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Four English Histories of the Pequod War

P. Vincentius

John Underhill

Lion Gardener

John Mason

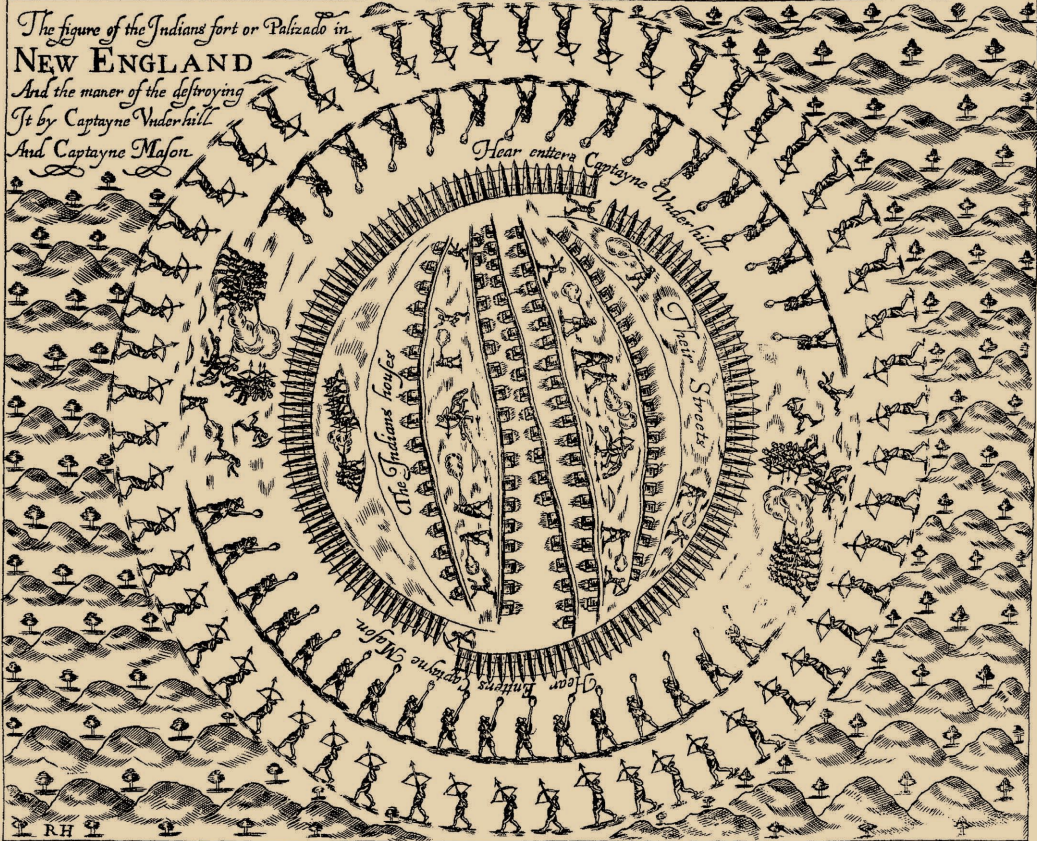
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The figure of the Indians fort or Palizado in
NEW ENGLAND
And the maner of the destroying
It by Captayne Underhill
And Captayne Mason.



Four English Histories of the

Pequod War

P. Vincentius (1637) John Underhill (1638)

Lion Gardener (1660) John Mason (1736)

Four English Histories of the Pequod War

P. Vincentius

A True Relation of the Late Battell fought in New England, between the English, and the Salvages : With the present state of things there (1637)

John Underhill

Newes From America; or, A New and Experimentall Discoverie of New England; Containing, a True Relation of Their War-like proceedings these two yeares last past, with a Figure of the Indian Fort, or Palizado (1638)

Lion Gardener

Relation of the Pequot Warres [1660]

John Mason

A Brief History of the Pequot War: Especially of the memorable Taking of their Fort at Mistick in Connecticut in 1637 (1736)



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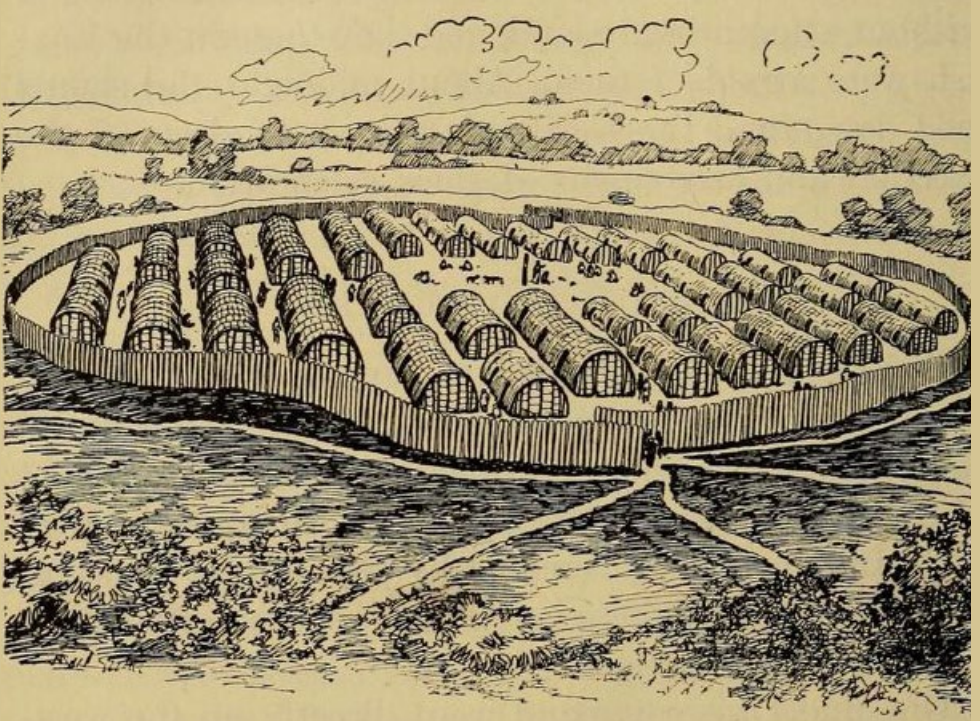
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P. Vincentius



A True Relation of the Late
Battell fought in New England,
between the English,
and the Salvages
(1637)

P. Vincentius [Philip Vincent]

*A True Relation of the Late Battell fought in New
England, between the English, and the Salvages:
With the present state of things there. (1637)*

This brief account of the major engagement of the Pequot War appeared about six months after the Mystic Massacre of May 26, 1637. Its authorship is attributed to Philip Vincent, of whom little is known, including whether he was a witness or even in America, or, if not, who his informant was. The work obviously enjoyed some popularity, going through three separate editions in 1637–38.

The Pequots occupied the region on the north shore of Long Island Sound around present-day New London, Connecticut. Hostilities began in late summer of 1636, when the Massachusetts authorities sent a punitive expedition under John Endicott that destroyed some Pequot villages and fields. The Pequots retaliated with attacks on English settlements along the Connecticut River. In the spring of 1637, the colonies of Connecticut, Plymouth, and Massachusetts Bay combined forces to carry on the war. Under commanders John Underhill and John Mason, they surrounded and burned the large Pequot town near Mystic, killing more than 700 Native inhabitants, shocking their Native allies with their wholesale slaughter of the entire population. Mop-up operations lasted the rest of the summer, but by fall the Pequot nation had been completely eliminated.

This online electronic edition is based on the text of the first edition published in London in 1637. It is short (about 4,000 words) and can be printed out on 14 letter-sized sheets.

A
True Relation of
the Late Battell fought

in *New England*, between
the English, and the
Salvages :

With the present state of
things there.



LONDON,
Printed by *M. P.* for *Nathanael Butter*,
and *Iohn Bellamie*. 1637.



Ad Lectorem

Authoris carmen *ὄυχαείσαον* de Victoria hac Nov'-Anglica, 1637.

D*V*icit in Americam varios gens Angla Colonos:
et bene conveniunt sydera, terra, solum.
Ast ferus hoc prohibet, solis vagabundus in arvis,
insolitóq; aliquos, incola, Marte necat.
Quod simul invitas crimen pervenit ad aures
Angligenúm, irato murmure cuncta fremunt.
Tunc læsi justa arma movent, hostemq; sequuntur,
struxerat, haud vanis, qui munimenta locis.
Invadunt vallum, palis sudibusq; munitum:
(*pax erit: hoc uno solvitur ira modo.*)
Vndiq; concidunt omnes, pars una crematur:
post, cæsi, aut capti cætera turba luit.
Vtraq; lætatur Pequetanis Anglia victis,
et novus æternum, híc, figimur hospes ait.
Virginia exultat, vicina Novoniae gaudet,
Signaq; securæ certa quietis habent.
Plaudite qui colitis Mavortia sacra nepotes,
et serat incultos tutus arator agros.
Qua novus orbis erat, spiranti numine, (*Lector*)
Anglia nascetur, quæ novus orbis erit.

P. Vincentius.



A true Relation of the late Battell
fought in *New England*, between the
English and *Salvages*, with the present
state of things there.



New England, a name now every day more famous, is so called, because the English were the first Discoverers, & are now the Planters thereof. It is the Easterne Coast of the North part of *America*, upon the Southwest adjoining to *Virginia*, and part of that Continent, large and capable of innumerable people. It is in the same height with the North of *Spaine*, and South part of *France*, and the temper not much unlike, as pleasant, as temperate and as fertile as either, if managed by industrious hands.

This is the Stage. Let us in a word see the Actors. The yeare 1620, a Company of English part out of the *Low Countries*, and some out of *Lon-*

don and other parts, were sent for *Virginia*. But being cut short by want of wind, and hardnesse of the Winter, they landed themselves in this Countrey, enduring, with great hope and patience, all the misery that Desart could put upon them, and employed their wits to make their best use of that then Snow-covered land for their necessities. After two yeares experience of the nature of the soyle, commodities, and natives, they returned such intelligence to their Masters, that others tooke notice of their endeavours, and the place. Then some Westernne Merchants collected a stocke, and employed it that way. But they discouraged through losses, and want of present gaine, some Londoners, and others (men of worth) undertooke it, with more resolution, building upon the old foundation. Hence a second plantation adjoynd to the other, but supported with better pillars, and greater meanes. All beginnings are ever difficult. The halfe, saith the Proverbe, is more then the whole. Some errors were committed, and many miseries were endured. No man is wise enough to shunne all evils that may happen; but patience and painefulnesse overcame all. The successe proved answerable even to ambitious expectations, notwithstanding the impediments inevitable to such undertakings.

There is scarce any part of the world but habitable, though more commodiously by humane culture. This part (though in it's Naturals) nourished many natives, distinguished into divers petty nations and factions. It were needlesse curiosity to dispute their originall, or how they came hither. Their outsides say they are men, their actions say they are reasonable. As the thing is, so it operateth. Their correspondency of disposition with us, argueth all to be of the same constitution, & the sons of *Adam*, and that we had the same Maker, the same matter, the same mould. Only *Art* and *Grace* have given us that perfection, which yet they want, but may perhaps be as capable thereof as we. They are of person straight and tall, of limbes big and strong, seldome seene violent, or extreme in any passion. Naked they go except a skin about their waste, and sometimes a Mantle about their shoulders. Armed they are with Bowes and Arrowes, Clubs, Iavelins, &c. But as soyle, aire, diet; & custome make ofttimes a memorable difference in mens natures, so is it among these Nations, whose countries there are like so many Shires here, of which every one hath their Sagamore, or King, who as occasion urgeth, commandeth them in Warre, and ruleth them in Peace. Those where the *English* pitched, have shewed themselves very

loving and friendly, and done courtesies beyond expectation for these new-come Inmates. So that much hath beene written of their civilitie and peacefull conversation, untill this yeare.

But Nature, heavens daughter, and the immediate character of that divine power, as by her light she hath taught us wisdom, for our owne defence, so by her fire she hath made us fierce, injurious, revengefull, and ingenious in the device of meanes for the offence of those we take to be our enemies. This is seene in creatures voide of reason, much more in mankind. We have in us a mixture of all the Elements, and fire is predominant when the humours are exagitated. All motion causeth heat. All provocation mooveth choller, and choller inflamed, becommeth a phrensie, a fury, especially in barbarous and cruell natures. These things are conspicuous in the Inhabitants of *New England*. In whose Southermost part are the *Pequets*, or *Pequants*, a stately warlike people, which have been terrible to their neighbours, and troublesome to the *English*.

In *February* last they killed some *English* at *Seabrooke*, a Southerly Plantation beyond *Cape Cod*, at the mouth of the River of *Connectacutt*. Since that the Lievtenant of the Fort there, with tenne men armed, went out to fire the Meddowes, and to fit them for mowing. Arriving there he started three

Indians, which he pursued a little way, thinking to cut them off. But presently they perceived themselves incompassed with hundreds of them, who let flie their arrowes furiously, and came desperately upon the musles of their Muskets, though the *English* discharged upon them, with all the speed they could. Three *English* men were were slaine, others wounded. The eight that remained, made their way through the *Salvages* with their swords, and so got under the command of the Canon of the Fort, (otherwise they had been all slaine, or taken prisoners) one of the wounded falling downe dead at the Forts Gate. The *Indians* thus fleshed and encouraged, besieged the Fort as neere as they durst approach. The besieged presently dispatched a messenger to the Governour at the *Bay*, to acquaint him with these sad tidings, who with all speed lent unto their aide, Captaine *Vnderhill*, with twenty souldiers. Not long after these *Salvages* went to *Water-Towne*, now called *Wetherfield*, and there fell upon some that were sawing, and slew nine more, whereof one was a woman, the other a childe, and tooke two yong Maids prisoners, killing some of their cattell, and driving some away. Mans nature insulteth in victory and prosperity, and by good successe is animated even in the worst of wicked actions. These *Barbarians* triumphed and proceeded, drawing into their Con-

federacy other *Indians*, as the *Nyantecets*, and part of the *Mohigans*; of whom about fifty chose rather to joyne with the *English*, and sat downe at *New-Towne*, at *Connectacut* (now called *Hereford*, as the other Towne that went from *Dorchester* thither is called *Windsore*.) Fame encreaseth by flying. The former sad newes was augmented by the report of sixtie men slaine at Master *Pinchons* Plantation, &c. which proved false. The *Narragansets* neighbours to the *Pequets*, sent word to the *English* that the *Pequets* had sollicitated them to joyne their forces with them. Hereupon the Councell ordered that none should go to worke, nor travell, no not so much as to Church, without Arms. A Corps of Guard of 14. or 15 souldiers was appointed to watch every night, and Centinels were set in convenient places about the Plantations, the Drumme beating when they went to the Watch, and every man commanded to be in readinesse upon an Alarme, upon paine of five pound. A day of fast and prayers was also kept. Fourty more were sent to strengthen the former twenty that went to the Fort, and 50 under the command of Captain *Mason*, which being conjoynd, were about 100. Two hundred more were to be sent after them with all expedition.

The 50 *Mohigans* that joynd with the *English*, scouring about, espied 7 *Pequets*, killed five of

them outright, wounded the sixt mortally, tooke the seventh prisoner, and brought him to the Fort. He braved the *English*, as though they durst not kill a *Pequet*. Some will have their courage to be thought invincible, when all is desperate. But it availed this Salvage nothing; they tied one of his legs to a post, and 20 men with a rope tied to the other, pulled him in pieces, Captain *Vnderhill* shooting a pistol through him, to dispatch him. The two Maids which were taken prisoners were redeemed by the *Dutch*.

Those 50 sent from the three plantations of *Connectacut* with Captain *Mason*, being joyned with Captain *Vnderhill* and his 20 men, (for the other 40 were not yet arrived with them) immediately went upon an expedition against the *Pequets*, after they had searched for them. The manner was this. The *English* with some *Mohigens* went to the *Naragonsets*, who were discontented that they came no sooner, saying they could arme and set forth two or three hundred at six houres warning, (which they did accordingly, for the assistance of the *English*) onely they desired the advice of the *Sagamore*, *Mydutonno*, what way they should go to worke, and how they should fall on the *Pequets*: whose judgement, in all things, agreed with the *English*, as though they had consulted together. Then went they to the *Nyanticke*, and he set forth

200 more, but before they went, he swore them after his maner upon their knees. As they marched they deliberated which Fort of the *Pequets* they should assault, resolving upon the great Fort, and to be there that night. Being on the way, and having a mile to march through woods and Swamps, the *Nyanticke* hearts failed, for feare of the *Pequets*, and so they ran away, as also did some of the *Narragansets*. Of five or 600 *Indians*, not above halfe were left: and they had followed the rest had not Capttaine *Vnderhill* upbraided them with cowardise, and promised them they should not fight or come within shot of the Fort, but onely surround it afarre off. At breake of day the 70 *English* gave the Fort a Volly of shot, whereat the *Salvages* within made an hideous and pittifull cry, the shot without all question flying through the *Pallisadoes* (which stood not very close) and killing or wounding some of them. Pitty had hindred further hostile proceedings, had not the remembrance of the bloodshed, the captive Maid, and cruell insolency of those *Pequets*, hardned the hearts of the *English*, & stopped their eares unto their cries. Mercy marres all somtimes, severe Iustice must now and then take place.

The long forbearance, and too much lenitie of the *English* toward the Virginian *Salvages*, had like to have beene the destruction of the whole

Plantation. These Barbarians (ever treacherous) abuse the goodnesse of those that condescend to their rudenesse and imperfections. The English went, resolutely up to the dore of the Fort. What shall wee enter said Captaine *Vnder-hill*? What come we for else? answered one *Hedge*, a young Northampton-shire gentleman: who advancing before the rest, pluckt away some bushes and entred. A stout Pequet encounters him, shootes his arrow (drawne to the head) into his right arme, where it stuck. He slasht the Salvage betwixt the arme and shoulder, who pressing towards the dore, was killed by the English. Immediatly Master *Hedge* incountred another, who perceiving him upon him before he could deliver his arrow, gave backe: but he struck up his heeles and run him thorow; after him hee killed two or three more. Then about halfe the English entred, fell on with courage, and slew manie. But being straitned for roome because of the Wigwams (which are the Salvage huts or cabins) they called for fire to burne them. An English man stept into a Wigwam and stooping for a fire-brand, an Indian was ready to knock out his braines. But he whipt out his sword and runne him into the belly, that his bowels followed. Then were the Wigwams set on fire, which so raged, that what therewith, what with the sword, in little more than an houre, betwixt three and foure

hundred of them were killed, and of the English onely two, one of them by our owne Muskets, as is thought. For the Narragansets beset the Fort so close, that not one escaped. The whole worke ended, ere the Sun was an houre high, the Conquerors retraits downe toward the Pinnacle, but in their march were infested by the rest of the Pequets: who scouting up and downe, from the swamps and thickets let flie their arrowes amaine, which were answered by English bullets. The Indians that then assisted the English, waiting the fall of the Pequets, (as the dogge watcheth the shot of the fouler to fetch the prey) still fetched them their heades, as any were slaine. At last the Narragansets perceiving powder and shot to faile, and fearing to fall into the hands of their enemies, betooke themselves to flight upon the sudden, and were as suddenly encompassed by the Pequets: Feare defeateth great armies. If an apprehension of eminent danger once possesse them, it is in vaine to stay the runneawaies. No oratory can recall them, no command can order them againe. The onely sure way, is by all meanes that may be, promises, threats, perswasions, &c. to maintaine and keepe up courage, where yet it is. But these fearefull companions had one Anchor, whose cable was not broken. They sent speedily to the English, who came to their reskew: and af-

ter five Muskets discharged the Pequets fled. Thus freed from that feare, they vowed henceforth to cleave closer to the English, and never to forsake them in time of need. The reason why the English wanted amunition was, because they had left that which they had for store with their drum at the place of their consultation: But found it in their returne. They now all went a ship-board and sayled to Seabrooke-Fort, where the English feasted the Narragansets three daies, and then sent them home in a pinnace.

Let mee now describe this military fortresse which naturall reason & experience hath taught them to erect, without mathematicall skill, or use of yron toole. They choose a piece of ground dry and of best advantage, forty or fifty foote square. (But this was at least 2 acres of ground.) here they pitch close together, as they can young trees and halfe trees, as thicke as a mans thigh, or the calfe of his legge. Ten or twelve foote high they are above the ground, and within rammed three foote deepe, with undermining, the earth being cast up for their better shelter against the enemies dischargements. Betwixt these pallisadoes are divers loope-holes, through which they let flie their winged messengers. The doore for the most part is entred side-waies, which they stop with boughes or bushes as need requireth. The space within is

full of Wigwams, wherein their wives and children live with them. These huts or little houses are framed like our garden arbours, something more round, very strong and handsome, covered with close wrought mats, made by their women of flagges, rushes, and hempen threds, so defensive, that neither raine, though never so sad and long, nor yet the winde, though never so strong can enter. The top through a square hole giveth passage to the smoke, which in rainy weather, is covered with a pluver. This Fort was so crowded with these numerous dwellings, that the English wanted foote-rooms to grapple with their adversaries, and therefore set fire on all.

The Mohigans which sided with the English in this action behaved themselves stoutly. Which the other Pequets understanding, cut off all the Mohigans that remaine with them, (lest they should turne to the English) except seven: who flying to our Countrey-men related this newes, and that about an hundred Pequets were slaine or hurt, in the fight with the English at their returne from the Fort. Moreover that they had resolved to have sent an hundred choyce men out of their Fort as a party against the English, the very day after they were beaten out by them. But being now vanquished Sasacus the Pequetan Captaine, with the remainder of this massacre was fled the Countrey.

It is not good to give breathing to a beaten enemy, lest he returne armed if not with greater puissance, yet with greater despight and revenge. Too much security or neglect in this kinde hath oft times ruined the Conquerours. The 200 English therefore, resolved on before, were now sent forth to chase the Barbarians and utterly roote them out. Whereupon Cap. *Vnderhill* with his 20 men returned and gave this account of those exploits of the New-Englanders, which here we have communicated to the old English world. This last partie invaded the Pequetan Countrie, killed twenty three, saved the lives of two Sagamores for their use hereafter, as occasion shall serve, who have promised to doe great matters for the advancing of the English affaires. They pursued the remnant threescore miles beyond the Country (till within 36. miles of the Dutch plantations on *Hudsons* river) where they fought with them, killed fortie or fiftie besides those that they cut off in their retreat, and tooke prisoners 180, that came out of a Swampe and yeilded themselves upon promise of good quarter. Some other small parties of them were since destroyed, and Captaine *Patrick* with 16. or 18. brought 80 Captives to the Bay of *Boston*. The newes of the flight of *Sassacus* their Sagamore, is also confirmed. He went with forty men to the Mowhacks, which are cruell bloodie Cani-

balls, and the most terrible to their neighbours of all these nations: but will scarce dare ever to carrie armes against the English, of whom they are sore afraid, not daring to encounter white men with their hot-mouth'd weapons, which spit nothing else but bullets and fire.

The terrour of victorie changeth even the affection of the allies of the vanquished, and the securing of our owne estates makes us neglect, yea forsake, or turne against our confederates, and side with their enemies and ours, when wee despaire of better remedie. These cruell, but wily Mowhacks, in contemplation of the English, and to procure their friendship, entertaine the fugitive Pequets and their Captaine, by cutting off all their heads and hands, which they sent to the English, as a testimony of their love and service.

