wife.
    Jofeph, children.
    Priscilla, servants.
    Robert Carter, servant.
The same day fo soon as we could we set a-shore 15. or 16. men, well armed, with some to fetch wood, for we

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<tr>
<td>Susanna, his wife.</td>
<td>Sarah, his wife.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Resolved, son.</td>
<td>Samuel, son.</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Holbeck, }  men-</td>
<td>James Chilton (3).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edward Thomson, }  servants.</td>
<td>———, his wife.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mary, daughter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Richard Warren (1).</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ver's family above.]</td>
<td>John, his son.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth, his wife.</td>
<td>Ellen, his wife.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giles,</td>
<td>John, }  fons.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Confstance, }  chil-</td>
<td>Francis, }</td>
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<tr>
<td>Damaris, }  dren.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oceanus, b. at sea.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edward Doten, }  men-</td>
<td>27. Moses Fletcher (1).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward Leister, }  servants.</td>
<td>28. John Goodman (1).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ann, his wife.</td>
<td>30. Thomas Williams (1).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humility Cooper, }  their care.</td>
<td>32. Edmond Margefon (1).</td>
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<tr>
<td>———, his wife.</td>
<td>34. Richard Britteridge (1).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elizabeth, daughter.</td>
<td>35. George Soule. [Of Ed. Win-</td>
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<td>low's family above.</td>
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<td>17. Francis Cook (2).</td>
<td>36. Richard Clark (1).</td>
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<tr>
<td>John, his fon.</td>
<td>37. Richard Gardiner (1).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jofep, his fon.</td>
<td>39. Thomas Englis (1).</td>
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<tr>
<td>———, his wife.</td>
<td>Hopkins's family above.</td>
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<tr>
<td>———, son.</td>
<td>41. Edward Leister. [Do.]</td>
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<td>20. John Ridgdale (2).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alice, his wife.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>21. Edward Fuller (3).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ann, his wife.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel, son.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. John Turner (3).</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>———, }  fons.</td>
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This list of Morton's adds up to forty-one signers; who, according to Bradford's list, at this date, represented exactly one hundred persons. Bradford adds [Hist. Plym. Plant., 450], "There were also other 2 seamen hired to stay a year here in the country,—William Trevores, and one Ely.
had none left; as also to see what the Land was, and what Inhabitants they could meet with, they found it.

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

It will be noticed that while one of Carver's men-servants, one of Winflow's, and both of Hopkins's, affixed their names to this paper; the other servant of Carver (Roger Wilder), the other of Winflow (Elias Story), with the two of Christopher Martin (Solomon Prower and John Langemore), the two of William White (William Holbeck and Edward Thomson), and that of William Mullins (Robert Carter), seven in all, did not sign it. Some have conjectured that the names of all the adult male members of the company not found there should be added to Morton's list; but as keeper — in his official capacity — of the public records, from 1645 to 1685, there is a strong probability that the Secretary had in his possession, and copied from, the original compact with its actual signatures, — a document which, from the nature of the case, they would have taken pains to preserve. It is possible that such of the servants only as, on the one hand, specially deserved the honor, or, on the other, specially needed the restraint, of becoming parties to such an agreement, were invited to sign it; to the former of which classes one might fancy John Howland to belong, and to the latter, Edward Doten and Edward Leister. It is more probable — as Bradford says [Hist. Plym. Plant., 450-52] these seven all died soon — that they were ailing at this time, and so out of the way at the signing.

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

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

29 Dr. Young endorses Dr. Freeman [Hist. Coll., viii. 206] in the judgment that this party landed on
to be a small neck of Land; on this side where we lay is the Bay, and the further side the Sea; the ground or earth, sand hills, much like the Downes in Holland, but much better; the crust of the earth a Spits depth, excellent blacke earth; all wooded with Okes, Pines, Saffras, Juniper, Birch, Holly, Vines, some Ash, Walnut; Long Point, and that their explorations were mainly confined to the neck which separates Provincetown harbor from Cape Cod Bay. But it seems to me far from improbable that they landed not far from Stevens's Point, and that their explorations extended across the end of the Cape, between Race Point and Wood End, so that by the sea on "the further side" they meant the Atlantic, and not "Barnstable Bay," as Dr. Freeman considered. They started, probably, early in the day, and were gone till night, so that they had time to roam largely over that western half of Provincetown, the whole of which is only 3½ miles in extreme length, by an average of not much over 2 in breadth; the more especially as the wooded portion was clear of underbrush, and so "fit to goe or ride in." One object they had in view was to find inhabitants; but one would think they must have been well affured, by the view which they got of Long Point in falling around it into harbor, whether there were inhabitants there or not.

30 That portion of Holland with which the Pilgrims had become familiar, skirting the North Sea, abounds in sand dunes similar to those on the New-England coast; it being estimated that they have an extent there of 140,000 acres.—[Marsh's Man and Nature, p. 507.]

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

32 That the Cape was formerly covered with large trees is proved, (1) from the fact that their stumps now occasionally appear, when the superincumbent sand is blown off by some high wind; (2) by the testimony of the most aged inhabitants, who well remember the vandalism which cut them down for the purpose of making
the wood for the most part open and without under-wood, fit either to go or ride in: at night our people returned, but found not any person, nor habitation, and laded their Boat with Juniper, which smelled very sweet & strong, and of which we burnt the most part of the time we lay there.

Munday, the 13. of November, we unshipped our Shallop and drew her on land, to mend and repair her, having bin forced to cut her downe in beftowing her betwixt the decks, and she was much opened with the peoples charcoal with which to boil down seawater to salt; (3) by the actual presence, in the east part of the village of Provincetown, of a few surviving representatives of the old growth. Most if not all of the growths mentioned in this "Relation" are still found in Provincetown and its vicinity. Those here specified appear to be the following: viz.,

Oaks (white), Quercus alba (now most common).
   (red), Quercus rubra.
   (black), Quercus stellata.
Pine (pitch), Pinus rigida.
Sassafras, Sassafras officinale.
Juniper (red cedar), Juniperus Virginiana.
Birch (white), Betula populifolia.
Holly (evergreen), Ilex opaca.
Ash (white), Fraxinus americana.
Walnut (mockernut hickory), Carya tomentosa; or (pig-nut hickory), Carya porcina.

The vines were, probably the common wild-grape (Vitis labrusca), and perhaps the greenbrier (Smilax rotundifolia), Virginian creeper, (Amelopsis quinquemucida), hairy honeyfuckle (Lonicer a hirsuta), and poison ivy (Rhus toxicodendron). On what is called the "Island," about a mile west of East Harbor meadow, grape-vines still grow which bear a small, inferior grape, holding about the same relation to the cultivated grape that the beach-plum has to the garden plum.

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

31 Monday, 13 Nov.
lying in her;[4] which kept vs long there, for it was 16. or 17. dayes before the Carpenter had finisht her; our people went on shore to refresh themselues, and our women to washe, as they had great need;[5] but whilest we

34 Bradford says, "They having brought a large shallop with them out of England, stowed in quarters in ye ship, they now gott her out & sett their carpenters to worke to trime her up; but being much bruised & shattered in ye shipe with foule weather, they saw the would be longe in mendinge." —[Hist. Plym. Plant., 80.]

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

The changes of a peculiarly changeable region must be had in mind in giving an answer. A careful study of the topography of the locality has led to the conclusion that there was formerly a fresh-water pond of considerable size, separated from the sea by a narrow sand-beach, which pond has become wholly obliterated,—on the lower side by the influx of the sea, and on the upper side by the encroachments of the sand. It was situated between the N. W. portion of High Hill and the present low-water mark, and must have been at least a quarter of a mile in breadth by, say, seven-eighths in length: including in its upper half a section of the town, say from Union wharf on the S. W. to Cook's wharf on the east; and in its lower half a considerable section of the present harbor, where vessels now, at full sea, come up between these wharves. The evidence in the case may be briefly stated thus:—(1) there is a strip, low down on the flats, laid bare by the daily ebb, which may be traced as presumably the foundation of the narrow beach,—the beach on which the women washed their clothes; (2) fresh-water mud, with peat, roots, and other traces of swamp growths, may still be identified under the superincumbent salt-mud and sand within the embrace of the aforesaid strip,—the mud sometimes being pressed up to the surface through the subencequent sand-layer, by the weight of vessels refting on the flats at low water; (3) in digging wells and reservoirs in that portion of the village embraced within this area, there are found (a) sand, (b) salt-water mud, (c) a few inches of sand, (d) fresh-water
lay thus still, hoping our Shallop would be ready in five or sixe dayes at the furthest, but our Carpenter made flow worke of it, so that some of our people impatient of delay, desired for our better furtherance to travaile by Land into the Countrey, which was not without appearance of danger, not having the Shallop with them, nor meanes to carry provision, but on their backes, to see whether it might be fit for vs to seate in or no, and the rather because as we sayled into the Harbour, there seemed to be a river opening it selfe into the maine land; the willingnes of the persons was liked, but the thing it selfe, in regard of the danger was rather permitted then approved, and so with cautions, directions, and instructions, sixteene men were set out with every man his Musket, Sword, and Corflet, vnder the conduct of Captaine Miles Standish, vnto whom was adioyned for

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

36 Pamet River, the mouth of which is distant 5½ miles S. E. by E. from Long Point light, and which, in 1794, was about 300 feet broad at the mouth, and wider within. — [1 Mass. Hist. Coll., iii. 196.]

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

38 Miles Standish is supposed to have been born at Duxbury Hall, near Chorley, in Lancashire; some twenty-three miles N. E. from Liverpool, in
counsell and advise, William Bradford,39 Stephen Hopkins,40 and Edward Tilley.41

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

39 William Bradford was the son of William and Alice (Hanford) Bradford, and was born at Aufterfeld, Eng., 20 March, 1560. Early uniting himself with the Scrooby movement, he went to Holland with the church; 30 Nov., 1613, married, at Leyden, Dorothy May, of “Witzbuts” (Wifbeach?), Eng., who was drowned at Cape Cod, 7 Dec., 1620; next married, 24 Aug., 1623, Alice (Carpenter) Southworth; had John, William, Mercy, and Joseph; was chosen governor after the death of John Carver, and was governor every year until his death, except five; died at Plymouth, 9 May, 1657, aged 67 years, 1 month, 20 days.—[Hunter’s Founders of New Plymouth, 99–116, 198–9; Savage, Gen. Dict., i. 231; N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., iv. 45; Leyden Ms. Rec.

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

41 Edward Tilley came with his wife Ann and two children “that were their coffens, Henery Samson and Humility Coper.” He was probably also elder brother of John, who brought over his wife, and daughter Elizabeth. All of both families died in the first mortality, except Henry Samson and Elizabeth Tilley; the former of whom married Ann Plummer, and had nine children, the latter, John Howland (Carver’s servant), and had ten.— [Savage, Gen. Dict., iv. 302; Bradford’s Plym. Plant., 449–453; Vincent’s Giles Memorial, 374.]
Wednesday the 15. of November, they were set a shore, and when they had ordered themselues in the order of a single File, and marched about the space of a myle, by the Sea they espied five or fixe people, with a Dogge, coming towards them, who were Savages, who when they saw them ran into the Wood and whisled the Dogge after them, &c. First, they supposethem to be master Jones, the Master and some of his men, for they were a-shore, and knew of their comming, but after they knew them to be Indians they mar-ched after them into the Woods, least other of the Indians should lie in Ambush; but when the Indians saw our men following

43 From the facts, that they had, clearly, already landed at the pond on the Provincetown shore; that they more than once speake of having to wade three-fourths of a mile in landing, while the water seems to have been bold at Long Point; and that for exploration they would naturally wish to save their strength from vainly traversing the entire length of Long Point; it seems evident that this party were set on shore somewhere near the present site of the village of Provincetown, most likely on the western end of the beach where the women washed their clothes, near Payne's Hill.

44 They probably struck inland over Telegraph Hill, and so back of Mill Hill along the high land skirting the pond; when they saw the Indians approaching over the beach from the east. The "space of a myle" would have brought them nearly to the crest of High Hill.

45 Master Jones's first name does not appear. Thacher [Hist. Plym., 48] says that he came over again, Aug., 1622, as master of the Discovery; but Bradford—who [Hist. Plym. Plant., 68] calls the captain of the Mayflower "Mr. Joans," and refers to him four or five times afterward—speaks [Ibid. 127] of the master of the Discovery as "one Captaine Jons," without any hint that it was the same man; so that I doubt if it were.

46 The land around Duck Pond was, doubtless, then densely wooded. I imagine that the Indians made for those woods, and then ran out of them around the north end of Great Pond over toward Negro Head, and so to the east towards Truro.
them, they ran away with might and mayne, and our men turned out of the Wood after them, for it was the way they intended to goe, but they could not come neare them. They followed them that night about ten miles by the trace of their footings, and saw how they had come the same way they went and at a turning perceived how they run vp an hill, to see whether they followed them. At length night came upon them, and they were constrained to take vp their lodging, so they set forth three Sentinells, and the rest, some kindled a fire, and others fetched wood, and there held our Randevous that night. In the morning so soone as we could see the trace, we proceeded on our journey, & had the tracke

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

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

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

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

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

52 Thursday, 26 Nov.
vntill we had compassed the head of a long creake, and there they tooke into another wood, and we after them, supposing to finde some of their dwellings, but we marched thorow boughes and bushes, and vnder hills and vallies, which tore our very Armour in pieces, and yet could meete with none of them, nor their houses, nor finde any fresh water, which we greatly desired, and stood in need off, for we brought neither Beere nor Water with vs, and our victuals was onely Bisket and Holland cheefe, and a little Bottle of aquavite, so as we were sore a thirft. About ten a clocke we came into a deepe Valley, full of brushe, wood-gale, and long graffe, through which we

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

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

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

56 "*Aqua vitae*, a fort of cordial Liquor formerly made of brewed Beer strongly hopp'd, well fermented; now (1730) it is commonly understood of Spirits, Geneva, and the like." — [Bailey.]

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

58 Brushe — A general name for wild rose-bushes (*Rosa lucida*), buch-whortleberry (*Vaccinium doumosum*), low blueberry (*Vaccinium Pennsylvanicum*), bearberry (*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*), brown crowberry (*Oxalis conradi*), pimpemel (*Anagallis arvensis*), beach-plum (*Prunus maritima*), beach-pea (*Lathyrus maritimus*), shad-bush (*Amelanchier ovalis*), and other coarse shrubby and weedy growths which are still found in, or
found little paths or tracts, and there we saw a Deere, and found springs of fresh water, of which we were heartily glad, and sat vs downe and drunke our first New-England water with as much delight as euer we drunke drinke in all our liues. When we had refreshed our felues, we directed our course full South, that we might come to the shore, which within a short while after we did, and there made a fire, that they in the ship might see where wee were (as we had direction) and so marched on towards this supposed River; and as we went in another valley, we found a fine cleere Pond of fresh water, being about a Musket shot broad, and twice as long; there grew also many small vines, and Foule and Deere haunted there; there grew much Safafras:

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

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

Long Grafs. — Beach grafs (calamagrostis arenaria) was undoubtedly what they meant.

59 In 1801, Dr. Freeman stated that in this valley was a swamp, called Dyer's Swamp, around which were formerly springs of fresh water, with a few then still remaining. But the remorfelesf hand has now so obliterated them that for at leaft a generation there has been no sign of springs there, — only a hollow, overgrown with bushes.

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

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

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

62 Proceeding southward toward Pamet River, of which they were in search, they would next come to a section of elevated table-land, now traceable between Pond Village and Great Hollow; perhaps three-fourths of a mile W. N. W. of the famous old Truro meeting-house, painted by “the dark brown years,” now standing no longer.

63 Probably following up the Great Hollow valley from its mouth on the bay; so that the place of graves was doubtless somewhere in what is now the village of Great Hollow. Their silence in regard to the Great Swamp in Truro seems to be accounted for by this detour to the beach. They struck down to the “sea-sands” just before they would have come to it, and then going up again through Great Hollow, passed by it while they were on the shore. The swamp is about half way between Pond Village and Great Hollow, say three-fourths of a mile from each, almost due W. from the old Truro meeting-house, and is now separated from the shore of the bay by a beach of not more than two hundred feet in width.
a Bow, and, as we thought, Arrowes, but they were rotten; We suppos’d there were many other things, but because we deemed them graues, we put in the Bow againe and made it vp as it was, and left the rest vntouched, because we thought it would be odious vnto them to ranfacke their Sepulchers. We went on further and found new flubble, of which they had gotten Corne this yeare, and many Wallnut trees full of Nuts, and great flore of Strawberries, and some Vines; passing thus a

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

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

66 Strawberry vines (Fragaria Virginiana, or vesca). Roger Williams says, "This Berry is the wonder of all the Fruits growing naturally in those parts: it is of itselfe Excellent: so that one of the chiefest Doctors of England was wont to say, that God could have made, but God never did make a better Berry: In some parts where the Natives have planted " he does not mean planted strawberrynines, but tilled the soil with corn, &c., and so invited its creepers to a richer bed; "I have many times seen as many as would fill a good shipe within a few miles compasse." — [Key, &c., in R. I. Hist. Coll., i. 90.] "Strawberries grew there abundantly [1855] in the little hollows on the edge of the desert, standing amid the beach-gras in the sand." — [Thoreau, Cape Cod, 187.]

67 Grape-vines. Thomas Morton says, "Of this kind of trees, there are that beare grapes of three colours, that is to say: white, black and red." He adds, "The Country is so apt for vines that (but for the fire at the spring of the yeare) the vines would so over spreade the land, that one should not be able to passe for them; the fruit is as bigg of some as a musket bullet, and is excellent in tafle." — [New-English Canaan, in Force’s Traits, Vol. ii., v. 45. See also Wood’s New-England’s Prospect, ch. v.]
field or two, which were not great, we came to another, which had also bin new gotten, and there we found where an house had beene, and foure or fiue old Planke layed together; also we found a great Kettle, which had beene some Ships kettles and brought out of Europe; there was also an heap of sand, made like the former, but it was newly done, we might see how they had padled it with their hands, which we digged vp, and in it we found a little old Basket full of faire Indian Corne, and digged further & found a fine great new Basket full of very faire corne of this yeare, with some 36. goodly cares of corne, some yellow, and some red, and others mixt with blew, which was a very goodly sight: the Basket was round, and narrow at the top, it held about three or foure

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

69 These were, most likely, the traces of the company to which Bradford refers when he says [His Plym. Plant., 98], that about 1617 "a French ship was cast away at Cap-Codd, but ye men gott ahoure, & faved their lives, and much of their vickailes & other goods." He adds that the Indians killed all but three or four, using the survivors worse than slaves; two of whom Captain Dermer redeemed.

70 "Their Barnes are holes made in the earth, that will hold a Hogf-head of corne a piece in them. In these (when their corne is out of the huske and well dried) they lay their flore in greater baskets (which they make of Sparke) with mats under about the sides and on the top: and putting it into the place made for it, they cover it with earth: and in this manner it is preferred from destruction or putrefaction; to be used in cafe of necessity and not else." —[New-English Canaan, in Force's Traits, Vol. ii., v. 30.]
Buthels, which was as much as two of vs could lift vp from the ground, and was very handomely and cunningly made. But whilst wee were busy about these things, we set our men Sentinell in a round ring, all but two or three which digged vp the corne. We were in suspense, what to doe with it, and the Kettle, and at length after much consultation, we concluded to take the Kettle, and as much of the Corne as we could carry away with vs; and when our Shallop came, if we could find any of the people, and come to parley with them, we would give them the Kettle againe, and satisfie them for their Corne; so we tooke all the eares and put a good deale of the loose Corne in the Kettle for two men to bring away on a staffe; besides, they that could put any into their Pockets filled the same; the rest wee buried againe, for we were so laden with Armour that we could carry no more. Not farre from this place we found the remainder of an old Fort, or Palizide, which as we conceiued had beene made by some Christians, this was also hard by that place which we thought had beene a river, vnto which wee went and found it so to be, deviding it selfe into two armes by an high banke, standing right by the cut or

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

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

73 Now called Old Tom's Hill, in Indian Neck.
mouth which came from the Sea, that which was next
unto vs was the leffe, the other arme was more then twife
as big, and not unlike to be an harbour for ships; but
whether it be a fresh river, or onely an indraught of the
Sea, we had no time to discover; for wee had Command-
ememt to be out but two dayes. Here alfo we saw two
Canoas, the one on the one side, the other on the other
side, wee could not beleue it was a Canoa, till we
came neare it, so we returned leauing the further disco-

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

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

76 It is difficult to see exactly what
is here intended. Dr. Young inter-
prets the "one side" and "other side"
to refer to the bank (i.e. Old Tom's
Hill), so that he understands them to
have looked across Hopkins's Creek,
and seen the two canoes lying on its
further shore, but the one on the one
side of the "high banke," and the
other on the other. This would not
enable the party, however, to "come
nearer" than the width of the creek
to either. If the "one side" and the
"other side," on the other hand, are
taken as referring to the creek itself,
one canoe becomes accessible; though
it might be urged that if the party
came near enough to it to handle it,
they might probably have said more
about it, and might be tempted to try
its power of ferrying.
very hereof to our Shallop, and came that night backe againe to the fresh water pond,77 and there we made our Randevous that night, making a great fire, and a Barricado78 to windward of vs, and kept good watch with three Sentinells all night, every one standing when his turne came, while five or sixe inches of Match was burning.79 It proved a very rainie night. In the morning80 we tooke our Kettle and sunke it in the pond, and trimmed our Muskets, for few of them would goe off because of the wet, and so coasted the wood81 againe to come home, in which we were shrewdly pufled, and lost our way, as we wandred we came to a tree, where a yong Spritt82 was bowed downe over a bow, and some

77 See note 61.
78 "So they made them a barricado (as usually they did every night) with loggs, flaks, & thike pine bowes, ye height of a man, leaving it open to leeward, partly to shelter them from ye could & wind (making their fire in ye mide & lying round aboute it), and partly to defend them from any sudden assaults of ye savags, if they should suround them." —[Bradford, Plym. Plant., 84.]
79 Most of their guns were matchlocks (though the Pilgrims then had at least one flint-lock in their possession, as will appear farther on), which would be worthles in a sudden alarm unless the match were kept constantly ignited.
80 Friday, 17 Nov.
81 The forest seems to have grown down to the pond on the north, and thence stretched across toward the ocean; so that they "skirted it" in their endeavor to go around the head of East-Harbor Creek; but, getting confused in the dense growth, and so lost, they went too far E.
82 A sprout, i. e. a young sapling. Thomas Morton says, "The Salvages take these [deer] in trappes made of their naturall Hempe, which they place in the earth; where they fell a tree for browfe, and when he rounds the tree for the browfe, if hee tread on the trap, he is horfed up by the legg, by meanes of a pole that startes up and catcheth him." —[New-Eng. Canaan, in Force's Traits, Vol. II., v. 52.] The boys in the Old Colony catch the small game of the woods, to this day, by similiar traps.
Acornes strewed vn- [8] der-neath; *Stephen Hopkins* sayd, it had beene to catch some Deere, so, as we were looking at it, *William Bradford* being in the *Reare*, when he came looked also vpon it, and as he went about, it gaue a sodaine jerk vp, and he was immediately caught by the leg; It was a very pretie devise, made with a Rope of their owne making, and having a noose as artificially made, as any Roper*83* in *England* can make, and as like ours as can be, which we brought away with vs. In the end wee got out of the Wood, and were fallen about a myle too high aboue the creake,*84* where we saw three Bucks, but we had rather haue had one of them.*85* Wee also did spring three couple of Partridges; and as we came along by the creake, wee saw great flockes of wild Geese and Duckes, but they were very fearefull of vs. So we marched some while in the Woods, some while on the sands, and other while in the water vp to the knees,*86*

*83* A ropemaker.—[Johson.]
*84* This would indicate that they came out upon the eastern shore, scarcely three-fourths of a mile N.W. of the present site of the Highland Light.
*85* There is a quaint touch of humor here which indicates that the Pilgrim visage, though grim, knew how to smile.
*86* Dr. Young suggests that they went down the west side of East-Harbor Creek, and forded its mouth; but I see nothing in their narrative to indicate that they did so. The fact that they marched some while "in the water up to the knees" does not prove it, because they would be very likely to do that in marching around the marshes that skirted Stout's Creek, if they returned the same way they went; while the fact that they had just been lost in the woods, when they reached the head of East-Harbor Creek, would have been likely to have urged them to go back upon their tracks, after they had found them. It is, farther, in itself, greatly improbable that they would go that way; (a) the difficulties of crossing Moon-
till at length we came near the Ship, and then we shot off our Peeces, and the long Boat came to fetch vs;

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

(b) Here also it seems to me that both Dr. Young and Dr. Freeman [1 Mag's. Hist. Coll., viii. 212] have wrongly inferred that the party waded across Mill Creek and went round to the end of Long Point before hailing the ship. This—if the configuration of Mill Creek were at all then as now—would have added at least four miles of tedious travel to what would be needful, if they returned on board from the washing-beach, where they appear to have disembarked for this journey. They must have been too much fatigued—laden as they were with their armor and weapons and their corn—to do this needlessly. Moreover, it is stated that Jones, Carver, and a number of the company were on shore when they arrived; but they would have been more likely to have been on the main shore than on Long Point. It is obvious that, although the Mayflower lay at anchor not over a furlong's length from the inner shore of Long Point (as seems to be fixed by the remark made when the shallop started on its voyage to Plymouth), yet the going ashore was mostly done in the direction of Provincetown; inasmuch as it is repeatedly said that they were compelled to wade a bow-shot or two; that they could not, at low-water, get within three-fourths of a mile of the shore, &c., &c. I judge, then, that the party "shot off" their "peeces" when they came down against the ship,—perhaps in the present neighborhood of Central Wharf,—and that their friends, who were scattered, on their occasions, about the neighborhood, ther came to greet them, and the long-boat soon took all on board.