A day of thanksgiving was solemnly celebrated for this happie successe, the Pequetans now seeming nothing but a name, for not lesse than 700. are slaine or taken prisoners. Of the English are not slaine in all above 16. One occurrent *I* may not forget. The endeavours of private men are ever memorable in these beginnings: the meanest of the vulgar is not incapable of vertue, and consequently neither of honour. Some actions of *Plebeians* have elsewhere beene taken for great atchievements. A pretty sturdy youth of new *Ipswich*, going forth,

somewhat rashly, to pursue the Salvages, shot off his Musket after them till all his powder and shot were spent; which they perceiving, re-assaulted him, thinking with their hatchets to have knocked him in the head. But he so bestirred himselfe with the stock of his piece, and after with the barrell, when that was broken, that hee brought two of their heads to the armie. His owne desert and the incouragement of others will not suffer him to bee namelesse. Hee is called *Francis Waine-wright*, and came over servant with one *Alexander Knight* that kept an Inne in *Chelmsford*.

I have done with this tragick scene, whose catastrophe ended in a triumph. And now give mee leave to speake something of the present state of things there. The transcribing of all Colonies is chargeable, fittest for Princes or states to undertake. Their first beginnings are full of casualty and danger, and obnoxious to many miseries. They must bee well grounded, well followed, and mannaged with great stocks of money, by men of resolution, that will not bee daunted by ordinarie accidents. The *Bermuda's* and *Virginia* are come to perfection from meane, or rather base beginnings, and almost by as weake meanes, beyond all expectation, and reason. But a few private men by uniting their stocks and desires have now raised new-England to that height, that never any plan-

tation of Spaniards, Dutch, or any other arrived at in so small a time. Gaine is the load-stone of adventures: Fish and Furres, with Beaver wooll, were specious baites. But whiles men are all for their private profit, the publique good is neglected and languisheth. Woefull experience had too evidently instructed New Englands Colones in the precedents of Guiana, the Charibe Ilands, Virginia, and Novonia, or New-found-land, (now againe to bee planted by Sir *David Kirke*, though part of the old planters there yet remaine.) Wee are never wiser, than when wee are thus taught. The new Englanders therefore advanced the weale publique all they could, and so the private is taken care for.

Corne and Cattell are wonderfully encreased with them, and thereof they have enough, yea sometime to spare to new commers, besides spare roomes, or good houses to entertaine them in. Where they may make Christmas fires all winter, if they please for nothing. I speake not of the naturals of the Countrey, fish, fowle, &c. which are more than plentifull. They that arrived there this yeere out of divers parts of Old England say that they never saw such a field of 400 acres of all sorts of English graine as they saw at Winter-towne there. Yet that ground is not comparable to other parts of New England, as Salem, Ipswich, Newberry, &c. In a word, they have built

faire Townes of the lands owne materials, and faire Ships too, some whereof are here to be seene on the Thames. They have overcome cold and hunger, are dispersed securely in their Plantations sixty miles along the coast, and within the Land also along some small Creekes and Rivers, and are assured of their peace by killing the Barbarians, better than our English Virginians were by being killed by them. For having once terrified them, by severe execution of just revenge, they shall never heare of more harme from them, except (perhaps) the killing of a man or two at his worke, upon advantage, which their Centinels, and Corps du guards may easily prevent. Nay, they shall have those brutes their servants, their slaves, either willingly or of necessity, and docible enough, if not obsequious. The numbers of the English amount to above thirty thousand, which (though none did augment them out of England) shall every day bee, doubtlesse, encreased, by a facultie that God hath given the Brittish Ilanders to beget and bring forth more children, than any other nation of the world: I could justifie what *I* say from the mouthes of the Hollanders and adjoining Provinces, where they confesse (though good breeders of themselves) that never woman bore two children, nor yet had so many by one man, till the English and Scotch frequented their

warres and married with them. I could give a good reason hereof from nature, as a Philosopher (with modestie bee it spoken) but there is no neede. The aire of new England, and the Diet equall, if not excellling that of old England: besides their honour of marriage, and carefull preventing and punishing of furtive congression giveth them and us no small hope of their future puissance, and multitude of subjects. Herein, saith the Wiseman, consisteth the strength of a King, and likewise of a nation, or Kingdome.

But the desire of more gaine, the slavery of mankinde, was not the onely cause of our English endeavours for a plantation there. The propagation of Religion was that precious jewell, for which these Merchant venturers compassed both Sea and Land, and went into a farre Country to search and seat themselves. This, I am sure, they pretended, and I hope intended. Onely this blessing from my heart I sincerely wish them, and shall ever beseech the Almighty to bestow upon them, devout Piety towards God, faithfull loyalty towards their Sovereigne, fervent charity among themselves, and discretion and sobriety in themselves, according to the saying of that blessed Apostle, *μη̄ υπερφρονειν παρ' ο̄ δε̄ι φρονειν, ᾱλλα φρονειν εις το̄ συφρονειν.* Rom 12. 3. Not to bee

wise (in spirituall things) above what wee ought to bee wise; but to bee wise unto wise sobriety.

Doubtlesse there was no other way better to chastise the insolencie of these insulting homicides, than a sharpe warre pursued with dexterity and speed. *Virginia* our mother plantation, and for her precedent a rule, hath taught us what to do in these difficulties; forewarned, forearmed. They were endangered by their friendship and peace, secured by their enmity and warre with the natives. From these experiments, shall the now inhabitants of those two Sister Lands, beat out unto themselves an Armour of prooffe, and lay a sure foundation to their future happinesse.

FINIS.



*Nihil obstare videtur quominus hæc
Relatio typis mandetur.*

Novemb. ix. M.DC.xxxvii.

G. R. W E C K H E R L I N .



Notes

iii.1-23 *Ad Lectorem ... orbis erit.*]

To the Reader,
An ephemeral poem about this
New-England victory, 1637.

The English people lead various colonists into America,
and the stars, the land, and the soil are well-suited.
But the native savage, at large among the empty fields,
hinders this, and murders several in unaccustomed warfare.
As soon as this crime reaches the unwilling ears of the English,
all seethe with angered murmurings.
Then the injured stir just weapons, and pursue the enemy,
who had built fortifications in useful places.
The wall, with its pales and stakes, they storm: (There will be
peace: the wrath will be smoothed in only this way.)
Everywhere, they kill them all; one part is burned.
Afterwards, the others, killed or captive, pay.
Everywhere Anglia rejoices at the defeat of the Pequots,
and the new arrival says "Here we stick, for good."
Virginia is exultant; neighboring Novonia [Newfoundland] re-
joices; they have sure signs of secure peace.
Applaud, you grandchildren who farm the Martial preserves,
and the safe plowman who sows the [hitherto] untended
fields.
Where there was a new world, an England will be born, that
will be a new world.

(translation courtesy Thomas N. Winter)

iii.24 P. Vincentius.] On the basis of the signature, this work
is attributed to Philip Vincent, of whom relatively lit-
tle is known. He may have been the Philip Vincent
baptized in 1600 at Conisborough, Yorkshire, and edu-
cated at Peterhouse, Cambridge. Another work bearing

the signature "P. Vincent" was published around the same time: *The lamentations of Germany, wherein, as in a glasse, we may behold her miserable condition, composed by Dr Vincent, Theo.* (London, 1638). It is uncertain whether Vincent was present at the events in America he describes or got his information from an informant.

- 5.17 at the *Bay*] *i.e.*, at Boston, on Massachusetts Bay.
- 5.19 Captaine *Vnderhill*] John Underhill (c.1597–1672) published his own account of the Pequot War as *Newes from America* (London, 1638).
- 5.20–21 *Water-Towne*, now called *Wetherfield*] In Connecticut
- 6.9 Master *Pinchons* Plantation] at Agawam, near Springfield, Massachusetts; upriver from Hartford, Connecticut.
- 7.13 Captain *Mason*] John Mason (c.1600–1672); his account of the war was published long afterwards as *A Brief History of the Pequot War* (Boston, 1736).
- 8.4 the great Fort] Near present-day Mystic, Connecticut. The battle occurred on May 26, 1637.
- 9.5 What shall ... *Vnder-hill*?] Underhill's book disputes this account: "Worthy Reader, let mee intreate you to have a more charitable opinion of me (though unworthy to be better thought of) then is reported in the other Booke: you may remember there is a passage unjustly laid upon mee, that when wee should come to the entrance, I should put forth this question: shall wee enter? others should answer againe; What came we hither for else? It is well knowne to many, it was never my practise in time of my command, when we

are in garrison, much to consult with a private souldier, or to aske his advise in point of Warre, much lesse in a matter of so great a moment as that was, which experience had often taught mee, was not a time to put forth such a question, and therefore pardon him that hath given the wrong information, ..." (*Newes from America*, p. 38).

- 13.24 Captain *Patrick*] Daniel Patrick (d.1643) was a veteran of the Low Country wars who was hired by the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1630 to train soldiers and manufacture ammunition. He later moved to New Haven Colony and was involved in the founding of Greenwich, Conn. On his death and loose morals, see *The Journal of John Winthrop, 1630-1649* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 67, 491-92.
- 16.10 Sir *David Kirke*] (c.1597-1654) Merchant and adventurer originally from Dieppe. He had led two successful expeditions against French Canada 1627-1629. He was knighted in 1633, published a description of Newfoundland in 1635, and was made its co-proprietor November 13, 1637.
- 20.4 G. R. WECKHERLIN.] Georg Rudolph Weckherlin (1584-1653), deputy to the secretary of state, oversaw the pre-publication licensing for the press of news, history, and matters of state.

Note on the Text

This online electronic edition presents the text of the first edition of *A True Relation of the Late Battell fought in New England, between the English and the Salvages: With the present state of things there*, which was printed by “M.P.” (Marmaduke Parsons) for Nathanael Butter and John Bellamie, and published in London in 1637.

A second edition by the same printer was issued the following year. It had a slightly altered title-page: “Pequet” was inserted before “Salvages,” and “In which was slaine and taken prisoners about 700 of the Salvages, and those which escaped, had their heads cut off by the Mohocks:” was added before “With the present state ...”; and the ornamental device was replaced with a row of four coronets and a row of four floral ornaments. Pages 20 and 21 were re-numbered (erroneously) as 12 and 13. Otherwise, the impression appears to have been produced from the same type.

A third edition, completely reset, printed by Thomas Harper for the same Nathanael Butter and John Bellamie, was also published in London in 1638. That edition shows the fuller subtitle of the second edition.

The text of this electronic edition was transcribed from digital page images of a copy of the first edition held by the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery and accessed online in the Sabin Americana series (#99760). The spelling, punctuation, capitalization, italics, and orthography of the original have been preserved. The following typographical errors have been corrected ([/] indicates a line break in the original):

<i>Page.line</i>	<i>1637 text</i>	<i>emended to</i>
iii.9	<i>ira o</i>	<i>irato</i>
3.14	therèof	thereof
3.24	onè	one
4.10	také	take
5.14	Gate	Gate.
8.27	<i>English</i>	<i>English</i>
11.4	Englsh	English
12.26	<i>But</i>	But
17.2	where [/]of	whereof

In the Latin poem “*Ad Lectorem,*” (p. iii) the word *sacra* in the 20th line is perhaps an error for *saepta*, but since that reading persists through all three contemporary editions, it has been allowed to stand.

The typeface is IM Fell DW Pica, digitized and furnished by Iginò Marini [<http://www.iginomarini.com/fell.html>]. The decorative ornaments and initials are reconstructions of those used in the first London edition.

Paul Royster
University of Nebraska–Lincoln
 July 31, 2007

John Underhill



Newes from America

1638

John Underhill *Newes from America* (1638)

John Underhill's *Newes from America* was the most complete contemporary published account of the Pequot War of 1636-1637. Underhill was one of the Massachusetts commanders in the expedition against Block Island in August 1636 and in the force that destroyed the fortified Pequot village at Mystic in May 1637.

The expansion of English settlements into the Connecticut River valley and the northern shore of Long Island Sound brought them into contact and conflict with new groups of Native inhabitants and into competition with the Dutch from New Netherlands. In July 1633, the trader John Oldham was killed off Block Island (probably by Narragansetts from the mainland), and early the following winter traders John Stone, Walter Norton, and six crew were killed by western Niantics, a tributary tribe of the Pequots. After a series of inconclusive negotiations, the Bay Colony sent a punitive expedition under John Endicott in August 1636 to reduce the Block Island Indians and to demand reparations from the mainland Pequots. This effort was only marginally successful: several villages, fields, and supply caches were destroyed, but the Indians avoided any pitched battles, although a number were killed. Having riled up the Natives of southern Connecticut, the army sailed back to the Bay. The Pequots retaliated on the Connecticut English by besieging their fort at Saybrook and attacking settlements along the Connecticut River through the winter and spring. The Connecticut and Bay colonies combined forces and engaged native Mohegan allies for a more definitive offensive. An army of about 100 militia under Underhill and John Mason left Saybrook by ship, landed on the western shore of the Narragansett Bay and enlisted the Narragansetts and Eastern Niantics as allies. They marched overland two days westward and surprised the Pequot fortified village near Mystic on May 26, 1637. The English attacked at dawn, and fired the village; the fleeing inhabitants were "received and entertained with the point of the sword." Of the 600-800 village inhabitants, there were only 14 survivors. The next three months were spent searching and destroying or capturing the remaining members of the tribe. Most Pequot survivors were either sold in the West Indies or given to the Indian allies as slaves. As Underhill did not participate in these later campaigns, they receive short notice in his account.

John Underhill (c.1608–1672) was born in the Netherlands to English parents and received military training in the service of William, Prince of Orange. In 1630 he was hired by the Massachusetts Bay Colony with the rank of captain to help train the colony's militia. Following his service in the Pequot War, he faced charges of Antinomianism and adultery. He was removed from office and disenfranchised in 1637, banished in 1638, and excommunicated in 1640. He settled in Dover (New Hampshire) and ultimately was reconciled with the Massachusetts authorities after a public repentance. He removed to Connecticut in 1642, but left in 1653 to accept a captaincy in New Netherland's military forces. He prosecuted their war with the Natives of Long Island and southwestern Connecticut, destroying villages at Massapequa and Stamford. He lived in Flushing until 1653, when he served with the English in their war with the Dutch. He afterwards returned to Long Island and settled at Oyster Bay, where he died in 1672.

As a writer, Underhill displays a disarmingly charming style, for someone who at least three times commanded the wholesale slaughter of Natives. His prose is studded with aphorisms (“More men would goe to Sea, if they were sure to meet with no stormes”) and wry commentary (on the Native style of battle: “after such a manner, as I dare boldly affirme, they might fight seven yeares and not kill seven men”). He interrupts his account of the landing at Block Island with a digression of the position of women in Massachusetts, and then resumes: “But to the matter, the Arrowes flying thicke about us, ...” About a third of the *Newes from America* is devoted to the opportunities for settlement still remaining in Connecticut, Plymouth, Maine, or other places, mostly outside the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. He writes also a long reflection, prompted by the story of the two “captive maids,” on the tribulations of the Christian and the necessity of “taking up the cross” and trusting in the Lord. He does also confront the question “Why should you be so furious (as some have said) should not Christians have more mercy and compassion?” and concludes: “We had sufficient light from the word of God for our proceedings.”

This online electronic edition of *Newes from America* is based on the text of the first edition published in London in 1638. The spelling, punctuation, etc., are those of the original edition. Some explanatory notes and a selected bibliography have been added at the end.

NEVVES FROM AMERICA;

OR,

A NEW AND EXPERI- MENTALL DISCOVERIE OF

NEW ENGLAND;

CONTAINING,

A TRVE RELATION OF THEIR

War-like proceedings these two yeares last
past, with a Figure of the Indian Fort,
or Palizado.

Also a discovery of these
places, that as yet have
very few or no Inhabi-
tants which would yeeld
speciall accommodation
to such as will Plant
there,

Viz.

Queenapoick.

Agu-wom.

Hudsons River.

Long Island.

Nabanticut.

Martins Vinyard.

Pequet.

Naransett Bay.

Elizabeth Islands.

Puscat away.

Casko with about a hun-
dred Islands neere to

Casko.

By Captaine I O H N U N D E R H I L L, a Commander
in the Warres there.

LONDON,

Printed by J. D. for *Peter Cole*, and are to be sold at the signe
of the Glove in Corne-hill neere the
Royall Exchange. 1638.



Newes from *America*, or a late
and experimentall discoverie
of *New England*.



Shall not spend time (for my other occasions will not permit) to write largely of every particular, but shall as briefly as I may performe these two things, first give a true narration, of the warre-like proceedings that hath been in *New England* these two years last past. Secondly, I shall discover to the Reader divers places in *New England*, that would afford speciall accommodations to such persons as will plant upon them, I had not time to doe either of these as they deserved, but wanting time to doe it as the nature of the thing required; I shall according to my abilitie begin with a Relation of our warre-like proceedings, and will inter-weave the speciall places fit for *New Plantations*, with their description, as I shall find occasion in the following discourse, but I shall according to my promise begin with a true relation of the new *England* warres against the *Block-Ilanders*, and that insolent and barbarous Nation, called the *Pequeats*, whom by the sword of the

The proceedings of these two yeares last past

Lord, and a few feeble instruments, souldiers not accustomed to warre, were drove out of their Countrey, and slaine by the sword, to the number of fifteene hundred soules in the space of two moneths and lesse: so as their Countrey is fully subdued and fallen into the hands of the English: And to the end that Gods name might have the glory, and his people see his power, and magnifie his honour for his great goodnesse I have indevoured according to my weake ability, to set forth the full relation of the Warre from the first rise to the end of the victory.

The cause of our war against the *Block Islanders*, was for taking away the life of one Master *John Oldham*, who made it his common course trade amongst the Indians: he comming to *Block-Island* to drive trade with them, the Islanders came into his boate and having got a full view of commodities which gave them good content, consulted how they might destroy him and his company, to the end they might cloth their bloody flesh with his lawful garments. The Indians having laid the plot into the boate they came to trade as they pretended watching their opportunities, knockt him in the head, & martyred him most Barbarously, to the great grieffe of his poore distressed servants, which by the providence of God were saved. This Island lying in the rode way to the Lord *Sey*, and the Lord *Brookes* plantation, a certaine Sea man called to *John Gallop* Master of the *Small navigation* standing along to the *Mathethusis Bay*, and seeing a boate under saile close aboard the Island, and perceiving the sailes to be unskilful-

ly managed, bred in him a jealousy, whether that the Island Indians had not bloodily taken the life of our Countrie-men, and made themselves Master of their goods: suspecting this, he bore up to them and approaching neere them was confirmed that his jealousie was just, seeing Indians in the boate, and knowing her to be the vessel of Master *Oldham*; and not seeing him there gave fire upon them and slew some, others leaped over board; besides two of the number which he preserved alive and brought to the bay. The blood of the innocent called for vengeance, God stirred up the heart of the honoured Governour Master *Henrie Vane* and the rest of the worthy Magistrates to send forth a 100. well appointed Souldiers under the conduct of Captaine *John Hendicot*, and in company with him that had command, Captaine *John Vnderhill*, Captaine *Nathan Turner*, Captaine *William Ienningson*, besides other inferiour Officers. I would not have the world wonder at the great number of Commanders to so few men, but know that the Indians fight farre differs from the Christian practise, for they most commonly divide themselves into small bodies, so that we are forced to neglect our usuall way and to subdivide our divisions to answer theirs, and not thinking it any disparagement, to any Captaine to go forth against an Enemy with a squaldron of men taking the ground from the old & ancient practise when they chose Captaines of hundreds and Captaine of thousands, Captaines of fifties and Captaines of tens: We conceive a Captaine signifieth the chiefe in way of Command of

any body committed to his charge for the time being whether of more or lesse, it makes no matter in power though in honour it doth. Comming to an anckor before the Island we espied an Indian walking by the shore in a desolate manner as though he had received intelligence of our comming. Which Indian gave just ground to some to conclude that the body of the people had diserted the Island.

But some knowing them for the generality to be a warlike nation, a people that spend most of their time in the studie of warlike policy were not perswaded that they would upon so slender termes forsake the Island, but rather suspected they might lye behind a banke, much like the forme of a Baracado : my selfe with others rode with a Shallop made towards the shore, having in the Boat a dozen armed souldiers drawing neere to the place of landing, the number that rose from behind the Barracado, were betweene 50. or 60. able fighting men, men as strait as arrowes, very tall, and of active bodyes, having their arrowes nockt, they drew neere to the water side, and let flie at the souldiers, as though they had meant to have made an end of us all in a moment; they shot a young Gentleman in the necke thorow a coller for stiffnesse, as if it had beene an oaken boord, and entered his flesh a good depth; my selfe received an arrow through my coate sleeve, a second against my Helmet on the forehead, so as if God in his providence had not moved the heart of my wife to perswade mee to carrie it along with me which I was unwilling to doe, I had beene slaine. Give me

leave to observe *two things* from hence first when the houre of Death is not yet come, you see *God useth weake meanes to keepe his purpose unviolated*. Secondly, let no man despise advise and Counsell of his wife though shee be a woman; it were strange to nature to thinke a man should be bound to fulfill the humour of a woman, what armes hee should carry, but you see God will have it so, that a woman should overcome a man: what with *Dalilabs* flattery, and with her mournfull teares they must and will have their desire, when the hand of God goes a long in the matter; and this is to accomplish his owne will, therefore let the clamour bee quencht I daily heare in my eares, that *New England* men usurpe over their Wives, and keepe them in servile subjection: the Countrey is wronged in this matter, as in many things else: let this president satisfie the doubtfull, for that comes from the example of a rude souldier: if they bee so curteous to their wives, as to take their advice in warlike matters, how much more kind is the tender affectionate husband to honour his wife as the weaker vessell? Yet mistake not; I say not that they are bound to call their wives in Councell, though they are bound to take their private advice (so farre as they see it make for their advantage and their good:) instance *Abraham*. But to the matter, the Arrowes flying thicke about us, wee made hast to the shore, but the suffe of the Sea being great, hindered us, so as wee could scarce discharge a Musket, but were forced to make hast to land: drawing neere the shore through the strength of wind, and

the hollownesse of the Sea, wee durst not adventure to runne ashore, but were forced to wade up to the middle, but once having got up of our legges, wee gave fire upon them, they finding our bullets to out-reach their arrowes, they fled before us; in the meane while Colonell *Hindecot* made to the shore, and some of this number also repulsed him at his landing, but hurt none : wee thought they would stand it out with us, but they perceiving wee were in earnest, fled; and left their Wigwams or houses, and provision to the use of our souldiers : having set forth our Sentinels, and laid out our Pardues, wee betooke our selves to the guard, expecting hourelly they would fall upon us; but they observed the old rule, 'tis good sleeping in a whole skin, and left us free from an alarum.

The next day wee set upon our march, the *Indians* being retired into Swamps, so as wee could not find them, wee burnt and spoyled both houses and corne in great abundance: but they kept themselves in obscuritie : Captaine *Turner* stepping aside to a Swampe, met with some few *Indians*, and charged upon them, changing some few bullets for Arrowes, himselfe received a shot upon the breast of his Corslet, as if it had beene pushed with a pike, and if hee had not had it on, hee had lost his life.

A prettie passage worthy observation, wee had an *Indian* with us that was an interpreter, being in English cloathes, and a Gunne in his hand, was spied by the Ilanders, which called out to him, what are you an Indian or an English-man : come hither,

saith he, and I will tell you; hee pulls up his cocke and let fly at one of them, and without question was the death of him: Having spent that day in burning and spoyling the Iland, wee tooke up the quarter for that night, about midnight my selfe went out with ten men about two miles from our quarter, and discovered the most eminent Plantation, they had in the Iland where was much corne, many Wigwams, and great heapes of mats; but fearing lest wee should make an alarum by setting fire on them; wee left them as wee found them, and peaceably departed to our quarter: and the next morning with 40. men marched up to the same Plantation, burnt their houses, cut downe their corne, destroyed some of their dogges in stead of men, which they left in their Wigwams.

Passing on toward the water side to imbarque our souldiers, wee met with severall famous Wigwams with great heapes of pleasant corne ready shaled, but not able to bring it away, wee did throw their mattes upon it, and set fire and burnt it: many well-wrought mattes our souldiers brought from thence, and severall delightfull baskets: wee being divided into two parts, the rest of the body met with no lesse, I suppose, then our selves did. The Indians playing least in sight, wee spent our time, and could no more advantage our selves then wee had already done, and having slaine some fourteen, & maimed others, wee imbarqued our selves, and set saile for *Seasbrooke* fort, where wee lay through distresse of weather foure dayes, then we departed.

The *Pequeats* having slaine one Captaine *Norton*, and Captaine *Stone*, with seven more of their company, order was given us to visit them, sayling along the *Nabanticot* shore with five vessels, the Indians spying of us came running in multitudes along the water side, crying, what cheere Englishmen, what cheere, what doe you come for? They not thinking we intended warre went on cheerefully untill they come to *Pequeat* riuier. We thinking it the best way did forbear to answer them; first, that we might the better bee able to runne through the worke. Secondly, that by delaying of them, we might drive them in securitie, to the end wee might have the more advantage of them: but they seeing wee would make no answer, kept on their course, and cryed, what Englishman, what cheere, what cheere, are you hoggerie, will you cram us? That is, are you angry, will you kill us, and doe you come to fight. That night the *Nabanticot* Indians, and the *Pequeats*, made fire on both sides of the River, fearing we would land in the night. They made most dolefull, and wofull cryes all the night, (so that wee could scarce rest) hollowing one to another, and giving the word from place to place, to gather their forces together, fearing the English were come to warre against them.

The *Indians* send to the *English* an Ambassador.

The next morning they sent early aboard an Ambassador, a grave Senior, a man of good understanding, portly, cariage grave, and majesticall in his expressions; he demanded of us what the end of our comming was, to which we answered, that the Governours of the *Bay* sent us to demand the heads

of those persons that had slaine Captaine *Norton*, and Captaine *Stone*, and the rest of their company, and that it was not the custome of the English to suffer murtherers to live, and therefore if they desired their owne peace and welfare, they will peaceably answer our expectation, and give us the heads of the murderers.

They being a witty and ingenious Nation, their Ambassadour laboured to excuse the matter, and answered, we know not that any of ours have slaine any English: true it is, saith he, we have slaine such a number of men, but consider the ground of it; not long before the comming of these *English* into the River, there was a certaine vessell that came to us in way of trade, we used them well, and traded with them, and tooke them to be such as would not wrong us in the least matter; but our *Sachem* or Prince comming aboard, they laid a plot how they might destroy him, which plot discovereth it selfe by the event, as followeth: they keeping their boat aboard, and not desirous of our company, gave us leave to stand hollowing ashore, that they might worke their mischievous plot: but as wee stood they called to us, and demanded of us a bushell of *Wampam-Peke*, which is their money, this they demanded for his ransome, this peale did ring terribly in our eares, to demand so much for the life of our Prince, whom we thought was in the hands of honest men, and wee had never wronged them; but we saw there was no remedy, their expectation must be granted, or else they would not send him ashore, which

* This was no wayes true of the *English*, but a devised excuse.

they promised they would doe, if wee would answer their desires: wee sent them so much aboard according to demand, and they according to their promise sent him ashore, * but first slew him, this, much exasperated our spirits, and made us vow a revenge; suddenly after came these Captaines with a vessel into the River, and pretended to trade with us as the former did: wee did not discountenance them for the present, but tooke our opportunity and came aboard. The *Sachems* sonne succeeding his Father, was the man that came into the Cabin of Captaine *Stone*, and Captaine *Stone* having drunke more then did him good, fell backwards on the bed asleepe, the *Sagamore* tooke his opportunitie, and having a little hatchet under his garment, therewith knockt him in the head: some being upon the deck and others under, suspected some such thing, for the rest of the *Indians* that were aboard, had order to proceed against the rest at one time, but the *English* spying trecherie, runne immediatly into the Cooke roome, and with a fire-brand had thought to have blowne up the *Indians* by setting fire to the powder: these devils instruments spying this plot of the *English*, leaped over-board as the powder was a firing, and saved themselves, but all the *English* were blowne up, this was the manner of their bloody action: Saith the Ambassadour to us, could yee blame us for revenging so cruell a murder? for we distinguish not betweene the *Dutch* and *English*, but tooke them to be one Nation, and therefore we doe not conceive that we wronged you, for they slew our king; and

thinking these Captaines to be of the same Nation and people, as those that slew him, made us set upon this course of revenge.

Our answer was, they were able to distinguish betweene *Dutch* and *English*, having had sufficient experience of both Nations; and therefore seeing you have slaine the king of *Englands* subjects, we come to demand an account of their blood, for we our selves are lyable to account for them: the answer of the Ambassadour was, we know no difference betweene the *Dutch* and the *English*, they are both strangers to us, we tooke them to bee all one, therefore we crave pardon, wee have not wilfully wronged the *English*: This excuse will not serve our turnes, for wee haue sufficient testimonie that you know the *English* from the *Dutch*, we must have the heads of those persons that have slaine ours, or else wee will fight with you: He answered; understanding the ground of your comming, I will intreat you to give me libertie to goe ashore, and I shall informe the body of the people what your intent and resolution is: and if you will stay aboard, I will bring you a sudden answer.

The answer of the *English* to their Ambassador.

We did grant him liberty to get ashore, and our selves followed suddenly after before the Warre was proclaimed: hee seeing us land our forces, came with a message to intreat us to come no neerer, but stand in a valley, which had betweene us and them an ascent, that took our sight from them; but they might see us to hurt us, to our prejudice: thus from the first beginning to the end of the action, they car-

ried themselves very subtilly; but wee not willing to bee at their direction marched up to the ascent, having set our men in battally; he came and told us he had inquired for the *Sachem*, that we might come to a parlie: but neither of both of the Princes were at home, they were gone to *Long Island*.

Our reply was, we must not be put off thus, we know the *Sachem* is in the Plantation, and therefore bring him to us, that we may speake with him, or else we will beat up the Drumme, and march through the Countrey, and spoyle your corne: His answer, if you will but stay a little while, I will steppe to the Plantation and seeke for them: wee gave them leave to take their owne course; and used as much patience as ever men might, considering the grosse abuse they offered us, holding us above an houre in vaine hopes: they sent an *Indian* to tell us that *Mommenoteck* was found, and would appeare before us suddenly, this brought us to a new stand the space of an houre more. There came a third *Indian* perswading us to have a little further patience, and he would not tarry, for he had assembled the body of the *Pequeats* together, to know who the parties were that had slaine these *English* men: but seeing that they did in this interim convey away their wives and children, and bury their chieftest goods, and perceived at length they would flye from us, but we were patient, and bore with them, in expectation to have the greater blow upon them. The last messenger brought us this intelligence from the *Sachum*; that if wee would but

lay downe our armes, and approach about thirtie paces from them, and meet the heathen Prince, he would cause his men to doe the like, and then we shall come to a parlie.

But wee seeing their drift was to get our Armes, we rather chose to beat up the Drum and bid them battell, marching into a champion field we displayed our colours, but none would come neere us, but standing remotely off did laugh at us for our patience, wee suddenly set upon our march, and gave fire to as many as we could come neere, firing their Wigwams, spoyling their corne, and many other necessaries that they had buried in the ground we raked up, which the souldiers had for bootie. Thus we spent the day burning and spoyling the Countrey, towards night imbarqued our selves the next morning, landing on the *Nabanticot* shore, where we were served in like nature, no *Indians* would come neere us, but runne from us, as the Deere from the dogges; but having burnt and spoyled what we could light on, wee imbarqued our men, and set sayle for the *Bay*, having ended this exploit came off, having one man wounded in the legge; but certaine numbers of theirs slaine, and many wounded; this was the substance of the first yeares service: now followeth the service performed in the second yeare.

This insolent Nation, seeing wee had used much Lenitie towards them, and themselves not able to make good use of our patience, set upon a course of greater insolencie then before, and slew all they

The proceedings of these two yeares last past

found in their way : they came neere *Seabrooke* fort, and made many proud challenges, and dared them out to fight.

The Lieutenant went out with tenne armed men, and starting three *Indians* they changed some few shotte for arrowes; pursuing them an hundred more started out of the ambushments, and almost surrounded him and his company, and some they slew, others they maimed, and forced them to retreat to their Fort, so that it was a speciall providence of God that they were not all slaine : some of their armes they got from them, others put on the English clothes, and came to the Fort jeering of them, and calling, come and fetch your English mens clothes againe; come out and fight if you dare : you dare not fight, you are all one like women, we have one amongst us that if he could kill but one of you more, he would be equall with God, and as the *English* mans God is, so would hee be; this blasphemous speech troubled the hearts of the souldiers, but they knew not how to remedy it in respect of their weaknesse.

The *Conetticot* Plantation understanding the insolencie of the enimie to bee so great, sent downe a certaine number of souldiers under the conduct of Captaine *John Mason* for to strengthen the Fort. The enemy lying hovering about the Fort, continually tooke notice of the supplies that were come, and forbore drawing neere it as before: and Letters were immediatly sent to the *Bay*, to that Right worshipfull Gentleman, Master *Henry Vane*, for a speedy supply to strengthen the Fort. For assuredly without

supply suddenly came in reason all would be lost, and fall into the hands of the enemy; This was the trouble and perplexity that lay upon the spirits of the poore garrisons. Upon serious consideration the Governour and Councill sent forth my selfe with 20. armed souldiers to supply the necessitie of those distressed persons, and to take the government of that place for the space of three moneths: reliefe being come, Captaine *John Mason* with the rest of his company returned to the Plantation againe: we sometimes fell out with a matter of twentie souldiers to see whether we could discover the enemy or no; they seeing us (lying in ambush) gave us leave to passe by them, considering we were too hot for them to meddle with us; our men being compleatly armed, with Corslets, Muskets, bandileeres, rests, and swords (as they themselves related afterward) did much daunt them; thus we spent a matter of six weekes before we could have any thing to doe with them, perswading our selves that all things had beene well. But they seeing there was no advantage more to be had against the Fort, they enterprized a new action, and fell upon *Water towne*, now called *Wethersfield* with two hundred *Indians*; before they came to attempt the place, they put into a certaine River, an obscure small river running into the maine, where they incamped, and refreshed themselves, and fitted themselves for their service, and by breake of day attempted their enterprise, and slew nine men, women and children, having finished their action, they suddenly returned againe, bringing with them two

maids captives, having put poles in their Conoos, as we put Masts in our boats, and upon them hung our English mens and womens shirts and smocks, in stead of sayles, and in way of bravado came along in sight of us as we stood upon *Seybrooke* Fort, and seeing them passe along in such a triumphant manner, wee much fearing they had enterprised some desperate action upon the *English*, wee gave fire with a peece of Ordnance, and shotte among their Conoos. And though they were a mile from us, yet the bullet grazed not above twentie yards over the Conooe, where the poore maids were; it was a speciall providence of God it did not hit them, for then should we have beene deprived of the sweet observation of Gods providence in their deliverance: we were not able to make out after them, being destitute of meanes, Boats, and the like: before wee proceed any further to a full relation of the insolent proceeding of this barbarous Nation, give me leave to touch upon the severall accommodations that belong to this *Seybrooke* Fort.

The scituation of *Seabrooke* Fort.

This Fort lyes upon a River called *Conetticot* at the mouth of it, a place of a very good soyle, good meadow, divers sorts of good wood, timber, varietie of fish of severall kindes, fowle in abundance, Geese, Duckes, Brankes, Teales, Deere, Roe buck, Squirrels, which are as good as our *English* Rabets; pittie it is so famous a place should bee so little regarded, it lyes to the Northwest of that famous place, called *Queenapiok*, which rather exceed the former in goodness, it hath a faire River fit for harbour-

ing of ships, and abounds with rich and goodly meadows, this lyes thirtie miles from the upper Plantations, which are planted on the River *Connetticot*: twelve miles above this Plantation is scituated a place called *Aguarwam*, no way inferiour to the fore-named places; this Countrey, and those parts doe generally yeeld a fertile soyle, and good meadow all the Rivers along: the river *Connetticot* is Navigable for Pinaces 60. miles; it hath a strong fresh streame that descends out of the hills, the tyde flowes not above halfe way up the River: the strength of the freshite that comes downe the River is so strong, that it stoppeth the force of the tyde.

The truth is, I want time to set forth the excellencie of the whole Countrey; but if you would know the garden of *New England*, then must you glance your eye upon *Hodsons* river, a place exceeding all yet named, the River affords fish in abundance, as Sturgeon, Salmon, and many delicate varieties of fish that naturally lyes in the River, the onely place for Beaver that we have in those parts. *Long Iland* is place worth the naming, and generally affords most of the aforesaid accommodations. *Nabanticot*, *Martins Vineyard*, *Pequeat*, *Narraganset Bay*, *Elizabeth Ilands*, all these places are yet uninhabited, and generally afford good accommodation; as a good soyle according as wee have expressed, they are little inferiour to the former places. The *Narraganset Bay* is a place for shipping so spacious, as it will containe ten thousand sayle of ships. *Capcod*, *New Plimouth*, *Dukes bury*, and all those parts, well accommodat-

ed for the receiving of people, and yet few are there planted, considering the spaciousnesse of the place; The *Bay* it selfe although report goes it is full, and can hardly entertaine any more, yet there are but few townes, but are able to receive more then they have already, and to accommodate them in a comfortable measure.

The Northerne Plantations, and Easterne, as *Puscataway* would not bee neglected, they are desirable places, and lye in the heart of fishing. *Puscataway* is a River navigable for a ship of a hundred tunne some six leagues up: with Boats and Pinaces you may goe a great way further; it is the onely key of the Countrey for safety; with twelve peeces of Ordnance will keepe out all the enemies in the world: the mouth of the River is narrow, lyes full upon the Southeast Sea; so as there is no anking without, except you hazard ship and men: it is accommodated with a good soyle, abundance of good timber, meadowes are not wanting to the place; pitty it is it hath beene so long neglected.

Augumeaticus is a place of good accommodation, it lyes five miles from *Puscataway* river, where Sir *Ferdinando Gorge* hath a house: it is a place worthy to bee inhabited, a soyle that beares good corne, all sorts of graine, flax, hemp, the Countrey generally will afford: there was growne in *Puscataway* the last yeare, and in the *Bay* as good *English* graine as can grow in any part of the world. *Casko* hath a famous Bay accommodated with a hundred Ilands, and is fit for Plantation, and hath a River belong-

ing to it, which doth afford fish in abundance, fowle also in great measure: so full of Fowle it is, that strangers may be supplied with varietie of fowle in an houre or two after their arrivall, which knew not how to be relieved before; because the place in generall is so famous, and well knowne to all the world, and chiefly to our English Nation (the most noblest of this Common-wealth) I therefore forbear many particulars which yet might be expressed: and in regard of many aspersion hath beene cast upon all the Countrey, that it is a hard and difficult place for to subsist in; and that the soyle is barren, and beares little that is good, and that it can hardly receive more people then those that are there, I will presume to make a second digression from the former matter, to the end I might incourage such as desire to Plant there.

There are certaine Plantations *Dedum Concord* in the *Mathethusis Bay*, that are newly erected that doe afford large accommodation, and will containe abundance of people; but I cease to spend time in matters of this nature, since my discourse tends to warlike story, but I crave pardon for my digression.

I told you before, that when the *Pequeats* heard and saw *Seabrooke* Fort was supplied, they forbore to visit us: But the old Serpent according to his first malice stirred them up against the Church of Christ, and in such a furious manner, as our people were so farre disturbed, and affrighted with their boldnesse that they scarce durst rest in their beds: threatning persons and cattell to take them, as indeed they did:

so insolent were these wicked imps growne, that like the divell their commander, they runne up and downe as roaring Lyons, compassing all corners of the Countrey for a prey, seeking whom they might devoure: It being death to them for to rest without some wicked imployment or other, they still plotted how they might wickedly attempt some bloody enterprize upon our poore native Countrey-men.

One Master *Tillie* master of a Vessell, being brought to an ankor in *Conetticot* River, went ashore, not suspecting the bloody-mindednesse of those persons, who fell upon him, and a man with him, whom they wickedly and barbarously slew; and by relation brought him home, tied him to a stake, flead his skin off, put hot imbers betweene the flesh and the skinne, cut off his fingers and toes, and made hatbands of them, thus barbarous was their cruelty: would not this have moved the hearts of men to hazard blood, and life, and all they had, to overcome such a wicked insolent Nation? but Letters comming into the Bay, that this attempt was made upon *Wethersfield* in *Conetticot* river, and that they had slaine nine men, women and children, and taken two maids captives, the Councell gave order to send supply. In the meane while the *Conetticot* Plantations sent downe 100. armed souldiers, under the conduct of Captaine *John Mason*, and Leiutenant *Seily*, with other inferiour officers, who by Commission were bound for to come to *randivou* at *Seabrooke* Fort, and thereto consult with those that had command there to enterprize some stratagem upon these bloody *Indians*.

The *Conetticot* company having with them three-score *Mobiggeners*, whom the *Pequeats* had drove out of their lawfull possessions; These *Indians* were earnest to joyne with the *English*, or at least to bee under their conduct, that they might revenge themselves of those bloody enemies of theirs, the *English* perceiving their earnest desire that way, gave them liberty to follow the company, but not to joyne in confederation with them, the *Indians* promising to be faithfull, and to doe them what service lay in their power: But having imbarqued their men, and comming downe the River, there arose great jealousy in the hearts of those that had chiefe oversight of the company, fearing that the *Indians* in time of greatest tryall might revolt, and turne their backs against those they professed to be their friends, and joyne with the *Pequeats*: this perplexed the hearts of many very much, because they had had no experience of their fidelity: but Captaine *Mason* having sent downe a Shallop to *Seybrooke* Fort, and sent the *Indians* over land to meet, and *randivou* at *Seabrooke* Fort, themselves came downe in a great massie Vessel, which was slow in comming, and very long detained by crosse winds, the *Indians* comming to *Seabrooke*, were desirous to fall out on the Lords day, to see whether they could find any *Pequeats* neere the Fort; perswading themselves that the place was not destitute of some of their enemies: but it being the Lords day, order was given to the contrary, and wished them to forbear untill the next day, giving them liberty, they fell out early in the morning, and

brought home five *Pequeats* heads, one prisoner, and mortally wounded the seventh: This mightily encouraged the hearts of all, and wee tooke this as a pledge of their further fidelity: my selfe taking boat rode up to meet the rest of the forces, lying a boord the vessell with my boat, the Minister, *one Master Stone*, that was sent to instruct the Company, was then in prayer solemnly before God, in the midst of the souldiers, and this passage worthy observation I set downe, because the providence of God might be taken notice of, and his name glorified, that is so ready for to honour his owne ordinance: the hearts of all in generall being much perplexed, fearing the infidelity of these *Indians* having not heard what an exploit they had wrought: it pleased God to *put into the heart of master Stone this passage in prayer*, while my selfe lay under the vessell and heard it, himselfe not knowing that God had sent him a messenger to tell him his prayer was granted: O Lord God, if it be thy blessed will vouchsafe so much favour to thy poore distressed servants, as to manifest one pledge of thy love that may confirme us of the fidelity of these *Indians* towards us, that now pretend friendship and service to us, that our hearts may be encouraged the more in this worke of thine: immediately my selfe stepping up, told him that God had answered his desire, and that I had brought him this newes, that those *Indians* had brought in five *Pequeats* heads, one prisoner, and wounded one mortally, which did much incourage the hearts of all, and replenished them exceedingly, and gave

them all occasion to rejoyce and bee thankfull to God: a little before wee set forth, came a certaine shippe from the *Dutch* Plantation; casting an ankor under the command of our Ordnance, we desired the Master to come ashore, the Master and Marchant willing to answer our expectation, came forth, and sitting with us awhile unexpectedly revealed their intent, that they were bound for *Pequeat* river to trade; our selves knowing the accustome of warre, that it was not the practise in a case of this nature, to suffer others to goe and trade with them our enemies, with such commodities as might be prejudiciall unto us, and advantageous to them, as kettles, or the like, which make them Arrow-heads; wee gave command to them not to stirre, alledging that our forces were intended daily to fall upon them: This being unkindly taken, it bred some agitations betweene their severall Commanders: but God was pleased out of his love to carry things in such a sweet moderate way, as all turned to his glory, and his peoples good.

These men seeing they could not have liberty to goe upon their designe: gave us a note under their hands, that if we would give them liberty to depart, they would endeavour to the utmost of their abilitie to release those two captive Maids, and this should be the chiefe scope and drift of their designe: having these promises, depending upon their faithfulness, we gave them libertie: they set sayle and went to *Pequeat* river, and sent to shore the Master of the vessell to *Sasacoose* their Prince, for to crave liber-

ty to trade, and what would they trade for, but the *English* Maides, which he much disliked; suddenly withdrawing himselfe he returned backe to the vessell, and by way of policie allured seven *Indians* into the Barke, some of them being their primemen: having them aboard, acquainted them with their intent, and told them without they might have the two Captives delivered safely aboard, they must keepe them as prisoners, and pledges, and therefore must resolve not to goe ashore, untill such time they had treated with the *Sagamore*: One of the *Dutch* called to them on the shore, and told them they must bring the two captive Maides, if they would have the seven *Indians*, and therefore briefly if you will bring them, tell us, if not we set sayle, and will turne all your *Indians* over-board in the maine Ocean, so soone as ever we come out; they taking this to be a jest, slighted what was said unto them: they weying ankor set sayle, and drew neere the mouth of the River; the *Pequeats* then discerned they were in earnest, and earnestly desired them to returne and come to an ankor, and they would answer their expectation: so they brought the two Maides, and delivered them safely aboard, and they returned to them the seven *Indians*, then they set sayle and came to *Seabrooke* Fort; bringing them to *Seabrooke* Fort, request was made to have them ashore; but in regard of the *Dutch* Governours desire, who had heard that there was two *English* Maides taken captives of the *Pequeats*, and thinking his owne Vessel to bee there a trading with them, hee had man-

aged out a Pinace purposely to give strict order and command to the former Vessell to get these Captives what charge soever they were at; nay, though they did hazard their peace with them, and to gratifie him with the first sight of them after their deliverance: so they earnestly intreated us that they might not bee brought ashore so as to stay there, or to bee sent home untill they had followed the Governours order, which willingly was granted to them, though it were 30. leagues from us, yet were they safely returned againe, and brought home to their friends: now for the examination of the two Maids after they arrived at *Seabrooke* Fort, the eldest of them was about sixteene yeares of age, demanding of her how they had used her, she told us that they did sollicite her to uncleannesse, but her heart being much broken and afflicted under that bondage she was cast in, had brought to her consideration these thoughts, how shall I commit this great evill and sinne against my God? Their hearts were much taken up with the consideration of Gods just displeasure to them, that had lived under so prudent meanes of grace as they did, and had beene so ungratefull toward God, and slighted that meanes, so that Gods hand was justly upon them for their remisnesse in all their wayes; Thus was their hearts taken up with these thoughts, the *Indians* carried them from place to place, and shewed them their Forts, and curious Wigwams, and houses, and encouraged them to be merry, but the poore soules, as Israel, could not frame themselves to any delight or

The examination of the captive Maides after their returne, though the younger was very young and said little.

mirth under so strange a King, they hanging their Harpes upon the Willow trees, gave their mindes to sorrow, hope was their chiefest food, and teares their constant drinke : behind the rocks, and under the trees, the eldest spent her breath in supplication to her God, and though the eldest was but young, yet must I confesse the sweet affection to God for his great kindnesse, and fatherly love she daily received from the Lord, which sweetned all her sorrowes, and gave her constant hope, that God would not, nor could not forget her poore distressed soule and body, because, saith she, his loving kindnesse appeareth to mee in an unspeakable manner; and though sometimes, saith shee, I cryed out *David*-like; I shall one day perish by the hands of *Saul*, I shall one day dye by the hands of these barbarous *Indians*, and specially if our people should come forth to warre against them, then is there no hope of deliverance, then must I perish, then will they cut me off in malice; but suddenly the poore soule was ready to quarrell with it selfe; why should I distrust God? doe not I daily see the love of God unspeakably to my poore distressed soule? and he hath said he will never leave mee, nor forsake mee, therefore I will not feare what man can doe unto me, knowing God to be above man, and man can doe nothing without Gods permission. These were the words that fell from her mouth whē she was examined in *Seabrook* fort : I having command of *Seabrooke* Fort she spake these things upon examination in my hearing.