I am not able, I may add here, to understand Dr. Young's statement, that the ship lay two miles from Provincetown. If she were a furlong inside of Long Point, she could
master Jones, and master Carver being on the shore, with many of our people, came to meete vs. And thus wee came both weary and well-come home, and deliuered in our Corne into the store, to be kept for seed, for wee knew not how to come by any, and therefore were very glad, purposing so soone as we could meete with any of the Inhabitants of that place, to make them large satisfaction. This was our first Discovery, whilst our Shallop was in repairing; our people did make things as fitting as they could, and time would, in seeking out wood, and heluing of Tooles, and sawing of Tymber to build a new Shallop, but the discommodiousnes of the harbour did much hinder vs, for we could neither goe to, nor come from the shore, but at high water, which was much to our hinderance and hurt, for oftentimes they waded to the middle of the thigh, and oft to the knees, to goe and come from land; some did it necessarily, and some for their owne pleasure, but it brought to the most, if not to all, coughes and colds, the weather proving sodainly cold and stormie, which afterward turned to the scurvey, whereof many dyed. [9]

When our Shallop was fit indeed, before she was fully fitted, for there was two dayes worke after bestowed on her, there was appointed some 24. men of our owne,
and armed, then to goe and make a more full discovery of the rivers before mentioned.\footnote{That is, Pamet River and its three branches. See note 74.} Master Jones was desirous to goe with vs, and tooke such of his faylers as he thought vsfull for vs, so as we were in all about 34. men; wee made master Jones our Leader, for we thought it best herein to gratifie his kindnes and forwardnes.\footnote{This proves nothing either way in regard to the charge which Secretary Morton makes [\textit{N. E. Mem.}, 12.] of treachery against Jones in landing the company so far north; because, if that were true, it was not known to any of the company for years afterward, and of course could not now impair their feelings of confidence in, or kindnes towards, him.} When we were set forth, it proued rough weather and crosse windes, so as we were constrained, some in the Shallop, and others in the long Boate, to row to the neereft shore the wind would suffer them to goe vnto, and then to wade out aboue the knees;\footnote{Probably Beach Point.} the wind was so strong as the Shallop could not keepe the water, but was forced to harbour there that night,\footnote{The shallop appears to have gone in round Beach Point into East-Harbor Creek.} but we marched sixe or seaven miles further,\footnote{How far would seem to them, under their circumstances, to have been six or seven miles must be matter of conjecture. They probably did not get farther from Beach Point than Great Hollow, where they might conveniently take the shallop next day; which would be about five miles.} and appointed the Shallop to come to vs as soone as they could. It blew and did snow all that day & night, and froze withall: some of our people that are dead tooke the originall of their death here. The next day\footnote{\textit{Tuesday}, 8 Nov.} about 11. a clocke our Shallop came to vs, and wee
shipped our selues, and the wind being good, we fayled to the river we formerly discovered,94 which we named, Cold Harbour, to which when wee came we found it not Navigable for Ships, yet we thought it might be a good harbour for Boats, for it flowes there 12. foote at high water. We landed our men betweene the two creekes,95 and marched some foure or fiue myles by the greater of them,96 and the Shallop followed vs; at length night grew on, and our men were tired with marching vp and downe the steepe hills, and deepe vallies, which lay halfe a foot thicke with snow; Master Iones wearied with marching, was desirous we should take vp our lodging, though some of vs would haue marched further, so we made there our Randevous for that night, vnder a few Pine trees, and as it fell out, wee got three fat Geefe, and sixe Ducks97 to our Supper, which we eate with Souldiers stomacks, for we

94 Pamet River. See note 74.
95 That is, at Old Tom's Hill, on Indian Neck.
96 The width of the Cape from the mouth of Pamet River acros to the Atlantic side is now scarcely three and a half miles, and, following all the windings of that crooked channel, it would be hard to double that distance; so that, in this estimate also, we must make some allowance for the influence of circumstances upon miles.
97 "There are Geefe of three forts vize, brant Geefe, which are pide, and white Geefe which are bigger, and gray Geefe which are as bigg and bigger then the tame Geefe of England, with black legges, black bills, heads, and necks black; the fleh farre more excellent, then the Geefe of England, wild or tame, yet the purity of the aire is such, that the biggest is accompted but an indifferent meale for a couple of men. There is of them great abundance. I have had often 1000. before the mouth of my gunne, I never saw any in England for my part so fatt. . . . Ducks, there are of three kindes, pide Ducks, gray Ducks, and black Ducks in greate abundance."—[New-Eng. Ca-naan, Force, II., v. 46.]
had eaten little all that day; our resolution was next morn-
ing to goe vp to the head of this river, for we supposed it
would prove fresh water, 98 but in [ ] the morning 99 our
resolution held not, because many liked not the hillinesse
of the soyle, and badnesse of the harbour, so we turned
towards the other creeke, 100 that wee might goe over and
looke for the rest of the Corne that we left behind when
we were here before; when we came to the creeke, we
saw the Canow 101 lie on the dry ground, and a flocke of
Geese in the river, at which one made a shot, and killed
a couple of them, and we lanched the Canow & fetcht
them, and when we had done, she carried vs over by
seaven or eight at once. This done, we marched to the
place where we had the corne formerly, which place we
called Corne-hill; and digged and found the rest, of which
we were very glad: we also digged in a place a little fur-
ther off, and found a Botle of oyle; 102 we went to another
place, which we had seene before, and digged, and found
more corne, viz. two or three Baskets full of Indian
Wheat, 103 and a bag of Beanes, with a good many of faire

98 They must have been then within a mile of the Atlantic side. The
present isthmus between the head of Pamet River and the beach on the
eastern side of the Cape can scarcely be more than forty rods in width.
99 Wednesday, 9 Dec.
100 That is, over toward the north branch and Cornhill.
101 See note 75.
102 Another relic of the shipwrecked
failors? See note 69.
103 Corn was a general term for
those farinaceous grains which grow
in ears, including wheat, barley, oats,
maize, &c. By “Indian wheat” they
meant maize or “Indian corn.” Higginson says, “It is almost incredible
what great gaine some of our Eng-
lith Planters have had by our Indian
Wheat-eares;\textsuperscript{104} whilst some of vs were digging vp this, some others found another heape of Corne, which they digged vp also, so as we had in all about ten Bushels, which will serue vs sufficiently for feed. And sure it was Gods good providence that we found this Corne, for els wee know not how we should haue done, for we knew not how we should find, or meete with any of the Indians, except it be to doe vs a mischiefe. Also we had neuer in all likelihood seene a graine of it, if we had not made our first Iourney;\textsuperscript{105} for the ground was now covered with snow, and so hard frosen, that we were faine with our Curtlaxes\textsuperscript{106} and short Swords, to hew and carue the ground a foot deeppe, and then wreft it vp with leavens, for we had forgot to bring other Tooles; whilst we were in this imployment, foule weather being towards,\textsuperscript{107}

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

\textsuperscript{105} See p. 21.

\textsuperscript{106} "Curtlafs (q. d. \textit{curtled or curt axe}) a short sword, a kind of hanger." —[\textit{Bailey}.]

\textsuperscript{107} "Towards (adverb), near at hand; advancing." —[\textit{Worcester}.]
Master Jones was earnest to go abroad, but sundry of vs desir’d to make further discovery, and to find out the Indians habitations, so we sent home with him our weakest people, and some that were sick, and all the Corne, and 18. of vs stayed still, and lodged there that night, and desir’d that the Shallop might returne to vs next day, and bring vs some Mattocks and Spades with them.

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

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

109 In the neighborhood of Cornhill.

110 Thursday, 30 Nov.

111 See note 79.

112 This description accords very imperfectly with that of a deer-path which Dr. Young quotes from Wood. It is quite possible that the Pilgrims were mistaken in their conjecture, and he in his comment.

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

114 That is, came back to the cleared land south of the Pond, where they had found graves in their first expedition.
we had yet seene. It was also covered with boords, so as we mused what it should be, and resolved to digge it vp, where we found, firft a Matt, and vnder that a fayre Bow, and there another Matt, and vnder that a boord about three quarters 115 long, finely carued and paynted, with three tynes, or broches 116 on the top, like a Crowne; also betweene the Matts we found Boules, Trayes, Dishes, and such like Trinkets; at length we came to a faire new Matt, and vnder that two Bundles, the one bigger, the other leffe, we opened the greater and found in it a great quantitie of fine and perfect red Powder, and in it the bones and skull of a man. The skull had fine yellow haire still on it, and some of the fleshe vnconsumed; there was bound vp with it a knife, a pack-needle, 117 and two or three old iron things. It was bound vp in a Saylers canvas Capacke, 118 and a payre of cloth breeches; the red Powder was a kind of Embaulment, and yeelded a strong, but no offensieve smell; It was as fine as any flower. We opened the leffe bundle likewise, and found of the same Powder in it, and the bones and head of a little childe, about the legs, and other parts of it was bound frings, and bracelets of fine white Beads; 119 there was also by it

115 A quarter of a yard was familiarly spoken of, in lineal measure, as a "quarter."
116 "Tine, the Grain [prong] of a Fork." "Broach, a fpit for roafting meat on." [Bailey.] The idea is that something like a trident was carved on the board; connecting nautical affociations with the grave.
117 A large, coarfe needle for sewing pack-cloth with pack-thread, in doing up packages of goods.
118 A coarfe frock, or bloufe.
119 Wampum.
a little Bow, about three quarters long, and some other odd knackes; we brought sundry of the pretiestic things away with vs, and covered the Corps vp againe. After this, we digged in sundry like places, but found no more Corne, nor any things els but [12] graves: There was varietie of opinions amongst vs about the embalmed person; some thought it was an Indian Lord and King: others sayd, the Indians haue all blacke hayre, and never any was seene with browne or yellow hayre; some thought, it was a Christian of some speciall note, which had dyed amongst them, and they thus buried him to honour him; others thought, they had killed him, and did it in triumph over him. Whilest we were thus ranging and searching, two of the Saylers, which were newly come on the shore, by chance espied two houses, which had beene lately dwelt in, but the people were gone. They having their pieces,

120 From the mention of the trident carved and painted on the board found in the grave, and that of the knife, pack-needle, coffock, and breeches, and the yellow hair found on the skull, it is made probable that this was the grave of one of the shipwrecked sailors already referred to, or of some one of earlier coming. (See note 69.) What the embalming powder — as they conceived it to be — was, I can form no conjecture. Nor is it easy to explain the child's bones, and the Indian relics buried in the same grave. Although Bradford's reference to these sailors [Hist. Plym. Plant., 98] shows that they were said to have been treated "worse than slaves" by the Indians, it is possible that some one of them may have pleased his captors, and been adopted into their tribe; may have married, and been buried by them with honor, and with his child in the same grave. Or, possibly, it may have been a North-men relic.

121 The shallop had returned for the eighteen members of the party who had remained — as by request of the previous night; and some of her sailors were now searching for them.
and hearing no body entred the houses, and tooke out some things, and durst not stay but came againe and told vs; so some seaven or eight of vs went with them, and found how we had gone within a flight shot of them before. The houses were made with long yong Sapling trees, bended and both ends stucke into the ground; they were made round, like vtto an Arbour, and covered downe to the ground with thicke and well wrought mats, and the doore was not over a yard high, made of a matt to open; the chimney was a wide open hole in the top, for which they had a matt to cover it close when they pleasfed; one might stand and goe vpright in them, in the midst of them were foure little trunchees knockt into the ground, and small stickes laid over, on which they hung their Pots, and what they had to seeth; round about the fire they lay on mats, which are their beds. The houses were double matted, for as they were matted without, so were they within, with newer & fairer mats. In the houses we found wooden Boules, Trayes & Dishes, Earthen Pots, Hand baskets made of Crab

122 "Their Houses are verie little and homely, being made with small Poles prick'd into the ground, and so bended and fastned at the tops, and on the sides they are matted with Doughes, and coverd on the Roofe with Sedge and old Mats." — [New-England's Plantation, Force, i. xii. 13. See also, for further particulars in regard to the Indian wigwams, R.-I. Hist. Coll., i. 47-51; Force, ii., v. 19, 20; 1 Mafs. Hist. Coll., i. 149; Schoolcraft's Indian Tribes, &c., ii. 63, &c.]

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

124 "Trunche, a flake, a small post." — [Webster.]

125 "They line them with embroyd-
shells, wrought together; also an English Paile or Bucket, it wanted a bayle, but it had two Iron eares: there was also Baskets of sundry forts, bigger and some lesse, finer and some courser: some were curiously wrought with blacke and white in pretie workes, and sundry other of their household fluffe: we found also two or three Deeres heads, one whereof had bin newly killed, for it was still fresh; there was also a company of [13] Deeres feete, stuck vp in the houfes, Harts horns, and Eagles clawes, and sundry such like things there was: also two or three Baskets full of parched Acornes, pecces of fishe, and a piece of a broyled Hering. We found also a little filke graffe, and a little Tobacco seed, with

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

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

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

130 Possibly the Stipa avenacea, or some kindred feathery gras; but most probably the dried long feed-down of the Asclepias cornutus, commonly known as milkweed, or filkweed.

131 Probably those of the Nicotiana rustica, with greenish yellow flowers, and not the N. tabacum, the flowers of which are rofe-colored. The for-
some other seeds which wee knew not; without was sundry bundles of Flags, and Sedge, Bull-rushes, and other stuffe to make mats; there was thrust into an hollow tree, two or three pieces of Venison, but we thought it fitter for the Dogs then for vs: some of the best things we tooke away with vs, and left the houses standing still as they were, so it growing towards night, and the tyde almost spent, we hafted with our things downe to the Shallop, and got aboard that night, intending to haue brought some Beades, and other things to haue left in the houses, in signe of Peace, and that we meant to truk with them, but it was not done, by meanes of our hastie comming away from Cape Cod, but so soone as we can

mer is consider'd inferior to the latter, and now grows wild in old fields in some parts of the north, a relic of cultivation by the Indians. Roger Williams says, "They take their Wut-tamaug (that is, a weake Tobacco) which the men plant themselves, very frequently; yet I never see any take so excessively, as I have seene Men in Europe. . . . They say they take Tobacco for two coves; first against the rheume which caveth the tooth-ache, which they are impatient of: secondly to revive and refresh them, they drinking nothing but water."—

[R.-J. Hist. Coll., i. 35, 55.]

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

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

134 The meaning is, that they intended, after reaching the ship, to make another expedition to these
meete conveniently with them, we will give them full satisfaction.\textsuperscript{135} Thus much of our second Discovery.

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

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{135} "As about some 6. months afterward they did, to their good contente." —[Bradford, \textit{Hist. Plym. Plant.}, 83.]

\textsuperscript{136} That is, on the cleared land around Cornhill, and bordering Pame River.

\textsuperscript{137} See note 13.
any man els was hurt with it, though many were there about, but when the Whale saw her time she gaue a snuffe and away.

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

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

Others againe, urged greatly the going to Anguum or Angoum,\footnote{139}{I take it that all their impressions of this place—except as they might have been gathered from the} a place twenty leagues off to the North-
wards, which they had heard to be an excellent harbour for ships; better ground and better fishing. Secondly, for any thing we knew, there might be hard by vs a farre better seate, and it shoulde be a great hindrance to seate where wee should remoue againe.\(^{140}\) Thirdly, The water was but in ponds, and it was thought there would be none in Summer, or very little. Fourthly, the water floating rumors of the sea — they had derived from Captain John Smith’s Description of New England, with a rude map, which had been published at London in 1616, and was subsequently incorporated with his Generall Historie, published there in 1624. Describing the Massachusettts shore as it revealed itself to one coasting southward, he says, “Augoan is the next: this place might content a right curious judgement, but there are many sands at the entrance of the Harbour, and the worlfe is, it is imbayed too farre from the deepe Sea; here are many rising hills, and on their tops and descents are many corne fields and delightful groues: On the Easte is an Ile of two or three leagues in length, the one halfe plaine marith ground, fit for pasture or falt Ponds, with many faire high groues of Mulbery trees and Gardens; there is also Okes, Pines, Walnuts, and other wood to make this place an excellent habitation, being a good and safe Harbour.” — [Generall Historie, 214.]
The map indicates — were there any doubt — that the place which Smith had in mind was Agawam, now known as Ipswich, the entrance to whose harbor (the goodness of which they would have found to be greatly exaggerated) opens directly at the southern extremity of Plum Iland; and upon Smith’s map, by his scale of leagues, is put down at as nearly “twentie leagues off to the Northwards” from the Mayflower as she lay at anchor, as can be measured; which indeed is not far from the true distance.

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

\(^{140}\) That is, where they should be dissatisfied, and whence they should be therefore compelled to remove again.
there"" must be fetched vp a steepe hill: but to omit many reasons and replies vsed heere abouts; It was in the ende concluded, to make some discovery within the Bay, but in no case so farre as Angoum: besides, Robert Coppin our Pilot,"" made relation of a great Navigable River "" and good harbour in the other head-land of this Bay,"" almost right over against Cape Cod, being a right [15] line, not much about eight leagues distant,"" in which hee had beene once: and because that one of the

141 At Cornhill, or on old Tom's Hill. See note 73.
142 Robert Coppin was one of the master's mates of the Mayflower, and a pilot. He was pilot of the Plymouth expedition; but he is also called ""our pilot"" in this place, in a way to intimate that he was a pilot of the Mayflower, as well. The word seems to have been then used in a larger sense than now — as intending not a mere local and temporary channel-guide, but a permanent officer of the ship; and, for adventurers to a comparatively unknown land, a person who had made the pilgrimage himself, and so could hold out the hope of benefit from his experience. Capt. John Smith puts down a pilot among the needful functionaries of a ship, in his ""Sea Grammer"" (1627); and had one himself (Thomas Digby) in his attempt to reach New-England in 1615.

It is my impression that Coppin was originally hired to go in the Speedwell; that he was the ""pilot"" whose ""coming"" was a ""great encouragement"" to the Leyden expeântants in the last of May or first of June, 1620; that he failed with them in the Speedwell, but, on her final putting back, was transferred to the Mayflower, where Clarke (see note 159) already was; — Robert Cufhman having written to Leyden 11 June, ""We have another pilote here, one Mr Clarke, who went last year to Virginia with a ship of kine."" — [3 Mafs. Hist. Coll., vi. 134; Bradford, Plym. Plant., 49, 55.]

143 It is difficult to guess what suggested the idea of this ""great navigable river;"" and, from what is said, subsequently, it is doubtful if Coppin had ever been in Plymouth harbor.
144 The hights of Manomet, lying directly south of the entrance to Plymouth harbor.
145 It would be a little less than 25 miles in an air line — one point south of due west — from the anchorage of the Mayflower in Provincetown harbor, to her anchorage in Plymouth harbor.
wild men with whom they had some trucking, stole a 
harping Iron from them, they called it theeuishe har-
bour. And beyond that place they were enioyed not to 
goe, whereupon, a Company was chosen to goe out vpon 
a third discovery: whilest some were imployed in this 
discovery, it pleased God that Misfris White was brought 
a bed of a Sonne, which was called Peregrine.

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

146 “Harping-irons, a sort of Darts 
or Spears fastened to Lines, where- 
with they strike and catch Whales 
and other large Fish.” — [Bailey.]

147 The senfe here, beyond doubt, 
requires that the colon after “a third 
discovery” should be a period, and 
the words “whilest some” begin a 
new paragraph; so as to enable what 
follows to revert naturally back to the 
time taken by this second expedition 
to Cornhill, just closed, and not to that 
occupied by the “third discovery” (of 
Plymouth), as it seems to do under the 
exilting punctuation. The meaning 
is, that while this party were ab-
sent — between Monday, 27 Nov., and 
Thursday, 10 Dec. — this little stran-
ger had been added to their company.

148 Peregrine White — the first child 
of New England, so far as the Eng-
lishe colonists were concerned — was 
youngest child of William, “wol-
carder from England,” and Sufanna 
(Fuller); who had been married 11 
Feb., 1612, in Leyden, and who em-
barked, with their son Resolved and 
two men-servants, in the Mayflower 
(see note 27); was born (as above) be-
tween 7 Dec. and 10 Dec.; was brought 
up by Edward Winflow, who married 
his mother Sufanna, 12 May, 1621 
(his father having died 21 Feb. 1620); 
got to Marshfield with Gov. Win-
low’s family, after 1632; 1642, was 
ensign of Standish’s militia (lieutenant 
some years later, and captain 1673); 
1648, married Sarah Basset; settled 
on an estate given him by his father-
in-law, William Basset, between 
North and South rivers, in Marsh-
field; 1660 and 1673, was representa-
tive to the General Court, and, 1673, 
was of the Council of War; had six 
children — Sarah, Daniel, Jonathan, 
Peregrine, Silvanus, and Mercy; died 
“of a fever” 30 July, 1704, aged 
early 84, “vigorously and of a comely 
spect” to the last.” His homestead is 
now owned by John A. White, — a 
descendant of the sixth generation, —
and is situated a half mile east of Tel-
egraph Hill, in the northern angle 
made by South River with the shore,
Sonnes, who in his Fathers absence, had got Gun-powder, and had shot off a peice or two, and made squibs, and there being a fowling peice charged in his fathers Cabbin, shot her off in the Cabbin, there being a little barrell of powder halfe full, scattered in and about the Cabbin, the fire being within foure foot of the bed betweene the Deckes, and many flints and Iron things about the Cabbin, and many people about the fire, and yet by Gods mercy no harme done.

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

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

149 "One of Francis Billington's Sonnes" should evidently be "Francis, one of John Billington's sons." By reference to the list of passangers (note 27), it will be seen that the father's name was John, and that he had sons John and Francis, the latter of whom is doubtless here referred to. The father was not a fit member of the company (having joined them somewhere in England), and was hanged in 1630 for the murder of John Newcomen. Francis married, 1634, Chrissian, widow of Francis Eaton; removed to Yarmouth before 1648, and had eight children. — [Savage, *Gen. Dict.*, i. 179.]

150 Wednesday, 6 Dec.

151 John Carver first appears at Leyden, 23 May, 1616, as witness at the marriage of Hendrik Wilson (although his wife had been a witness at the marriage of Roger Chandler there, 22 May of the previous year); 9 Dec., 1616, he was witness at the marriage of John Spooner; 23 March, 1617, he was witness at the marriage of John Jennings; in the autumn of the same year he was sent as one of the two agents to England to endeavor to secure permission to found a colony;
William Bradford, Edward Winsloe, John Tilley, Edward Tilley, John Houland, and three of London, Richard Warren, Steeven Hopkins, and Edward went again on the same busines in December following, when he was styled “Deacon”; 1620, went to Southampton to make arrangements for the voyage of the Mayflower hither; there received a parting letter from John Robinson, of date 27 July; was chosen governor when one was chosen for that year (see note 28), and re-elected in March following; died soon after 15 April, 1621, when he was suddenly taken ill in the field. His wife’s name was Catherine, and they left (probably had) no children. — [Bradford, Plymouth Plant., 30-32, 59, 100, 447; N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., iv. 105-109; Leyden Ms. Rec.]