Christian reader, give mee leave to appeale to the hearts of all true affectioned Christians, whether this bee not the usuall course of Gods dealing to his poore captivated children, the prisoners of hope, to distill a great measure of sweet comfort and consolation into their soules in the time of trouble, so that the soule is more affected with the sense of Gods fatherly love, then with the griefe of its captivity: sure I am, that sanctified afflictions, crosses, or any outward troubles appeare so profitable, that Gods deare Saints are forced to cry out, Thy loving kindnesse is better then life, then all the lively pleasures and profits of the world: better a prison sometimes and a Christ, then liberty without him: better in a fierie furnace with the presence of Christ, then in a Kingly palace without him: better in the Lyons denne, in the midst of all the roaring lyons and with Christ, then in a doune bed with wife and children without Christ. The speech of *David* is memorable, that sweet affectionate Prince and souldier, *how sweet is thy word to my taste; yea, sweeter then the honey, and the honey combe*; hee spake it by experience, he had the sweet relish of Gods comforting presence, and the daily communion he had with the Lord, in the midst of all his distresses, tryals, and temptations that fell upon him. And so the Lord deales to this day; the greater the captivities bee of his servants, the contentions amongst his Churches, the cleerer Gods presence is amongst his to pick and cull them out of the fire, and to manifest himselfe to their soules; and beare them up as *Peter* above the water that they sinke not.

But now my deare and respected friends and fellow souldiers in the Lord, are not you apt to say, if this be the fruit of afflictions, I would I had some of those, that I might enjoy these sweet breathings of Christ in my soule, as those that are in afflictions; but beware of those thoughts, or else experience will teach all to recall, or to unwish those thoughts, for it is against the course of Scripture to wish for evill, that good might come of it, wee cannot expect the presence of Christ in that which is contrary to him, (a man laying himselfe open to trouble) but wee are rather to follow Christs example, *Father not my will, but thy will bee done, in earth as it is in heaven*; and when thou art brought thus, prostrate before the Lord like an obedient child, ready to suffer what hee will impose on thee; then if hee thinke good to trie us, wee may exclude no tryall, no captivitie though burdensome or tedious to nature, for they will appeare sweet and sanctified in the issue, if they bee of the Lords laying on: specially when the Lord is pleased to impose trouble on his in way of tryall (as hee said to *Israel* of old; I did it to prove you, and to see what was in your hearts) whether a soule would not doe as the foolish young man in the Gospel, cling more closer to his honour, or profit, or ease, or peace, or liberty, then to the Lord Iesus Christ: and therefore the Lord is pleased to exercise his people with trouble and afflictions, that hee might appeare to them in mercy, and reveale more cleerely his free grace unto their soules. Therefore consider deare brethren, and erre not, nei-

ther to the right hand, nor to the left and bee not as *Ephraim*, like an untamed heifer that would not stoope unto the yoke : but stoope to Gods afflictions if hee please to impose them, and feare them not when they are from God. And know that Christ cannot be had without a crosse; they are inseparable : you cannot have Christ in his Ordinances, but you must have his crosse. Did ever any Christian reade, that in the purest Churches that ever were, that Christians were freed from the Crosse? was not the Crosse carried after Christ? and *Andrew* must follow Christ, but not without a Crosse; he must take it and beare it, and that upon his shoulders, implying, it was not a light crosse, but weighty : Oh let not Christians shew themselves to bee so forgetfull, as I feare many are, of the old way of Christ : ease is come into the world, and men would have Christ and ease, but it will not be in this world; is the servant better then the master? no, he is not, neither shall he be. But you may demand what is meant by this crosse, wee meet with many crosses in the world, losses at home and abroad, in Church and Commonwealth: what crosse doth Christ meane? was it a crosse to bee destitute of a house to put his head in? or was it his crosse, that hee was not so deliciously fed as other men? or to bee so meane, wanting honour as others had? or was it that his habit was not answerable to the course of the world, or to bee destitute of silver and gold, as it is the lot of many of Gods saints to this day: this was not the crosse of Christ, you shall not heare him complaine of his

estate, that it is too meane, or his lodging too bad, or his garments too plaine; these were not the troubles of Christ, these are companions to the crosse. But the chiefe crosse that Christ had, was that the word of his Father could not take place in the hearts of those to whom it was sent, and suffering for the truth of his Father, that was Christs crosse; and that is the crosse too, that Christians must expect, and that in the purest Churches: And therefore why doe you stand and admire at *New England*, that there should bee contentions there, and differences there, and that for the truth of Christ? Doe you not remember that the crosse followed the Church? hath it not beene already said that Christs crosse followed him, and *Andrew* must carry it: and that *Paul* and *Barnabas* will contend together for the truths sake? And doth not the Apostle say, contend for the truth (though not in a violent way?) doth not Christ say, I came not to bring peace but a sword? and why should men wonder at us, seeing that troubles and contentions have followed the purest Churches since the beginning of the world to this day? wherefore should wee not looke backe to the Scriptures, and deny our owne reason, and let that bee our guide and Platforme, and then shall wee not so much admire, when wee know it is the portion of Gods Church to have troubles and contentions? and when we know also it is God that brings them, and that for good to his Church; hath not God ever brought light out of darknesse, good out of evill? did not the breath of Gods Spirit sweetly breathe in the soules of these

poore Captives which we now related? and doe we not ever find the greater the afflictions and troubles of Gods people bee, the more eminent is his grace in the soules of his servants? You that intend to goe to *New England*, feare not a little trouble.

More men would goe to Sea, if they were sure to meet with no stormes: but hee is the most couragious souldier, that sees the battell pitcht, the Drummes beate an alarum, and Trumpets sound a charge, and yet is not afraid to joyne in the battell: shew not your selves cowards, but proceed on in your intentions, and abuse not the lenitie of our noble Prince, and the sweet libertie hee hath from time to time given to passe and repasse according to our desired wills: wherefore doe yee stoppe, are you afraid? May not the Lord doe this to prove your hearts, to see whether you durst follow him in afflictions or not? what is become of Faith? I will not feare that man can doe unto me, saith *David*, no nor what troubles can doe, but will trust in the Lord, who is my God.

Let the ends and aimes of a man bee good, and hee may proceed with courage: the bush may bee in the fire, but so long as God appears to *Moses* out of the bush there is no great danger, more good then hurt will come out of it: Christ knowes how to honour himselfe, and to doe his people good, though it bee by contrary meanes, which reason will not fathome. Looke but to faith, and that will make us see plainly, that though afflictions for the present are grievous, as doubtlesse it was with these two captive

Maides, yet sweet and comfortable is the issue with all Gods saints, as it was with them. But to goe on.

Having imbarqued our souldiers, wee weighed ankor at *Seabrooke Fort*, and set sayle for the *Narraganset Bay*, deluding the *Pequeats* thereby, for they expected us to fall into *Pequeat River*; but crossing their expectation, bred in them a securitie: wee landed our men in the *Narraganset Bay*, and marched over land above two dayes journey before wee came to *Pequeat*; quartering the last nights march within two miles of the place, wee set forth about one of the clocke in the morning, having sufficient intelligence that they knew nothing of our comming: Drawing neere to the Fort yeelded up our selves to God, and intreated his assistance in so waightie an enterprize. We set on our march to surround the * Fort, Captaine *John Mason*, approching to the West end, where it had an entrance to passe into it, my selfe marching to the South side, surrounding the Fort, placing the *Indians*, for wee had about three hundred of them without, side of our souldiers in a ring battalia, giving a volley of shotte upon the Fort, so remarkable it appeared to us, as wee could not but admire at the providence of God in it, that souldiers so unexpert in the use of their armes, should give so compleat a volley, as though the finger of God had touched both match and flint: which volley being given at breake of day, and themselves fast asleepe for the most part, bred in them such a terrour, that they brake forth into a most dolefull cry, so as if God had not fitted the hearts of men for the

* This Fort or Palizado, was well-nie an Aker of ground which was surrounded with trees, and halfe trees set into the ground three foot deepe, and fastned close one to another, as you may see more cleerly described in the figure of it before the booke.

service, it would have bred in them a commiseration towards them : but every man being bereaved of pity fell upon the worke without compassion, considering the bloud they had shed of our native Countrey-men, and how barbarously they had dealt with them, and slaine first and last about thirty persons. Having given fire, wee approached neere to the entrance which they had stopped full, with armes of trees, or brakes : my selfe approaching to the entrance found the worke too heavie for mee, to draw out all those which were strongly forced in. We gave order to one Master *Hedge*, and some other souldiers to pull out those brakes, having this done, and laid them betweene me and the entrance, and without order themselves, proceeded first on the South end of the Fort : but remarkable it was to many of us; men that runne before they are sent, most commonly have an ill reward. Worthy Reader, let mee intreate you to have a more charitable opinion of me (though unworthy to be better thought of) then is reported in the other Booke: you may remember there is a passage unjustly laid upon mee, that when wee should come to the entrance, I should put forth this question: shall wee enter? others should answer againe; What came we hither for else? It is well knowne to many, it was never my practise in time of my command, when we are in garrison, much to consult with a private souldier, or to aske his advise in point of Warre, much lesse in a matter of so great a moment as that was, which experience had often taught mee, was not a time to put

forth such a question, and therefore pardon him that hath given the wrong information: having our swords in our right hand, our Carbins or Muskets in our left hand, we approached the Fort. Master *Hedge* being shot thorow both armes, and more wounded; though it bee not commendable for a man to make mention of any thing that might tend to his owne honour; yet because I would have the providence of God observed, and his Name magnified, as well for my selfe as others, I dare not omit, but let the world know, that deliverance was given to us that command, as well as to private souldiers. Captaine *Mason* and my selfe entring into the Wigwams, hee was shot, and received many Arrowes against his head-peece, God preserved him from any wounds; my selfe received a shotte in the left hippe, through a sufficient Buffe coate, that if I had not beene supplied with such a garment, the Arrow would have pierced through me; another I received betweene necke and shoulders, hanging in the linnen of my Head-peece, others of our souldiers were shot some through the shoulders, some in the face, some in the head, some in the legs: Captaine *Mason* and my selfe losing each of us a man, and had neere twentie wounded: most courageously these *Pequeats* behaved themselves: but seeing the Fort was to hotte for us, wee devised a way how wee might save our selves and prejudice them, Captaine *Mason* entring into a Wigwam, brought out a fire-brand, after hee had wounded many in the house, then hee set fire on the West-side where he entred, my selfe set fire

on the South end with a traine of Powder, the fires of both meeting in the center of the Fort blazed most terribly, and burnt all in the space of halfe an houre; many couragious fellowes were unwilling to come out, and fought most desperately through the Palisadoes, so as they were scorched and burnt with the very flame, and were deprived of their armes, in regard the fire burnt their very bowstrings, and so perished valiantly: mercy they did deserve for their valour, could we have had opportunitie to have bestowed it; many were burnt in the Fort, both men, women, and children, others forced out, and came in troopes to the *Indians*, twentie, and thirtie at a time, which our souldiers received and entertained with the point of the sword; downe fell men, women, and children, those that scaped us, fell into the hands of the *Indians*, that were in the reere of us; it is reported by themselves, that there were about foure hundred soules in this Fort, and not above five of them escaped out of our hands. Great and dolefull was the bloody sight to the view of young souldiers that never had beene in Warre, to see so many soules lie gasping on the ground so thicke in some places, that you could hardly passe along. It may bee demanded, Why should you be so furious (as some have said) should not Christians have more mercy and compassion? But I would referre you to *Davids* warre, when a people is growne to such a height of bloud, and sinne against God and man, and all confederates in the action, there hee hath no respect to persons, but harrowes them, and sawes them,

and puts them to the sword, and the most terrible death that may bee : sometimes the Scripture declar-eth women and children must perish with their parents ; some-time the case alters : but we will not dispute it now. We had sufficient light from the word of God for our proceedings.

Having ended this service, wee drew our forces together to battallia, being ordered, the *Pequeats* came upon us with their prime men, and let flye at us, my selfe fell on scarce with twelve or fourteene men to encounter with them; but they finding our bullets to outreach their arrowes, forced themselves often to retreat: when we saw wee could have no advantage against them in the open field, wee requested our *Indians* for to entertaine fight with them, our end was that we might see the nature of the *Indian* warre : which they granted us and fell out; the *Pequeats*, *Narragansets*, and *Mobigeners* changing a few arrowes together after such a manner, as I dare boldly affirme, they might fight seven yeares and not kill seven men : they came not neere one another, but shot remote, and not point blanke, as wee often doe with our bullets, but at rovers, and then they gaze up in the skie to see where the Arrow falls, and not untill it is fallen doe they shoot againe, this fight is more for pastime, then to conquer and subdue enemies. But spending a little time this way, wee were forced to cast our eyes upon our poore maimed souldiers, many of them lying upon the ground, wanting food and such nourishable things as might refresh them in this faint es-

tate : but we were not supplied with any such things whereby wee might relieve them, but only were constrained to looke up to God, and to intreate him for mercy towards them : most were thirsty but could find no water ; the provision wee had for food was very little ; many distractions seized upon us at the present, a Chirurgion wee wanted, our Chirurgion not accustomed to warre, durst not hazard himselfe where we ventured our lives, but like a fresh-water souldier kept aboard, and by this meanes our poore maimed souldiers were brought to a great strait and faintnesse, some of them swoounding away for want of speedy helpe, but yet God was pleased to preserve the lives of them, though not without great miserie, and paine to themselves for the present. Distractions multiplying, strength and courage began to faile with many. Our *Indians* that had stood close to us hitherto, were fallen into consultation, and were resolved for to leave us in a land wee knew not which way to get out: suddenly after their resolution, fiftie of the *Narraganset Indians* fell off from the rest returning home. The *Pequeats* spying them pursued after them: then came the *Narragansets* to Captaine *Mason*, and my selfe, crying, oh helpe us now, or our men will bee all slaine : we answered, how dare you crave aide of us, when you are leaving of us in this distressed condition, not knowing which way to march out of the Countrey: but yet you shall see it is not the nature of *English* men to deale like Heathens, to requite evill for evill, but wee will succour you: my selfe falling on with thir-

tie men, in the space of an houre rescued their men, and in our retreat to the body, slew and wounded above a hundred *Pequeats*, all fighting men that charged us both in reere and flankes. Having overtaken the body, we were resolved to march to a certaine necke of land that lay by the Sea-side, where wee intended to quarter that night, because we knew not how to get our maimed men to *Pequeat* River. As yet we saw not our Pinaces sayle along, but feared the Lord had crost them, which also the master of the Barque much feared. Wee gave them order to set sayle on the *Narraganset Bay*, about midnight, as wee were to fall upon the Fort in the morning, so that they might meet us in *Pequeat* River in the after-noone; but the wind being crosse bred in them a great perplexitie what would become of us, knowing that wee were but slenderly provided, both with munition and provision: but they being in a distracted condition lifted up their hearts to God for helpe: about twelve of the clocke the wind turned about and became faire, it brought them along in sight of us, and about tenne a clocke in the morning carried them into *Pequeat* river, comming to an anchor at the place appointed, the wind turned as full against them as ever it could blow. How remarkable this providence of God was I leave to a Christian eye to judge; Our *Indians* came to us, and much rejoyced at our victories, and greatly admired the manner of *English* mens fight: but cried *mach it, mach it*; that is, it is naught, it is naught, because it is too furious, and slaies too many men. Having received their

desires, they freely promised, and gave up themselves to march along with us, where ever we would goe. God having eased us from that oppression that lay upon us, thinking wee should have beene left in great misery for want of our vessels, we diverted our thoughts from going to that neck of land; and faced about, marching to the river where our vessels lay at ankor. One remarkable passage. The *Pequeats* playing upon our flankes; One Sergeant *Davis*, a pretty couragious souldier, spying something black upon the toppe of a rock, stepped forth from the body with a Carbine of three foot long, and at a venture gave fire, supposing it to bee an *Indians* head, turning him over with his heeles upward; the *Indians* observed this, and greatly admired that a man should shoot so directly. The *Pequeats* were much daunted at the shot, and forbore approaching so neere upon us. Being come to the *Pequeat* river we met with Captaine *Patrick*, who under his command had 40. able souldiers, who was ready to begin a second attempt: but many of our men being maimed and much wearied, we forbore that night and imbarqued our selves, my selfe setting sayle for *Seabrooke* Fort. Captaine *Mason*, and Captaine *Patrick* marching overland, burned and spoyled the Countrey betweene the *Pequeat* and *Conetticot* river, where we received them. The *Pequeats* having received so terrible a blow, and being much affrighted with the destruction of so many, the next day fell into consultation, assembling their most ablest men together propounded these three things, first

whether they would set upon a sudden revenge upon the *Narragansets*, or attempt an enterprize upon the *English*, or flye; they were in great dispute one amongst another, *Sasachus* their chiefe Commander was all for bloud, the rest for flight, alledging these arguments, wee are a people bereaved of courage, our hearts are sadded with the death of so many of our deare friends; wee see upon what advantage the *English* lye, what sudden & deadly blowes they strike? what advantage they have of their peeces to us which are not able to reach them with our arrows at distance? they are supplied with every thing necessary; they are flote and heartened in their victory; to what end shall wee stand it out with them? we are not able, therefore let us rather save some then lose all; this prevailed. Suddenly after they spoyled all those goods they could not carry with them, broke up their tents and Wigwams, and betook themselves to flight. *Sasachus* flying toward *Conetticot* plantation, quartered by the river side, there he met with a Shallop sent downe to *Seabrooke* Fort, which had in it 3. men, they let fly upon them, shot many arrows into them. Couragious were the *English*, and died in their hands, but with a great deale of valour. The forces which were prepared in the *Bay* were ready for to set forth: my selfe being taken on but for 3. moneths, and the souldiers willing to returne to the *Bay*, we imbarqued our selves, & set to sayle; in our journey we met with certaine Pinaces, in them a 100. able and wel appointed souldiers under the conduct of one Captaine *Stoughton*, and other infe-

in New England.

41

riour officers; and in company with them one M. *John Wilson*, who was sent to instruct the Company; these falling into *Pequeat* river, met with many of the distressed *Indians*, some they slew, others they tooke prisoners.

FINIS.

Notes

- 2.13 *John Oldham*] John Oldham (c.1600–1636) was active in the Indian trade and the Bay colony's negotiations with the western tribes. An emigrant to the Plymouth Colony in 1623, he was exiled from that community in 1624. He had resettled in Hull, and moved to Watertown in 1632. In 1634 he established a trading post on the Connecticut River at the future site of Wethersfield. Evidence suggests that Oldham was killed by members of the Narragansetts, two of whom were serving among his crew, and not by their rivals the Pequots. These events occurred in July 1636.
- 2.25–26 servants ... saved] Two English boys serving with Oldham were taken prisoner but later returned to Boston.
- 2.27 Lord *Sey*, and the Lord *Brookes* plantation] at Saybrook
- 2.28 *John Gallop*] John Gallop or Gallup (c.1593–1650), pilot, fisherman, and trader of Boston.
- 3.15 *John Hendicot*] John Endicott (1588–1665); generally considered the most intolerant and least conciliable of the early magistrates and governors.
- 3.17 *Nathan Turner*] Nathaniel Turner (d.1646) was captain of the Saugus militia; he removed to New Haven in 1638.
- 3.18 *William Ienningson*] William Jennison of Watertown, Mass. He had come to Massachusetts from Bermuda in 1630; he returned to England in 1651 and died after 1657.
- 5.9 *Dalilabs*] Judges 16:4–21
- 5.26 *Abraham*] Genesis 21:9–14
- 5.28 suffe] *i.e.*, surf
- 6.12 Pardues] *perdu* or *perdue*: a sentinel posted in hiding or ambush

- 7.1-2 pulls up his cocke and let fly] *i.e.*, cocked and fired his musket
- 8.1-2 Captaine *Norton* ... Captaine *Stone*] John Stone had stopped in Boston in the summer of 1633 carrying cattle and salt from Virginia. During his brief stay he was arrested twice on suspicion of piracy, adultery, and cursing the magistrates. He was fined and ordered out of port. Walter Norton (c.1580-1633) was associated with Gorges' New England trading ventures and had settled in Maine in 1623. He had embarked with Stone at Agamenticus (York, Maine) following Stone's eviction from Boston.
- 8.4 *Nabanticot*] region occupied by the Niantic people, east of the Pequots and west of the Narragansett Bay.
- 8.9 Pequeat riuier] Now known as the Thames River, emptying into Long Island Sound at New London, Conn.
- 13.7 champion field] field suitable for a military engagement
- 14.25 *John Mason*] John Mason (c.1600-1672); his account of the war was included in Increase Mather's *A Relation of the Troubles which Have Hapned in New-England by Reason of the Indians There from the Year 1614 to the Year 1675* (Boston, 1677), although Mather mis-attributed its authorship to John Allyn. It was published separately, and correctly attributed to Mason, much later, as *A Brief History of the Pequot War* (Boston, 1736).
- 15.23 *Water towne*, now called *Wethersfield*] Wethersfield, Conn., on the Connecticut River a few miles south of Hartford, had been established by settlers from Watertown, Mass.
- 16.30 *Queenapiok*] *i.e.*, Quinnipiac lay northwest of Saybrook Fort; Quinnipiac was later named New Haven.
- 17.5 *Aguarwam*] Agawam, near Springfield, Mass., on the Connecticut River about 5 miles north of the present Connecticut border.
- 17.24-25 *Elizabeth Ilands*] chain of small islands between Martha's Vineyard and Buzzards Bay
- 17.31 *Dukes bury*] Duxbury, Mass., about 10 miles north of Plymouth.

- 18.9 *Piscataway*] The Piscataqua River, a tidal estuary between Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and Kittery, Maine.
- 18.22 *Augumenticus*] Agamenticus, near present-day York, Maine.
- 18.23-24 Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*] (1568-1647) Leading investor in several colonial ventures the New England coast, beginning in 1606. His company sponsored trading and fishing stations and sought to establish English settlements.
- 19.18 *Dedum*] *i.e.*, Dedham, Mass., about 20 miles west of Boston; settled 1635.
- 20.9 Master *Tillie*] John Tilly of Dorchester, Mass.; he had a storehouse at Saybrook Fort and was licensed to trade at Hartford. Despite being warned at Saybrook Fort not to land until he reached Wethersfield, he went ashore about 3 miles upriver and was captured.
- 20.27 Lieutenant *Seily*] Robert Seeley (1602-1668). He had come to Watertown, Mass., in 1630, and helped establish Wethersfield in 1634 and New Haven in 1638. He went to England in 1659 but returned to settle in Huntingdon, Long Island in 1661.
- 22.6-7 the Minister, one *Master Stone*] Samuel Stone (1602-1663), minister at Hartford.
- 26.1-2 hanging their Harpes upon the Willow trees] Psalms 137:2
- 26.14 cried out *David-like ... Saul*] 1 Samuel 27:1
- 27.19-22 speech of *David ... honey combe*] Psalms 119:103
- 27.31 as *Peter* above the water] Matthew 14:25-31
- 28.22-23 *Israel* of old ... hearts] Deuteronomy 8:2
- 28.24-25 foolish young man in the Gospel] Matthew 19:16-24
- 29.2 as Ephraim] Hosea 10:10-12
- 30.15-16 *Paul* and *Barnabas* will contend] Acts 15:2
- 31.18-19 I will not feare ... *David*] Psalms 118:6
- 32.22 battalia] order or arrangement of troops for battle
- 33.12 Hedge] William Hedge or Hedges (1612-1670) of Lynn,

Mass.; he later removed to Sandwich, Yarmouth, and Taunton.

- 33.21 in the other Booke] [Philip Vincent], *A True Relation of the Late Battell fought in New England, between the English and the Salvages: With the present state of things there* (London, 1637).
- 34.17 Buffe coate] protective garment of thick buffalo or ox leather worn by soldiers
- 35.27-28 *Dauids warre*] 2 Samuel 12:31; 1 Chronicles 20:3
- 37.7 Chirurgion] surgeon
- 39.9-10 Sergeant *Davis*] Philip Davis (d.1689) of Hartford.
- 39.24-25 Captaine *Patrick*] Daniel Patrick (d.1643), a veteran of the Low Country wars, was hired by the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1630 to train soldiers and manufacture ammunition. He later moved to New Haven Colony and was involved in the founding of Greenwich, Conn. On his death and loose morals, see *The Journal of John Winthrop, 1630-1649* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 67, 491-92.
- 40.13 flote] *flought* or *flocht*: (obs.) in a state of agitation or excitement
- 40.31 Captaine *Stoughton*] Israel Stoughton (1603-1644) of Dorchester, Mass. He returned to England in 1643 and became lieutenant colonel in the Parliamentary army.
- 41.1-2 M. *John Wilson*] John Wilson (c.1591-1667), a graduate of Eton, King's College, and Emmanuel College, Cambridge, was a founding member and the first pastor of the First Church in Boston.

Note on the Text

This online electronic edition of *Newes from America; Or, A New and Experimentall Discoverie of New England; Containing, A True Relation of Their War-like Proceedings These Two Yeares Last Past, with a Figure of the Indian Fort, or Palizado* is based on the text of the first edition published in London in 1638. The spelling, punctuation, capitalization, italics, and orthography are those of the original edition. The text presented here was transcribed from digital page images of a copy of the first edition held by the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery and accessed online in the Sabin Americana series. One typographical errors has been corrected—at page 1, line 14: plant has been emended to plant.

The typeface is IM Fell DW Pica, digitized and furnished by Iginò Marini [<http://www.iginomarini.com/fell.html>]. The decorative ornaments and initials are reconstructions of those used in the first London edition. The figure of the Indian fort is reproduced from the first edition.

Paul Royster
University of Nebraska–Lincoln
August 7, 2007

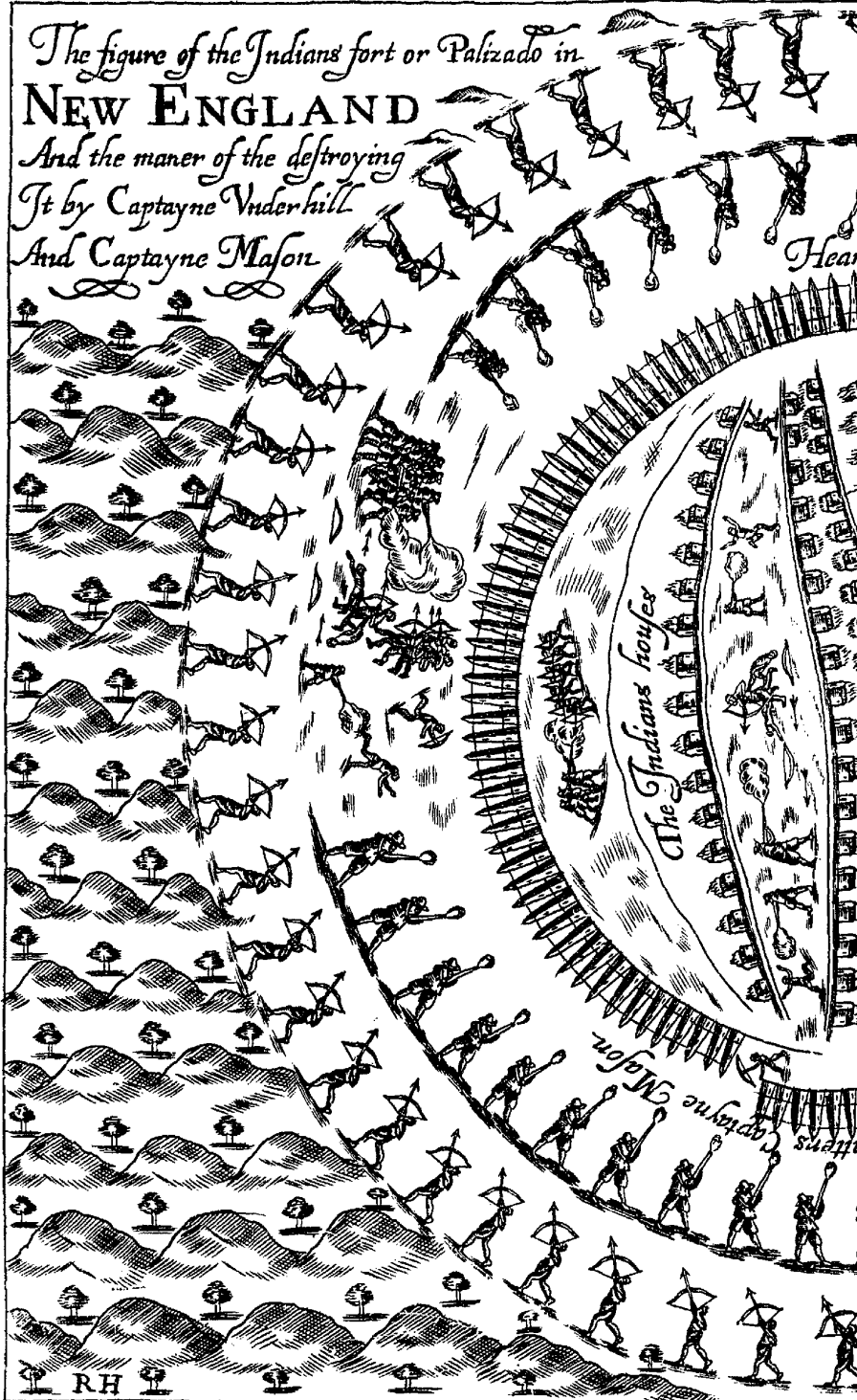
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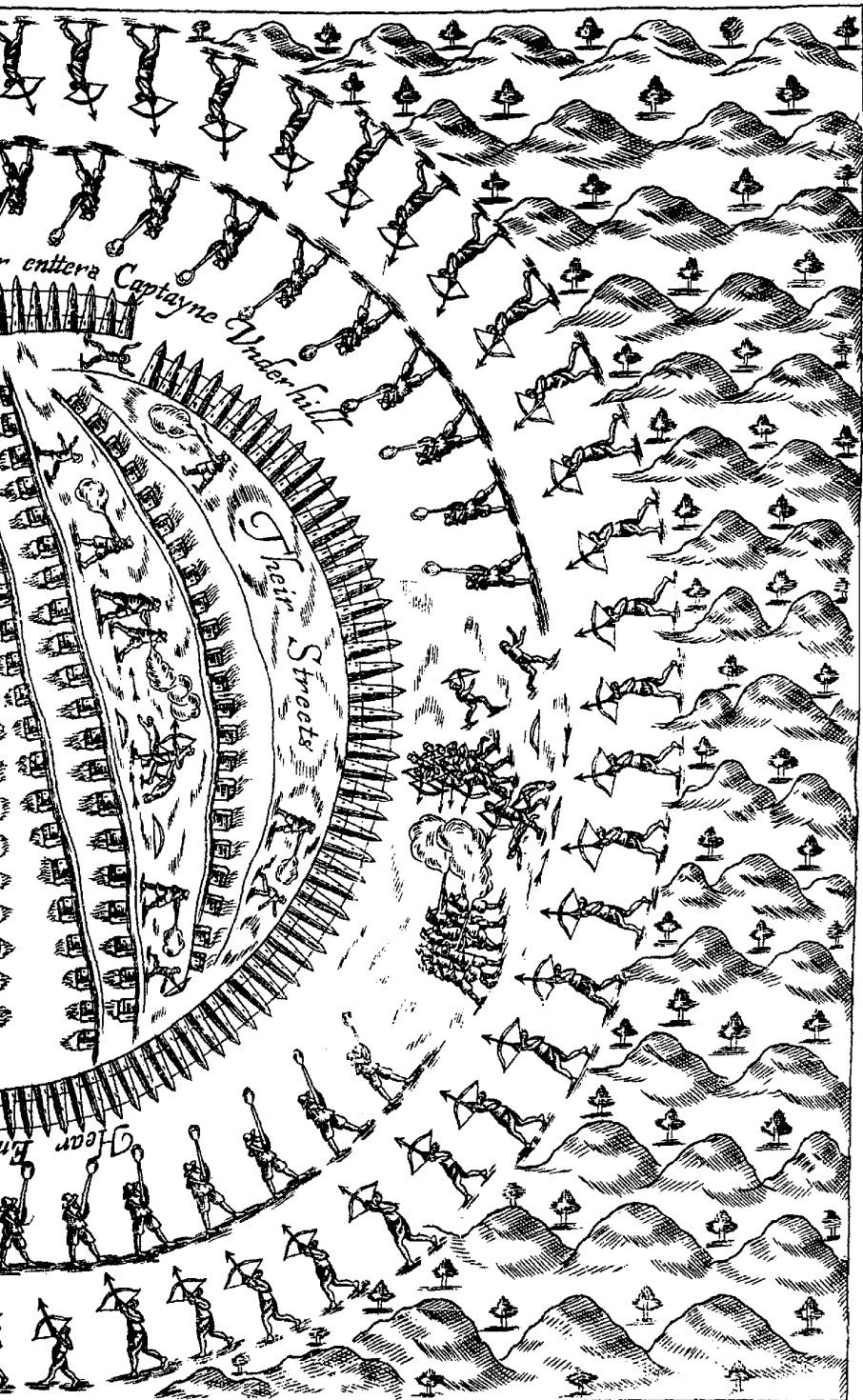
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The figure of the Indians fort or Palizado in
NEW ENGLAND
And the maner of the destroying
It by Captayne Underhill
And Captayne Mason





Lion Gardener



Relation of the Pequot Warres

[1660]

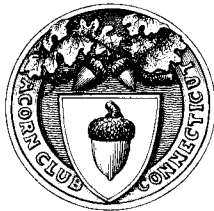
*RELATION of the
PEQUOT WARRES*

WRITTEN IN 1660 BY

Lieutenant Lion Gardener

AND NOW FIRST PRINTED FROM THE
ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

With an HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION



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INTRODUCTION

LION GARDENER, the author of the Relation which is here printed for the first time from the original manuscript, is a striking figure in early New England history. The main facts of his life are given by himself in the Relation; a few items are to be found in contemporary records and in his letters to John Winthrop the younger. These have all been gathered together and admirably summarized by Mr. Curtiss C. Gardiner, a descendant, in his work entitled *Lion Gardiner and His Descendants*.

Born in England in 1599, Lion Gardener belonged, probably, to a family of the lesser gentry, but his ancestry has never been successfully traced. From his later life and opinions it is certain that his sympathies were with the Parliamentary party as against Charles the First; and with the temporary ascendancy of the King, Gardener, in common with many other Englishmen of like political opinions, sought adventure and fortune as a soldier in the Low Countries. In 1635, while "Engineer & mastr of works of fortification in the legers of the prince of Orang," being persuaded thereto by John Davenport, Hugh Peters, and others, he agreed to enter the employ of the English Company then engaged in establishing a settlement on the lower Connecticut. His term of service was to be four years, with a compensation of £100 *per annum*. He was to serve the Company "only in the drawing, ordering, & Making of a cittie, Townes, or forts of defence," under the direction of John Winthrop, Jr. Having decided upon this new venture, he married, at Woerden, in Holland, Mary Wilemson of that place, and on July 10, 1635,

they left Woerden and embarked, probably at Rotterdam, in the ship *Batcheler* bound for New England by way of London. There we get a glimpse of them in a letter written to John Winthrop, Jr., by Edward Hopkins:

Per the shipp Batchler whom God preserve.

London the 16^o of August, 1635.

Mr. Jno. Winthrop.

Sir,— My best respects premised &c., you may please to vnderstand I haue now cleared of from hence the North Sea Boatt, . . . Serieant Gardener and Wm. Job his worke-master, with the Serieants wiefe and his mayd, come over in this barque. Yf you require it of them both Gardener & Job can shew you their covenants with the Company, whereby you may in part perceave what to require of them, and what to performe to them; they are all to be att the Companies charge for matter of diett.¹

From the same letter it appears that Sergeant Gardener drew £30 of his first year's wages. There were probably no other passengers. Hopkins was not very enthusiastic in his description of the crew of the little bark. In the letter just quoted he says: "I cannott say much for master nor men, to incourage you to keepe them the[re] yf you can provide your selfe of others that are fitting for the imployment. It was nott easy here to gett any att this tyme, to goe in soe small a vessell, and therefore I was forced to take some, that otherwise I would nott haue medled withall. The master is able enough, but savours nott godliness."

The *Batcheler* got off to sea at Gravesend on the 18th of August and arrived at Boston late in November, 1635. Gardener's arrival is thus quaintly noted by Governor Winthrop, the elder, in his Journal under the date of November 28th: "Here arrived a small Norsey bark of twenty-five tons sent by Lords Say, etc., with one Gardiner, an expert engineer or work base, and provisions of all sorts,

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VI, 325-327.

to begin a fort at the mouth of Connecticut. She came through many great tempests; yet, through the Lord's great providence, her passengers, twelve men, two women, and goods, all safe."²

Owing to the fact that a severe winter had set in, Gardener remained for several months in Boston. While there he assisted in completing the fortifications on Fort Hill. The records show that at a general meeting on the "23^d of the 11th moneth, 1635, [Jan. 23, 1636, N. S.] . . . It was likewise agreed that for the raising of a new Worke of fortification upon the Forthill, about that which is there alreddy begune, the whole towne would bestowe fourteene dayes worke, . . . The Worke also is to be gon in hand with soe soone as Weather will permitt in regard that the Ingenieere, M^r. Lyon Garner, who doth soe freely offer his help thereunto hath but a short time to stay."³

In the spring Gardener and his party proceeded to their destination in the same ship in which they had crossed the Atlantic, and in March, probably, arrived at the mouth of the Connecticut river, where they found the small clearing and settlement begun during the winter by Winthrop's advance party. With the materials which he had brought with him in the *Batcheler*, Gardener at once began the construction of a fort, which was called Saybrooke after Viscount Say and Sele and Lord Brooke, two of the more prominent patentees of the Company.

On April 1st, 1636, John Winthrop, Jr., the Company's agent, arrived at the fort bringing friendly messages and remembrances for Gardener from Sir Richard Saltonstall, Hugh Peters, and William Pynchon. On the 29th of the same month his son, David Gardener, was born, being the first child born of English parents in Connecticut.

In the midst of his official labors of fortifying and direct-

² Winthrop, J., *History of New England*, 1853, I, 207.

³ Record Commission of the City of Boston, 2d Report, pp. 7, 8.

ing the affairs of the settlement, the Pequot war broke out, and Gardener found himself in the center of hostilities. The events of this brief, sanguinary, and decisive struggle between the first settlers and their Indian neighbors have been so frequently described and are so readily accessible in all our histories that it would be superfluous to even epitomize them here. Nor is it necessary to give a detailed account of Gardener's share in the proceedings. The part he played is set forth in the Relation itself, written for this express purpose, which it accomplishes both succinctly and picturesquely. It is one of the most valuable and interesting bits of colonial autobiography that we possess. But the distinctive facts which should be remembered regarding Gardener's actions at the time are, that he was rightly incensed at the blundering expedition under Endecott sent out from Massachusetts against the Pequots by Sir Henry Vane, and that, as a professional soldier he may well be pardoned for questioning the military strength and ability of the delegation under Mason. In putting the loyalty of Uncas and the Mohegan allies to a test, and in weeding out the physically unfit from Mason's company before re-enforcing it with twenty men from his own command, Gardener was only exercising the rudiments of military caution. With the success of the united expedition against Mystic Fort no one was more pleased than he, for, with the suppression of the Indians, he was hopeful of his own work being more swiftly furthered—a hope which was soon dashed.

In 1639 his contract with the Saybrook Company expired, but as early as November, 1636, he had foreseen that upon the completion of his contract it was more than likely that he would be obliged to shift for himself. Writing to the younger Winthrop, 6 November, 1636, Gardener had said: "Heare hath come many vessels with provision, to goe vp to the plantations, but none for vs. It

(x)

seemes that wee have neather masters nor owners, but are left like soe many servaunts whose masters are willinge to be quitt of them, . . . there shall be noe cause to complayne of our ffidelitie and indeavours to you ward," but, "if I see that there be not such care for vs that ovr lives may be preserved, then must I be fforced to shift as the Lord shall direct. I wish that it may be for God's glory and all your credits and proffitts. Heare is not 5 shillings of money and noe bevor."⁴ This letter shows clearly into what a necessitous condition the Saybrook settlement had soon fallen, and it is not to be wondered at that Gardener had begun to think of other employment or occupation.

On the 3rd of May, 1639, he purchased from the Indians the large island, east of Long Island, which now bears his name, but which he and his contemporaries always called the *Isle of Wight*. Subsequently, he procured a grant of the island from an agent of the Earl of Stirling, the grantee of the King of England, and in September 1686, Governor Dongan of New York issued a confirmatory grant to David Gardener, the son of Lion.

Gardener removed with his family to the island soon after the purchase, accompanied by a number of his old soldiers from the fort, and this little emigration resulted in what is said to have been the earliest English settlement within the present limits of the state of New York. His second daughter, Elizabeth, born September 14, 1641, was the first child born of English parents in New York state.

Gardener resided on his island for some fourteen years pursuing successfully the career of a farmer and landed proprietor. In 1653 he placed it in the hands of overseers and removed to East Hampton, L. I., where in 1649 he and some associates had purchased thirty thousand acres of land for a settlement. He was chosen a magistrate and

⁴ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 53.

took a leading part in the affairs of the town. In 1655 and 1657 he served on a committee that journeyed to Hartford to treat with the magistracy about placing East Hampton under the protection of Connecticut.

In the summer of 1660 he wrote the Relation, prefixing to it a letter to his friends, Robert Chapman and Thomas Hurlburt, it having been composed at their and Major John Mason's request. The probabilities are that it was forwarded to Chapman at Saybrook by some friend or servant of Gardener's. Robert Chapman was a member of the General Assembly of Connecticut at the sessions held in October 1660 and May 1661, and he doubtless took the manuscript up to Hartford with him when attending one or the other of these sessions and there carried out Gardener's suggestion of letting it be seen by his life-long friend, John Winthrop, Jr., then Governor of the Colony. At all events the manuscript found its way into the Governor's possession for it bears upon it an endorsement in his bold handwriting.

The character of Lion Gardener is brought out with charming distinctness in the Relation. Common sense and splendid courage, the severity and grim humor of the soldier, love of justice and honesty in all things with all men — even Indians,—and the sturdy independence of the best type of liberal Puritan, are qualities that one may be quite sure the commander of Saybrook Fort possessed. Writing, probably, very much as he would have spoken, his language shows unmistakable traces of the influence of that Genevan Bible which doubtless was never far from his hand in leisure moments. Nor was this the only book that he possessed. Writing to Winthrop in April, 1650, about a young man, not named, for a minister, Gardener says: “. . . and being he is but a yong man, hapily [haply] he hath not manie books, thearfore let him know what I have. First, the 3 Books of Martters, Erasmus,

moste of Perkins, Wilsons Dixtionare, a large Concordiance, Mayor on the New T[e]stement ; Some of theas, with othar that I have, may be vcefull to him.”⁵ The Dictionary, in all likelihood, was Thomas Wilson’s *Christian Dictionary*, a work that enjoys the distinction of being the first attempt in English towards a dictionary of the Bible. “Moste of Perkins” would fill a good-sized shelf, that theological giant of the 16th century having been a most prolific writer. One cannot help wondering which of Erasmus’ works it was that Gardener had added as spice to his sombre little collection of books. But however much of theology he may have read, it did not, as was too often the case in his day, kill warm human sense and tolerance in him. The story of his long friendship with the great Indian chief, Wyandanch, a friendship that continued steadfast and unbroken till death, is one of the noblest chapters in the history of the relations of white man and Indian. Lion Gardener died in 1663 aged 64 and two years later his wife Mary followed him. Both were buried in the south-end burying ground at East Hampton. Their Island was entailed on the first male heirs of the Gardener family and was never to be alienated. This condition was observed for more than a century and a half, or until the death in 1829 of the eighth proprietor of the Island, when, he leaving no issue, it passed to a younger brother. It is still owned by members of the family and this remarkable record is the only illustration of the practical working of the law of primogeniture in this country, over so long a period of time.

The manuscript of the Relation as it exists to-day is in a remarkably good state of preservation though a trifle brown and stained. It consists of ten leaves seven and one-fourth by ten and three-fourths inches in size, excepting the last leaf which is some two inches narrower. The

⁵Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 59.

first eight leaves are stitched together as one signature, and the last two form a second. . These last two leaves were undoubtedly written several months later than the date at the head of the prefatory letter to Chapman and Hurlburt, but there is no reason to suppose they were not attached to the first signature when they left the hands of Gardener. The first leaf is entirely blank. The first page of the second leaf contains the title. The letter to Chapman and Hurlburt appears on the reverse side of the third leaf and here also begins the pagination extending from 1 to 12 which is continued over the five succeeding leaves and the first page of the following, or ninth. On the first page of the tenth and last leaf, in the upper left hand corner, appears the name "Johnson" and a few other words too indistinct to be made out but which appear to be mere scribblings.