153 John Tilley (see note 41). I find on the Leyden Ms. Records this, “23 Feb., 1615, John Telley, silk worker of Leyden, married Bridget Van der Velde”; which may be the hint of this man’s occupation and affiliation. Bradford does not give his wife’s Christian name.

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

155 Richard Warren came in the Mayflower; his wife Elizabeth and five daughters followed him in 1623, two sons, Nathaniel and Joseph, having come earlier. He was “an useful Instrument, and during his life bare a deep share in the Difficulties and Troubles of the first Settlement of the Plantation,” and died in 1628.
Dotte,\textsuperscript{156} and two of our Sea-men, John Alderton \textsuperscript{157} and Thomas English, \textsuperscript{158} of the Ships Company there went two of the Masters Mates, Master Clarke \textsuperscript{159} and Master Copin, the Master Gunner, and three Saylers. The narration of which Discovery, followes, penned by one of the Company.\textsuperscript{160}

Wednesday the fixt of December wee set out, being very cold and hard weather, wee were a long while after we launched from the ship, before we could get cleare of a fandie poyn: which lay within lesse then a furlong of the fame.\textsuperscript{161} In which time, two were very fickle, and Edward

\textsuperscript{156} Edward Doten came as a servant of Stephen Hopkins; \textsuperscript{158} June, 1621, was party to the first duel fought in New England; \textsuperscript{161} Jan., 1635, married, for second wife, Faith, daughter of Tritram Clark; 1652, was one of the purchasers of Dartmouth, but removed to Yarmouth, and died, \textsuperscript{23} Aug., 1655. Bradford says he had seven children by his second wife living in 1650; but his will mentions only wife and one son. — [Savage’s \textit{Gen. Di\textsuperscript{2}}, ii. 61; Bradford, \textit{Plym. Plant.}, 455.]

\textsuperscript{157} John Allerton was hired by the company to come over as a sailor, and was “to goe back for the help of others behind,” but “dyed here in the generall sicknes.” — [Bradford, \textit{Plymouth Plant.}, 449, 454.]

\textsuperscript{158} Thomas English had been hired also to come over to “goe master of the shalop,” but died as did Allerton.

\textsuperscript{159} Master Clarke. All that is known of this man is that he was a master’s mate, and pilot, of the Mayflower; who had been to Virginia the year before. There is a tradition, mentioned by Morton [\textit{Memorial,} 21], which is very likely true, that he landed first on Clarke’s Island, in Plymouth harbor, which was named after him; there is another, less probable, that his name was Thomas; and one, almost surely false, that he settled here, and died in 1697, aged 98. — [Savage’s \textit{Gen. Di\textsuperscript{2}}, i. 400; Bradford, \textit{Plym. Plant.}, 55.]

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

\textsuperscript{161} The “fandie poyn” was necessarily Long Point, just inside of which
Tilley had like [16] to haue founded\(^{162}\) with cold; the Gunner was also sicke vnto Death, (but hope of truing made him to goe) and so remained all that day, and the next night; at length we got cleare of the sandy poynct, and got vp our fayles, and within an houre or two we got vnder the weather shore,\(^{163}\) and then had smoother water and better sayling, but it was very cold, for the water froshe on our clothes, and made them many times like coats of Iron: wee sayled fixe or seaven leagues by the shore, but saw neither river nor creeke, at length wee mett with a tongue of Land,\(^{164}\) being flat off from the shore, with a sandy poynct, we bore vp to gaine the poynct, & found there a fayre income or rode, of a Bay, being a league over at the narrowest, and some two or three in length, but wee made right over to the land before vs,\(^{165}\) and left the discovery of this Income till the next day: as we drew neare to the shore, wee espied some ten or twelue

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\(^{162}\) Swooned.

\(^{163}\) Striking acro\(s\) toward Truro, as they came near the land they would gain some protection from the roughness both of the wind and sea.

\(^{164}\) The intense discomfort which they experienced doubtless had its effect upon their estimate of distance.

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

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Indians, very busie about a blacke thing, what it was we could not tell, till afterwards they saw vs, and ran to and fro, as if they had beene carrying some thing away, wee landed a league or two from them, and had much adoe to put a shore any where, it lay so full of flat sands, when we came to shore, we made vs a Baricado, and got fire wood, and set out our Sentinells, and betooke vs to our lodging, such as it was; we saw the smoke of the fire which the Savages made that night, about four or five myles from vs, in the morning we devided our company, some eight in the Shallop, and the rest on the shore went to discovery this place, but we found it onely to be a Bay, without either river or creeke comming into it, yet we deemed it to be as good an harbour as Cape Cod, for they that sounded it, found a ship might ride in five fathom water, wee on the land found it to be a levill soyle, but none of the fruitfullest; wee saw two beakes of fresh water, which were the first running streams that

166 "On the west shore is a sandy flat reaching from Suet to the bounds of Wellfleet; it is about one mile wide, is bare, or nearly so, at low water, and then, for about three hours, may be traversed by carriages."—[Freeman's Cape Cod, ii. 353.]
167 See note 78.
168 Thursday, 7, Dec.
169 That is, the "income" which had attracted their interest the night before, or Wellfleet Bay. Dr. Young thought they moved south for some time, and then turned north toward Wellfleet; but that theory does not so well comport with the probability as to their first starting, nor does it leave them where they evidently were at night.
170 "Beck, a small river, a brook."—[Bailey.] These two brooks were found, apparently, as they were moving northward from their camping-ground to investigate the suitableness of Wellfleet as a place of settlement. In which case, the first would seem to
we saw in the Country, but one might stride over them: we found also a great fish, called a *Grampus* dead on the sands, they in the Shallop found two of them also in the bottom of the bay, dead in like sort, they were cast vp at high water, and could not get off for the frost and ice; they were some [17] five or fixe paces long, and about two inches thick of fat, and fleshed like a Swine, they would haue yeelded a great deale of oyle, if there had beene time and means to haue taken it, so we finding nothing for our turne, both we and our Shallop returned. We then directed our course along the Seafands, to the place where we first saw the Indians, when we were there, we saw it was also a *Grampus* which they were cutting vp, they cut it into long rands or pieces, about an ell long, and two handful broad, wee found here and there a pice scattered by the way, as it seemed, for hast: this place the most were minded we should call, the *Grampus Bay*, because we found so many of them there: wee followed the tract of the Indians bare feete a good way on the sands, at length we saw where they

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

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

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

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

174 Probably the party, having explored Wellfleet to their satisfaction, had made their way back along the shore until they were near Great Pond; just north of which they had slept. 175 Most likely in the direction of Enoch's Rock and Nauet light. 176 Shoots, or young saplings.
there was nothing left but two or three pieces of old matts, a little sedge, also a little further we [18] found two Baskets full of parched Acorns hid in the ground,"" which we suppos'd had beene Corne when we beganne to dig the same, we cast earth thereon againe & went our way. All this while we saw no people, wee went ranging vp and downe till the Sunne began to draw low, and then we hafted out of the woods, that we might come to our Shallop, which when we were out of the woods, wee espied a great way off, and call'd them to come vnto us, the which they did as soone as they could, for it was not yet high water,"" they were exceeding glad to see vs, (for they feared because they had not seene vs in so long a time) thinking we would haue kept by the shore-side, so being both weary and faint, for we had eaten nothing all that day, we fell to make our Randevous "" and get fire

"" Akornes also they drie, and in case of want of Corne, by much boiling they make a good dish of them: yea sometimes in plentie of Corne doe they eate those Acorns for a novelty."" — [Roger Williams, R.I. Hist. Coll., i. 90.]

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

179 Bradford's reference (just quoted) to a certain "creeke" gives the clue to the position of their rendezvous this night. Morton [Memorial, 19, marginal note] suggests Namiskeket as the creek referred to. But Namiskeket (which divides Orleans from Brewster) seems too far off; while to reach it they would have been obliged to ford or go round three intervening creeks, some allusion to which would have been almost sure to have left itself upon the record. The probability is very strong, then, that Morton was mistaken, and that the first creek which they would come to in their
wood, which always cost us a great deale of labour; by that time we had done, & our Shallop come to us, it was within night, and we fed upon such victuals as we had, and betooke us to our rest, after we had set out our watch. About midnight we heard a great and hideous cry, and our Sentinell called, Arme, Arme. So we bestirred our felues and shot off a couple of Muskets, and noysse ceased; we concluded, that it was a company of Wolues or Foxes, for one told us, hee had heard such a noysse in Newfound-land. About five a clocke in the morning we began to be stirring, and two or three which doubted whether their Peeces would goe off or no made tryall of them, and shot them off, but thought nothing at all, after Prayer we prepared our felues for brek-fast, and for a journey, and it being now the twilight in the morning, it was thought meet to carry the things downe to the Shallop: some sayd, it was not best to carry the Armour downe, others sayd, they would be readier, two or three sayd, they would not carry theirs, till they went them-

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

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

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

Friday, 18 Dec.
selues, but mistrusting nothing at all: as it fell out, the water not being high enough, they layd the things downe vpon the shore, & came vp to brek-saft. Anone, all vpon a sudden, we heard a great & strange cry, which we knew to be the same voyces, though they varied their notes, one of our company being abroad came running in, and cryed, *They are men, Indians, Indians*; and withall, their arrowes came flying amongst vs, our men ran out with all speed to recover their armes, as by the good Providence of God they did. In the meane time, Captaine *Miles Standish*, having a snaphance ready, made a shot, and after him another, after they two had shot, other two of vs were ready, but he wifht vs not to shoot, till we could take ayme, for we knew not what need we should haue, & there were foure only of vs, which had their armes there readie, and flood before the open side of our Baricado, which was first assaulted, they thought it best to defend it, leaft the enemie should take it and our stuffe, and so haue the more vantage against vs, our care

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

184 A snaphance [Dutch, *snaphaan,"a snap-lock"] appears to have been the result of the first rude contrivance to fire a gun without "touching it off," like a cannon, with a match; preceding by some years the "flint-lock." It was invented by the Dutch, and struck fire with a flint, but in a different, clumsier, and more uncertain way than the flint-lock, which was not introduced until Queen Elizabeth's time.

185 That is, had lighted their gun-match from the fire, and so made ready for a discharge.
was no leffe for the Shallop, but we hoped all the rest would defend it; we called unto them to know how it was with them, and they answered, Well, Well, every one, and be of good courage: wee heard three of their Peeces goe off, and the rest called for a fire-brand to light their matches, one took a log out of the fire on his shoulder and went and carried it unto them, which was thought did not a little discourage our enemies. The cry of our enemies was dreadful, especially, when our men ran out to recover their Armes, their note was after this manner, Woot hooch ha ha hooch wouch: our men were no sooner come to their Armes, but the enemy was ready to assault them.

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

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186 One of the four who were at the barricado.
187 Of this Mr. Trumbull says, “This is probably as nearly like what the Indians actually said, or shouted, as a badly-frightened man would be likely to write from memory; but not near enough to warrant a plausible guess at the meaning. As it stands, there is no respectable Indian to be got out of it.” — [Ms. letter.]
188 Johnson, in his Wonder-work-
mile, but wee left sixe to keepe our Shallop, for we were
carefull of our businesse: then wee shouted all together
two severall times, and shot off a couple of muskets and
so returned: this wee did that they might see wee were
not afrayd of them nor discouraged. Thus it pleased
[20] God to vanquish our Enemies. and giue vs deliv-
erance, by their noyse we could not guesse that they
were leffe then thirty or forty, though some thought that
they were many more yet in the darke of the morning,
ing Providence, gives the following
account of this transacion. He says,
"Now the Indians, whose dwellings
are most neer the water-side, appeared
with their Bowes bent and Arrowes
one the firings, let fly their long shafts
among this little company, whom they
might soon have inclofed, but the Lord
otherwise disposed of it, for one Cap-
taine Miles Standish having his fowling-
peece in a reddineflse, prefented
full at them, his shot being directed
by the provident Hand of the most
high God, strook the stoutest Sachem
among them one the right arm, it
being bent over his shouder to reach
an Arrow forth his Quiver, as their
manner is to draw them forth in fight,
at this stroke they all fled with great
swiftneffe through the Woods and
Thickets, then the English, who more
thirsted after their conversion than
destruction, returned to their Bote
without receiving any damage." He
gives no clue to his authority for this
statement, except to hint his obliga-
tion (possibly) to this very "Relation,"
saying, he "purposes not to speake par-
ticularly, being prevented by the hon-
oured Mr. Winflow, who was an eye-
witnesse of the worke, &c." I think
he got the fact of Standish's prompt-
ness in firing from this narrative, and
added some vague tradition which had
reached him as to its effect—which
I discredit. The extreme particular-
ity of the narration here is manifest
(and Bradford is even more particular
[His. Plym. Plant, 86; yet does not
mention this]; and so important a
circumstance as Johnfon relates, if it
had actually taken place, could hardly
have failed to have thrufi itself into
the record.—[See Johnfon, 2 Mafs.
His. Coll., ii. 67.]

189 Samofet afterwards informed the
Pilgrims that these were Naujef In-
dians, and that their hostility was oc-
casioned by the fact that "one Hunt"
had previously deceived them, and
stolen some of their tribe and fold
them for slaves.
wee could not so well discern them among the trees, as they could see vs by our fire side, we took vp 18. of their arrows which we haue sent to England by Master Jones, some whereof were headed with brass, others with Harts horne, & others with Eagles claws. many more no doubt were shot, for these we found, were almost covered with leaves: yet by the especiall providence of God, none of them either hit or hurt vs, though many came close by vs, and on every side of vs, and some coates which hung vp in our Baricado, were shot through and through. So after wee had given God thankes for our deliverance, wee tooke our Shallop and went on our Journey, and called this place, The first Encounter, from hence we intended to haue sayled to the aforesayd theeuifh Harbour; if wee found no convenient Harbour by the

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

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

192 Plymouth. See p. 42.
way, having the wind good, we fayled all that day along the Coaft about 15. leagues, but saw neither River nor Creeke to put into, after we had fayled an houre or two, it began to snow and raine, and to be bad weather; about the midst of the afternoone, the winde increafed and the Seas began to be very rough, and the hinges of the rudder broke, so that we could steere no longer with it, but two men with much adoe were faine to ferue with a couple of Oares, the Seas were growne so great, that we were much troubled and in great danger, and night grew on: Anon Master Coppin bad vs be of good cheere he faw the Harbour, as we drew neare, the gale being stiffe, and we bearing great fayle to get in, split our Maff in 3. peices, and were like to have cast away our Shallop, yet by Gods mercy recovering our felues, wee had the floud with vs, and struck into the Harbour.

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

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

194 This thick weather came on before they were off Barnstable, and they went by that inlet without seeing it; making the snow-storm, which was not then “joyous but grievous,” still a blessing, in preventing them from settling (as they might have done had they gone in there) in a much less favorable place than Plymouth.

195 He probably recognized Manomet looming through the storm, and after passing Manomet Point steered N. W. by Elifha’s Point to shoot in.
Pilot did beare vp Northward, which if we had continued wee had [21] beeane cast away, yet still the Lord kept vs, and we bare vp for an Iland before vs, and

Bradford says that Coppin and the first mate (Clark) "would have run her ahyr in a cove full of breakers, before ye wind. But a lufy seaman which steered, bad those which rowed, if they were men, about with her, or els they were all cast away; the which they did with speed. So he bid them be of good cheere & row lustly, for ther was a faire found before them, & he doubted not but they should find one place or other whe ther they might ride in fafmie. And though it was very darke, and rained fore, yet in ye end they gott under ye lee of a smalle iland, and remained there all ye night in fafmie. But they knew not this to be an iland till morning, but were devisied in their minds; some would keepe ye boate 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 froze hard." —[Hift. Plym. Plant., 87.]

It has always been considered, on the authority of Morton [N. E. Mem., 21], that this "cove full of breakers" was the cove stil existing between Saquish Point and Gurnet Head. But as Morton was miiftaken as to Namkkaket he may have been in this; and (with diffidence) I venture another theory. My objections to this cove are: (a) that approaching from the Sandwich shore, after rounding Manomet Point, they would have been most likely (especially with the wind at the N. E., where it unquestionably was) to have steered in by Elifha's Point, W. N. W., almost straight for the end of the beach — which would have carried them a mile and a half S. W. from the cove referred to; (b) that the flood-tide (which they say they had with them), with the gale, would have swept them almost inevitably over toward the other side of the channel; (c) that if they were running "before ye winde" into the cove, as Bradford says, it must have been a cove on the S. W. and not on the N. E. side of the harbor-entrance; (d) that, when they came about, "ther was a faire found before them," which would be exactly true if the cove were on the beach, and they came about with their head toward Clark's Island, but which would not be true (unless Brown's Island were then an island and not a shoal, which is a mooted point) if the cove were east of Saquish; (e) that the supposition that they were over in a cove near the extremity of the beach, and then bore up northward, exactly makes natural their statement of bearing up "for an iland before vs" (Saquish Point), and "re-covering of that iland," i.e., getting
recovering of that Iland, by Saquish (a now obsolete sense of the word “recover,” see Webster), they "fell upon a place of sandy ground," &c., i. e., they ran along the sandy flat skirting Clark’s Island on the W. and S.

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

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

Clark’s Island, named, Morton says [N. E. Mem., 21], after the first mate of the Mayflower, because he first stepped ashore thereon. It contained, in 1687, 86½ acres and 3 rods, and was anciently covered with red cedar, years ago sold in Boston for gate-posts. Five or six of these ancient trees—the largest perhaps 6 feet in circumference, and 20 feet in height—still stand, in a gnarled and fluted condition. There is a huge old rock on the Island, called, for some local reason, “Elecson Rock.” The island is still owned by the Watson Family, who have been in possession for many years.—[Thatcher’s Hist. Plym., 331; Gale’s Pilgrims’ First Year in N. E., 100.]
morning we marched about it, & found no Inhabitants at all, and here wee made our Rendezvous all that day, being Saturday, 199 10. of December, on the Sabbath day 200 wee rested, 201 and on Munday 202 we founded the Harbour, and found it a very good Harbour for our shipping, we marched also into the Land, and found divers corn fields, and little running brookes, 203 a place very good for situation, 204 so we returned to our Ship againe with good newes to the rest of our people, which did much comfort their hearts. 205

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

200 *Sunday, 10 Dec.*

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

202 *Monday, 11 Dec.* Forefathers' Day.

203 There were at least eight brooks running into the harbor which a reconnoissance of five or six miles along the shore would have revealed to them; viz., Eel River, running in in the inner angle made by the beach; Wellingly; Town Brook, the copious outlet of Billington Sea; and five nameless rivulets N. W. of this, toward Jones River. The Pilgrims seem to have had no idea of digging wells to supply themselves with water, but depended upon running streams.

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

205 No one specifies the exact date of their return. As they must, however, have spent the best part of Monday in their explorations, and would not be likely to start at night, it seems
On the fifteenth day, we weighed Anchor, to goe to the place we had discovered, and comming within two leagues of the Land, we could not fetch the Harbour, but were faine to put roome againe towards Cape Cod, our course lying West; and the wind was at North west, but it pleased God that the next day being Saturday the 16. day, the winde came faire, and wee put to Sea againe, and came safely into a safe Harbour; and within halfe an houre the winde changed, so as if we had beene letted but a little, we had gone backe to Cape Cod. This Harbour is a Bay greater then Cape Cod, compassed with a goodly Land, and in the Bay, 2. fine Ilands uninhabited, wherein are nothing but wood, Okes, Pines, Walnut, Beech, Saffirsas, Vines, and other trees which wee know not; This Bay is a most hopefull place, innumerable store of sowle, and excellent good, and cannot but bee of fishe in their seasones: Skote, Cod, Turbot, and Her-

probably that they failed on the morning of Tuesday 32 Dec., and as they appear to have gone straight across the bay,—a distance of not more than twenty-six miles,—they probably reached the Mayflower before night of that day. They found that, while they had been exploring the Indian graves at Eastham, on the Thursday previous, Mrs. Dorothy Bradford, the wife of the historian of the party, had found a watery grave by falling over the ship's side. [Prince, 76.]

206 Friday, 25 Dec.

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

208 "Let, to hinder." [Bailey.]

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

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

211 The fish known as turbot (Rhombus maximus) in England, is not found
ring;" we have tasted of, abundance of Musles the greatest & best that ever we saw; Crabs and Lobsters, in their time infinite, It is in fashion like a Cikle or Fish-hooks."

Munday the 13. day, we went a land, manned with the Master of the Ship, and 3. or 4. of the Saylers, we marched [22] along the coast in the woods, some 7. or 8. mile,\footnote{If the whole sweep of the bay, including the stretch of the beach on one side, and of the Gurnet on the other, is taken into the account, it is more like two sickles, or fish-hooks.} but saw not an Indian nor an Indian house, only we found where formerly, had been some Inhabitants, and where they had planted their corne: we found not any Navigable River, but 4. or 5. small running brookes in our waters. The flounder (Platessa plana) somewhat resembles the turbot in general appearance, and, being a harbor fish, it seems likelyst to have been that here referred to, and not the halibut (Hippoglossus vulgaris), which is only caught in deep water outside, where the Pilgrims would have been less likely to fish, so long as they found an abundance nearer shore. The New English Canaan does indeed say, "there is a large sized fish called Hallibut, or Turbot: some are taken so bigg that two men have much a doe to hale them into the boate, &c.;" but it still seems to me more probable that our fathers, at their first landing, should have called the flounder by this name.\footnote{I conceive that they landed at the rock, and went toward Kingston, although they could not have travelled more than five or six miles, even with all their irregularity of progress, back from the shore and down again, without coming to Jones's River. They would have been less likely, it seems to me, to go the other way—toward Manomet; because they could easily see that the harbor came to a speedy end on that side, while the shore of it stretched out of sight in the opposite direction.} The Clupea elongata, and Alofa vernalis, or alewife. Of the latter, 800 barrels used to be taken in a single year from Town Brook in Plymouth, as they were on their way up to Billington Sea, to spaw.\footnote{The Clupea elongata, and Alofa vernalis, or alewife. Of the latter, 800 barrels used to be taken in a single year from Town Brook in Plymouth, as they were on their way up to Billington Sea, to spaw. — [Thacher's Hist. Plym., 321.]}

\footnote{If the whole sweep of the bay, including the stretch of the beach on one side, and of the Gurnet on the other, is taken into the account, it is more like two sickles, or fish-hooks.}
of very sweet fresh water, that all run into the Sea. The Land for the crust of the earth is a spits depth, excellent blacke mold and fat in some places, 2. or 3. great Oakes but not very thicke, Pines, Wal-nuts Beech 215 Ash, Birch, Hafell, 216 Holley, Afp, 217 Saffiras, in abundance, & Vines every where, Cherry trees, 218 Plum-trees, 219 and many other which we know not; many kinds of hearbes, we found heere in Winter, as Strawberry leaues innumerable, Sorrell, 220 Yarow, 221 Caruell, 222 Brook-lime, 223 Liver-wort, 224 Water-cresses, 225 great store of Leekes, and Onyons, 226 and an excellent strong kind of Flaxe, and Hempe; 227 here is sand, gravell, and excellent clay no better in the Worlde, 228 excellent for pots, and will wash like sope, and great store of stone, though somewhat soft, and the best water that

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

216 Corylus Americana.

217 Probably the American aspen (Populus tremuliformis).

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

219 Prunus maritima, and possibly also Prunus Americana.


221 Achillea millefolium.

222 Chervil (Chærophylum sativum)? Prof. Tuckerman intimates [Coll. Amer. Antiq. Soc., iv. 121] that the author is mistaken in including "carvel" here.

223 Veronica beccabunga.

224 Hepatica triloba.

225 Nafturtium palustre, or Cardamine hirfuta.—[Coll. Amer. Antiq. Soc. iv. 172.]

226 Allium tricoccum, and Allium Canadense.

227 Linum Virginianum, and perhaps Apocynum cannabinum.

228 "There is in the center of the farm [that of I. L. Hedge, Esq., in Plymouth] an immense mass of clay, for the manufacture of brick, which is conducted on a large scale."—[Thacher's Hist. Plym. 313.]
ever we drunke, and the Brookes now begin to be full of fish; that night many being weary with marching, wee went aboord againe.

The next morning being Tuesday the 19. of December, wee went againe to discover further; some went on Land, and some in the Shallop, the Land we found as the former day we did, and we found a Creeke, and went vp three English miles, a very plesant river at full Sea, a Barke of thirty tunne may goe vp, but at low water scarce our Shallop could passe: this place we had a great liking to plant in, but that it was so farre from our fishing our principall profit, and so incompassed with woods, that we should bee in much danger of the Salvages, and our number being so little, and so much ground to cleare, so as we thought good to quit and cleare that place, till we were of more strength; some of vs hauing a good minde for safety to plant in the greater Ile, wee crossed the Bay which there is five or fixe miles ouer,
and found the Ile about a myle and a halfe, or two myles about, all wooded, and no fresh water but 2. or 3. pits, that we doubted of fresh water in Summer, and so full of wood, [23] as we could hardly cleare so much as to serue vs for Corne, besides wee judged it colde for our Corne, and some part very rockie, yet divers thought of it as a place defensible, and of great securitie.

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{236} Burial Hill, 165 feet above the sea level, and including about eight acres. A rude fort was early built on the S. W. summit, and in 1675, in Philip's War, a strong stockade was erected there. It commands a most charming view of the town, the harbor, and the neighborhood.—[Thacher's Hist. Plym., 324.]

\textsuperscript{237} This is a common experience in a clear day.

\textsuperscript{238} Cour de garde, a guard-house; conveying the double idea of shelter and security.
returne it blew so strong, and was such foule weather, that we were forced to let fall our Anchor, and ride with three Anchors an head.\footnote{To add to the gloom of the storm, on this day dies Richard Britteridge (see note 27, No. 34), the first of the company whom they bury at Plymouth. — [Prince (on authority of Bradford’s pocket-book), Annals, pt. i. 80.]}  

Friday the 22. the storme still continued, that we could not get a-land, nor they come to vs aboard: this morning Good wife Alderton\footnote{Mary, wife of Isaac Allerton. (See note 27, No. 5.)} was delivered of a sonne, but dead borne.  

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

Sunday the 24. our people on shore heard a cry of some Savages (as they thought) which caused an Alarm, and to stand on their gard, expecting an assault, but all was quiet.\footnote{Prince says, “This day (Lord’s day, 3 Jan.) dies Solomon Martin, the sixth and last who dies this month.”}  

Munday the 25. day, we went on shore, some to fell tymber, some to saw, some to rieue, and some to carry, so no man rested all that day,\footnote{“And ye 25. day begane to erete ye first house for commone use to receive them and their goods.”— [Bradford, Hist. Plym. Plant., 88.]} but towards night some as they were at worke, heard a noyse of some Indians, which
caused vs all to goe to our Muskets, but we heard no further, so we came aboord againe, and left some twentie to keepe the court of gard; that night we had a fore storme of winde and rayne.

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

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

Wednesday the 27. we went to worke againe.

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

243 The stock was getting low, and neceffitating scant allowance.
244 Dr. Young thought something was omitted here. But he took their language as implying that they now commenced to build their flockade on the summit of Burial Hill, and so could not connect the “two rowes of houfes and a faire streete” with that. It seems to me, however, that their language only implies that they commenced work on the slope of the hill, on the summit of which they intended by and by to build their “platforme for ordinance,” and that they proceeded to lay out on that slope the first street, and the first lots, and to assign them to families and groups; this need being more pressing than the other. The common house was now (rudely) complete, as their temporary shelter (with the ship) while building their several dwellings, and the time had come for the latter work.
took notice how many [25] Families they were, willing all single men that had no wiuex to ioyne with some Familie, as they thought fit, that so we might build fewer houfes, which was done, and we reduced them to 19. Families; 245 to greater Families we allotted larger plots, to every person half a pole in breadth, and three in length, 246 and so Lots were cast where every man should lie, which was done, and flaked out; we thought this proportion was large enough at the first, for houfes and gardens, to impale them round, 247 considering the weaknes of our people, many of them growing ill with coldes, for our former Discoveries in froot and storms, and the wading at Cape Cod had brought much weakenes amongst vs, which increased so every day more and more, and after was the cause of many of their deaths.

Friday and Saturday, 248 we fitted our felues for our labour, but our people on shore were much troubled and discouraged with rayne and wet that day, being very stormie and cold; we saw great smokes of fire 249 made by

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

246 This would give to such a family as Carver’s (numbering eight) a plot of 66 feet front, by 49½ feet in depth. Each person was to have (8 ½ feet by 49½ feet) 408 37 100 square feet.

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

248 Friday, 20 Dec., Saturday, 29 Dec., 1621.

249 In the direction of Duxbury, on
the Indians about six or seven miles from us as we conjectured.\textsuperscript{290}

Munday the first of January, we went betimes to worke, we were much hindred in lying so farre off from the Land, and faine to goe as the tyde served, that we lost much time, for our Ship drew so much water,\textsuperscript{301} that she lay a myle and almost a halfe off, though a ship of seventie or eightie tun at high water may come to the shore.\textsuperscript{322}

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

\textsuperscript{290} Baylies says [Memoir of Plym. Col., i. 61] that on the next day (Sabbath, 28 Dec. 1620) "they named their settlement Plymouth, because this place had been so called by Capt. Smith, who had previously surveyed the harbor; and they remembered the kindnes which they had experienced from the people of Plymouth in England." But he gives no authority for this statement. Mr. Palfrey [Hist. New Eng., i. 172] discusses, at some length, the date of the assignment of this name, and evidently feels that it is wholly a matter of conjecture.

\textsuperscript{301} The Mayflower was of 180 tons. Bradford says, "Of burden about 9 score." — [Hist. Plym. Plant., 58.] If the harbor were then at all as now, or as it has been for the last hundred years, she probably lay at anchor in the channel just inside the end of the beach. Dr. Young, in suggesting that she lay in the "Cow Yard," disregarded this fact of her distance from the landing; his supposition would nearly or quite double the "myle and almost a halfe" of which they speak — if we suppose them to take the landing-rock as their point of departure.

\textsuperscript{322} Prince says [N. E. Chron. pt. ii. 96], "The year begins with the death of Degory Priest." (See note 27, No. 29.) Priest is set down in the Leyden Records as "from London," and had been many years a member of the Leyden company. It is on record, that, 4 Nov., 1611, he married Sarah (Allerton) Vincent, widow of John Vincent; 16 Nov., 1615, he was admitted a citizen of Leyden; and, in April, 1619, he (calling himself "a hatter") deposes that he is forty years of age, and knows one Nicolas Claverly. This would make him from forty-one to forty-two when he died.—[Leyden Mfs. Records.]
Wednesday the third of January, some of our people being abroad, to get and gather thatch, they saw great fires of the Indians, and were at their Corne fields, yet saw none of the Savages, nor had seen any of them since we came to this Bay.

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

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

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

253 It was some time since these poor men had tafted mutton!
254 To this single circumstance much of their discomfort in regard to food was due.
255 Christopher Martin (see note 27, No. 9) was from Billerica, in Essex, joining the company in England. He had been selected with Carver and Cuffman “to make ye provisions for ye voyage,” being chosen to represent the new English members of the company, “not so much for any great need of their help, as to avoid all suspicion or jealousy of any partiality.” Hence his desire to confer with Carver in
Munday the eight day of January, was a very fayre day, and we went betimes to worke, master Jones sent the Shallop as he had formerly done, to see where fish could be got, they had a greate storme at Sea, and were in some danger, at night they returned with three greate Seales,\textsuperscript{36} and an excellent good Cod, which did assure vs that we should have plentie of fish shortly.

This day, Francis Billington, having the weeke before seene from the top of a tree on an hie hill, a great sea as he thought, went with one of the Masters mates to see it, they went three myles, and then came to a great water, devided into two great Lakes, the bigger of them five or fixe myles in circuit, and in it an Ile of a Cable length square, the other three miles in compasse;\textsuperscript{37} in their estimation they are fine fresh water, full of fish, and foule; a brooke\textsuperscript{38} issue from it, it will be an excellent helpe for vs in time. They found seven or eight Indian houses, but not lately inhabited, when they saw the houses they were in some feare, for they were but two persons and one piece.

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

\textsuperscript{36} A seal is not an uncommon sight at this day along the Old Colony shores.

\textsuperscript{37} Billington Sea answers to this description in every particular but that of distance; but its discoverers doubtless traveled three miles through the forest before they reached it. It is scarcely two miles S. W. from the town.

\textsuperscript{38} Town Brook, on whose northern bank they were settling.
and wee went to labour that day in the building of our Towne, in two rows of houses for more safety: we devised by lott the plot of ground whereon to build our Towne: After the proportion formerly allotted, we agreed that every man should build his owne house, thinking by that course, men would make more haft then working in common: the common house, in which for the first, we made our Rendevous, being neere finished wanted onely courering, it being about 20. foot square, some should make morter, and [27] some gather thatch, so that in foure days halfe of it was thatched, frost and foule weather hindred vs much, this time of the yeare seldome could wee worke halfe the weeke.

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

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59 See note 246.
60 This flood partly on the lot of late years occupied by the house of Capt. Samuel D. Holmes, on the south side of Leyden Street, near the declivity of the hill toward the water side. [Russell's Pilgrim Memorials, 55.]
61 Gov. Dudley, in his letter to the Countefs of Lincoln (of date 13 March, 1623), says the Plymouth settlers had "the favour of a calme winter such as was never seen here since." [Force, II., iv. 7.] Although they had many rainy days, the winter was doubtles more favorable than the average to their work. A passage in Winslow's letter (near the close of this volume—p. 62 of the original pagin) corroborates that theory.
62 The absence of the preliminary "Mr." from this name here (a title which they were scrupulous to bestow upon those who were entitled to it, by their custom) is a strong hint that Bradford was himself the modest penman of this part of this narrative.
63 Hip-bone.
colde in the former discoveries, especially the last, and felt some paine in his ankles by times, but he grew a little better towards night and in time through Gods mercie in the vse of meanes recovered.

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

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

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

**365 Peter Browne (note 27, No. 33)** was brother of John, of Duxbury, and himselfe setteld there. He married twice. His first wife’s name appears to have been Martha; his second’s certainly was Mary. He was “amerced in 3s. fine” for not appearing at court 1. Jan., 1632 and the same sum next day for the same offence; Jan. 7, 1633; a dispute between him and Dr. Fuller, in their accounts, was referred to the arbitration of Robert Hicks and Francis Cooke; 25 March, 1633, he was taxed 18s,—the highest tax being that of Isaac Allerton, £3 11s., and the lowest 9s. He died in October, 1633, leaving an estate of £100. His widow Mary administered, and was ordered by the court to pay over, in trust, for the use of Mary and Priscilla, his first wife’s children, £15 each; they being bound out, the one to Mr. John Done for nine years, the other to Mr. Will. Gilson for twelve years. There were two children by the second wife. William Brewster became the widow’s surety. It is my impression that Mary married Eph. Tinkham of Middleborough; and Priscilla, William Allin of Sandwich. — [*Plym. Col. Rec.*, i. 5, 7, 8, 10, 18; xii. 146, 186.]

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**366 “Thatch, Straw, Reeds, &c. for covering Houses.” — [Bailey.]** The coarse grass and flags which they could reap with their sickles by the sides of the brooks, and on the meadows bordering the ponds, were what they seem now to have been in pursuit of, for roofing their new houses after the fashion still existing in the rude English cottages.
a further place, and willed the other two, to binde vp
that which was cut and to follow them; so they did,
being about a myle and a halfe from our Plantation: but
when the two came after, they could not finde them, nor
heare any thing of them at all, though they hallowed
and shoutted as loud as they could, so they returned to
the Company and told them of it: whereupon Master
Leaver 267 & three or foure more went to seeke them, but
could heare nothing of them, so they returning, sent more,
but that night they could heare nothing at all of them:
the next day they armed 10 or 12 men out, verily think-
ing the Indians had surprised them, they went seeking 7.
or 8 miles, but could neither see nor heare any thing at
all, so they returned with much discomfort to vs all.
These two that were missed, at dinner time tooke their
meate in their hands, and would goe walke and refresh
themselves, so going a little off they finde a lake of
water, 268 and having a great Maffiffe bitch with them and
a Spannell; by the water side they found a great Deere,

267 An obvious misprint for "Car-
ver," though Prince indorses it as it
stands. — [N. E. Chron., pt. ii. 97.]
268 Dr. Young supposed this to be
Murdock's Pond. But Murdock's
Pond could not have been more than
one hundred rods W. of their com-
mon house; while the two men were
"about a myle and a halfe from the
Plantation" before they began to wan-
der further; so that Dr. Young's sup-
position is necessarily inadmissible.

Lout Pond, which is a small lake per-
haps a quarter of a mile in length, a
little E. of Billington Sea, seems to
me best to fulfill the conditions of the
narrative here. If they had been fol-
lowing up Town Brook a mile and a
half, cutting thatch along its banks,
they would be not more than half a
mile from this pond, and might very
naturally stroll over through the open
woods towards it, as suggested, while
eating their dinners.
the Dogs chafed him, and they followed so farre as they
lost themselfes, and could not finde the way backe, they
wandered [28] all that after-noone being wet, and at
night it did freeze and snow, they were slenderly appa-
elled and had no weapons but each one his Cicle,59 nor
any victuals, they ranged vp and downe and could finde
none of the Salvages habitations; when it drew to night
they were much perplexed, for they could finde neither
harbour nor meate, but in frost and snow, were forced to
make the earth their bed, and the Element their cover-
ing, and another thing did very much terrifie them, they
heard as they thought two Lyons 70 roaring exceedingly
for a long time together, and a third, that they thought
was very nere them, so not knowing what to do, they
resolved to climbe vp into a tree as their safest refuge,
though that would prove an intollerable colde lodging;
so they stooed at the trees roote, that when the Lyons
came they might take their opportunitie of climbing vp,
the bitch they were faine to hold by the necke, for shee
would have beene gone to the Lyon; but it pleased God
so to dispose, that the wilde Beastes came not: so they
walked vp and downe under the Tree all night, it was an
extreme colde night, so soone as it was light71 they
travailed againe, passing by many lakes and brookes and

59 With which to cut thatch.
60 Beyond doubt these were wolves,
which then haunted the Old-Colony
woods, and whose howling was as
novel a sound to these old-country
settlers' ears as the roaring of lions
would have been.
71 Saturday, 23 Jan., 1629.
woods, and in one place where the Salvages had burnt
the space of 5. myles in length, which is a fine Champion
Cantrey, and even. In the after-noone, it pleased God
from an high Hill they discovered the two Iles in the
Bay, and so that night got to the Plantation, being
ready to faint with travaile and want of victuals, and
almost famished with colde, John Goodman was faine to
have his shooes cut off his feete they were so swelled with
colde, and it was a long while after ere he was able to
goe; thos on the shore were much comforted at their
returne, but they on ship-board were grieved as deeming
them lost; but the next day being the 14. of January, in
the morning about fixe of the clocke the winde being
very great, they on ship-board spied their great new Ran-
devous on fire, which was to them a new discomfort, fear-
ing because of the suppos'd losse of the men, that the
Salvages had fiered them, neither could they presently goe
to them for want of water, but after 3. quarters of
an houre they went, as they had purposed the day before
to keepe the Sabbath on shore, because now there was
the greater number of people. At their landing they
heard good tidings of the returne of the 2. men, and that

272 This very accurately describes
the charactefistics of the country for
several miles around Great South
Pond as a center, four or five miles
S. of Plymouth Rock.
273 Pinnacle Hill, just W. of South
Pond?

274 See note 209.
275 They had intended this to be
the date of their first service on shore;
but the alarm of this fire, and the fear
on board ship that it was due to the
savages, prevented, and postponed it
until the next Sabbath.
the house was fiered occasionally 76 by a sparke that flew into the thatch, which instantly burnt it all vp, but the roofe stood and little hurt; 77 the most losse was Maister Carvers and William Bradfords, who then lay sicke in bed, and if they had not risen with good speede, had been blowne vp with powder: but through Gods mercy they had no harme, the house was as full of beds as they could lie one by another, and their Muskets charged, but blessed be God there was no harme done.

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

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

The 19. day, 78 we resolved to make a Shed, to put our common provision in, of which some were alreadie set on shore, but at noone it rayned, that we could not worke. This day in the evening, John Goodman went abroad to vse his lame feete, that were pittifull ill with the cold he had got, having a little Spannell with him, a little way from the Plantation, two great Wolues ran after the Dog, the Dog ran to him and betwixt his leggs for succour, he had nothing in his hand but tooke vp a sicke, and threw at one of them and hit him, and they presently ran both

76 "Causally, accidentally."—[Bai ley.]
77 That is, the rafters and frame-work of the roof, supporting the thatch.
78 Friday, 19 Jan., 1620.
away, but came againe, he got a paile bord in his hand, and they fat both on their tayles, grinning at him, a good while, and went their way, and left him.

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

Sunday the 21. we kept our meeting on Land.

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

The rest of the weeke we followed our businesse likewise.

Munday the 29. in the morning cold frost and fleete, but after reasonable fayre; both the long Boate and the Shallop brought our common goods on shore.

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

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

280 Sabbath, 31 Jan., 1620; the date of the first Sabbath-keeping in the common house on shore. All that Prince implies by his statement [N. E. Chron., pt. i. 80] is, that on Sabbath, 31 Dec., those who were on shore kept Sabbath there, without joining the majority in their service in the ship. Now, as the majority were on shore, Elder Brewster undoubtedly held their service there for the first time.

281 8 Feb., dies Rose, the wife of Captain Standish.—[Prince, N. E. Chron., pt. ii. 97.]
IN AMERICA

Sunday the 4. of February, was very wet and rainie, with the greatest gusts of winde that ever we had since wee came forth, that though we rid in a very good harbour, yet we were in danger, because our Ship was light, the goods taken out, and the vnballased; and it caused much daubing of our houses to fall downe.\footnote{283} 

Fryday the 9. still the cold weather continued, that wee could doe little worke. That after-noone our little house for our sicke people\footnote{283} was set on fire by a sparke that kindled in the roofe, but no great harme was done. That evening the master\footnote{284} going ashore, killed five Geese, which he friendly distributed among the sicke people; he found also a good Deere killed, the Savages had cut off the hornes, and a Wolfe was eating of him, how he came there we could not conceive.

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

\footnote{282} The cracks between the logs of their houses were "daubed" with clay mortar, which the driving storm softened and dislodged.

\footnote{283} As soon as the common house

\footnote{284} Capt. Jones, of the Mayflower.
could he went home & gaue the Alarm, so the people abroad in the woods returned & armed themselues, but saw none of them, onely toward the evening they made a great fire, about the place where they were first discovered: Captaine Miles Standish, and Francis Cooke, brought with him only his son John. His wife Esther, and children Jacob, Jane, and Esther, followed in the Ann, in 1623; in 1626, he had Mary. Winlow, in his Hypocrite Unmasked[96], says that “the wife of Francis Cooke, being a Walloone, holds communion with the church at Plymouth as she came from the French to this day, by virtue of communion of churches.” He was taxed 18s., 4th March, 1633; only 9s. the following year; 10th Oct., 1634, was appointed one of the layers-out of highways for Plymouth; is in the list of freemen, 7th March, 1637; 2nd May, 1627, was one of a jury “to let forth the heigh ways”; 1st Jan., 1633, was on a jury for trial of Edward Shaw and Mark Mendroule for “felony” of 15s. from William Corvannell; often served on juries, committees, and the “Grand Inquest;” was called by Bradford, in 1650, “a very old man, and hath seene his childrens children have children;” was one of the first purchasers of Dartmouth, 1652, and Middleborough, 1662; died 7th April, 1663. His wife survied him.

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

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

386 By uniform tradition, this was Watson's Hill, or Strawberry Hill, about one hundred rods a little W. of S. of their plantation. The Indian name is said to have been Cantaugucantoft. —[2 Mafs. Hist. Coll., iii. 177.]
387 Town Brook, which skirted their settlement on the south, and the mouth of which harbored their shallop.
388 There were two fizes of minions, — one of 3½-inch bore and 8 feet in length, carrying a ball weighing 3 lbs. 12 oz.; the smaller, of 3-inch bore, and 7 feet long. The first weighed about 1,000 lbs., and the second about 800 lbs. —[Bailey.]
389 Saker, a sort of great gun, of which there are three fizes; (1) 4-inch bore, and 10 feet long; (2) 3-inch bore, and 9 feet long; (3) 3½-inch bore, and 8 feet long. —[Bailey.] Saller is obviously a misprint.
basses; \textsuperscript{90} he brought with him a very fat Goose to eate with vs, and we had a fat Crane, and a Mallerd, and a dry'd neat's-tongue, and so wee were kindly and friendly together.\textsuperscript{91}

Saturday the third of March, the winde was South, the morning mistie, but towards noone warme and fayre weather; the Birds sang in the Woods most pleasantely; at one of the Clocke it thundred, which was the firft wee heard in that Countrey, it was strong and great claps, but short, but after an houre it rayned very sadly till midnight.

Wednesday the seaventh of March, the wind was full East, \textsuperscript{[32]} cold, but faire, that day Master Carver with five other went to the great Ponds,\textsuperscript{92} which seeme to be excellent fishing-places; all the way they went they found it exceedingly beaten and haunted with Deere, but they saw none; amongst other soule, they saw one a milke white soule, with a very blacke head: \textsuperscript{93} this day some garden seeds were sown.

Fryday, the 16. a fayre warne day towards; \textsuperscript{94} this morn-

\textsuperscript{90} "Base (with gunners), the smalleft piece of ordnance, 4 Foot and a half long, the Diameter at the bore 1 Inch 1 Quarter; it weigh 200 Pounds, carries a ball 1 Inch 1-8th Diameter, and 5 or 6 Ounces Weight."—[Bailey.]

\textsuperscript{91} "Feb. 21. Die Mr. William White, Mr. William Mullins, with 2 more. And the 25th Dies Mary, the wife of Mr. Isaac Allerton."—[Prince, \textit{N. E. Chron.}, pt. ii. 98.]

\textsuperscript{92} Billingston Sea, or, possibly, Great South Pond and its sisterhood of lakes.

\textsuperscript{93} A species of goose answers well to this description.

\textsuperscript{94} A comparifon with the simlar phrase, thirteen lines above, renders probable here the omission of the word "noone;" though "towards" has an old senfe of "nearby," "a little lefs than," which might make senfe if no ellipsis is inferred.
ing we determined to conclude of the military Orders, which we had began to consider of before, but were interrupted by the Savages, as we mentioned formerly; and whilst we were busied here about, we were interrupted againe, for there presented himself a Savage, which caused an Alarm, he very boldly came all alone and along the houses straight to the Rendevous, where we intercepted him, not suffering him to goe in, as undoubtedly he would, out of his boldnesse, hee saluted vs in English, and bad vs well-come, for he had learned some broken English amongt the English men that came to fish at Monchiggon, and knew by name the most of the Captaines, Commanders, & Masters, that vually come.

Samofet (Samofet, Summuquet, Sommerset, Summersaut) was a native of Pemaquid, and chief and original proprietor of what is now the town of Bristol, Me. He seems to have gone on board of Capt. Dermer's ship at Monhegan, when he was on his way to those shores, with Squanto, on his pacific mission, 1625; and to have been landed by Dermer on Cape Cod, when he redeemed there the shipwrecked Frenchmen from their savage captors (see note 69). This was only six months before the Mayflower arrived; and the Pemaquid chief still lingered among his new friends,—delayed by that overruling Providence which needed him for the use of interpreter, to which he was now put. He was at "Capmanwagen" (Southport, Me.) when Levett was there, two years later; 15 July, 1625, with Unnongoit, he executed the first deed ever made by an Indian to a white man, to John Brown of New Harbor; July, 1653, he sold other land to William Parnall, Thomas Way, and William England, affixing (in a hand tremulous with age) his mark, in the form of a bow and arrow. He was dead before Philip's War.—[Thornton's "Ancient Pemaquid," Me. Hist. Coll., v. 186-193; Sewall's Ancient Dominions of Me., 102.]