The title, if it may be so called, "Lieut. Lion Gardiner his relation of the Pequot Warres," is in the handwriting of John Winthrop, Jr. Closely following it is the note, written in the minute and rather illegible hand of William Trumbull Williams, Esq., "found among Gov Trumbulls papers 1809 by me," etc. The endorsement, "No 6—17 Papers," and the word "originall" are written in a hand strongly resembling that of Joseph Trumbull. The words "L^t Lion Gardiner" are in the easily recognized handwriting of the elder Governor Jonathan Trumbull. The last endorsement is in pencil and gives the date when the manuscript passed from Dr. Henry Barnard to C. J. Hoadly, LL. D.

The Relation was first printed in 1833 by the Massachusetts Historical Society.⁶ The original manuscript and a copy of it made in part by Governor Trumbull, Sr., were placed by his grandson, William T. Williams, in the hands of the Publishing Committee of that Society. Mr. Will-

⁶Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, III, 131-160.

iams also furnished the Committee with other early manuscripts relating to the Indians, which were printed in the same volume that the Relation appeared in. It was understood that these papers had formerly belonged to the Connecticut branch of the Winthrop family.

In the note prefixed to the Relation as printed by the Society, their Committee said that "on account of the difficulty the printer would find in deciphering the original," they had "followed the orthography of the copy, excepting in the proper names, where they thought it of more importance to adhere to the ancient orthography." Gardener's narrative has been reprinted at least five times since then but in every instance the text of the above version has been reproduced without change. The present edition alone gives the Relation exactly as it appears in Gardener's own manuscript, and a comparison with any of the previous issues will show how extensively, in orthography and other details, the original differs from the version hitherto printed. This fact may be considered a justifiable *raison d' être* for the present edition.

For more than half a century following its publication, in 1833, no mention is anywhere made of the whereabouts of this original manuscript, even the fact of its existence being unknown to the public at large. At least one historical writer made an unsuccessful search for it throughout New England. Its endorsements only partially show the sequence of its ownership; they give no clue as to where it was the greater part of the time between 1840 and 1896, when it was given to Dr. C. J. Hoadly, president of the Connecticut Historical Society, by the Hon. Henry Barnard, an ex-president of the same society. The copy of the manuscript made by Governor Trumbull, the elder, is, and has been ever since the receipt of the papers in 1840, among the Trumbull-Williams manuscripts in the Connecticut Historical Society, but when and in what man-

ner the original became separated from the copy cannot now be stated. Its previous history may, however, be traced or inferred with tolerable sureness. It is certain that the manuscript early reached the hands of Governor John Winthrop, Jr. The next indications of ownership among its endorsements are the handwriting of Jonathan Trumbull, Sr., and the statement by William T. Williams that he found it among his uncle's papers in 1809. No evidence is forthcoming to show where it was during the century intervening between Winthrop's death, in 1676, and the time when it may be supposed to have come into the elder Trumbull's possession, but there is nothing inherently improbable in assuming that it lay undisturbed among the mass of papers accumulated by four generations of the Winthrop family in New London. We do not know positively when or how Governor Trumbull obtained it, but we do know that it was once in his famous collection. And as the manuscripts in his possession at the time of his decease constituted one of the most important gatherings of documents ever brought together in this country, it may not be inappropriate to give here a somewhat detailed account of the formation, dispersal, and subsequent history of the "Trumbull Papers," as it forms a most interesting chapter in the annals of American historical archives.

At the outset of the Susquehannah controversy the officials of the colony found themselves hampered by a lack of important documents, deeds of conveyance, and other records which they thought should naturally have been found in the public archives. At its October session in 1769 the Assembly appointed Governor Trumbull and George Wyllys, Secretary of the State, a committee "to make diligent search after all deeds of conveyance relative to the title of the lands granted by the Crown to this colony by the royal charter," and in May, 1770, the committee not having re-

ported, "they are requested to make further search about the premises and to report what they may discover."⁷ In October of the same year the request was repeated.

Trumbull, always prudent and far-sighted, apparently thought that the lesson taught by this case should not be lost, for, in a message to the General Assembly in 1770 he took occasion to urge that it provide that "all papers and files belonging to the Colony" should be "collected, sorted, and deposited in a proper manner, in one place,"⁸ as necessary for the government and for use on all future occasions. The Assembly promptly acceded to his suggestion by passing the following broad and explicit resolution :

"This Assembly do appoint Gurdon Saltonstall, Esq., and Capt. Joseph Trumbull to enquire after and collect all the public letters and other papers relating to the affairs of this Colony which properly belong to the Colony, in whose custody soever the same may be found, (except those in the hands of his Honor the present Governor or in the Secretary's office,) and properly sort, arrange and file the same, according to the order of the time in which they were written, and write on each file the sort of papers it contains and the year they belong to, and lodge the same with the Secretary."⁹

This resolution was succeeded by another in May, 1771, in which the Governor himself was "desired to collect all the publick letters and papers which may hereafter in any way affect the interest of this Colony and have the same bound together, that they may be preserved";¹⁰ a resolution which, in effect, added Governor Trumbull to the committee previously appointed.

That the committee set to work and diligently carried out the Assembly's instructions, is now known with cer-

⁷ Conn. Col. Records, XIII, 247, 304.

⁸ I. W. Stuart. Life of J. Trumbull, Sr., p. 145.

⁹ Conn. Col. Records, XIII, 367.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, XIII, 424.

tainty. In a letter written at Hartford under date of June 6, 1771, Joseph Trumbull, writing to ex-Governor Fitch, cited the above Resolve of the Assembly as his authority, and said: "I have Collected the most or all I can find or hear off, except those in Your Honor's keeping, which the distance & difficulty of Transportation during the Winter, has prevented . . . I have therefore desired the Fav^r of M^r Tho^s Belden, to wait on Your Hon[or] & Consult the most convenient & least expensive manner of Transp[or]-tations, & Advise me accordingly."¹¹ Writing from New London on February 12, 1772, to Joseph Trumbull, his colleague, Gurdon Saltonstall forwarded for Governor Trumbull some papers relating to Indian affairs and the Hopkins legacy, and said: "M^r. Winthrop¹² when he collects anything material, acquaints the Governor of it — & no doubt will continue in the same practice."¹³ In this last sentence we also get a possible inkling of the source through which the Governor obtained some of the precious Winthrop papers in his collection. At one time he had the two earliest of the three original manuscripts of the elder Winthrop's History of New England, "besides many other papers of the sons and grandsons of this father of the chief Colony."¹⁴ Lastly, in the Connecticut State archives, *Finance & Currency, V, doc. 82a*, in Governor Trumbull's account of contingent expenses rendered in 1774, there is an item showing Green, the official printer's charge of 5s. 6d. "for binding D^r. Johnson's Letters."¹⁵ These were the letters written to Governors Pitkin and Trumbull by William Samuel Johnson during his agency in England, from 1767 to 1771, as the colony's representative in the

¹¹ MS. copy in Conn. Hist. Soc. See, also, a modernized version of the whole letter in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1835-55, II, 344, note.

¹² John Still Winthrop, 1720-1776.

¹³ MS. letter in Conn. Hist. Soc.

¹⁴ Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1835-55, II, 332, note.

¹⁵ Conn. Colonial Records, XIII, 424, note.

Susquehannah case. This bound volume was afterwards found among Governor Trumbull's papers. Its contents have been printed in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.¹⁶

These three items of documentary evidence conclusively show that the Committee gathered what papers it could trace as fairly coming under the head of official documents ; that it forwarded to the Governor such as he had immediate need of, and that he himself arranged those in his possession relating to the Susquehannah Case and had them bound at the expense of the state. No report of the Committee is known to be extant and there is no record of its collections ever having been formally transferred to the archives of the Secretary of the State. It is extremely probable that most of the papers thus gathered were turned over to Governor Trumbull for final arrangement, filing, and binding in accordance with the Resolution of the Assembly. But the exciting events of the Revolution soon followed thick and fast ; both the Resolve and the Committee were naturally lost sight of and forgotten ; many papers that had been collected doubtless remained in the Governor's hands and, together with his own private papers, drafts, and copies of official documents, made up the splendid collection which, upon his death in 1785, passed to his heirs.

In April, 1794, David Trumbull, Esq., third son of Jonathan Trumbull, Sr., addressed the following letter to the Massachusetts Historical Society at Boston :

The Reverend Jeremy Belknap, Corresponding Secretary
of the Massa : Historical Society, Boston.

Sir,

My Father, the late Governor Trumbull collected with care, the most important official papers which pass'd thro his hands, during the very interesting Period of the Revolution, with the intention that they should be preserv'd &

¹⁶ 5th Series, IX, 211-490.

deposited in some public Library, as materials for future Historians.

Had the Massachusetts Historical Society existed during his Life, there is no doubt but He would have chosen to give them to an Institution whose Patriotic Views they would so directly subserve in preference to a Collegiate or other Library, where they probably would soon become "Food for Worms."

His Heirs therefore, think they cannot so well fulfill the Governor's intentions on this subject, as by Offering them, as I am commissioned to do—to the Massachusetts Historical Society.

You will be pleas'd to Communicate this Offer to the Society in Our names:—permitting us to suggest the propriety of their sending some person to make a selection of such papers as may be thought most usefull:—Should it be thought an object worth your personal attention. We shall be happy to give you the best evidences in our power of the Respect which we especially have for you.

I am Sir

Your most Obedient Servant

David Trumbull.

Lebanon 15th April 1794.

Rev^d J. Belknap.¹⁷

This letter was read at a meeting of the Society on June 11, 1794. The offer was gratefully accepted and the Corresponding Secretary instructed to write a letter of thanks to David Trumbull, informing him at the same time that a representative of the Society would be sent to Connecticut as soon as possible to make a selection.

One of the members, Judge William Wetmore of Boston, who was then in Connecticut, was requested to go to Lebanon and do this, but it does not appear that he was able to comply with the request, for at a meeting of the Society, April 28, 1795, it was voted, "That Dr. Belknap be requested to take a journey to Lebanon for the purpose of inspecting the papers of the late Governor Trumbull, and

¹⁷ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, II, 240.

that the Society engage to bear one half the expense of the journey.”¹⁸ On July 30 Dr. Belknap reported that he had been to Lebanon, examined the books and papers, a general list of which he read, and stated that they would be sent forward by the packet in August. They did not arrive, however, until some months later, for in Dr. Belknap’s interleaved almanac for 1795 under date of December 12, is the following entry: “Arrived at my house the chests and boxes of papers from Governor Trumbull’s, at Lebanon. They were sent from Norwich, carted across Cape Cod, and thence brought up to Boston in a vessel from Barnstable.”¹⁹

The Society has always regarded the Trumbull Papers as among the most precious in its archives and has pursued a generous policy in granting the use of them to historical investigators. The manuscripts have been arranged, indexed, and bound up into volumes, now thirty in number. One was unfortunately burned in 1825 while temporarily in the office of Mr. James Savage, who was then preparing for the press Winthrop’s History of New England and had taken several rare volumes from the Society’s Library for consultation, all of which were lost in the Court Street conflagration. But Mr. Savage stated that the most valuable portion of the Trumbull volume had already been printed in the first volume of the Third Series of the Society’s Collections. Others of the Trumbull Papers, viz., the letters of William Samuel Johnson, of Colonel Jedidiah Huntington, and the correspondence of Washington with Governor Trumbull, Sr., have also been printed by the Society.

While Dr. Belknap undoubtedly selected the most valuable part of the papers offered by the Trumbull heirs, there

¹⁸Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc. 1791-1836, I, 83.

¹⁹*Ibid.* p. 85 note.

²⁰Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 5th Series, IX and X.

seems to have still remained in the family's possession a considerable and by no means unimportant mass of documents. Upon the death of Governor Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., in 1809, these appear to have passed to William Trumbull Williams, Esq., a nephew, who had made his ties of relationship to the Trumbull family still closer by marrying an own cousin, the daughter of David Trumbull, younger brother of Jonathan. As noted above, it was Mr. Williams who found Gardener's manuscript of the Relation among his uncle's papers and loaned it, with the elder Governor Trumbull's copy, to the Massachusetts Historical Society for publication.

In 1840 the Trumbull family presented to the Connecticut Historical Society a large number of manuscripts, papers, and books. These included what remained of the original Trumbull collection, together with the family papers of William T. Williams, Esq., and of his father, William Williams, the "Signer." Messrs. Charles Hosmer and Henry Barnard visited Lebanon as the official representatives of the society, and the papers were formally transferred to them in December, 1840, by Larned Hebard, Esq., administrator of the estate of William T. Williams. They were sent into Hartford consigned to Mr. Barnard. Their arrival, and the society's just pride in so rich an acquisition, are indicated in a letter of Thomas Day, president of the society, to ex-Governor John Cotton Smith, written December 16, 1840: "We have lately received from the administrator of the late Wm. T. Williams of Lebanon three large trunks filled with original letters and other documents that belonged to the first Gov. Trumbull and his son-in-law Col. Wm. Williams. Among them are letters to and from Gov. Saltonstall, Gov. Talcott, Gov. Law, Gov. Roger Wolcott, the first Gov. Trumbull, and others. We now feel that we have got something that those who come after us will think worth

taking care of.”²¹ At a meeting of the society January 15, 1841, a cordial vote of thanks to “the heirs of His Excellency, Jonathan Trumbull, Senior,” was passed, and the society’s appreciation of the valuable donation suitably recorded.

Some years after the Trumbull-Williams manuscripts had been presented to the Connecticut Historical Society, an incident occurred which has its parallels in the history of other notable private collections after their final dispersal. At its May session in 1845 the General Assembly of Connecticut formally laid claim to the Trumbull Papers in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The reasons for this action were embodied in the following resolution :

Whereas, it is understood and believed by the General Assembly now in session, that numerous official letters and valuable correspondence intimately connected with executive and legislative acts of this State, during an important and interesting period of its history, was collected by His Excellency Governor Trumbull, during his administration, and which, in the opinion of this Assembly, ought to have been deposited in the office of the Secretary of this State, but are now in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and,

Whereas, it is proper and desirable that said documents, &c., be obtained from said Society and deposited with the Secretary of this State; therefore,

Resolved, That His Excellency the Governor be and he is hereby requested to adopt such measures as may be proper and expedient to obtain possession of the letters, correspondence, and documents above referred to, and the same to deposit for safe-keeping in the office of the Secretary of this State, in Hartford.

This resolve was duly communicated to the society by Governor Roger S. Baldwin, and it was read before the members at a meeting held on September 12, 1845. After some discussion, a committee was appointed to take the

²¹ Conn. Hist. Soc. Report, 1897, p. 19.

matter into consideration and report on it. The committee consisted of Messrs. I. P. Davis, Josiah Quincy, and James Savage. They reported in December, but for some reason or other it was voted to recommit the report, and in the following January they presented another. This was rather high-sounding in tone, but shrewdly drawn and worded. The society accepted it and ordered a copy sent to the Secretary of the State of Connecticut.

The report of the committee maintained "that it would hardly be presumed that the Governor of any independent Commonwealth would have withdrawn from the public archives large masses of official original documents, and transported the same a distance of many miles from the seat of government . . . unto his own home in a remote town"; it asserted that the collection was surely the gathering of a lifetime, and had always been regarded as private property by Governor Trumbull, and also by his heirs, in whose undisturbed possession it had remained for ten years after his death; that the papers of his predecessors in the office of Governor amounted to but a very small portion of the whole, and were, indeed, mostly private in nature, or else triplicate copies and not such complete documents as should be found in official archives. "Wherefore, the Committee conclude with a decided judgement that the opinion of the Assembly of Connecticut . . . is founded on a mistaken assumption; and that the exalted character of Governor Trumbull, and of his four immediate predecessors in the chair of chief magistrate of that Colony, may, in all future time, be confidently referred to as adequate and perfect vindication from the consequences of such assumption; and they recommend in conclusion, that the trust of this Society in preservation of the papers usually called the 'Trumbull Papers' be ever sacredly fulfilled."²²

²² Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1835-55, II, 331-333.

Some of the points in this report were indisputable, but the first, and perhaps the most important one, was very far from being so. Governor Trumbull did take large numbers (not necessarily *masses*) of official documents from the public archives, and he certainly did have them at his home in Lebanon, "many miles from the seat of government." Many expressions in his letters show this. For example, writing to Wyllys from Lebanon on August 17, 1770, in regard to the Mohegan case, he says, "I cannot find this passage in the Comifs^{rs} Book with me"; in the same letter reference is made to another important document of a public nature which he then had.²³ In November, 1770, writing from the same place to the same official, he says: "I have Sent my Son, with The Book of Records of the doings & proceedings of the Comifs^{rs} of the four United Colonies of N. E.," and at the close of the letter he adds, "please to return the Records, as well as the Copies &c."²⁴ Early in the previous month, as appears from still another letter, he had sent certain records and documents to Secretary Wyllys, thinking them needful to be laid before the General Assembly at New Haven. But the Governor had these papers for perfectly legitimate purposes, as, for example, in drawing up the argument for the colony in the Susquehannah case, and was acting clearly within his official rights in borrowing them from the office of the Secretary of the State. Nor was this an unusual thing, or a privilege exclusively granted to public officials. The General Assembly at one time granted the historian, Benjamin Trumbull, permission to borrow such State records as he desired to make use of, and retain them for a period of six months if needed. In fact, to any one acquainted with the reckless ways in which records and public papers were

²³ MS. in Conn. Hist. Soc. Trumbull-Williams Papers.

²⁴ Gov. Trumbull's own draft in Conn. Hist. Soc. Trumbull-Williams Papers.

loaned, borrowed, and transported from place to place in colonial and even later times, it is a cause for wonder that so many have been preserved. Hence the major point in the Massachusetts Society's argument was not well taken.

Their position, however, was greatly strengthened by the weakness of the reply to the committee's report made by Governor Baldwin in behalf of Connecticut's claim. In repudiating the committee's implied charge of casting reflections on Governor Trumbull's character, he was obliged to admit that it had been the custom in Connecticut for the chief magistrate to keep in his own possession the papers of his administration pertaining to the executive department. It is true that he contended that this fact would not account for the presence in the Trumbull collection of the papers of former administrations. These, he claimed, were the result of the collections made by direction of the General Assembly under the authority of their various resolutions. This assumption, though a fair one, cannot be proven conclusively. Long-established usage had made official correspondence and similar documents the personal property of the Governor, who retained them when he passed out of office. The papers of former Governors that were turned over to Trumbull were given up voluntarily, and without doubt as a matter of courtesy, not as an obligation; though it may, indeed, have been understood that they were ultimately to go to the State. Of this, however, there is no direct evidence. So far as these personal papers are concerned, by no construction of law or custom were they ever the actual property of Colony or State, or at any time in the State's custody. Governor Baldwin's position on this point was clearly untenable.

At a meeting on May 28, 1846, the society referred the matter to the same committee for further consideration, and in the following November they brought in a second report, which rather indicates that their feelings had gotten

the best of their judgment. They asserted that the simple fact that the papers had been in the undisputed possession of the society for more than fifty years was of itself a sufficient answer to such a claim. "They remain in its Library, accessible . . . to all proper applicants; and copies of any of them may be taken by the State of Connecticut."²⁵

But the committee fell into error when it maintained that the resolution of the colonial assembly requesting Governor Trumbull to collect such State papers as he could find, and arrange and bind them for public use, was merely suggested by "the well known fact that Governor Trumbull was a most diligent collector of all sorts of manuscripts." The real reasons for the Assembly's action have been given above. The committee's further statements, "that to fulfill this request was no part of his official duty," and that "it is certain that he never complied with the request, *at least so far as these papers are concerned*; and there is no evidence that he ever agreed or intended to do so,"²⁶ were quite too sweeping and gratuitous. It certainly is part of an official's duty to execute the mandates of the legislature, and the evidence adduced above in connection with the Assembly's resolutions in 1770 and 1771 quite disproves the committee's hasty assertions. In conclusion, their report recommended the adoption of the following vote :

Voted, that the Historical Society of Massachusetts, having most respectfully considered the application of the State of Connecticut for the collection of papers, arranged and bound up by the said Society, and by them called the Trumbull Papers, beg leave to decline complying with it, being of opinion that it is their duty to preserve the same in their own Library, in conformity with the will of the donors.

²⁵ Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1835-55, II, 343-345.

²⁶ Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., II, 357-359.

The society voted unanimously "that the report of the Committee be accepted, and the vote they recommend be adopted." No further action seems to have been taken by the State of Connecticut, and the matter was dropped.

Such is the history of the famous collection of papers to which the original manuscript of Gardener's Relation once belonged, prior to its acquisition by Mr. Henry Barnard, who later gave it to Dr. Charles J. Hoadly. The latter, recognizing the importance of placing its text, exactly as written, in the hands of historical students, offered the use of it to the Acorn Club, of which he was an honorary member. But before the printing of it could be undertaken, Dr. Hoadly died, and the manuscript passed into the hands of his brother and executor, George E. Hoadley, who kindly continued the previous permission to the Club to make use of the manuscript for the purposes of this edition. It may also be mentioned here that Dr. Hoadly left a memorandum directing that the manuscript be presented to the library of Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, of which he was a distinguished graduate.

The proofs of the following pages have been compared throughout with the original manuscript, by Mr. Albert C. Bates, librarian of the Connecticut Historical Society.

W. N. Chattin Carlton.

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The Relation, as printed from the manuscript copy of the original made by Governor Jonathan Trumbull, Sr., has appeared in the following works and editions :

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Essexham for June 4th & 12th 1660

Love my friends Robert Chapman and Thomas Hunt but my love remembered to you both, had me to informe if as you desired me rather I was with you and Major-Mason at Seabrooke 2 years & a halfe ago: to come to & see you and the plantation of Gods children at Seabrooke in and about the time of the first voyage New-England I have now remembered to enquire of Mr. Deane, and having managed and found sum all papers then written it was a great help to my remembrance, you know so I come to you I was an try remembrance of our brother who of course is a little not but you know I could never see all the books, for although for my usefulness I was forced sometimes to see my shifting chifell and my faultfall not you know I could never order nor able to see any thing please. I have heard that you a spirit of Time's power and forward might to come to any hand down parts of words but being I have some of hard set words you must not remember to stop it and to forward it least of printers should give sum more for the few I think must not be spoken at all times though to my knowledge I have written nothing but built and you may take out as put in is eyes please as if you will, may be some all into of show but I think you may be of some and Major-Mason for it, I have also informed sum a notion of things of some down since it may be considered by us all and by us it was when I was with you so I remain still. O. Leonard of wind Lion Gardens

Leift Lion Gardiner his
relation of the Pequot Warres.

Found among Gov Trumbulls papers 1809 by me &
presen^d to Com^{tee} of Historical So^y Mafs^s (to Rev^d
Convers Francis) to be restrd When Called for
W T Williams
(Lebanon Con) 19th July 1832

N^o 6 —
17 Papers
Original
L^t Lion Gardener
Received of H. B.
Feb. 10, 1896
C. J. H.