Monhegan Island (Monchiggon, Monhiggon, and Morattiggon were, clearly, forms of the same name) lies nine miles southerly of George's Islands, five leagues east south-easterly of Townfend, and three leagues westerly of Metinic, on the coast of
he was a man free in speech, so farre as he could express his minde, and of a seemely carriage, we questioned him of many things, he was the first Savage we could meete withall; he sayd he was not of these parts, but of Moratiggon, and one of the Sagamores or Lords thereof, and had beene 8. moneths in these parts, it lying hence a dayes fayle with a great wind, and five dayes by land; he discoursed of the whole Country, and of every Province, and of their Sagamores, and their number of men, and strength; the wind beginning to rise a little, we cast a horsemans coat about him, for he was starke naked, onely a leather about his wafet, with a fring about a span long, or little more; he had a bow & 2 arrowes, the one headed, and the other vnheaded; he was a tall straight man, the haire of his head blacke, long behind, onely fiort before, none on his face at all; he asked some beere, but we gaue him strong water, and bisket, and butter, and cheefe, & pudding, and a piece of a mallerd, all which he liked well, and had bin acquainted with such amongst the English; he told vs the [33] place where we now liue, is called, Patuxet, and that about foure

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

\*\* Patuxet (elsewhere as Savage [Appendix to Winthrop, ii. 478] gives it, Patakoft [Patakoft?] is probably of different composition from Pawtucket, i.e. "at the little falls." Pehuqui, or Puttukque, signifying "round," is a common element in Indian names, as a preface of "rock," "hill," "lake," &c. Probably Patuxet should be resolved into Puttukque-something,—it is difficult to say what. John Smith (1616) gives Accomack as
yeares agoe, all the Inhabitants dyed of an extraordinary plague, and there is neither man, woman, nor childe remaining, as indeed we haue found none, so as there is none to hinder our possession, or to lay claime vnto it; all the after-noone we spent in communication with him, we would gladly haue beene rid of him at night, but he was not willing to goe this night, then we thought to carry him on ship-boord, wherewith he was well content, and went into the Shallop, but the winde was high and water scant, that it could not returne backe: we lodged him that night at Steven Hopkins house, and watched him; the next day he went away backe to the Mafa-
foits, from whence he sayd he came, who are our next bordering neighbours: they are fixtie strong, as he sayth:

the Indian name of Plymouth [3 Mafs. Hiſt. Coll., vi. 119]. This name was probably given to it by the Massachufetts, or other northern tribes, to whom Plymouth and the Cape would be “land beyond,” or “on the other side of the bay.” Cotton, who learned what little Indian he knew, at Plym-
outh, gives Ompaad as the Indian name [3 Mafs. Hiſt. Coll., ii. 232]. This was, most likely, of later origi,
—given to the place as the capital, or seat of government, of the colony; signi-
nifying, probably, “the place of tribute,” or “of acknowledging sovereig-

See Capt. Dermer’s statement, in Purchas [iv. 1778]; Capt. Smith’s statement [Advertifements for the
unexperienced, &c., 9]; Higginson’s New-Englands Plantation [Force, i., xii. 12]; Morton’s New Engliſh Ca-
naan [Force, ii., v. 18]; Johnson’s Wonder-working Providence [2 Mafs. Hiſt. Coll., ii. 66]; Gookin’s Hiſto-
rical Collections [1 Mafs. Hiſt. Coll., i. 122, 148]; the Great Patent of New England [Brigham’s Compaṭ, &c., 3], and Hutchinſon [i. 38].

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

This name was here naturally given to the Wampanoages, as being Maffafoit’s men, unleſs, as Dr. Young supposes, the English did not quite comprehend Samofet’s broken English.
the *Nausites* are as neere South-east of them, and are a hundred strong, and those were they of whom our people were encountred, as we before related. They are much incensed and provoked against the English, and about eyght moneths agoe flew three English men, and two more hardly escaped by flight to Monhiggon; they were Sir Ferdinando Gorge his men, as this Savage told vs, as he did likewise of the *Huggerie*, that is, *Fight*, that our discoverers had with the *Nausites*, & of our tooles that were taken out of the woods, which we willed him should be brought againe, otherwise, we would right our felues. These people are ill affected towards the English, by reason of one *Hunt*, a master of a ship, who deceived the people, and got them vnder colour of truing with

301 Thofe centering about *Nauset*, or Eastham; the Cape Indians.
303 To hugger (Provincial English), to lie in ambush, &c. — [Webster]. The reference is to "the first encounter" [p. 52].
304 See p. 80.
305 Thomas Hunt was master of the ship in Capt. Smith's company, in 1614, that "stayed to fit her selfe for Spaine with the dry fishe which was sold at Maligo at forty Rialls the Quint-
them, twentie out of this very place where we inhabite, and seaven men from the Nausttes, and carried them away, and fold them for flauces, like a wretched man (for 20. pound a man) that cares not what mischiefe he doth for his profit.

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

Saturday and Sunday 306 reasonable fayre dayes. On this day 307 came againe the Savage, and brought with him five other tall proper men, they had every man a Deeres skin on him, and the principall of them had a wild Cats skin, or such like on the one arme; they had most of them long hosen vp to their groynes, close made; and aboue their groynes to their waft another leather, they were altogether like the Irish-troues; 308 they are of

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

306 Saturday, 27. Sunday, 28 March, 1621.

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

308 "They make shooes of Deeres skinnes, very handfomly and commodious, and of such deeres skinnes as they dresf bare, they make flockinges, that comes within their shooes, like a stirrup focking, and is fastned above at their belt, which is about their middell. . . . Thofe garments they allaways put on when they goe a huntinge to keepe their skinnes from the bruise of the Shrubbs, and when they have their Apparrell one, they look like Irish in their troues, the Stockings join fo to their breeches."—[Morton's New English Canaan, Force, II., v. 22.]
complexion like our English Gipseys, no haire or very little on their faces, on their heads long haire to their shoulders, onely cut before some trousled vp before with a feather, broad wise, like a fanne, another a fox tayle hanging out: these left (according to our charge giuen him before) their Bowes and Arrowes a quarter of a myle from our Towne, we gaued them entertainement as we thought was fitting them, they did eate liberally of our English victuals, they made semblance vnto vs of friendship and amitie; they song & danced after their maner like Anticks; they brought with them in a thing like a Bow-cafe (which the principall of them had about his waft) a little of their Corne pounded to Powder, which put to a little water they eate; he had a little Tobacco in a bag, but none of them drunke but when he lifted, some of them had their faces paynted black, from the forehead to the chin, soure or flue fingers broad; others after other fashions, as they liked; they brought three or

309 "Antick, a Buffoon."—[Bailey.]  
310 "Nokheick, parch'd meal, which is a readie very wholesome food, which they eate with a little water, hot or cold; I have travelled with neere 200 of them at once, neere 100 miles through the woods, every man carrying a little Backet of this at his back, and sometimes in a hollow Leather Girdle about his middle, sufficient for a man for three or four daies. With this readie provision, and their Bow and Arrowes, are they readie for War and travell at an houres warning. With a spoonfull of this meale, and a spoonfull of water from the Brooke, have I made many a good dinner and supper."—[Roger Williams, R.-I. Hist. Coll., i. 33.]  
311 "Anthony Thacher and George Sole were choses a committee to draw vp an order concerning disorderly drinking of tobacco."—[Plym. Col. Rec., ii. 108.] "Drinking" tobacco was then the common term for smoking it.
in AMERICA

four skins, but we would not trucke with them at all that
day, but withshed them to bring more, and we would trucke
for all, which they promised within a night or two, and
would leaue these behind them, though we were not will-
ing they should, and they brought vs all our tooles againe
which were taken in the Woods, in our mens absence, so
because of the day we dismissed them so soone as we
could. But Samofet our first acquaintance, eyther was
ficke, or fayned himselfe so, and would not goe with them,
and stayed with vs till Wednesday morning: 31 Then we
sent him to them, to know the reason they came not ac-
cording to their words, and we gaue him an hat, a payre
of stockings and shooes, a shirt, and a piece of cloth to tie
about his waft. [35]

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

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

Wednesday a fine warme day, we sent away Samofet.

312 Wednesday, 31 March, 1621.
That day we had againe a meeting, to conclude of lawes and orders for our selues, and to confirme those Military Orders that were formerly propounded, and twise broken off by the Savages comming, but so we were againe the third time, for after we had beene an houre together, on the top of the hill over against vs two or three Savages presented themselues, that made semblance of daring vs, as we thought, so Captaine Standish with another, with their Muskets went over to them, with two of the masters mates that follows them without Armes, having two Muskets with them, they whetted and rubbed their Arrowes and Strings, and made shew of defiance, but when our men drew nere them, they ranne away. Thus we were againe interrupted by them; this day with much adoe we got our Carpenter that had beene long sicke of the scurvey, to fit our Shallop, to fetch all from aboord.

Thursday the 22. of March, was a very fayre warme day. About noone we met againe about our publique businesse, but we had scarce beene an houre together, but Samoset came againe, and Squanto, the onely natuie of

313 See note 285.
314 This indicates the time when the whole company was transferred from the ship to the shore, and their colonizing became complete.
315 Squanto (Squantum, Tisquantum, Tasquantum, &c.) was clearly one of five Indians who had been carried to England by Capt. George Waymouth in 1605. Whether he came back and was taken off again by Hunt, or whether there is some confusion in the narrative, is not certain. He was of great service to the colony, though ambitious and meddleome. He died in November, 1622; his last request
Patuxat, where we now inhabite, who was one of the
twentie Captiues that by Hunt were carried away, and
had beene in England & dwelt in Cornhill with master
John Slanie\textsuperscript{316} a Marchant, and could speake a little Eng-
lish, with three others, and they brought with them some
few skinnes to trucke, and some red Her-[36] rings
newly taken and dried, but not salted, and signifiued vnto
vs, that their great Sagamore Mafaoyt\textsuperscript{317} was hard by,
with Quadequina his brother, and all their men. They
could not well expresse in English what they would, but
after an houre the King came to the top of an hill over
against vs, and had in his trayne sixtie men, that wee could
well behold them, and they vs: we were not willing to

being that Gov. Bradford would pray
that he might go to the Englishman's
God in heaven. \textit{Squantam} (con-
tracted from \textit{mufquantam}, "he is an-
gry," "he is bloody-minded") was the
name of an Indian god.—[Drake's
\textit{Ind. Bk.} 69, 78, 79; Trumbull, \textit{Ms.
letter}.]

\textsuperscript{316} "The worshipful John Slany, of
London, merchant," was Treasurer of
the Newfoundland Company.—[Pur-
chas, iv. 1876.]

\textsuperscript{317} Maffaoyt (Meffaoyt, Mafsoyot,
Woosamequin, Uffamequin, Akhum-
equin, Ofamekin, &c., &c.) was fachem
of the \textit{Wampanoags}, and had his
principal residence at Sowams (now
Warren, R. I.), in Pokanoket. We
know nothing of him previous to this
date, unlefs he were one of the "two
kings" mentioned by Capt. Dermer,
in Purchas. In 1623 he was very
sick; and Winlow visitied him and pre-
scribed for him, and he recovered,
and attributed his life to this atten-
tion. He sold much land to the
English at various times, and always
scrupulously, and mosl honorably, kept
his treaty engagements with them.
He seems to have died in the latter
part of 1661, or the former part of
1662. He left two sons,—Alexander,
whose reign was but of a few months;
and Philip, famous in the bloody his-
tory of 1675-6. He had two brothers,
—Akkompoin (Unkompoen), whom
"some brifk Bridgewater Lads" killed
in 1676; and a younger one, Quade-
equina, who accompanied Maffaoyt
at this time to Plymouth.—[Drake's
\textit{Book of Indians}, 81-92; Church's
\textit{Entertaining Passages}, 38, &c.]
send our governour to them, and they vnwillinge to come
to vs, fo Squanto went againe vnto him, who brought
word that wee shoule send one to parley with him, which
we did, which was Edward Winsloe, to know his mind,
and to signifie the mind and will of our governour, which
was to haue trading and peace with him. We sent to
the King a payre of Kniues, and a Copper Chayne, with
a Iewell at it. To Quadequina we sent likewise a Knife
and a Iewell to hang in his eare, and withall a Pot of
strong water, a good quantitie of Bisket, and some butter,
which were all willingly accepted: our Messenger made
a speech vnto him, that King Iames saluted him with
words of loue and Peace, and did accept of him as his
Friend and Alie, and that our Governour desired to see
him and to trucke with him, and to confirme a Peace with
him, as his next neighbour: he liked well of the speech
and heard it attentiuely, though the Interpreters did not
well expresse it; after he had eaten and drunke himselfe,
and giuen the rest to his company, he looked vpon our
messengers sword and armour which he had on, with inti-
mation of his desire to buy it, but on the other side, our
messenger shewed his vnwillinges to part with it: In
the end he left him in the custodie of Quadequina his
brother, and came over the brooke, and some twentie
men following him, leaving all their Bowes and Arrowes
behind them. We kept six or seaven as hostages for
our messenger; Captaine Standish and master William-
met the King at the brooke, with halfe a dozen Muskietiers, they saluted him and he them, so one going over, the one on the one side, and the other on the other, conducted him to an house then in building, where we placed a greene Rugge, and three or foure Cushions, then instantly came our [37] Governour with Drumme and Trumpet after him, and some few Muskietiers. After salutations, our Governour kissing his hand, the King kissed him, and so they sat downe. The Governour called for some strong water, and drunke to him, and he drunke a great draught that made him sweate all the while after, he called for a little fresh meate, which the King did eate willingly, and did giue his followers. Then they treated of Peace, which was;

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

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

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

No man of this name was of the party. There was, indeed, a Thomas Williams (note 27, No. 30), but he died early in the general sickness [Bradford, His Plim. Plant., 454]; and he would not have been honored with the title here given, had he been now able to go on such service (which is very doubtful). It is more likely, as Dr. Young suggests, that the Ms. read “Maister Allerton,” and was misapprehended and misprinted into this.
4. If any did uiname warre against him, we would ayde him; If any did warre against vs, he should ayde vs.

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

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

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

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

320 See note 310.

321 A “sad” red was a deep red (“of a deep color.” [Bailey]). “Mur- rey, is in Latin called color sanguineus, is accounted a princely color.” [Bailey.] “A dark red color, from Lat. morum, mulberry.” —[Webster.]
some yellow, and some white, some with crosxes, and other Antick workes, some had skins on them, and some naked, all strong, tall, all men in appearance: so after all was done, the Governour conducted him to the Brooke, and there they embraced each other and he departed: we diligently keeping our hostages, wee expected our messengers comming, but anon word was brought vs, that Quadrinquina was comming, and our messenger was stayed till his returne, who presently came and a troupe with him, so likewise wee entertained him, and conveyed him to the place prepared; he was very fearfull of our preeces, and made signes of dislike, that they should be carried away, whereupon Commandement was given, they should be layd away. He was a very proper tall young man, of a very modest and seemely countenance, and he did kindely like of our entertainement, so we conveyed him likewise as wee did the King, but divers of their people stayed till, when hee was returned, then they dismissed our messenger. Two of his people would haue stayed all night, but wee would not suffer it: one thing I forgot, the King had in his boosome hanging in a string, a great long knife; hee marveiled much at our Trumpet, and some of his men would found it as well as they could, Samoset and Squanto, they stayed al night with vs, and the King and al his men lay all night in the woods, not above halfe an English myle from vs, and all their wiues and women

322 See note 308:9
with them, they sayd that within 8. or 9. dayes, they would come and set corne on the other side of the Brooke, and dwell there all Summer, which is hard by vs: That night we kept good watch, but there was no appearance of danger; the next morning divers of their people came over to vs, hoping to get some victuals as we imagined, som of them told vs the King would have some of vs come see him; Captaine Standish and Isaac Alderton went venterously, who were welcomed of him after their manner: he gaue them three or foure ground Nuts, and some Tobacco. Wee cannot yet conceive, but that he is willing to haue peace with vs, for they haue seen our people sometimes alone two or three in the woods at worke and fowling, when as they offered them no harme as they might easily haue done, and especially because hee hath a potent Adverfary the Narowghanseis, that are at warre with him, against

333 Friday 23 March.
334 Isaac Allerton (note 27, No. 5) "of London," 4 Nov., 1611, married, in Leyden, Mary Norris of Newbury; 17 Feb., 1614, was admitted to citizenship in Leyden; 16 Nov., 1615, guaranteed Digory Priest on his admission to the same privilege; 16 May, 1618, was witnes at the first marriage of Edward Winlow, to Elizabeth Barker; 5 Oct., 1619, was witnes at the marriage of Roger Wilkin to Eliz. Barrow? was one of the four signers of the letter from Leyden to Carver and Cushman, 10 June, 1620; was at one time the richest man of the colony; was Assistant, 1621, and sole officer for three years under the government: his wife dying soon after landing, he married Fear Brewster, daughter of Elder William; she dying, 1633, he married again, Joanna —? He passed his latter years at New Haven, and died there, 1659, insolvent.

— [Savage's Gen. Dis., i. 38; Leyden Mss. Rec.] 91, f. 46v, b. 19v, 10v 15v 19v 39v 30v.

336 Narraganetts, as they were commonly flyled.
whom hee thinks wee may be some strength to him, for our peece are terrible vnto them; this morning, they stayed till ten or eleuen of the Clocke, and our Governour bid them send the Kings kettle, and filled it full of pease, which pleased them well, and so they went their way.

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

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

37 Doubtles at Eel River, of which Thacher says "it is appropriately called Eel River, from the abundance of Eels which it yields to the support of the indutrious poor. Perhaps it will not be extravagant to say that about 150 barrels are annually taken there." —[Hist. Plym., 322.]

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

JOURNEY TO PACKANOKIK.

The Habitation of the Great King

M A S S A S O T T.

As also our Message, the
Answer and int'retained wee had of
H I M.

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

Edward Winslow was almost
necessarily the author of this part of
the Relation, as it was written by a
participant in the journey. There are
several verbal correspondences with
his avowed works, which indorse the
supposition.

See note 315.
vnto vs; with all expedition provided a Horse-mans coat, of red Cotton, and laced with a slight lace for a present, that both they and their message might be the more acceptable amongst them. The Message was as followeth; That forasmuch as his subiects came often and without feare, vpon all occasions amongst vs, so wee were now come vnto him, and in wittnesse of the loue and good will the English beare vnto him, the Governour hath sent him a coat, desiring that the Peace and Amitie that was [41] betweene them and vs might be continued, not that we feared them, but because we intended not to injure any, desiring to liue peaceably: and as with all men, so especially with them our neerest neighbours. But whereas his people came very often, and very many together vnto vs, bringing for the most part their wives and children with them, they were well come; yet we being but strangers as yet at Patuxet, alias New Plimmoth, and not knowing how our Corne might prosper, we could no longer giue them such entertainment as we had done, and as we desired still to doe: yet if he would be pleased to come him selfe, or any speciall friend of his desired to see vs, comming from him they should be wellcome; and to the end wee might know them from others, our Governour had sent him a copper Chayne, desiring if any Messenger should come from him to vs, we might know him by bringing it with him, and hearken and giue

331 See note 296.
credite to his Message accordingly. Also requesting him that such as haue skins, should bring them to vs, and that he would hinder the multitude from oppressing vs with them. And whereas at our first arrivall at Paomet (called by vs Cape Cod) we found there Corne buried in the ground, and finding no inhabitants but some graues of dead new buryed, tooke the Corne, resolving if ever we could heare of any that had right thereunto, to make satisfaction to the full for it, yet since we understand the owners thereof were fled for seare of vs, our desire was either to pay them with the like quantitie of corne, English meale, or any other Commodities we had to pleasure them withall; requesting him that some one of his men might signifie so much vnto them, and wee would content him for his paines. And last of all, our Gouernour requested one favour of him, which was, that he would exchange some of their Corne for feede with us, that we might make tryall which best agreed with the foyle where we liue.

With these presents and message we set forward the tenth June, about 9. a clocke in the Morning, our guide
resolving that night to rest at Namaschet, a Towne under Massasoit, and conceived by vs to bee very neere, because the Inhabitants flocked so thicke vpon every flight occasion amongst vs: but wee found it to bee some fifteen English miles. On the way we found some ten or twelve men women and children, which had pestered vs, till wee were wearie of them, perceiving that (as the manner of them all is) where victual is easilieft to be got, there they liue, especially in the Summer: by reason whereof our Bay affording many Lobsters, they resort every spring tide thither: & now returned with vs to Namaschet. Thither we came about 3. a clock after noone, the Inhabitants entertaining vs with ioy, in the best manner they could, giving vs a kinde of bread called by them Maizium, and the spawne of Shads, which then they got in abundance, in so much as they gauve vs spoones to eate them, with these they boyled muftie Acorns, but of the Shads we eate heartily. After this

ed on 3. July (Monday, an inherently probable day). Prince [N. E. Chron., pt. ii. 105] adopts Bradford’s date, as also does Morton [N. E. Memorial, 31], which is doubtles the true one; the date in the text being probably due to the blundering compositors, and careless proof-reading, which disfigure the volume.

336 Nemasquet (Namaquket, Namasaket, Namasquet, &c.) is from Namas, “fish;” so that Namas-ohke-ut is “at-the-fish-place.” The spot so designated here is in what is now Middleborough, on the Nemasket River, about thirty rods above the bridge passed in going from the Green to the Four Corners, on the Middleborough and Plymouth road; being the rapids near the Lower Factory, which is now called the Star Mills.

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

338 See note 177.
they desir'd one of our men to shoot at a Crow, complaining what damage they sustained in their Corne by them, who shooting some soun'd off, and killing, they much admired it, as other shots on other occasions. After this Tisquantum told vs we should hardly in one day reach Pakanokick; moving vs to go some 8. myles further, where we should finde more store and better victuals then there: Being willing to hasten our Journey we went, and came thither at Sunne setting, where we found many of the Namascheucks (they so calling the men of Namaschet) fishing vpon a Ware which they had made on a River which belonged to them, where they caught abundance of Basse. These welcomed vs also, gave vs of their none, and we them of our victuals, not doubting but we should have enough where ere we came. There we lodged in the open fieldes: for houses they had

339 Probably paces, possibly feet.
340 Pakanoket (Pakonok, Pawkannowcut, &c., &c.), unless greatly corrupted, can be derived only from pokkenai, or pogkeni, “dark,” and ohke, “land,” or “place.” This is directly opposed, in its literal or primary signification, to wampanoake. (Eliot has, for “brightness, but . . . in darkness” [Isa. lix. 9] wompag, gut . . . pokkenahtu.) The origin of the name is open to conjecture. Wampan, signifying, primarily, “white” or “bright,” was used figuratively for the dawn, and the region of light, the east. Pokkenai, “dark,” may have been, and very probably was, similarly used for the place of sunset, “the west;” though it is not found in that sense in Eliot or in Roger Williams. If so, Pakanoket would be “the west country” to the Plymouth tribes, as the “east country” of the Narragansetts. Or the name may have had some local origin,—from the color of the soil, the obscurity of a forest, or other (now extinct) suggestion of darkness.
341 Probably at the Old Indian Wear, so called, near Titicut, in the N. W. part of Middleborough; two or three miles S. W. of the junction of the Nemasquet with the Taunton river.
none, though they spent the most of the Summer there. The head of this River is reported to bee not farre from the place of our abode, upon it are, and haue beeene many Townes, it being a good length. The ground is very good on both sides, it being for the most part cleered: Thousands of men have lived there, which dyed in a great plague not long since: and pitty it was and is to see, so many goodly fieldes, & so well seated, with- [43] out men to dresse and manure the same. Upon this River dwelleth Maffafayt: It commeth into the Sea at the Narroganset Bay, where the French men so much vs. A shipp may goe many myles vp it, as the Salvages report, and a shallop to the head of it: but so farre as wee saw, wee are sure a Shallop may.

But to returne to our Journey: The next morning wee brake our faft, tooke our leaue and departed, being then accompanied with some fixe Salvages, having gone about fixe myles by the River side, at a knowne shole place, it beeing low water, they spake to vs to put off our breeches, for wee must wade thorow. Heere let me not forget the vallour and courrage of some of the Salvages, on the opposite side of the river, for there were remaining aliue only 2. men, both aged, especially the...
one being aboue threescore; These two espying a company of men entring the River, ran very swiftly & low in the grasse to meete vs at the banck, where with shrill voyces and great courage standing charged uppon vs with their bowes, they demaundd what we were, supposing vs to be enemies, and thinking to take advantage on vs in the water: but seeing we were friends, they welcomed vs with such foode as they had, and we bestowed a small bracelet of Beades on them. Thus farre wee are sure the Tide ebs and flowes.

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

As we passed along, we observed that there were few places by the River, but had beene inhabited, by reason
whereof, much ground was cleare, faue of weedes which grewe higher than our heads. There is much good Timber both Oake, Walnut-tree, Firre, Beech, and exceeding great Chessnut-trees. The Country in respect of the lying of it, is both Champanie and hilly, like many places in England. In some places its very rockie both aboute ground and in it: And though the Countrey bee wilde and over-growne with woods, yet the trees stand not thicke, but a man may well ride a horse amongst them. 346

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

346 Owing to the yearly burning of the brushe and undergrowth by the Indians. See note 180.
347 It has already been stated (see p. 96) that Massaquoi and the Narragansetts were at war.
After wee came to a Towne of Massasoits, but Massasoit was not at home, there we stayed, he being sent for: when newes was brought of his comming, our guide Tisquantum requested that at our meeting, wee would discharge our peecees, but one of vs going about to charge his peece, the women and children through seare to see him take vpp his peece, ran away, and could not bee pacified, till hee layd it downe againe, who afterward were better informed by our Interpreter.

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

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

348 This was probably at Matsu-puyyst (or Mattapoiset), now known as Gardner's Neck, in Swaney. — [See Winlow's Good Newes from New England, in Young's Chron. of Plym., 317.]

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

fively shown that while Packanokik was a general name for the Wampanoag territory, in the neighborhood of what are now Warren, Bristol, &c., R. I., the Indian village here intended was Sowams, built around the spring called Massafoit's Spring, near Baker's Wharf, in Warren. — [Pp. 27–30.]
men they should no more pester vs as they had done: Also, that he would send to Paomet, and would helpe vs with Corne for seed, according to our request.

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

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

350 James I. of England had become a widower more than a year before.
only plancks layd a foot from the ground, and a thin Mat vpon them.\footnote{351} Two more of his chiefe men for want of roome pressed by and vpon vs; so that we were worse weary of our lodging then of our iourny. \footnote{46}

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

\footnote{351} "Their lodging is made in three places of the house about the fire they lye upon planks commonly about a foot or 18 inches above the ground railed on railes that are borne up upon forks they lay mats under them, and Coates of Deares skinnes otters beavers Racowmes and of Beares hides, all which they have dressed and converted into good lether with fine thread, and all the arrows they use are hollow iron."—[New English Caanaan, Force, II. v. 20.] See also Gookin and Roger Williams.—[1 Mafs. Hift. Coll. i. 150; R.-I. Hift. Coll., i. 40.]

\footnote{352} Thursday, 8 July, 1621.

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

\footnote{354} "Probably Bafs, as thosefish swim near the surface."—[Fessenden's Hift. Warren, R. I., 16.] Roger Williams says, "They kill Baffe (at the fall of the water) with their arrows, or with sharp sticks, especially if headed with iron, &c."—[R.-I. Hift. Coll., i. 102.]
nights and a day, and had not one of vs bought a Partridge, we had taken our Journey fasting: Very importunate he was to haue vs slay with them longer: But wee desired to keepe the Sabboth at home: and feared we should either be light-headed for want of sleepe, for what with bad lodging, the Savages barbarous singing, (for they vs to sing themselfes asleep) lice and fleas within doores, and Muskeetoes without, wee could hardly sleepe all the time of our being there; we much fearing, that if wee should slay any longer, we should not be able to recover home for want of strength. So that on the Fryday morning before Sun-rising, we tooke our leave and departed, Massachusetts being both grieved and ashamed, that he could no better entertaine vs: and retaining Tillquantum to send from place to place to procure trucke for vs; and appointing another, called Tokamahamon in his place, whom we had found faithfull before and after vpon all occasions.

At this town of Massachusetts, where we before eate, wee were againe refreshd with a little fish; and bought about a handful of Meale of their parched Corne, which was very precious at that time of the yeere, and a small string of dryed shell-fish, as big as Oysters. The latter we gave to the fife Savages that accompanied vs, keeping the Meale for our selues, when we dranke we eate each a spoonfull of it with a Pipe of Tobacco, in stead

355 Brought?
356 Friday, 6 July.
357 See note 348.
358 Clams?
of other victuals; and of this also we could not but give them, so long as it lasted. Five miles [47] they led us to a house out of the way in hope of victualls: but we found no body there, and so were but worse able to returne home. That night we reached to the wire where we lay before, but the Namasheucks were returned: so that we had no hope of any thing there. One of the Savages had shot a Shad in the water, and a small Squirrell as big as a Rat, called a Neuxis, the one halfe of either he gave us, and after went to the wire to fish. From hence we wrote to Plymouth, and sent Tokamahamon before to Namasket, willing him from thence to send another, that he might meet us with food at Namasket. Two men now onely remained with us, and it pleased God to give them good store of fish, so that we were well refreshed. After supper we went to rest, and they to fishing again: more they gat and fell to eating a-fresh, and retain'd sufficient readie rost for all our break-safts. About two a Clocke in the morning, arose a great storme of wind, raine, lightning, and thunder, in such violent manner, that we could not keepe in our fire; and had the Savages not rosted fish when we were asleepe, we had set forward fasting: for the raine still continued with

359 See note 341.
360 Neuxis seems to be mentioned as the Indian name of the animal referred to. Anéqufanéquufuck is the name which Roger Williams attaches to the "little coloured squirrel."—[R.-I. Hist. Coll., i. 95.] Probably the Sciurus leucotis, or Sciurus fritatus, is intended.
361 Saturday, 17 July.
great violence, even the whole day thorow, till wee came within two myles of home.

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

wett, weary, and
surbated.$^{362}$ [49]

$^{362}$ "Surbate is when the Sole of a Horse's foot is worn, bruised, or spoield, by travelling without Shoes &c."—[Bailey.] Webster derives it from folbatre, from sole (Lat. solea) "a sole," and battre, "to beat," hence "to batter the feet by travel;" hence "to harafs," "to fatigue."
A VOYAGE MADE BY TEN of our Men to the Kingdome of NAVSET,\textsuperscript{365} to seake a Boy\textsuperscript{364} that had lost himselfe in the WOODS;

With such Accidentes as befell vs in that VOYAGE.

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

\textsuperscript{363} The Indian name of Eastham.

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

\textsuperscript{365} Monday, 21 June, 1621. "But this date being inconsistent with several hints in the foregoing and following stories, I keep to Gov. Bradford's original Ms., and place it between the end of July and the 13th of Aug." — [Prince, \emph{N. E. Chron.}, pt. ii. 107.]

Bradford says, "About ye later end of this month [July], one John Billington lost him selfe in ye woods, & wandered up \& downe some 5 days, living on beries \& what he could find, At length he light on an Indean plantation 20. mils south of this place, called \emph{Manemet}, they conveied him furder of, to \emph{Nawsett}, among thoe peopl that had before set upon ye English, \&c." — [\emph{Hist. Plym. Plant.} 102.]

\textsuperscript{366} Cummaquid (Chumaquid) was the name of Barnstaple Harbor. — [Freeman's \emph{Cape Cod}, ii. 249.]
where wee had some hope to finde the Boy. Two Savages were in the Boat with vs, the one was Tisquantum our Interpreter, the other Tokamahamon, a speciall friend. It being night before we came in, we Anchored in the middeft of the Bay, where we were drie at a low water. In the morning we espied Savages seeking Lobsters, and sent our two Interpreters to speake with them, the channell being betwenee them; where they told them what we were, and for what we were come, willing them not at all to feare vs, for we would not hurt them. Their answere was, that the Boy was well, but he was at Naufet; yet since wee were there they desired vs to come ashore & eate with them: which as soone as our Boat floated we did: and went sixe ashore, having foure pledges for them in the Boate. They brought vs to their Sachim or Gouvernour, whom they call [50] Iyanough, a man not exceeding twentie-fix yeeres of age, but very personable, gentle, courteous, and fayre conditioned, indeed not like a Savage, faue for his attyre; his entertainement was answerable to his parts, and his cheare plentifull and various.

One thing was very grieuous vnto vs at this place;

367 See page 109.
368 Iyanough's fate was a sad one. In 1623, a conspiracy was formed among the Indians to put the English to death, which was revealed by Mafsafoit, and which was frustrated by the sudden and sharp measures of Standifh and his men. Iyanough was concerned in it; and, being terrified by the fate of Wittuwanet and Pekfuot, he fled into the swamps, where he died, either of starvation or of disease. — [Drake's Book of Indians, 78; Pratt's History of Eastham, 8.]
There was an old woman, whom we judged to be no lesse then an hundred yeeres old, which came to see vs because shee never saw English, yet could not behold vs without breaking forth into great passion, weeping and crying excessively. We demanding the reason of it, they told us, she had three sons, who when master Hunt was in these parts went aboard his Ship to trade with him, and he carried them Captiues into Spaine (for Tisquantum at that time was carried away also) by which meanes shee was depriued of the comfort of her children in her old age. We told them we were sorry that any English man should give them that offence, that Hunt was a bad man, and that all the English that heard of it condemned him for the same: but for vs we would not offer them any such injury, though it would gaine vs all the skins in the Countrey. So we gave her some small trifles, which somewhat appeased her.

After dinner we tooke Boat for Nauset, Iyanough and two of his men accompanying vs. Ere we came to Nauset, the day and tyde were almost spent, in so much as we could not goe in with our Shallops: but the Sachim or Governour of Commaquid went a shore and his men with him, we also sent Tisquantum to tell Aspinet the Sachim of Nauset wherefore we came. The Sauages here came very thicke amongst vs, and were earnest with vs to
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bring in our Boate. But we neither well could, nor yet desired to doe it, because we had left cause to trusst them, being they onely had formerly made an Assault vpon vs in the same place, in time of our Winter Discouery for Habitation. And indeed it was no maruaile they did so, for howsoever through snow or otherwise wee saw no houses, yet wee were in the middest of them. [51]

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

After Sun-set, *Aspinet* came with a great traine, & brought the boy with him, one bearing him through the water:\textsuperscript{a} hee had not lesse then an hundred with him, the halfe whereof came to the Shallop side vnarmed with him, the other stood aloose with their bow and arrowes. There he delivered vs the boy, behung with beades, and made peace with vs\textsuperscript{3}, wee bestowing a knife on him, and likewise on another that first entertained the Boy and brought him thither. So they departed from vs.

\textsuperscript{371} Probably *Monomoyick* (*Manamoyik, Monamoy, &c*), the original Indian appellation of Chatham, is intened.—[Freeman's *Hist. Cape Cod.* ii. 579. See also Gookin's *Hist. Coll.* in *Maff. Hist. Coll.* 1 : 197]
Here we understoold, that the Narrohigansets had spoyled some of Massasoys men, and taken him. This strucke some seare in vs, because the Colony was so weakely guarded, the strecth thereof being abroad: But we set forth with resolution to make the beft haft home wee could; yet the winde being contrary, having scarce any fresh water leaft, and at leaft, 16. leagues home, we put in againe for the shore. There we met againe with Iyanough the Sachim of Cumaquid, and the moft of his Towne, both men women & children with him. Hee being still willing to gratifie vs, tooke a runlet and led our men in the darke a great way for water, but could finde none good: yet brought such as there was on his necke with them. In the meane time the women ioyned hand in hand, singing and dancing before the Shallop, the men also shewing all the kindnes they could, Iyanough himselfe taking a bracelet from about his necke, and hanging it vpon one of vs.

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

The next morning, Iyanough espied vs againe and ran

372 Dr. Young thinks that, in the absence of this party, but seven able-bodied men were left at Plymouth at this time.
373 This estimate of distance seems now a little large, though its exactness would depend much upon the clofenes with which they hugged the shore in all its irregularities.
374 "Rundlet, a close Cask for Liquors, containing from 3 to 20 Gallons." —[Bailey.]
after vs; we being resolved to goe to Cummaquid againe
to water, tooke him into the Shallop, whose entertain-
ment was not inferiour vnto the former.

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

(* * *)
A JOURNEY TO THE KINGDOME of NAMASCHE
in defence of the Great King
MASSASOYT against the Narrohiggansets, and to revenge
the suppos'd Death of our Interpreter
Tisquantum.

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

See note 336.
336 Bradford says, "He [Hobamack] & Squanto being gone upon buffines amongst ye Indeans, at their returne (whether it was out of envie to them or malice to the English) ther was a Sachem called Corbitant, alyed to Massaffoyte, but never any good friend to ye English to this day, mett with them at an Indean towne called Namasaffakett 14. miles to ye west of this place, and begane to quarel with them, and offered to slabe Hobamack; but being a luftly man, he cleare him selfe of him, and came running away all sweate, and toold ye Govr what had befallen him, and he feared they had killed Squanto, for they threat-
swept subjects from him, speaking also disdainfully of vs, storming at the Peace between Nauket, Cummaquid, and vs, and at Tisquantum the worker of it; also at Tokaman, and one Hobhamock (two Indians or Lemes, one of which he would trecherously have murdered a

ened them both, and for no other cause but because they were freinds to ye English, and servisible unto them. Upon this ye Gover taking counsell, it was conceiv'd not fitt to be borne; for if they should suffer their freinds & messengers thus to be wronged, they should have none would cleave unto them, or give them any intelligence, or doe them favours afterwards; but nexte they would fall upon them selues. Whereupon it was resolvd to send ye Captaine & 14. men well armed, and to goe & fall upon them in ye night; and if they found that Squanto was kild, to cut off Corbitants head, but not to hurt any but those that had a hand in it. Hobamack was asked if he would goe & be their guid, & bring them ther before day. He said he would & bring them to ye house wheer the man lay, and shew them which was he. So they set forth ye 14. of August, and bethe ye house round; the Captain giving charg to let none pass out, entred ye house to search for him. But he was gone away that day, so they mist him; but understood ye Squanto was alive, & that he had only threaten'd to kill him, & made an offer to stabe him, but did not. So they withheld and did no more hurte &

ye people came trembling, & brought them the best provissions they had, after they were acquainted by Hobamack what was only intended. Ther was 3. fore wound which brook out of ye house, and afait to pass through ye garde. These they brought home with them, & they had their wounds drest & cured, and sent home. After this they had many gratulations from diverse sachims, and much firmer peacee; yea, thofe of ye Iles of Capawack sent to make frendship; and this Corbitant him selfe used ye mediation of Massafloyte to make his peace, but was thie to come neare them a longe while after.” — [Hist. Plym. Plant., 103.]

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

378 This is the most puzzling passage in the volume. Dr. Young supposed it should read “our allies.” Mr. Trumbull says, “Or Lemes’ has no Indian sense that I can discover. Young’s reading, ‘our allies,’ has
little before, being a speciall and trusty man of Massasoits) Tokamahamon went to him, but the other two would not; yet put their liues in their hands, privately went to see if they could heare of their King, and lodging at Namaschet were discouered to Coubatant, who set a guard to bebet the house and tooke Tisquantum (for he had sayd, if he were dead, the English had lost their tongue) Hobbamock seeing that Tisquantum was taken and Coubatant held a knife at his breast, being a strong and stout man, brake from them and came to New-Plim- mouth, full of seare and sorrow for Tisquantum, whom he thought to be slaine.

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

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

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

379 Coubatant (Corbitant, Coumbatan) seems to have had his head-quarters near Gardner's Neck, in Swansey. He signed a treaty of peace with the Plymouth men, with other sachems, Sept. 1621. — [Drake's Book of Indians, 94.]

380 Tuesday, August, 1621.
myles of Namaschet, we went out of the way and stayed there till night, because we would not be discouered. There we consulted what to doe, and thinking best to beset the house at mid-night, each was appointed his taske by the Captaine, all men encouraging one another, to the utmost of their power.

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

Before we came to the Towne we sat downe and ate such as our Knaplacke afforded, that being done, wee threw them aside, and all such things as might hinder vs, and so went on and beset the house, according to our last resolution. Those that entred, demaundd if Coubatant were not there: but feare had bereft the Savages of speech. We charged them not to stirre, for if Coubatant were not there, we would not meddle with them, if he were, we came principally for him, to be avenged on him for the supposed death of Tisququantum, and other matters: but howsoever wee would not at all hurt their women, or children. Notwithstanding some of them pressed out at a private doore and escaped, but with some wounds: At...
length perceiving our principal ends, they told us Combatant was returned with all his traine, and that Tisquantum was yet living, and in the towne offering some Tobacco, other such as they had to eate. In this hurley burley we discharged two Peeces at randome, which much [55] terrified all the Inhabitants, except Tisquantum and Tokamahamon, who though they knew not our end in comming, yet assured them of our honesty, that we would not hurt them. Those boyes that were in the house seing our care of women, often cried Neensquaes; that is to say, I am a Woman: the Women also hanging vpon Hobbamock, calling him Towam, that is, Friend. But to be short, we kept them we had, and made them make a fire that we might see to search the house. In the meane time, Hobbamock gat on the top of the house, and called Tisquantum and Tokamahamon, which came vs accompanied with others, some armed and others naked. Those that had Bowes and Arrowes we tooke them away, promissing them againe when it was day. The house we tooke for our better safegard: but released those we had taken, manifesting whom we came for and wherefor.

On the next morning we marched into the middest of

320 "Neensquaes does mean 'I am a girl.'" — [Ms. note from Hon. J. H. Trumbull.]

323 "Towam may mean 'friend,' but I find no better or other authority than Mourt for the word, unless it was the writer's way of reporting the word natoiny, 'my friend,' imperfectly heard and half-forgotten." — [Ibid.]
the Towne, and went to the house of Tisquantum to breakfast. Thither came all whose hearts were vpright towards vs, but all Combatants faction were fled away. There in the middeof them we manifested againe our intendment, assuring them, that although Combatant had now escaped vs, yet there was no place shoulde secure him and his from vs if he continued his threatening vs, and prouoking others against vs, who had kindly entertained him, and neuer intended euill towards him till he now so iustly deseured it. Moreover, if Massasoyt did not returne in safetie from Narwhiggenset, or if hereafter he should make any insurrection against him, or offer violence to Tisquantum, Hobbamock, or any of Massasoyts Subiects, we would revenge it upon him, to the overthrow of him and his. As for those were wounded, we were sorry for it, though themselves procured it in not staying in the house at our command: yet if they would returne home with vs, our Surgeon should heale them.

At this offer, one man and a woman that were wounded went home with vs, Tisquantum and many other knowne [56] friends accompanying vs, and offering all helpe that might be by carriage of any thing wee had to ease vs. So that by Gods good Providence wee safely returned home the morrow night after we set forth. [57]

(* * *)

[56] Thee is many a story about the good Qutties, the wife of the Pilgrim, who was very kind to the settlers. She helped them in many ways, and was a source of comfort and support. Her name is written in the Pilgrim's Church records, and her contributions are mentioned in several accounts. She and her husband lived in the early years of the settlement, and her influence continued throughout the colony's history.
It seemed good to the Company in general, that though the Massachusetts had often threatened vs (as we were informed) yet we should go amongst them, partly to see the Countrey, partly to make Peace with them, and partly to procure their trucke.

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

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

384 The Massachusetts tribe was that inhabiting the neighborhood of Bolton bay. Josiah Cotton says, in his Indian vocabulary, the word means "an hill in the form of an arrow's head."

Roger Williams says, in a deposition taken at Narragansett, 16 June, 1682, "I had learnt that the Massachusetts was called so from the Blue Hills." — [3 Mass. Hist. Coll., ii. 235; R.I. Hist. Coll., iv. 208.]

385 Bradford's account is as follows: "After this, ye 18. of Sepemb: they sent out ther halup 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 Tar-entins, a people to ye eastward which used to come in harvest time and take away their corne, & many times kill their persons. They returned in safety, and brought home a good quanty of beaver, and made reporte of ye place, wishing they had been ther seated; (but it seems ye Lord, who affignes to all men ye bounds of their habitations, had apoynted it for an other use.)" — [Hist. Plym. Plant., 104.]

386 Bradford, and Prince (probably from him), fix the date of this expedition as on Tuesday, 16 September, 1621.
for vs; we supposing it to be neerer then it is, thought to
be there the next morning betimes: but it proved well
neere twentie Leagues from New Plimouth. 387

We came into the bottome of the Bay, 388 but being late
wee anchored and lay in the Shallop, not hauing seene
any of the people. The next morning 389 we put in for
the shore. There we found many Lobsters that had
beene gathered together by the Saluages, which we made
ready vnder a cliffe. 390 The Captaine 3 set two Sentinels
behind the cliffe to the landward to secure the Shallop,
and taking a guide with him, and foure of our company,
went to seeke the Inhabitants, where they met a woman
comming for her Lobsters, they told her of them, and
contented her for them. She told them where the peo-
ple were; Tisquantum went to them, the rest returned,
hauing direction which way to bring the Shallop to them.

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

388 That is, run in by Point Aller-
ton into Lighthouse Channel.

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

390 Dr. Belknap [Amer. Biog., ii.
224] supposed that in putting in for
the shore, they went up N. W. through
what is now the main ship-channel,
and that the “cliffe” under which
they landed was Copp’s Hill; and
Dr. Young [Chron. of Plym., 225]
endorsed his theory. But Mr. Drake
[Hist. of Boi., 44], relying for corrob-
oration upon a Ms. of W. T. Harris,
Esq., of Cambridge, suggests the much
greater probability that they struck
direcly, a little S. of W. across Quincy
Bay, to the nearer shore, and that
the “cliffe” was that pile of rocks
known as “the chapel” at the N. E.
extremity of the peninsula of Squan-
tum. After examination of the local-
ities, it seems to me that the proba-
blilities of the cafe greatly favor the
view taken by Mr. Drake.
The Sachim, or Gouvernour of this place, is called Obbatinewat, and though he liue in the bottome of the Massachusett bay, yet he is vnder Massasoyt. He vfed vs very kindly; he told vs, he durft not then remaine in any setled place, for feare of the Tarentines. Also the Squa Sachim, or Massachusets Queene was an enemy to him. [58]

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

39: The phraseology which follows in the next paragraph, “if he also would submit himselfe,” seems to forbid the supposition, which has been entertained by some [Prince, N. E. Chron., pt. ii. 112], that this was the Obbatinnew who, with eight other sachems, had acknowledged himself to be “a loyal subject of King James,” at Plymouth (during the previous week). [Morton’s N. E. Mem., 29.] Obbatinewat is supposed to have been a sachem of the Massachusets.

392 “The Tarratines were the inhabitans of Penobscot River. They were one of the three Etchemin tribes.” —[Williamson’s Hist. Me., i. 459.]

393 When Nanapashemet (looen to be mentioned), the great sachem of the Massachusets Indians, died, his queen carried on the government as squaw-sachem, marrying Webbacowet, the great medicine-man of the nation. In 1637, she deeded a tract of land in Musketiquid (Concord). 13 Jan., 1638, she sold Mystic Pond, and a large tract of land now included in Somerville, to Jotham Gibbons of Boston. 18 March, 1644, she submitted to the whites. She died before 1662. —[Brooks’s Hist. Medford, 73, 74.]
but the certaine number is not knowne to the Inhabitants. Night it was before wee came to that side of the Bay where this people were. On shore the Saluages went but found no body. That night also we rid at Anchor aboard the Shallop.

On the morrow we went ashore, all but two men, and marched in Armes vp in the Countrey. Having gone three myles, we came to a place where Corne had beene newly gathered, a house pulled downe, and the people gone. A myle from hence, Nanepashemet their King in his life time had liued. His house was not like others, but a scaffold was largely built, with pools and plancks some six foote from ground, and the house upon that, being situated on the top of a hill. Not farre from hence in a bottome, wee came to a Fort built by their deceased King, the manner thus;

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

396 Friday, 21 Sept., 1621.

397 Nanepashemet is said to have been at one time the most powerful sachem of New England. He resided at Lynn until “the great war of the Taretines,” in 1615. He then retreated to Medford, where he built him a house on Rock Hill. He was killed by the Taretines in 1619. Roger Williams [Key, &c., R.-I. Hist. Coll., i. 110] says that Nanepashat was the Wampanoag word for “Moone God.” Whether we are to infer any connection between that word and the name of this chief seems to be doubtful.—[Brooks’s Hist. Medford, 72; Newhall’s Hist. Lynn, 35; Shattuck’s Hist. Concord, 2.] Dr. Young is wholly misled in his note here by his theory of their first landing at Copp’s Hill, which compels him to suppose that crossing the bay would carry them to Squantum, and that Nanepashemet lived on Milton Hill.