(1)

[1] Easthampton June the 12th: 1660

Louing ffrends Robert Chapman and Thomas Hurlburt my loue remembred to you both, thes are to Informe, y^t as you desired me when I was with you and Maior Mafon at Seabrooke 2 years & a halfe agoe to confid^r and call to mind the passages of Gods p^ruidence at Seabrooke in and about the time of y^e Pequit warre whearin I haue now Indeuoured to anfwer yo^r desires, and hauing rumiged and found sum old papers then written it was a great help to my memorie, you know w^h I came to you I was an Ingeannere or archecktecor whereof carpendrie is a little p^rt, but you know I could neuer use all the tooles, for although for my necessitie I was forced sumtimes to use my shifting chifell and my houldfast yet you know I could neuer endure nor abide the smothing plane, I haue here sent you a piece of Timb^r skored and forehewed unfit to Joyne to any handsome piece of worke, but feing I haue done y^e hardest worke, you must get sumbodie to chip it and to smooth it least y^e splinters should prick sum mens fingers, for y^e truth Must not be spoken at all times though to my knowledg I haue written nothing but truth and you may take out or put in w^t you pleas or if you will, may throw all into y^e fire but I thinke you may let y^e Gouvern^r and

(3)

Maioꝛ Mafoꝛ ſe it, I haue alſo inſerted ſum aditions
of things y^t wear done ſince y^t they may be con-
ſidered togeath^r/and thus as I was when I was
with you ſo I remaine ſtill

Yo^r

Louing ffriend

Lion Gardener

(4)

[2] In the yeare 1635 I Lione Gardener Engineer & Maſt^r of works of fortification in the legers of the prince of Orang in the Low cuntries through the p^rſwation of M^r John Dauenport M^r Hugh Peters with ſome oth^r well affected Englishmen of Rotterdam; I made an agreement with the fore-named M^r Peters for 100^t p^r annum for 4 years to ſerue the cumpanie of patentees, Namely the Lord Say, the Lord Brooks, Sir Arthur Hazilrig, Sir Mathew Bonnington, Sir Richard Saltingstone, Eſquire ffenwick, and the reſt of th^r cumpanie, (I ſay, I was to ſerue them only in the drawing, ordering, & Making of a Cittie, Townes, or forts of defence: And ſo I came f[rom] Holland to London, and from thence to New England, whear I was apoynted to atend Such ord[ers] as M^r John Winthrop Eſquire the p^rſent Gouvern^r of Conectecott was to apoynt, wheth^r at pe[] riuier or Conectecott and y^t we ſhould chuſe a place both for the conueniencie of a good harbor and allſo for capablenes and fitnes for fortification: But I landing at Boſton the latt^r end of Nouem[ber] the aforeſaid M^r winthrop had ſent before one Leuten: Gibbons Sergiant Willard with ſome carp[enters] to take poſſeſſion of y^e riuers mouth, whear they began to build houſes againſt the Spring, wee expecting acording to promiſe y^t there would haue come from England to us 300 able men whereof 200. ſhould atend ffortification, 50 to till y^e ground & 50 to build houſes but our great expectation at the riuers mouth came only to 2 men, viz. M^r ffenwick,

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and his man who came With M^r Hugh Peters, and m^r oldham & Tho. Stanton bringing with them Some otterskin coats and Beuer and scaines of wampum which the Pequits had sent for a present becauf the English had required thof pequits y^t had kild a virginnean one Cap^t. Stone with his Barks crew in conectecott riuer, for they said they would haue th^r liues & not th^r presents, then I answered feing you will take M^r Winthrop to y^e Bay to see his wife Newly brou[ght] to bed of her first child, and though you Say he shall returne, yet I know if you make war wi[th] thes pequits he will not come hith^r again, for I know you will keepe yo^rselues against Cap^t hung^r and let ffortification aloane awhile, safe as you think in the bay but myselfe with thes few you will leaue at the stake to be roasted or for hung[er] to be starued, for Indean corn is now 12^s p^r bushell and we haue but 3 akers planted, and if the[y] will now make war for a virginnian and expose us to the Indiens whof mercies are cruel they I say, they loue the virginnians better than us, for haue they stayed thes 4 or 5 yea[rs] and wil they begin now we being so few in the riuer and haue scarce holes to put our heds in I pray aske the Magistrats in the bay, if they haue forgot w^t I said to th^e w^h I returned from Salem! for M^r Winthrop, M^r Haines, M^r Dudley, M^r ludlow, M^r Humfry, M^r Belingam, M^r Coddington, & M^r Nowell, thes entreated me to goe with M^r Humfry & M^r Peters to vew the Cuntrie to see how fit it was for fortification, and I tould them y^t Nature had done more

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then halfe the worke alreddie & y^t I thought no forraigne potent enemie would doe th^m any hurt, but one y^t was neare, the asked me who that was & I said it was Cap^t Hung^r that threatned them most, for, said I war is like a 3 footed stoole, want one foot and down cums all and thes 3 feet are men, victuals, & munition, therefore feing in peace you are like to be famished w^t will or can be done if war, therefore I thinke said I it will be best only to fight and if need hereafter require it I can come to doe you any seruice, and they all liked my faying well, entreat them to rest awhile till wee get more strength here about vs, and y^t we here where the feat of y^e war will be; may aproue of it & prouide for it, for I had but 24 in all men women & boyes & girls, and not food for th^m for 2 moneths vnles we faued our corne field, which could not possibly be if they came to war, for it is 2 miles from our home: M^r winthrop M^r ffenwick & M^r peters promised me that they would doe th^r vtmost Indeuour to p^rswade the bay men to desist from war a yeare or 2 till we could be better prouided for it, and then the Pequit Sachem was sent for, and the p^rsent returned, but full fore against my will, So they 3 returned to Boston and 2 or 3 dayes after came an Indean from pequit, whof name was cocommithus who had liued at Plimmoth and could speake good English, he desired y^t M^r Steuen winthrop would goe to pequit with an 100^{li}s worth of trucking cloath and all oth^r trading ware for they knew y^t we had a great cargoe of goods of M^r Pincheons & M^r Steuen

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winthrop had y^e disposing of it [3] And he said y^t if he would come he might put off all his goods and the pequit Sachem would giue him two horfes y^t had been there a great while, So I sent the shallop with M^r Steuen winthrop Sargeant Tille who we cald afterward Sargeant kettle becauf he put the kettle on his hed, & Tho Hurlbut and 3 men more charging them y^t they should ride in y^e middle of y^e riuer & not goe ashore vntill they had done all th^r trade and y^t M^r Steuen winthrop should stand in y^e hould of y^e boate hauing th^r guns by them & fwords by th^r sides, the oth^r 4 to be 2 in the fore Cuddie & 2 in aft being armed in like maner y^t so they out of the loope holes might cleare the boat if they wear by the pequits asalted, and y^t they should let but one canoe cum aboard at once with no more but 4 Indeans in her, & w^h she had traded ther an oth^r, and y^t they should lie no longer there then one day and at night to goe out of the riuer, and if they brought the two horfes to take them in at a cleare piece of land at y^e mouth of y^e riuer, 2 of them goe ashore to help the horfes in and y^e rest stand reddie with th^r guns in th^r hands if need were to defend them from y^e pequits for I durst not trust them, So they went & found but little trade, and they hauing forgotten w^t I charged them, Tho Hurlbut and one went ashore to boyle the kettle and Tho Hurlbut steping into y^e Sachems wigwam not far from y^e shore enquiring for y^e horfes, y^e Indeans went out of y^e wigwam, and Wuncumbone his Mothers sifter was then the great

Pequit Sachems wife who made signes to him y^t he should be gone for they would cut off his hed which \bar{w} he perceiued he drew his sword & ran to y^e oth^r and got aboard, and immediately came abundance of Indeans to y^e wat^r side and cald them to cum ashore but they immediatly fet saile and came home, and this caused me to keepe watch and ward for I saw they plotted our destruction / & suddently after came Cap^t Endecott, Cap^t Turner, & Cap^t Vndrill with a cumpanie of Souldiers well fitted to Seabrook and made y^t place th^r rendeuow or feat of war and y^t to my great grieffe for said I you come hith^r to raise thes wasps about my eares, and then you will take wing and flee away, but, when I had seen th^r commiffion I wondered and made many allegations against the Manner of it, but goe they did to pequit and as they came without acquainting any of vs in y^e riuer with it So they went against our will, for I knew y^t I should loose our corne field. then I entreated thē to heare w^t I would say to them which was this, Sirs, Seing you will goe I pray you if you doe not loade yo^r barkes with Pequits loade them with corne for y^t is now gath^red with them & dry redie to put into th^r barns, and both you & we haue need of it, and I will fend my shallop and hire this duchmans boate there p^rsent to goe with you, and if you can not attain yo^r end of y^e pequits yet you may load yo^r barks with corn which will be wellcome to Boston and to me, but they said they had no bags to load them with, then said I here is 3 dozen of new bags you shal haue

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30 of them and my shallop to carie them, & 6 of them my men shall vse themselues, for I will with y^e duchmen send 12 men well p^ruided, and desired them to deuide the men into 3 parts, viz 2 parts to stand without the corne and to defend the oth^r $\frac{1}{3}$ p^rt y^t carrie the corn to y^e wat^r side, till they haue loaden w^t they can and y^e men ther in armes w^h the rest are aboard, shall in order goe aboard, y^e rest y^t are aboard Shall with th^r armes clear the shore if y^e pequits doe asalt them in y^e reare, and then w^h the Generall shall display his collers all to set faile togeth^r. To this motion they all agreed, and I put y^e 3 dozen of bags aboard my Shallop and away they went, and demaunded y^e pequit Sachem to cum into parle but it was returned for answer y^t he was from home but within 3 hours he would cum and so from 3. to 6. & thence to 9. ther came none, but the Indeans came without armes to our men in great numbers, & they talked with my men whom they knew but in the end at a word giuen they all on a sudden ran away from our men as they stood in ranke and file and not an Indean more was to be seen; and all this while before they caried all th^r stuff away and thus was y^t great parley ended, then they displayed th^r cullers & beat their drums, burnt sum wigwams and sum heapes of corne, and my men caried as much aboard as they could but the armie went aboard leauing my men ashore Which ought to haue marched aboard first, but they all set faile and my men were pursued by the Indeans, and they hurt sum of the Indeans, and two of th^m came home

wounded, the bay men kild not a man saue y^t one kichomiquin an Indean Sachem of y^e bay kild a pequit, and thus began the wars between the Indeans and vs in thes p^rts: So my men being cum home and hauing brought a prittie quantitie of corn with them, they Informed me both duch and English of all passages, I was glad of y^e corn: After this I imediately tooke men and went to our cornfield to gath^r our corn, apoynting others to cum about with the shallop and fetch it, and left 5 lustie men in y^e strong houf with long guns, which houf I had built for the defence of the corn, now thes men not regarding the charg I had giuen them, 3 of them went a mile from y^e houf a foaling; and hauing loaded themselues with foule they returned, but y^e pequits let them pas first till they had loaded themselues, but at th^r returne they arose out of th^r ambush [4] And Shot them all 3. one of them escaped through y^e corn Shot through the legge y^e oth^r 2 they tormented, then the next day I sent y^e shallop to fetch y^e 5 men and y^e rest of y^e corn, y^t was broken downe and they found but 3 as is aboue said, and w^h they had gotten y^t, they left y^e rest and as soone as they weare gone a little way from Shoare they saw the house on fire, Now so soone as y^e boat came home and brought vs this bad newes, old M^r Michell was verie vrgent with me to lend him the boat to fetch hay home from y^e .6. mile Iland, but I tould him they weare to few men, for his 4 men could but carrie the hay aboard and one must stād in the boat to defend them and

they muſt haue 2 more at the foot of the rocke, with th^r guns to keepe the Indeans from runing downe vpon them. and in the firſt place before they carrie any of y^e cocks of hay to ſcoure y^e Meadow with th^r 3 doggs to march al abreſt from y^e low^r end vp to y^e rock, and if they found the meadow cleare, then to load th^r hay: but this was alſo neglected, for they all went aſhoare and fell to carrying of th^r hay, and the Indeans p^rſently roſe out of y^e long graffe and kild 3, and tooke the broth^r of M^r Michell who is y^e Miniſt^r of Cambridge, and roſted him aliue; and So they Serued a ſhallop of his cuming downe the riuer in the ſpring, hauing 2 men one wherof they kild at .6. mile Iland y^e oth^r came downe drowned to vs aſhoare at our doores, wth an arrow ſhot into his eye through his head

In y^e 22th of ffebruarie I went out with 10 men and 3 doggs half a mile from the houſe to burne the weeds leaues and reedes vpon the neck of land, becauſ we had feld 20 timber trees which we weare to roule to y^e wat^r fide to bring home euerie man carrying a length of Match with brimſtone Matches with him to kindle the fier withall, but w^h we came to y^e ſmall of y^e Neck y^e reeds burning, I hauing before this fet 2 ſentinells on y^e ſmall of y^e Neck, I called to y^e men y^t weare burning the reeds to cum away, but they would not vntill they had bu^t vp the reſt of th^r matches, p^rſently th^r ſtarts vp 4 Indeans out of y^e fierie reeds, but ran away, I calling to y^e reſt of our men to cum away out of y^e Marſh; Then Robert Chapman and Tho

Hurlbut being Sentenells called to me, Saying ther came a numb^r of Indeās out of y^e oth^r fide of y^e Marsh, then I went to stop them that they should not get y^e woodland, but Tho Hurlbut cried out to me y^t sum of the men did not follow me, for Tho Rumble & Arthur branch threw downe th^r 2 guns and ran away, then the Indeans shot 2 of them y^t weare in the reeds, and Sought to get between vs & home but durst not cum before vs, but kept vs in a halfe moone, we retreating, & exchanging many a shot, So y^t Tho Hurlbut was shot almost through the thigh John Spencer in the back into his kidneyes myself into the thigh, 2 more weare shot dead; but in our retreat I kept Hurlbut and spencer still before vs, we defending our selues with our naked swords or els they had taken vs all aliue, So y^t y^e 2 fore wounded men by our slow retreat got home with th^r guns, w^h our 2 Sound men ran away and left th^r guns behind them, but w^h I saw y^e cowards y^t left vs, I resolued to let draw lots which of them should be hanged, for the articles did hang vp in the haule for them to read and they knew they had been published long before, but at y^e Intercession of old M^r Michell, M^r Higgiffon and M^r Pell I did forbear; Within a few dayes aft^r when I had cured myself of my wound I went out with 8 men to get some foule for our reliefe and found y^e guns y^t weare throune away, and the bodie of one man shot through, the arrow going in at y^e right fide, y^e hed flicking fast halfe through a rib at the left fide which I tooke out and clenfed it and p^rsumed to

fend to y^e bay, becauf they had said y^t y^e arrowes
 of y^e Indeans weare of no force. Anthonie Dike
 Mast^r of a barke, hauing his barke at Road Iland in
 the wint^r was sent by M^r Vane, then Govern^r,
 Anthonie came to Road Iland by land and from
 thence he came with his barke to me with a letter,
 wherein was desired y^t I should confid^r and p^rscribe
 the best way I could to quell thes pequots which I
 allso did, and with my lett^r sent y^e mans rib for a
 token A few dayes after came Tho Stanton downe
 the Riuer and Staying for a wind, while he was
 theare came a troupe of Indeans within Musket shot
 laying themselues and th^r armes downe behind a
 little rising hill & 2 great trees, which I perceiuing
 called the Carpent^r whom I had Shewed how to
 charge and leuell a gun & y^t he should put 2
 Cartridges of musket bullets into 2 Sakers guns y^t
 lay about and we leuelled th^m against the place, and
 I told him y^t he must looke towards me, and when
 he saw me waue my hat above my head he should
 giue fire to both the guns, then p^rsently came 3
 Indeans creeping out and calling to vs to speake
 with vs, & I was glad y^t Tho Stant^o was theare, and
 I sent .6. men downe by the garden peales, to looke
 y^t none should cum vnder the hill behind vs, and
 hauing placed the rest in places conuenient closely,
 Tho & I with my sword pistoll & carbine went 10
 or 12 poale without y^e gate to parlee with them
 [5] And when y^e six men came to y^e garden pales
 at y^e corner they found a great numb^r of Indeans
 creeping behind y^e fort or betwixt vs and home,

but they ran away. Now I had said to Thomas Stanton w^t soever they say to you tell me first for we will not answer y^m directly to any thing; for I know not y^e mind of y^e rest of y^e English: So they came forth calling vs nearer to th^m, & we th^m nerer to vs: but I would not let Thomas goe any furth^r then y^e great stump of a tree, and I stood by him then they asked who we weare, and he answered Thomas and Lieftennat but they said he lied for I was Shott with many arrowes and So I was but my buff Coate p^rferued mee; only one hurt mee, but w^h I spake to y^m they knew my voyce for one of th^m had dwelt 3 moneths with vs but ran away w^h the bay men came first: Then they asked vs if we would fight with Niantecut Indeans, for they weare our frends & came to trade we said we knew not the Indeans one from anoth^r and therefore would trade with none, then they said have you fought ynough, we said we knew not yet. then they asked if we did vse to kill women & childrē we said they should see y^t heraft^r, So they weare silent a small space and then they said we are pequits and haue killed Englishmen and can kill them as musketoes, & we will goe to conectecott and kill men women & children and we will take away y^e horses Cowes & hoggs / When Tho Stanton had tould me this he praid me to shoot y^t Rogue for said he, he hath an Englishmans coat on and Saith y^t he hath kiled 3 and thes oth^r 4 haue th^r cloaths on th^r backs, I said no, it is not the manner of a parlee but haue patience, and I shall fit them ere they goe, Nay

now or neuer said he, so w̄ he could get no oth^r answer but this last I bid him tell them y^t they should not goe to conec̄tecott for if they did kill all the men and take all y^e rest as they said it would doe them no good, but hurt for English women are lazie and cannot doe th^r work horses and Cowes will spoyle yo^r cornefields, and y^e hogs th^r clam banks and So vndoe them: Then I poynted to our great houf: and bid him tell them there lay 20 pieces of trucking cloath of M^r pinions with howes hatchets and all manner of trade, they were bett^r fight still with vs and so get all y^t, & then goe vp the riuer after they after they had killed all vs; hauing herd this they weare mad as doggs and ran away: Then w̄ they came to y^e place from whence they came I waued my hatt about my head, and y^e 2 great guns went off, So y^t there was a great hubbub amongst them

Then 2 dayes after came downe Cap^t Mafon & Sergeant Seely with 5 men more to see how it was with vs, and whilst they weare theare came downe a duch boat telling vs the Indeans had kild 14 English for by that boue I had sent vp letters to conec̄tecott w^t I herd and w^t I thought and how to p^ruent y^t threatned dang^r, and receiued back again rath^r a scoff than any thanks for my care and paines, but as I wroat so it fell out to my great grief and theirs, for the next or 2nd day aft^r as Maior Mafon well knowes came downe a great many Canoes going downe the crik beyond y^e Marsh before the fort many of them hauing whit shirts, then I

cumanded the carpent^r whom I had shewed to leuell great guns to put in 2 round Shot into y^e 2 fackers and we leuelled them at a fertaine place, and I stood to bid him giue fire w̄ I thought the canoe would meet the bullet, and one of them tooke off y^e nose of a great Canoe wherein the 2 maids weare y^t weare taken by the Indeans whom I redeemed & cloathed, for the duchmen whom I sent to fetch them brought them away allmost Naked from pequit they puting on th^r owne linnen Jackets to couer th^r Nakednes, and though the redemption cost me 10^{li} I am yet to haue thanks for my care and charge about them thes things are knowne to Maior Mason.

Then came from the bay M^r Tille with a pink to goe vp to Harford and cuming alhoare he saw a paper nailed vp ouer the gate wheron was written y^t noe boat or barke should pass y^e fort but y^t they came to an ankchor first y^t I might see wheth^r they weare armed and mand sufficiently and they weare not to land any wheare after they passed the fort till they came to wetherfield and this I did becauf M^r Michell had lost a shallop before cuming downe from wetherfield wth 3 men well armd, this M^r Tille gaue me ill language for my p^rsumption as he called it wth oth^r expreffions to long here to write, w̄ he had done I bid him goe to his ware house which he had built before I came to fetch his goods from thence for I would watch no long^r ouer it, So he knowing nothing went, and found his house burnt, and one of M^r Plums wth oth^rs and he tould me to my face y^t I had caufed it to be done, but M^r

Higgiffon, M^r Pell Tho Hurlbut & John Green can witnes y^t the same day y^t our house was burnd at cornfield poynt I went wth M^r Higgeffon M^r Pell & 4 men more broake open y^e dore and tooke a noate of all y^t was in y^e house and gaue it to M^r Higgeffon to keepe and so brought all the goods to our houf and deliuerd it all to them again w^m they came for it without any penney of charge Now y^e verie next day after I had taken the goods out before the sun was quit down [6] And we all togeth^r in y^e great Haule, all them houfes weare on fier in one Instant the Indeans ran away but I would not follow them, Now w^m M^r Tille had receiued all his goods I said vnto him I thought I had deserued for my honest care both for th^r boddies & goods of thes y^t passd by heare at y^e least bett^r language and am resolued to order such Mallepert persons as you are, therefore I wish you and allso charge you to obserue y^t w^{ch} you haue red at y^e gate, tis my dutie to god, My Masters, and my loue I beare to you all which is the ground of this had you but eyes to see it, but you will not till you feele it, So he went vp the riuier, and w^m he came downe again to his place which I called Tilles ffolle, now called Tilles poynt, in our fight in dispiight hauing a faire wind he came to an anchor and with one man more went alhoare discharged his gun and y^e Indeans fell vpon him and kild the oth^r, and caried him aliue ouer the riuier in our fight before my shollop could cum to them for immediatly I sent 7 men to fetch y^e pinke downe or els it had

been taken & 3 men more, So they brought her
 downe and I sent M^r Higgeffon & M^r pell aboard to
 take an Inuoyce of all y^t was in y^e vefsell y^t nothing
 might be loft, — 2 dayes after came to me as I
 had written to Sir Henerie vane then Gouvern^r of
 the bay I say came to me Captain vndrill with 20
 lustie men well armed to stay with me 2 moneths or
 till Sumthing should be done about the pequits, he
 came at y^e charge of my Masters, Soone after came
 downe from Harford Maior Mafon, lieftennant
 Seely, acumpanied with M^r Stone, and 80 English
 men and 80 Indeans, with a Cummiffion from M^r
 Ludlo and M^r Steele and Some oth^rs, thes came to
 goe fight with the pequits, but wth Capt vndrill and
 I had seen th^r commiffion, we both said they were
 not fitted for fuch a defigne and we said to Maior
 Mafon we wondred he would venture himfelfe
 being no bett^r fitted and he said the Magistrats could
 not or would not fend bett^r, the we said y^t none of
 o^r men should goe with them neyth^r should they
 goe vnleff we y^t weare bred fouldiers fom our youth
 could see some likelihood to do better than the bay
 men with th^r Strong commiffion last yeare, then I
 asked them how they durst trust the Mohegin
 Indeans who had but y^t yeare come from the
 pequits, they said they would trust them for they
 could not well goe without them for want of guides,
 yea said I, but I will try them before a man of ours
 shall goe with you or them, & I cald for Vncas &
 said vnto him you fay you will help Maior Mafon
 but I will first see it, therefore fend you now 20 men

to y^e bass riuer, for there went yest^rnight 6 Indeans in a Canoe hith^r, fetch them now dead or alieue and then you shall goe with Maior Mafon els not, So he sent his men who kild 4 brought one a traytor to vs alieue whos name was kifwas and one ran away and I gaue him 15 yards of trading Cloath on my own charge to giue vnto his men acording to th^r desert, & hauing Stayed there 5 or 6 dayes before we could agree at last we old Souldiers agreed about y^e way and act, and tooke 20 insufficient men from y^e 80 y^t came from Harford, & sent them vp again in a shollop, and Captain Vndrill with 20 of y^e lustiest of our men went in th^r roome, and I furnisht them with such things as they wanted & sent M^r Pell the surgeon with them, and y^e Lord God blessed th^r designe & way so y^t they returned with victorie to y^e glorie of God & hon^r of our Nation hauing flaine 300 burd th^r fort & taken many prisoners, Then came to me an Indean called wequash and I by M^r Higgeffon enquired of him how many of y^e pequits wear yet alieue y^t had heped to kill English men & he declared them to M^r Higgeffon & he writ them downe as may apere by his own hand here enclosed and I did as therin is written, Then 3 dayes after the fight came waiandance Next broth^r to the old Sachem of long Iland and hauing been recommended to me by Mior Gibbons he came to know if we were angrie with all Indeans, I answered No, but only with such as has kild Englishmen, he asked me wheth^r they y^t liued vpon long Iland might cum to trade with vs, I said no, nor we