398 Poles.

399 In the vicinity of Mystic Pond, in Medford. — [See Drake’s Hist. Botb., 45.]
There were pools some thirtie or fortie foote long, stuccke in the ground as thicke as they could be set one by another, and with these they inclosed a ring some forty or fifty foote ouer. A trench breast high was digged on each side; one way there was to goe into it with a bridge; in the midst of this Pallizado stood the frame of an house, wherein being dead he lay buryed, 402.

About a myle from hence, we came to such another, but seated on the top of an hill: here Nanepashemet was killed, 3 none dwelling in it since the time of his death. At this place we stayed, and sent two Saluages to looke the Inhabitants, and to informe them of our ends in comming, that they might not be fearefull of vs. Within a myle of this place they found the women of the place together, with their Corne on heapes, whither we supposed them to be fled for feare of vs, and the more, because in divers places they had newly pulled downe their houfes, 403 and for haft in one place had left some of their Corne covered with a Mat, and no body with it. [59]

With much feare they entertained vs at first, but seeing

400 An Indian skeleton was exhumed in West Medford, Mafs., 21 Oct., 1862, a short distance S. E. from Mystic Pond, which, partly because there was with it a pipe with a copper mouth-piece, it was thought might be Nanepashemets.—[Proceedings Mafs. Hist. Soc., Dec., 1862.]

401 "They are quicke; in halfe a day, yea, sometimes at few hours warning to be gone and the house up elsewhere, especially, if they have stakes readie pitcht for their Mats. "I once in travell lodged at a house, at which in my returne I hoped to have lodged againe the next night, but the house was gone in that interim, and I was glad to lodge under a tree."—[Roger Williams, Key, &c., R.-I. Hist. Coll., 56.]
our gentle carriage towards them, they tooke heart and entertained vs in the best manner they could, Boyleing Cod and such other things as they had for vs. At length with muchsending for came one of their men, shaking and trembling for feare. But when he saw we intended them no hurt, but came to trucke, he promised vs his skins also. Of him we enquired for their Queene, but it seemed she was far from thence, at last we could not see her.  

Here Tisquantum would have had vs rifled the Saluage women, and taken their skins, and all such things as might be serviceable for vs; for (sayd he) they are a bad people, and have oft threatened you: But our answere was; Were they never so bad, we would not wrong them, or give them any just occasion against vs: for their words we little weighed them, but if they once attempted any thing against vs, then we would deale far worse then he defird.

Having well spent the day, we returned to the Shallop, almost all the Women accompanying vs, to trucke, who fold their coats from their backes, and tyed boughes about them, but with great shamefacednesse 403 (for indeed they are more modest then some of our English women are) we promised them to come againe to them, and they vs, to keepe their skins.

402 Mr. Shattuck seems to suggest that her residence was in Concord, Massachusettts.  [Hist. Concord, 3.]

403 Shamefacednes.
Within this Bay, the Salvages say, there are two Riuers; the one whereof we saw, having a faire entrance, but we had no time to discouer it. Better harbours for shipping cannot be then here are. At the entrance of the Bay are many Rockes; and in all likelihood very good fishing ground. Many, yea, most of the Ilands have beene inhabited, some being cleered from end to end, but the people are all dead, or removed.

Our victuall growing scarce, the Winde comming fayre, and having a light Moone, we set out at euening, and through the goodnesse of God, came safely home before noone the day following. The Mystic and the Charles, the former of which they saw in their visit to Nanepashemet's house and grave, &c.


A supposition that would then have found abundant verification, — more so than now.

Saturday, 22 Oct. 1621.
A Letter Sent from New-England to a friend in these parts, setting forth a briefe and true Declaration of the worth of that Plantation; As also certaine vnfull Directions for such as intend a Voyage into those Parts.

Owing, and old Friend, although I receiued no Letter from you by this Ship, yet forasmuch as I know you expect the performance of my promise, which was, to write vnto you truely and faithfully of all things. I haue therefore at this time sent vnto you accordingly. Referring you for fur-

408 This heading was prefixed in England by the party receiving the letter, who was probably the person who published the same, with the "more large Relations" which accompanied it, and to which reference is made. Writing in England, he naturally says, "these" parts.

409 There is reasonable evidence that this was George Morton.—See Introduction.

410 The ship which carried this letter from New Plymouth to old England was the Fortune, the first which followed the Mayflower, in the interest of the colony. She was of fifty-five tons, and sailed from London "in the beginning of July [1621], but it was the end of August ere they could pass Plymouth, and arrived at New Plymouth in New England the eleventh of November."—[Smith's New
ther satisfaction to our more large Relations. Yon shall under stand, that in this little time, that a few of vs haue beene here, we haue built seaven dwelling houses, and foure for the vfe of the Plantation, and haue made preparation for divers others. We set the last Spring some twenty Acres of Indian Corne, and sowed some six Acres of Barly & Pease, and according to the manner of the Indians, we manured our ground with Herings or rather Shadd, which we haue in great abundance, and take with great ease at our doores. Our Corne did prove

Eng. Trials, 16.] She was laded, for her return voyage, "with good clapbord as full as she could flowe, and 2 hoggheads of beaver and other skins," &c., the freight being estimated "to be worth near £500." — [Bradford, Hist. Plym. Plant., 108.] Bradford says she "stayed not above 14 days" (probably after she was un laden) [Ibid. 110]; and she evidently failed on her return voyage on Thursday, 3 Dec., 1621 [Culthman Genealogy, 64]; and, as she neared the English coast, was taken by a French cruiser, carried into the Ile d'Yeu, robbed of all her valuables, and then releazed, reaching England on Sunday, 27 Feb., 1622.

Which make up the bulk of this volume.

Winlow's letter bears date, Tuesday, 11 Dec., 1621. They had landed at Plymouth, from the Mayflower, to commence their settlement on Wednesday, 30 Dec., 1620; so that the "little time" of which Winlow speaks lacked but nine days of a year.

It must be remembered that the 102 with whom they landed on Cape Cod had been reduced exactly one half by death; so that seven dwelling-houses would now accommodate the whole,—in families of from seven to eight in each.

The fifth intended was, beyond question, the alevise. (See note 212.) Thomas Morton says, "There is a Fith (by some called shadis, by some allises [alewives]), that at the spring of the yeare passe up the rivers to spayne in the ponds; and are taken in such multitudes in every river, that hath a pond at the end, that the Inhabitants douen their ground with them. You may see 100 acres to gether set with these Fith, every acre taking 1000. of them." — [New Eng. Canaan, Force, ii., v. 60.]

In Town Brook, as the fishe thronged it in the spring to go up.
well, & God be prayed, we had a good increase of Indian-Corne, and our Barly indifferent good, but our Pease not worth the gathering, for we feared they were too late fowne, they came vp very well, and blossomed, but the Sunne parched [61] them in the blossom; our harvest being gotten in, our Governour sent four men on fowling, that so we might after a more special manner reioyce together, after we had gathered the fruit of our labours; they foure in one day killed as much fowle, as with a little helpe beside, served the Company almost a weeke, at which time amongst other Recreations, we exercised our Armes, many of the Indians coming amongst vs, and amongst the rest their greatest King Massasoit, with some ninetie men, whom for three dayes we entertained and feasted, and they went out and killed five Deere, which they brought to the Plantation and bestowed on our Governour, and upon the Captaine, and others. And although it be not always so plenifull, as it was at this time with vs, yet by the goodnesse of God, we are so farre from want, that we often with you partakers of our plentie. Wehave found the Indians very faithfulfull in their Covenant of Peace with vs; very louing and readie to pleasure vs: we often goe to them, and they

416 "Shortly after [i.e. after Carver's death, just subsequent to 15 April, 1621] William Bradford was chosen Governor in his stead." — [Bradford, Hist. Plym. Plant., 101.]

417 Here began that peculiar New-England festival,—the annual autumnal Thanksgiving.

418 This was written honestly when it was written, though the addition of
come to vs; some of vs haue bin fiftie myles by Land in the Country with them; the occasions and Relations whereof, you shall vndestand by our generall and more full Declaration of such things as are worth the noting; yea, it hath pleased God so to possee the Indians with a feare of vs, and loue vnto vs, that not onely the greatest King amongst them called Massafoyt, but also all the Princes and peoples round about vs, haue either made fute vnto vs, or beene glad of any occasion to make peace with vs, so that seauen of them at once haue sent their messengers to vs to that end; yea, an Fle at sea, which we never saw hath also together with the former

the Fortune's company to theirs, and the necessity of victualing that ship for her return voyage, made them know what famine was in the winter that was then beginning. Bradford says, "So they were presently [after the Fortune failed] put to half allowance, one as well as an other, which begane to be hard; but they bore it patiently under hope of supply." [110.]

419 See pp. 98-111.

420 Morton [N. E. Memorial, 29] gives the following document, to which Winflow most likely refers, although nine names appear upon it:—

"September 13 Anno Dom. 1621.

"To all men by these Presents, That we whose Names are under-written do acknowledge our selves to be the Loyal Subjects of King James, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith &c. In Witness where-

of, and as a Testimonial of the same, we have Subscribed our Names or Marks, as followeth.

"Ohquamehud. Chikkatabak.
"Cawanacome. Quadaquina.
"Obbatinnua. Huttamoiden.
"Nattawahun. Apannow.
"Caunbatant."

421 This is, clearly, a misprint for "Ile." The reference seems to be to an occurrence in the latter part of Auguft, 1621, when, Bradford says, "Thofe of ye Iles of Capawock fent to make frenship."—[Hist. Plym. Plant., 104.] Morton, speaking of Capewak, adds, in the margin, "N ow called Martins Vineyard."—[N. E. Memorial, 26.] Richard Vines, in his deed to Thomas Mayhew (of date 4 Nov., 1641), speaks of "ye Islands of Capawock als Martha's Vineyard."—[Hough's Nantucket Papers, 4]
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yeelded willingly to be under the protection, and subjects to our soueraigne Lord King James, so that there is now great peace amongst the Indians themselves, which was not formerly, neither would have bin but for vs; and we for our parts walke as peaceably and safely in the wood, as in the hie-wayes in England, we entertaine them familiarly in our houses, and they as friendly bestowing their Venison on vs. They are a people without any Religion, or knowledge of any God, yet very trustie, quicke of apprehension, ripe witted, iust, the men and women goe naked, onely a skin about their middles; for the temper of the ayre, here it agreeeth well with that in England, and if there be any difference at all, this is somewhat hotter in Summer, some thinke it to be colder in Winter, but I cannot out of experience so say; the ayre is very cleere and not foggie, as hath beeene reported. I neuer in my life remember a more seasonable yeare, then we haue here enjoyed: and if we haue once but Kine, Horfes, and Sheepe, I make no question, but men might liue as contented here, as in any part of the world. For fish and fowle, we haue great abundance, freshe Codd in the Summer is but course meat with vs, our Bay is full of Lobsters all the Summer, and affordeth varietie of

422 "Whereas myself, and others, in former letters, (which came to the press against my will and knowledge,) wrote that the Indians about us are a people without any religion, or knowledge of any God, therein I erred, though we could then gather no better, &c." — [Winflow's Good News, &c., in Young's Plym. Chron., 355.]

423 Course — rude, mean.—[Bailey.]
other Fish; in September we can take a Hogshead of Eeles in a night, with small labour, & can dig them out of their beds, all the Winter we haue Muffells and Othus at our doores: Oysters we haue none neere, but we can haue them brought by the Indians when we will; all the Spring time the earth sendeth forth naturally very good Sallet Herbs; here are Grapes, white and red, and very sweete and strong also. Strawberries, Gooseberies, Rasps, &c. Plums of three sorts, with blacke and red, being almost as good as a Damson: abundance of Roses, white, red, and damask: single, but very sweet indeed; the Countrey wanteth onely industrious men to imploy, for it would grieve your hearts (if as I) you had seene so many myles together by goodly Riuers uninhabited, and withall to consider those parts of the world wherein you liue, to be euon greatly burthened with abundance of people. These things I thought good to let you vnderstand, being the truth of things as nere as I

424 The previous winter had been exceptionally mild. See note 261; also note 327.

425 What should be the true correction of this is not quite so obvious as the fact of the misprint. Dr. Young fuggetts [Plym. Chron., 233] that it was intended for "other," the word "shell-fish" being accidentally omitted. Dr. Cheever, in his reprint [N. E. in America, 97], says, "Perhaps this is a misprint for the word cockles." I am familiar enough with the locality, and its shell-fishery, to feel sure that the word which Winlow ought to have written here was "clams;" while I think it quite as likely that that word in the Ms. would have been twisted into this text, as any other.

426 Salad herbs.

427 Probably written Raspee, which is an obsolete name for the raspberry. —[Webster.]

428 A misprint for "white"?

429 See the narrative of the journey to Packanokik, especially page 103.
could experimentally take knowledge of, and that you might on our behalfe giue God thankes who hath delt so fauourably with vs.

Our supply of men from you came the ninth of November 1621, putting in at Cape Cod, some eight or ten leagues from vs, the Indians that dwell thereabout were they who were owners of the Corne which we found in Caues, for which we haue giuen them full content, and are in great [63] league with them, they sent vs word there was a ship\(^{430}\) nere vs, but thought it to be a French man, and indeede for our selues, we expected not a friend so soone. But when we perceived that she made for our Bay, the Gouvernor commanded a great Pecce to be shot off, to call home such as were abroad at worke; whereupon every man, yea, boy that could handle a Gun were reade, with full resolution, that if she were an Enemy, we would stand in our iust defence, not fearing them, but God provided better for us than we supposed; these came all in health vs, not any being sicke by the way (otherwise then by Sea sicknesse) and so continue at this time, by the blessing of God,\(^{431}\) the

\(^{430}\) The Fortune.

\(^{431}\) The number of persons added to the Plymouth colony by this arrival was thirty-five; besides whom came Robert Cushman, to return with the ship. The names of these passengers, arranged in the order in which they received their lots [Plym. Col. Rec., xiii. 5], were as follows:—

1. William Hilton [left wife and two children to come in the Ann. He removed to Dover, N. H., before 1627, and thence to Kit-
good-wife Ford was deliver'd of a sonne the first night shee landed, and both of them are very well. When it pleaseth God, we are settle'd and fitted for the fishing

tery, Me., where he was living in 1661. — Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, ii. 423.]

2. John Winlow [brother of Edward, came single; married Mary Chilton. In 1657, removed to Boston, where he was a thrifty merchant, and died 1674, leaving a large family. — Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, iv. 601.]

3. William Conner [came single; died or removed before 1627.]

4. John Adams [came single; married Elinor Newton; died 1633, leaving two sons and a daughter. — Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, i. 11.]

5. William Tench [came single, and either died or removed before 1627.]

6. John Cannon [came single, and died or removed before 1627.]

7. Hugh Stacie [removed to Dedham, and thence to Salem. It is conjectured that he may have thence gone home, and been the person of that name who with his wife helped to form the Congregational Church in Wrentham, England, under Rev. John Phillip, in 1650. — Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, iv. 159; Browne's *Hist. Cong. Ch. at Wrentham, Suffolk, 13.*]

8. William Beale [came single, and died or removed before 1627.]

9. Thomas Cushman [was son of Robert, now fourteen years old, and left with Gov. Bradford; was freeman in 1633; married Mary Allerton, 1635; removed to Jones's River, in Kingston, about 1637, where he lived and died; 1649 was chosen Ruling Elder of the Plymouth Church; died 11th Dec., 1691. — Cushman Genealogy, 84-99.]

10. Austin Nicholas [died or removed before 1627.]

11. Widow Ford [had lately lost her husband, probably in England, and brought with her children William, John, and Martha, and had another child the night after landing. It has been conjectured that she married Peter Browne (see note 27, No. 33, and note 265), and that she returned, or died, before 1627. — Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, ii. 182.]

12. William Wright [had wife Priscilla, and by his will of 16 Sept., 1633, seems to have had no children. — Savage's *Gen. Dict.*, iv. 661.]

13. William Pitt [must have died or removed (perhaps to Marblehead) between 1624 and 1627.]

14. Robert Hicks. [His wife Margaret followed in the Ann, with two sons and two daughters. Hicks had been a leather-dresser in
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busines, and other trading, I doubt not but by the blessing of God, the gayne will giue content to all; in the meane time, that we haue gotten we haue sent by

London. He died 24 Mar. 1647. 3 Apr., 1647.

—Savage's Gen. Ditt., ii., 410.]

15. Thomas Prence [was son of Thomas of Lechlade, Gloucestershire; married, 5 Aug., 1624, Patience, daughter of Elder William Brewster; had five children by her; she died in 1634, and he removed to Duxbury, and married, 10 April, 1635, Mary, daughter of William Collier, by whom he had four children; was Governor and Assizant; removed to Eastham in 1645, where his wife died, and, 1662, he married the widow of Samuel Freeman; he removed again, in 1663, to Plymouth, where he died, 20 March, 1674, aged 72. —Savage's Gen. Ditt., iii. 477.]

16. Stephen Dean [built the first corn-mill in New England, in 1632; married, about 1627, Elizabeth Ring; had three daughters, and died in Sept., 1634.—Savage's Gen. Ditt., ii. 30.]

17. Moes Symonson (Simmons) [was born at Leyden; probably brought wife with him, but no child; settled at Duxbury; was one of the original proprietors of Dartmouth, Bridgewater, and Middleborough, but does not appear to have removed to either. He left two children.

Winflow says of him (Hypocriſie Unmasked, 95), "Yea at this very infant, another called Moes Symonson, because a child of one that was in communion with the Dutch Church at Leyden, is admitted into Church-fellowship at Plymouth in New-England, and his children also to Baptism, as well as our own," &c. —Savage's Gen. Ditt., iv. 100.]

18. Philip de la Noye (Delano). [Of him Winflow says (Hypocriſie Unmasked, 96), "There is also one Philip Delano born of French parents, came to us from Leyden to New-Plymouth, who comming to age of discerning, demanded also communion with vs, & proving himself to be come of such parents as were in ful communion with the French Churches, was here upon admitted by the Church of Plymouth; and after upon his removal of habitation to Duxburrow where M. Ralph Partridge is Pastor of the Church; and upon Letters of recommendation from the Church at Plymouth, hee was also admitted into fellowship with the Church at Duxburrow, being six miles distant from Plymouth &c." He mar-
this ship, and though it be not much, yet it will witnesse for vs, that wee haue not beene idle, considering the
ried, 19 Dec., 1634, Esther Dewsbury, and, after her death, Mary, widow of James Glafs and daughter of William Pontus, and had nine children. He removed to Duxbury soon after 1632, and died about 1681, at 79, leaving an estate valued at £50.—Winfor's Duxbury, 65, 251.

19. Edward Bompafte (Bumpus) [lived at Duxbury before 1634, but most of his days at Marshfield; had wife Hannah and eight children.— Thomas's Mem. of Marshfield, 48.]

20. Clement Briggs [was quite young when he landed now; removed to Dorchester; there married Joan Allen, 1635; thence removed to Weymouth. He had five sons.—Savage's Gen. Dict., i. 251.]

21. James Stewart [died or removed before 1627.]

22. William Palmer [brought his son William, his wife Frances coming in the next ship; he removed to Duxbury; had a second wife; died early in 1638. —Savage's Gen. Dict., iii. 342.]

23. Jonathan Brewster [was eldest son of the Elder. Mr. Savage says he was born in Scrooby, Eng. But I have in my possession a copy of an affidavit from the Leyden Records, which states that he was "about 16 years old" 25 June, 1609, which would throw back his birth to 1583, a date 11 years anterior to Mr. Hunter's record of the presence of his father at Scrooby. This would make him 37 at landing. He was a ribbon weaver, and received the right of citizenship in Leyden, 30 June, 1617. He was in command of the Plymouth trading house on Connecticut River, in June, 1636; removed to Duxbury, thence to New London, Ct., before 1649, where he died before Sept., 1659.— Leyden Ms. Rec.; Savage's Gen. Dict., i. 244.]

24. Bennet Morgan [died or removed before 1627.]

25. Thomas Flavel. [His son came with him; his wife followed in the Ann; but all were dead or removed before 1627.]

26. Thomas Morton [either died or removed before 1627.]

27. William Bafilet [was a "journeyman mason" from Sandwich, Eng.; 9 May, 1611, was to have married Maggie Butler of Norwich, but she died; 13 Aug., 1611, did marry Margaret Oldham; had a wife Elisabeth, with three children, at Plymouth in 1627; lived at Duxbury in 1637; removed to Bridgewater, and died 1667.—]
smallnesse of our number all this Summer. We hope the Marchants will accept of it, and be incouraged to furnish vs with things needfull for further imployment, which will also incourage vs to put forth our felues to the uttermost. Now because I expect your comming vnto vs with other of our friends, whose companie we much desiere, I thought good to advertifse you of a few things needfull; be carefull to have a very good bread-roome to put your Biskets in, let your Cask for Beere and Water be Iron-bound for the first tyre if not more; let not your meat be drie salted, none can better doe it then the Saylers; let your meale be so hard trodd in your Cask that you shall need an Ads or Hatchet to worke it out with: Trust not too much on vs for Corne at this time, for by reason of this last company that came, depending wholy vpon vs, we shall haue little enough till haruest; be carefull to come by some of your meale to spend by the way, it will much refresh you, build your Cabbins as open as you can, and bring good store of clothes, and bed- [64] ing with you; bring euery man a Musket or fowling Peece, let your Peece be long in the barrell, and feare not the weight of it, for most of our shootinge is from Stands; bring iuyce


These twenty-seven, with such of their wives and children as came with them, made up the full number brought by the ship, unless some one died in the interval before this list was made.

See note 372.

433 George Morton came with his family in the Ann, which failed from London the last of April, or first of May, 1623.
of Lemons, and take it fasting, it is of good use; for hot waters, Anni-feed water is the best, but use it sparingly:
if you bring any thing for comfort in the Country, Butter
or Sallet oyle, or both is very good; our Indian Corne
even the courtest, maketh as pleasant meat as Rice, there-
fore spare that unless to spend by the way; bring Paper,
and Linded oyle for your Windowes, with Cotton yarne
for your Lamps; let your shot be most for bigge Fowles,
and bring Store of Powder and shot: I forbeare further to
write for the present, hoping to see you by the next re-
turne, so I take my leave, commending you to the Lord
for a safe conduct vnto vs. Resting in him

Plymouth in New-England
this 11. of December.

1621. 435

Your loving Friend
E. W. 436

434 This, with the "daubing" be-
fore mentioned (see note 282), give
one an idea of the rudenes of the
houses of this plantation at this time.
Glas windows were then far beyond
their means.

435 Tuesday, 11 Dec., 1621,—just
one year from the day on which the
first landing took place from the shal-
lop upon the rock.
436 There can be no doubt that this
was Edward Winlow. (See note 152.)
Reasons & considerations touching
the lawfulness of removing out of
England into the parts of America.

Orafmuch as many exceptions are daily made
against the going into, and inhabiting of
desert places, to the hinderances of
plantations abroad, and the increas of dis-
tractions at home: It is not amisse that some which haue
beene eare wittnesyes of the exceptions made, and are
either Agents or Abettors of such remouals and planta-
tions, doe seeke to giue content to the world, in all things
that possibly they can.

And although the most of the opposites are such as
either dreame of raisinge their fortunes here, to that then
which there is nothing more vnlike, or such as affecting
their home-borne countrey so vehemently, as that they
had rather with all their friends begge, yea starue in it,
then vndergoe a little difficultie in seeking abroad; yet
are there some who out of doubt in tendernesse of con-
science, and feare to offend God by running before they
be called, are straitned and doe straiten others, from going
to forraine plantations.

For whose cause especially, I haue beene drawne out of
my good affection to them, to publish some reasons that
might giue them content and satisfaction, and also stay
and stop the wilfull and wittie cauiller: and herein I tru$t
I shall not be blamed of any godly wife, though thorow my slender judgement I should misse the marke, and not strike the naile on the head, considering it is the first attempt that hath beene made (that I know of) to defend those enterprizes. Reason would therefore, that if any man of deeper reach and better judgement see further or otherwise, that he rather instruct me, then deride me.

And being studious for breuitie, we must first consider, that whereas God of old did call and summon our Fathers by predictions, dreams, visions, and certaine illuminations [66] to goe from their countries, places and habitations, to reside and dwell here or there, and to wander vp and downe from citie to citie, and Land to Land, according to his will and pleasure. Now there is no such calling to be expected for any matter whatsoever, neither must any so much as imagine that there will now be any such thing. God did once so traine vp his people, but now he doth not, but speakes in another manner, and so we must apply our selves to Gods present dealing, and not to his wonted dealing: and as the miracle of giving Manna ceased, when the fruits of the land became plente, so God having such a plentifull storehouse of directions in his holy word, there must not now any extraordinary revelations be expected.

But now the ordinarie examples and precepts of the Scriptures reasonably and rightly understood and applied,
must be the voice and word, that must call vs, press vs, and direct vs in every action.

Neither is there any land or possession now, like unto the possession which the Iewes had in Canaan, being legally holy and appropriated unto a holy people the seed of Abraham, in which they dwelt securely, and had their daies prolonged, it being by an immediate voice said, that he (the Lord) gave it them as a land of rest after their weary travels, and a type of Eternall rest in heaven, but now there is no land of that Sanctimonie, no land so appropriated; none typicall: much lesse any that can be said to be giuen of God to any nation as was Canaan, which they and their seed must dwell in, till God sendeth upon them sword or captiuitie: but now we are in all places strangers and Pilgrims, travellers and soiourners, most properly, having no dwelling but in this earthen Tabernacle; our dwelling is but a wandering, and our abiding but as a fleeting, and in a word our home is nowhere, but in the heavens: in that house not made with hands, whose maker and builder is God, and to which all ascend that love the coming of our Lord Jesus.

Though then, there may be reasons to persuade a man to live in this or that land, yet there cannot be the same reasons which the Iewes had, but now as natural, civil and Religious bands tie men, so they must be bound, and as good reasons for things terrene and heauenly appeare, so they must be led. And so here falleth in our
question, how a man that is here borne and bred, and
hath liued some yeares, may remoue himselfe into another
countrie.

I answer, a man must not respect only to liue, and doe
good to himselfe, but he should see where he can liue to
doe most good to others: for as one faith, _He whose liuing
is but for himselfe, it is time he were dead._ Some men
there are who of necessitie must here liue, as being tied
to duties either to Church, Common-wealth, household,
kindred, &c. but others, and that many, who doe no good
in none of those nor can doe none, as being not able, or
not in fauour, or as wanting opportunitie, and liue as
outcafts: no bodies, eie-fores, eating but for themselfes,
teaching but themselfes, and doing good to none, either
in soule or body, and so passe ouer daies, yeares, and
moneths, yea so liue and so die. Now such should lift up
their eies and see whether there be not some other place
and countrie to which they may goe to doe good and
haue vs towards others of that knowledge, wisdome,
humanitie, reason, strength, skill, facultie, &c. which God
hath giuen them for the seruice of others and his owne
glory.

But not to passe the bounds of modestie so far as to
name any, though I confesse I know many, who sit here
still with their talent in a napkin, hauing notable endow-
ments both of body and minde, and might doe great
good if they were in some places, which here doe none,
nor can doc none, and yet through fleshly feare, nicenesse, straitnesse of heart, &c. fit still and looke on, and will not hazard a dram of health, nor a day of pleasure, nor an houre of rest to further the knowledge and salvation of the sons of Adam in that New world, where a drop of the knowledge of Christ is most precious, which is here not set by. Now what shall we say to such a profession of Christ, to which is joyned no more denial of a mans selfe? But some will say, what right haue I to goe liue in the heathens countrie?

Letting passe the ancient discoueries, contracts and agreements which our English men haue long since made in those [68] parts, together with the acknowledgement of the histories and Chronicles of other nations, who pro-

fesse the land of America from the Cape De Florida vnto the Bay of Canada (which is South and North 300 leagues and vpwards; and East and West, further then yet hath beene discouered) is proper to the King of England, yet letting that passe, left I be thought to meddle further then it concerns me, or further then I haue discerning: I will mention such things as are within my reach, knowledge, fight and practice, since I haue travailed in these affaires.

And first seeing we daily pray for the conuerion of the heathens, we must consider whether there be not some ordinary meanes, and course for vs to take to convert them, or whether praier for them be only referred to Gods
extraordinarie worke from heauen. Now it seemeth unto me that we ought also to enendeour and vs the meanes to convert them, and the meanes cannot be vsed vnlesse we goe to them or they come to vs: to vs they cannot come, our land is full: to them we may goe, their land is emptie.

This then is a sufficient reason to proue our going thither to liue, lawfull: their land is spatious and void, & there are few and doe but run ouer the grass, as doe also the Foxes and wilde beastes: they are not industrious, neither haue art, science, skill or facultie to vs either the land or the commodities of it, but all spoiles, rots, and is marred for want of manuring, gathering, ordering, &c. As the ancient Patriarkes therefore remoued from straiter places into more roomthy, where the Land lay idle and waste, and none vsed it, though there dwelt inhabitants by them, as Gen. 13. 6. 11. 12. and 34. 21. and 41. 20. so is it lawfull now to take a land which none vseth, and make vs of it.

And as it is a common land or vnused, & vnndressed countrey; so we haue it by common consent, composition and agreement, which agreement is double: Firft the Imperial Gouernor Maffafet, whose circuits in likelihood are larger then England and Scotland, hath acknowledged the Kings Maiestie of England to be his Master and Commander, and that once in my hearing, yea and in writing, under his hand to Captaine Standish, both he and many other Kings which are under him, as
Pamet, Nau set, Cummaquid, Narrowhiggonset, Namaset, &c., with divers others that dwell about the baiies of Patuxet, and Massachusetts: neither hath this beene accomplished by threats and blowes, or shaking of sword, and found of trumpet, for as our facultie that way is small, and our strength lesse: so our warring with them is after another manner, namely by friendly visage, loue, peace, honest and juyst carriages, good counsell, &c., that so we and they may not only liue in peace in that land, and they yeyeld subiection to an earthly Prince, but that as voluntaries they may be persuaded at length to embrace the Prince of peace Christ Iesus, and rest in peace with him for euer.

Secondly, this composition is also more particular and applicatorie as touching our seelues there inhabitting: the Emperour by a joynt consent, hath promised and appointed vs to liue at peace, where we will in all his dominions, taking what place we will, and as much land as we will, and bringing as many people as we will, and that for these two causes. First, because we are the servant of James King of England, whose the land (as he confesseth) is, 2. because he hath found vs juyst, honest, kinde and peaceable, and so loues our company; yea, and that in these things there is no dissimulation on his part, nor feare of breach (except our securitie ingender in them some vnthought of trecherie, or our vncoiuiitie prouoke them to anger) is most plaine in other Relations,\footnote{The “Relations” preceding in this volume, are those here intended.} which
flew that the things they did were more out of loue then out of seare.

It being then first a vaft and emptie *Chaos*: Secondly acknowledged the right of our Soueraigne King: Thirdly, by a peaceable composition in part possed of diuers of his louing subiects, I see not who can doubt or call in question the lawfulness of inhabiting or dwelling there, but that it may be as lawfull for such as are not tied upon some special occasion here, to liue there as well as here, yea, and as the enterprize is weightie and difficult, so the honour is more worthy, to plant a rude wildernesse, to enlarge the honour and fame of our dread Soueraigne, but chiefly to displeaie the [70] efficacie & power of the Gospell both in zealous preaching, professing, and wise walking vnder it, before the faces of these poore blinde Infidels.

As for such as object the tediousnesse of the voyage thither, the danger of Pirats robberie, of the fauages treacherie, &c. these are but Lyons in the way, and it were well for such men if they were in heauen, for who can shew them a place in this world where iniquitie shall not compasse them at the heele, and where they shall haue a day without griefe, or a lease of life for a moment; and who can tell but God, what dangers may lie at our doores, euon in our native countrie, or what plots may be abroad, or when God will cause our sunne to goe downe at noone daies, and in the midst of our peace and
securitie, lay vpon vs some lasting scourge for our so long neglect and contempt of his most glorious Gospell.

But we haue here great peace, plentie of the Gospell, Ob. and many sweet delights and varietie of comforts.

True indeed, and farre be it from vs to deny and Anfw. diminish the least of these mercies, but haue we rendered vnto God thankfull obedience for this long peace, whilst other peoples haue beene at wars? haue we not rather murmured, repined, and fallen at iars amongst our selues, whilst our peace hath lasted with forraigne power? was there euer more suits in law, more enuie, contemt and reproch then now adayes? Abraham and Lot departed asunder when there fell a breach betwixt them, which was occasioned by the straightnesse of the land: and surely I am perfwaded, that howsoever the frailties of men are principall in all contentions, yet the frailnes of the place is such, as each man is faine to plucke his meanes as it were out of his neighbours throat, there is such pressing and oppressing in towne and countrie, about Farmes, trades, traffique, &c. so as a man can hardly any where set vp a trade but he shall pull downe two of his neighbours.

The Townes abound with young trade-men, and the Hospitals are full of the Auncient, the country is replenished with new Farmers, and the Alme-houses are filled with old Labourers, many there are who get their living with bearing burdens, but moe are faine to burden the
land with their [71] whole bodies: multitudes get their
meanes of life by prating, and so doe numbers more by
begging. Neither come these straits vpon men alwaies
through intemperancy, ill husbandry, indiscretion, &c. as
some thinke, but euens the most wise, sober, and discreet
men, goe often to the wall, when they haue done their
best, wherein as God's prouidence swaieth all, so it is easie
to see, that the straitnesse of the place hauing in it so many
strait hearts, cannot but produce such effeects more and
more, so as euery indifferent minded man shouold be ready
to saie with Father Abraham, Take thou the right hand,
and I will take the left: Let vs not thus oppress, straiten,
and afflict one another, but seeing there is a spacious
Land, the way to which is thorow the sea, wee will end
this difference in a day.

That I speake nothing about the bitter contention that
hath beene about Religion, by writing, disputing, and
inueighing earnestly one against another, the heat of
which zeale if it were turned against the rude barbarisme
of the Heathens, it might doe more good in a day, then
it hath done here in many yeares. Neither of the little
loue to the Gospell, and profit which is made by the
Preachers in moast places, which might easily driue the
zealous to the Heathens who no doubt if they had
but a drop of that knowledge which here flieeth about
the streetes, would be filled with exceeding great joy and
gladness, as that they would even plucke the kingdom of heaven by violence, and take it as it were by force.

The greatest let that is yet behinde is the sweet fellow-ship of friends, and the fatietie of bodily delights.

But can there be two neerer friends almost then Abraham and Lot, or then Paul and Barnabas, and yet upon as little occasions as we have here, they departed asunder, two of them being Patriarches of the Church of old; the other the Apostles of the Church which is new, and their covenants were such as it seemeth might bind as much as any covenant betwene men at this day, and yet to avoide greater inconueniences they departed asunder.

Neither must men take so much thought for the flesh, as not [72] to be pleased except they can pamper their bodies with variety of dainties. Nature is content with little, and health is much endangered, by mixtures upon the stomach: The delights of the palate doe often inflame the vitall parts: as the tongue setteth a fire the whole body. Secondly, varieties here are not common to all, but many good men are glad to snap at a crust. The rent taker liues on sweet morsels, but the rent payer eats a drie crust often with watery eyes: and it is nothing to say what some one of a hundredth hath, but what the bulke, body and comintality hath, which I warrant you is short enough.

And they also which now liue so sweetly, hardly will their children attaine to that priviledge, but some circum-
uentor or other will outstrip them, and make them fit in the dust, to which men are brought in one age, but cannot get out of it again in 7. generations.

To conclude, without all partialitie, the present consumption which growth upon vs here, whilstt the land groaneth under so many close-fisted and vnmercifull men, being compared with the easinesse, plainenesse and plentifulnesse in liuing in those remote places, may quickly perswade any man to a liking of this course, and to practise a removal, which being done by honest, godly and industrious men, they shall there be right heartily welcome, but for other of dissolute and prophane life, their rooms are better then their companies; for if here where the Gospell hath beene so long and plentifully taught, they are yet frequent in such vices as the Heathen would shame to speake of, what will they be when there is lesse restraint in word and deed? My onely fute to all men is, that whether they liue there or here, they would learne to vse this world as they vsed it not, keeping faith and a good conscience, both with God and men, that when the day of account shall come, they may come forth as good and fruitful servants, and freely be receiued, and enter into the ioy of their master.

R. C.

FINIS.
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.
## Chronological Table of Events.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day of week</th>
<th>O. S.</th>
<th>N. S.</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>EVENTS</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>July</td>
<td>July</td>
<td>1620</td>
<td>Left Leyden</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Aug.</td>
<td>Sailed from Southampton</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Aug.</td>
<td>Put back to Dartmouth</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sept.</td>
<td>Sailed again</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Sept.</td>
<td>Put back, the second time, to Plymouth</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Th.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Nov.</td>
<td>Sailed from Plymouth</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Nov.</td>
<td>Anchored in Provincetown harbor, signified compact, and went ahore</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Nov.</td>
<td>Unshipped the thallop, and went on shore to wash, &amp;c.</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>Nov.</td>
<td>Started on first expedition inland—camped at Stout’s Creek</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Th.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Nov.</td>
<td>Found the Truro Springs; made fire; went to Pond Village, Pamet River, and Cornhill; dug up corn, &amp;c.; and went back to Pond Village for the night</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>Nov.</td>
<td>Sunk the kettle in the pond, and went back to the ship</td>
<td>16–24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Dec.</td>
<td>Large exploring party started in the thallop, and got to E. Harbor Creek</td>
<td>24–26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Dec.</td>
<td>Went on to Pamet River, and inland from it</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Dec.</td>
<td>Revisited Cornhill, and Master Jones and a part returned</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Th.</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Dec.</td>
<td>Found the wigwams, graves, &amp;c., &amp;c., and got back that night and found Peregrine White had been born in their absence</td>
<td>30–32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Dec.</td>
<td>Francis Billington nearly blows up the Mayflower</td>
<td>32–37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Dec.</td>
<td>The third exploring party started in the thallop, and got as far as Eastham</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day of week</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Th. 7 Dec. 17 Dec.</td>
<td>1620</td>
<td>Explored up toward Wellfleet Bay, and inland, and slept at Great-Meadow Creek</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. 8 Dec. 18 Dec.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>First encounter with the Indians; then coasted round, and ran in under the lee of Clark's Island, in Plymouth Harbor, in a north-easter, in the evening</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 10 Dec. 20 Dec.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Kept the Sabbath on Clark's Island</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. 11 Dec. 21 Dec.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Forefather's Day. Landed on the rock, and explored the coast</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. 12 Dec. 22 Dec.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Started back for the Mayflower, and probably reached her</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. 15 Dec. 25 Dec.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Weighed anchor for Plymouth, but could not fetch the harbor, and were obliged to put back toward Cape Cod</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 16 Dec. 26 Dec.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Dropped anchor inside Plymouth Beach</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. 18 Dec. 28 Dec.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Landed from the Mayflower, and explored</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. 19 Dec. 29 Dec.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Landed for a second exploration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. 20 Dec. 30 Dec.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Landed again, and determined to settle near Burial Hill and Town Brook</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Th. 21 Dec. 31 Dec.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Stormy and wet, so that those in the ship could not go afloat, and those on the shore could do nothing. Richard Britteridge dies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. 22 Dec. 1 Jan. 1621</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Still stormy. Goodwife Allerton (Mrs. Isaac) has a stillborn son</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 23 Dec. 2 Jan.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Commence to gather stuff for building</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 24 Dec. 3 Jan.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Those on shore hear a cry of savages, as they think. Solomon Prower dies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. 25 Dec. 4 Jan.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Busy in building the common house; thought they heard Indians towards night. Began to drink water on board</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T. 26 Dec. 5 Jan.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Foul weather; no going afloat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. 27 Dec. 6 Jan.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Got to work again</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Th. 28 Dec. 7 Jan.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Divided the company into 19 families, and measured out lots</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. 29 Dec. 8 Jan.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Tried to work, but rainy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. 30 Dec. 9 Jan.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Do. Saw Indian smokes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. 1 Jan. 10 Jan.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>At work again. Digory Priest dies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. 3 Jan. 13 Jan.</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Those who were cutting thatch few more Indian smokes, but no Indians</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<tr>
<th>Day of week</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Th.</td>
<td>4 Jan.</td>
<td>14 Jan.</td>
<td>1629</td>
<td>Standifh with a party went out, and found wigwams, but no natives. Shot an eagle, and likened it to mutton.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>5 Jan.</td>
<td>15 Jan.</td>
<td></td>
<td>A sailor found a herring; so they hoped for fish soon, but had no cod-hooks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>6 Jan.</td>
<td>16 Jan.</td>
<td></td>
<td>C. Martin very sick, and sends ashore for Carver, who goes on Sunday morning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>8 Jan.</td>
<td>18 Jan.</td>
<td></td>
<td>A fine fair day; the shallop goes out for fish, and has good success. F. Bellingham discovers the lake since called by his name. Martin dies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Th.</td>
<td>11 Jan.</td>
<td>21 Jan.</td>
<td></td>
<td>William Bradford taken sick while at work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>13 Jan.</td>
<td>23 Jan.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Goodman and Brown found their way back in the evening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>14 Jan.</td>
<td>24 Jan.</td>
<td></td>
<td>The thatch of the common house took fire and burned. The greater number were now on shore, and they had intended to have service there this day, but the fire postponed it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>15 Jan.</td>
<td>25 Jan.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rainy again, and no communication between the ship and the shore.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>17 Jan.</td>
<td>27 Jan.</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot; &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Th.</td>
<td>18 Jan.</td>
<td>28 Jan.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Began to make a shed to store provision in, but at noon it rained. John Goodman saw two wolves.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>20 Jan.</td>
<td>30 Jan.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kept their meeting on land for the first time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>21 Jan.</td>
<td>31 Jan.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fair day; stored their meal in the shed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>22 Jan.</td>
<td>1 Feb.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cold, with fleet, but cleared up, and the long-boat and shallop carried goods ashore. Rofe Standifh died.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>29 Jan.</td>
<td>8 Feb.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Frothy, with fleet; could not work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.</td>
<td>30 Jan.</td>
<td>9 Feb.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Same weather. Saw two savages running away, who seemed to have been on the island near the ship.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>31 Jan.</td>
<td>10 Feb.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wet, and so windy as almost to endanger the light ship, and to wash out the &quot;daubing&quot; of their houses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>4 Feb.</td>
<td>14 Feb.</td>
<td></td>
<td>So cold they could work but little. The</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day of week</td>
<td>O. S.</td>
<td>N. S.</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>EVENTS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
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<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>16 Feb.</td>
<td>26 Feb.</td>
<td>1620</td>
<td>Fair, but cold. One fowling saw twelve Indians and heard more. The Indians made a great fire at night, and carried off some tools left in the woods.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>17 Feb.</td>
<td>27 Feb.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Had a meeting to establish military orders. Chafe Miles Standish captain. Saw two savages on Waton's Hill making signs, but they ran away.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>21 Feb.</td>
<td>3 Mar.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Got the great guns ashore and mounted them on the hill, and had a feast with Master Jones. Wm. White, Wm. Mullins, and two others, die...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>25 Feb.</td>
<td>7 Mar.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mary, wife of Isaac Allerton, dies...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>3 Mar.</td>
<td>13 Mar.</td>
<td></td>
<td>The birds sang, and there was a thunderstorm with rain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>7 Mar.</td>
<td>17 Mar.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wind E. Carver went with a party to the great ponds. Sowed some garden seeds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>16 Mar.</td>
<td>26 Mar.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Had another meeting about military orders, &amp;c., but were interrupted by the coming in upon them of Samofet, Samofet dismissed with presents. A fair day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>17 Mar.</td>
<td>27 Mar.</td>
<td></td>
<td>A reasonable fair day. Samofet came again, with five others, to truck. They were sent away because it was Sunday; but Samofet would not go, feigning sickness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>18 Mar.</td>
<td>28 Mar.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fair day. Digged, and fowed garden seeds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>19 Mar.</td>
<td>29 Mar.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fair day. Digged, and fowed garden seeds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.</td>
<td>20 Mar.</td>
<td>30 Mar.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fine warm day. Samofet sent away. Another meeting about laws and orders, again interrupted by the Indians coming. The carpenter, long sick, was able to fit the hallopo &quot;to fetch all from aboard&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Th.</td>
<td>22 Mar.</td>
<td>1 Apr.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Another fine day, and another attempt at public business interrupted by the coming of Samofet and Squanto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day of week</td>
<td>O. S.</td>
<td>N. S.</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>EVENTS.</td>
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<td>------------</td>
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<td>------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>23 Mar.</td>
<td>2 Apr.</td>
<td>1629</td>
<td>announcing Massasoit, who made a formal call, with his brother and fuit, and concluded a treaty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>23 Mar.</td>
<td>2 Apr.</td>
<td>1629</td>
<td>A very fair day. Visits exchanged between the colonists and Massasoit's party. Squanto caught a batch of eels. Concluded the fo-many-times-interrupted laws and orders, and chose John Carver governor for the ensuing year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>2 July</td>
<td>12 July</td>
<td>1621</td>
<td>Stephen Hopkins and Edward Winlow start for Pokanoket, and go to Namaqu, and the Indian wear in Titicut.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.</td>
<td>3 July</td>
<td>13 July</td>
<td>1621</td>
<td>They crossed the Titicut at Squaetey, and proceeded to Matepeh (Gardner's Neck), and thence to Sowams (Warren, R. I.), and were welcomed by Massasoit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Th.</td>
<td>5 July</td>
<td>15 July</td>
<td>1621</td>
<td>Saw many Sachems, and witnessed their games, &amp;c., &amp;c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>6 July</td>
<td>16 July</td>
<td>1621</td>
<td>Started early and falling for Plymouth, came to Matepeh, and slept at the wear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>7 July</td>
<td>17 July</td>
<td>1621</td>
<td>Got home, wet, weary, and worn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.?</td>
<td>6 Au.?</td>
<td>16 Au.?</td>
<td>1621</td>
<td>Ten men start for Nauset (Eastham), to seek John Billington, who had left himself in the woods. Put in at Cummaquid (Barnstable), at night.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.?</td>
<td>7 Au.?</td>
<td>17 Au.?</td>
<td>1621</td>
<td>Saw Iyanouch, and went on to Nauset, where they found the boy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.?</td>
<td>8 Au.?</td>
<td>18 Au.?</td>
<td>1621</td>
<td>Returned safely to Plymouth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>13 Aug.</td>
<td>23 Aug.</td>
<td></td>
<td>They resolve to send ten men armed to Namaqu, to revenge the supposed death of Squanto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.</td>
<td>14 Aug.</td>
<td>24 Aug.</td>
<td></td>
<td>The company started in the rain, lost themselves, but reached Coubatant's.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day of week</td>
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<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>15 Aug. 25 Aug.</td>
<td>1621</td>
<td>house and attacked its, and captured the party.</td>
<td>120-121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Explained matters, and returned to Plymouth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.</td>
<td>18 Sept. 28 Sept.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ten men, with Squanto and three other Indians, start at midnight for the Massachusets.</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.</td>
<td>19 Sept. 29 Sept.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Arrived in Boston Bay too late to land.</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Th.</td>
<td>20 Sept. 30 Sept.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Landed at Squantum, in Quincy, and toward night crossed over to Charlestown.</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>21 Sept. 1 Oct.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Marched up to Nanepashemet's grave (in Medford), &amp;c. Saw many Indian women, and, returning to their shallop, started on their return voyage.</td>
<td>127-130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.</td>
<td>22 Sept. 2 Oct.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Arrived back at Plymouth before noon.</td>
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<td>13 Nov. 23 Nov.</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Fortune arrives, bringing Robert Cushman, and 35 persons to be colonists.</td>
<td>131</td>
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<tr>
<td>T.</td>
<td>11 Dec. 21 Dec.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Edward Winlow writes to George Morton, to be sent with these &quot;Relations&quot; by the ship on her return voyage.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Th.</td>
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<td></td>
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If the item is recalled, the borrower will be notified of the need for an earlier return. (Non-receipt of overdue notices does not exempt the borrower from overdue fines.)

Thank you for helping us to preserve our collection!