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with them for if I should fend my boate to trade for corne and you haue pequits with you and if my boat should cum into fum crik by reason of bad weath^r they might kill my men, & I shall thinke y^t you of long Iland haue done it, and So we may kill all you for y^e pequits but if you will kill all the pequits y^t come to you and fend me th^r heads yⁿ I will giue to you as to weakwath and you shall haue trade with vs, then, Said he I wil goe to my broth^r, for he is the great Sachem of all long Iland and if we may haue peace and trade with you we will giue you tribute as we did the pequits, then I said if you haue any Indeans y^t [7] haue killed English you must bring th^r heads also, he answered not any one, and said that Gibbons my broth^r would haue tould you if it had been so, So he went away and did as I had said and sent me 5 heads, 3. & 4. heads for w^{ch} I paid them y^t brought them as I had promised Then came Captaine Stoten with an armie of 300 men from y^e bay to kill the pequits, but they wear fled beyond New hauen to a swamp, I sent Wequash after them who went by Night to spie them out and y^e armie folloed him, and found them at y^e great Swamp who killed fum and tooke oth^rs and y^e rest fled to y^e Mowhakues with th^r Sachem then y^e Mohakues cut off his hed & sent it to Harford for then they all fered vs, but now it is oth^rwise for they say to our faces y^t our commishon^rs Meeting once a yeare and speake a great deale or write a lett^r & thers all for they deare not fight, but before

they went to y^e great swamp they sent Tho Stanton ouer to long Iland & Shelt^r Iland to find pequits theare but there was none for y^e Sachem waiandance y^t was a plimmoth w^h y^e Co^mish^rs weare there and set there laft, I say he had kild so many of y^e pequits and sent th^r heds to me y^t they durst not cum there and he and his men went with y^e Englifh to y^e fwamp and thus y^e pequits weare queld at y^t time, But there was like to be a great broyle between Miantenomie, & vnchus, who should haue y^e rest of y^e pequits but we mediated between them and pacified them, also vnchus challenged y^e Naraganfet Sachem out to a fingle Cumbate but he would not fight without all him men, but they weare pacified tho y^e old grudg remains still as it doth apeare, Thus fare I had written in a booke y^t all men and posteritie might know how & why so many honnest men had th^r bloud shed yea & sum fleid aliue oth^r cut in pieces & sum rosted aliue only becauf kichamokin a bay Indean kild one pequit and thus fare of y^e pequit warre which was but a Commedie in Comparifon of y^e tragedies which hath been here threatned fince and may yet come if God doe not open y^e eyes ears & harts of some y^t I thinke are willfully deafe and blind and thinke becauf th^r is no chāg y^t y^e vifion failes and put y^e euil threatned day far off for say they we are now, 20 to one to w^t we weare then and none dare meddle with vs, Oh woe be to y^e prid & securitie which hath bee y^e ruine of many nations as wofull experience hath proued

But I wond^r and so doth many more with me

y^t y^e bay doth no bett^r reueng y^e murdering of
 M^r Oldham an honnest man of th^r owne, seing
 they were at such cost for a virginnian, the Nara-
 ganfets y^t weare at Block Iland kild him & had
 50^{li} of gold of his for I saw it w^h he had 5 peices
 of me and put it vp into a clout and tied it vp
 altogeath^r w^h he went away from me to block Iland,
 but y^e Narraganfets had it and punched holes into
 it and put it about th^r necks for Jewels and after-
 ward I saw y^e duch haue sum of it w^h they had
 of the Naraganfets at a small rate—— And now I
 find y^t to be true which our frend Waiandance toald
 me many years agoe and y^t was this y^t seing all y^e
 plots of y^e Naraganfets weare allwayes discouered
 he said they would let vs aloane till they had
 destroyed vncas and him and then they wth the
 mowquakes and Mowhakues and the indeans be-
 yond y^e duch and all y^e Northirne & Easterne
 Indeans would efily destroy vs Man & Moth^rs
 Sonn this haue I informed the Gou^rnours of thes
 parts But all in vaine for I see they haue done
 as thos of weth^rfield not regarding till they were
 impelled to it by bloud and thus we may be sure of
 the fattest of y^e flock are like to goe first if not all
 togeath^r and then it wil be to late to read. Jer. 25.
 for drinke we Shall if y^e lord be not y^e more merci-
 full to vs, for our extreame pride and base securitie
 which canot but stinke before y^e lord, and we may
 expect this y^t if th^r shold bee wars againe between
 England & holland our ffrends at y^e duch and our
 duch Englishmen would proue as true to vs Now

as they weare w̄ y^e fleet came out of England but no more of y^t, a word to y^e wife is ynough / And now I am old, I would faine die a naturall death or like a fouldier in y^e field with honnor and not to haue a sharpe stake fet in the ground and thruft into my fundament and to haue my skin flaid of by piece-meale and cut in pieces and bits and my flesh roasted and thruft downe my throat as thes people haue done and I know will be done to y^e chiefeft in y^e Cuntry by hundreds if god should deliuer vs into th^r hands as Justly he may for our fins

[8] I going ouer to Meantacut & vpon y^e Easterne end of Long Iland vpon sum ocotion y^t I had theare, I found 4 Naraganfets theare talking with y^e Sachem and his old counsellors, I asked an Indean w^t they weare, he said y^t they weare Narraganfits & y^t one was Miannemo a Sachem, w^t came they for said I, he said he knew not for they talked secretly, So I departed to anoth^r wigwam, Shortly aft^r came the Sachem waiandance to me and Said, doe you know w^t thes came for, No Said I; Then he said: they say I must giue no more wampum to the English, for they are no Sachems, nor none of th^r children Shall be in th^r place if they die, and they haue no tribute giuen them, ther is but one king in England who is ouer them all, and if you would send him 100000 fathams of wampum he would not give you a knife for it, nor thank you, and I said to them then they will come and kill vs all as they did y^e pequits, then they said, No, the Pequits gaue them wampum and beuer, which they

loured so well, but they sent it them again and killed them because they had killed an Englishman, but you have killed none therefore give them nothing, Now friend tell me what I shall say to them for one of them is a great man. Then said I tell them that you must go first to the farthest end of long Island and speak with all the rest, & a month hence you will give them an answer. Meane time you may go to Mr Haines and he will tell you what to do, and I will write all this now in my booke that I have here, and so he did, and the Narragansits departed, and this Sachem came to me at my house: And I wrote this letter to Mr Haines, and he went up with it to Mr Haines, who forbid him to give any thing to the Narragansit: & wrote to me so: and when they came againe they came by my Island and I knew them to be the same men: and I told them they might go home againe, & I gave them Mr Haynes his letter for Mr Williams to read to the Sachem: So they returned back again; for I had said to them that if they would go to Mantacut I would go likewise with them, and the long Island must not give wampum to Naragansit

A while after this came Miantonomie from Block Island to Mantacut with a troop of men, Waian-dance being not at home, and in stead of receiving presents which they use to do in their progresse, he gave them gifts, calling them brethren & friends, for so are we all Indians as the English are, and say brother to one another, so must we be one as they are, otherwise we shall be all gone shortly, for you know our

fathers had plentie of deare, & Skins, our plaines weare full of deare as also our woods and of Turkeies, and our Coues full of fish and foule, but thes English hauing gotten our land, they with Sithes cut downe y^e graff, and with axes fell the trees their Cowes & horses eat y^e graff, and th^r hoggs spoyle our Clambanks, and we Shall all be starued: therefore it is best for you to doe as wee for wee are all the Sachems from East to west both Moquakues & Mowhauks Joyning with vs, and we are all resolued to fall vpon them all at one apoynted day, and therefore I am cum to you priuately first becauf you can p^rfuade the Indeans and Sachem to w^t you will & I will send ouer 50 Indeans to block Iland, and 30 to you from thence and take an 100 of Southampton Indeans with an 100 of yo^r owne heere, and when you see the 3 fires y^t will be made 40 dayes hence in a cleare night then do as wee: and y^e next day fall on and kill men women & children, but no Cowes for they will ferue to eate till our deare be Increased again: And our old men thought it was well So y^t Sachem came home and had but little talke with them, yet he was tould thear had been a secret consultation between the old men and miantinomie; but they tould him nothing in 3 dayes, So he came ouer to me and aquainted me with the manner of y^e Naraganfits being there with his men and asked me what I thought of it, and I tould him y^t y^e Naraganfit Sachem was naught to talke with his men Secretly in his absence and I bid him goe home and tould

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him a way how [9] he might know all and then y^t he should come and tell me, and So he did and found all out as is about written, and I Sent intelligence of it over to M^r Haynes and M^r Eaton, but because my boat was gone from home it was 15 dayes before they had any letter, and Miantenomie was gotten home before they had Newes of and y^eould men w^h they saw how I and y^e Sachem had beguiled them and y^t he was come over to me, they Sent secretly a Canoe over in a moonshine night to Naraganfit to tell them all was discovered, So y^e plot failed blessed be God, & y^e plotter next spring after did as Ahab did at Ramoth Gilead So he to Mohegin and there had his fall

Two years after this, Ninechrat sent over a Captain of his who acted in euerie point as y^e former, him y^e Sachem tooke and bound and brought him to me and I wrote the same to Govern^r Eaton & sent an Indian y^t was my servant and had lived 4 years with me him with 9 more I Sent to carie him to New hauen and gave them foode for 10 dayes, but y^e wind hindered them at Plum Iland, then they went to Shelt^r Iland, where the old Sachem dwelt waian-dances elder brth^r and in y^e night they let him goe, only my letter they sent to New hauen and thus the 2 plots was discovered but now my friend and brth^r is gone, who will now do the like

But if the p^rmises be not sufficient to proue Waiandance a true friend to y^e English for sum may say he did all this out of malice to y^e pequits and Naraganfits, Now I shall proue the like with respect

to y^e long Ilanders his own men for I being at Me-
antacut it hapened y^t for an old grudg of a pequit
who was put to death at Southampton being known
to be a murderer and for this his frends beare a
spight against y^e English So as it came to pas at
y^t day I was at Mantacut a good honest woman was
kild by them at Southampton but it was not known
then who did this Murder and y^e broth^r of this
Sachem was Shinacock Sachem could or would
not find it out, at y^t time M^r Gosmore & M^r How-
ell being Magistrates sent an Indean to fetch y^e Sa-
chem thither and it being in y^e Night I was laid
downe when he came, and being a great cry amongst
them vpon which all the men gathered togeth^r and
the storie being tould, all of them said the Sachem
Should not goe, for said they, they will eyth^r bind
you or kill you and then vs both men women and
Children, therefore let yo^r broth^r find it out or let
them kill you & vs we will liue and die togeth^r,
so ther was a great filence for a while and then the
Sachem said Now you haue all done I will heare
w^t my frend will say for knowes w^t they will doe,
So they wakend me as they thought, but I was not
asleep, and tould me the storie but I made strang
of y^e Matter and said if y^e Magistrats haue sent for
you why do you not goe, They will bind me or
kill me Saith hee, I think So said I if you haue kild
the woman, or known of it and did not reueale it
but you weare heare and did it not, but was any
of yo^r Mantauket Indeans there to day, they all an-
swered not a man thes 2 dayes for we haue Inquired

concerning y^t alredie, then said I did none of you euer here any Indean say he would kill English No said they all then I Said I shall not goe home till tomoro though I thought to haue been gone So Soone as y^e Moone was vp, but I will stay heere till you all know it is well with yo^r Sachem, if they bind him then bind you me, if they kill him kill me, but this you must find out him y^t did the murder and all y^t know of it them they will haue and no more [10] Then they with a great cry thanked me, and I wroat a small noate with the Sachem that they should not stay him long in th^r houses but let him eat & drinke and be gone for he had his way before him, So they did and y^t Night he found out 4 y^t weare consent^s to it & knew of it and brought them to them at Southampton & they weare all hanged at harford wheof one of thes was a great Man amongst them comonly cald y^e blew Sachem

A further Instance of his faithfullnes is this about y^e pequit war time one William Hamman of y^e Bay killed by a giant like Indean toward the duch I herd of it and tould Waiandance y^t he must kill him or bring him to me, but he said it was not his brothers mind and he is y^e great Sachem of all long Iland, likewise y^e Indean is a mightie gret man and no man durst meddle with him and hath many friends, So this rested vntil he had killed anothe^r, one Thomas ffarrington, after this y^e old Sachem died and I spake to this Sachem again about it and he answered he is so cuning y^t when he hears y^t I come y^t way a hunting y^t his frends tell him and

then he is gone but I will goe at Sum time when nobodie knowes of it and then I will kill him and So he did, and this was y^e laft act which he did for vs, for in y^e time of a great Mortallitie among them he died, but it was by poyfon also 2 thirds of y^e Indeans vpon long Iland died, els y^e Naraganfits had not made fuch hauoke here as they haue and might not help them

And this I haue written chiefly for our own good, y^t we might consid^r w^t danger we are all in, and alfo to declare to the Cuntrie y^t we had found an an heathen yea an Indean in this respect to parallel the Jewith Mordacay but now I am at a stand, for all we English would be thought and called christians, yet though I haue seene this before spoken hauing been thes 24 years in y^e mouth of y^e p^rmisses yet I know not wheare to find or whose name to Infert to parallell Ahasuerous liing on his bed and could not sleep and called for the cronacles to be read, and when he heard Mordacae named said w^t hath been done for him, but who will say as he said or doe answerable to w^t he did, but our New England 12 penne chronacle is stuffed with a cattalogue of y^e names of Some as if they had deserued Imortall fame but the right New England Millitarie worthies are left out for want of roome as Maior Mafon Captain vndrill lieftennant Sielley &c who vnder-tooke the desparate way and designe to Mistick fort and kild 300 burnt the fort and tooke many prisoners, though they are not once named but honnest Abraham thought it no shame to name the confed-

erates y^t helped him to warre when he redeemed his
broth^r lot, but vncas of Miftik and Waiandance at
y^e great Swamp, and euer fince yo^r trustie frend is
forgotten and for our fakes persecuted to this day
with fire and fword & Ahafuerouf of New England
is still afleep, and if there be any like to Ahafuerouf
let him remember what glorie to God and honner
to our natiō hath followed th^r wifdome and vallor,
awake, awake Ahafuerous if there be any of thy feed
or fpirit here and let not haman deftroÿ vs as he
hath done our mordecay

[11] And although there hath been much bloud
Shed here in theſe parts among vs, God and we
know it came not by vs, but if all muſt drinke of
this cup that is threatened then ſhortly the king of
theſhack ſhall drink laſt and tremble and fall when
our paine will be paſt, / Oh y^t I weare in y^e
Cuntryes againe, that in their but 12 years truce
repaired Citties and townes, made ſtrong forts and
prepared all things needfull againſt a time of warre,
like Sollomon, I thinke the Soyle hath almoſt
infected me but what they or our enemies will doe
hereafter I know not I hope I ſhal not liue So long
to here or ſe it for I am old & out of date els I
might be in feare to ſee and heare y^t I thinke ere
long will come vpon vs /

[12] Thus for our tragicall storie Now to the commadie, When we weare all at Supper in the great haule they the pequits gaue vs a larum to draw vs out 3 times before wee could finish our short supper, for we had but little to eate, but you know y^t I would not goe out the reasons you know. 2ndly you, Robert Chapman, you know, y^t wth you and John Bagley weare beating samp at y^e garden pales, the sentenells called you to run in for there was a number of pequits creeping to you to catch you I hearing it went vp to y^e redout and put two croff bar shot into the 2 guns y^t lay aboue and leuelled them at y^e trees in y^e middle of y^e limbs and boughes and gaue order to John ffrend and his man to stand with handspickes to turn them this or y^t way, as they should heare the Indeans shout, for they should know my shout from theirs for it should be verie short, then I cald 6 men and the doggs and went out runing to y^e place, and keeping all abreft in fight, close togeath^r, and when I saw my time I said stand, and called all to mee saying looke on me and when I hould vp my hand then shout as loud as you can, and when I hould downe my hand then leaue and so they did, then the Indeans began a long Shout, & then went off y^e 2 great guns and toare the limbs of y^e trees about th^r ears so y^t diuers of them weare hurt as may yet apeare, for you tould me when I was vp at harford this p^resent yeare 60 in

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y^e moneth of Septemb^r y^t theare is one of them lieth
about Harford y^t is faine to creepe on all fower, &
we shouted once or twice more but they would not
answer vs again, so we returned home laughing, an
oth^r prittie pranke we had, with 3 great doares of 10
foot long & 4 foot broad, being boared full of
hoales, and driuen full of long nailes as sharp as all
blades Sharpned by thomas hurlbut thes we placed
in Certain places, wheare they should come, fearing
least they should come in y^e Night and fire our redout
or batterie and all y^e place, for wee had seen their
footing, wheare they had been in y^e night when they
shot at our sentenells but could not hit the for y^e
boards & in a dry time and a darke night they came
as they did before, and found the way a little too
sharp for them, and as they skipt from one they trod
vpon anoth^r and left the Nailes and doores died
with th^r bloud which you know we saw y^e Next
Morning laughing at it: & this I write y^t young
men may learn if they should meet with such tryals
as we mett with theare and haue not opportunitie to
cut off th^r enemies, yet they may with such pritty
pranks preferue themselves from dang^r, for pollicie
is Needfull in warres as well as strength

John Mason



A Brief History
of the
Pequot War

JOHN MASON

A Brief History of the Pequot War (1736)

John Mason's posthumously published account is the most complete contemporary history of the Pequot War of 1636–1637. Written around 1670, and published in part in 1677 (although misattributed by Increase Mather to John Allyn), the complete text was issued by Thomas Prince in 1736. That text is reproduced here in a corrected and annotated edition that includes Prince's biographical sketch of Mason and various dedicatory and explanatory documents.

John Mason (c.1600–1672) commanded the Connecticut forces in the expedition that wiped out the Pequot fort and village at Mystic and in two subsequent operations that effectively eliminated the Pequots as a recognizable nation. He was among the original settlers of Windsor, Connecticut, and afterwards resided at Saybrook and Norwich. Little is known of his antecedents, except that he had served in the wars in the Netherlands before emigrating to Massachusetts.

This online electronic text edition includes the entire 12,000-word *Brief History* and runs to 49 pages, including notes and bibliography; it can be printed out on 25 sheets of letter-sized paper.



Major *Mason's*
Brief HISTORY
OF THE
Pequot War.



A
Brief History
OF THE
Pequot War:

Especially
Of the memorable *Taking* of their FORT at
MISTICK in CONNECTICUT
In
1637.

Written by

Major *John Mason,*

A principal Actor therein, as then chief *Captain* and Com-
mander of *Connecticut Forces.*

With an *Introduction* and some Explanatory *Notes*
By the Reverend

MR. THOMAS PRINCE.

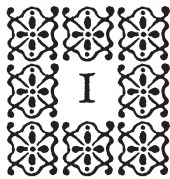
Psal. xliv. 1--3 *We have heard with our Ears, O GOD, our Fathers have told us, what Work Thou didst in their Days, in the times of old: How Thou didst drive out the Heathen with thy Hand, and plantedst Them: how Thou didst afflict the People and cast them out. For they got not the Land in Possession by their own Sword, neither did their own Arm save them: but thy right Hand, and thine Arm, and the Light of thy Countenance, because Thou hadst a Favour unto them.*

Psal. cii. 18. *This shall be written for the Generation to come: and the People which shall be Created, shall praise the LORD.*

BOSTON: Printed & Sold by S. KNEELAND & T. GREEN
in Queen-street, 1736.



INTRODUCTION.

N my Contemplations of the DIVINE PROVIDENCE towards the People of *New-England*, I have often tho't what a special Favour it was, that there came over with the first Settlers of *Plimouth & Connecticut Colonies*, which in those Times were especially exposed to the superiour Power of the *Barbarians* round about them; *Two brave Englishmen* bred to arms in the *Dutch Netherlands*, viz. Capt. MILES STANDISH of *Plimouth*, and Capt. JOHN MASON of *Connecticut*: Gentlemen of tried Valour, Military Skill and Conduct, great Activity, and warm Zeal for that noble Cause of *Pure Scriptural Religion*, and *Religious Liberty*, which were the chief original Design and Interest of the *Fathers of these Plantations*; and who were acted with such eminent Degrees of Faith and Piety, as excited them to the most daring Enterprizes in the Cause of GOD and of *his People*, and went a great way to their wonderful Successes.

Like those inspired *Heroes* of whom we read the History in the *Eleventh* Chapter to the *HEBREWS*—*By Faith*, they not only rather chose to suffer *Affliction with the People of GOD* than to enjoy the *Pleasures of Sin for a Season*; esteeming the *Reproach of CHRIST* greater *Riches than the Treasures of Egypt*: But *by Faith* they even forsook the same, *passed thro' the Sea*, *subdued Kingdoms*, wrought *Righteousness*, obtained *Promises*, waxed *valiant in Fight*, and turned to *Flight the Armies of the Aliens*.

The Judicious Reader that knows the *New English* History, cannot think these *Scripture Phrases* or religious Turns unsuitable on this Occasion: For as *these Colonies* were chiefly, if not entirely Settled by a *Religious People*, and for *those Religious Purposes*; It is as impossible to write an impartial or true History of *them*, as of the ancient *Israelites*, or the later *Vaudois* or *North-Britons*, without observing that

Religious Spirit and Intention which evidently run thro' and animate their Historical Transactions.

Capt. STANDISH was of a lower Stature, but of such a daring and active Genius, that even before the Arrival of the *Massachusetts Colony*, He spread a Terror over all the Tribes of *Indians* round about him, from the *Massachusetts* to *Martha's Vineyard*, & from *Cape-Cod Harbour* to *Narragansett*. Capt. MASON was Tall and Portly, but never the less full of Martial Bravery and Vigour; that He soon became the equal Dread of the more numerous Nations from *Narragansett* to *Hudson's River*. They were BOTH the Instrumental Saviours of this Country in the most critical Conjunctions: And as we quietly enjoy the Fruits of their extraordinary Diligence and Valour, both the present and future Generations will for ever be obliged to revere their Memory.

Capt. MASON, the Writer of the following History, in which He was a principal Actor, as Chief Commander of the *Connecticut Forces*, is said to have been a Relative of Mr. *John Mason* the ancient Claimer of the *Province of New-Hampshire*: However, the *Captain* was one of the first who went up from the *Massachusetts* about the Year 1635 to lay the Foundation of CONNECTICUT COLONY: He went from *Dorchester*, first settled at *Windsor*, and thence marched forth to the *Pequot War*.

But it being above *Threescore Years* since the following Narrative was Written, near *an Hundred* since the Events therein related, and the State of the *New England Colonies* being long since greatly Changed; it seems needful for the present Readers clearer Apprehension of these Matters, to Observe--That in the Year 1633, & 1634, several *Englishmen* arriving from *England*, at the *Massachusetts*, went up in the Western Country to discover *Connecticut River*; the next Year began to remove thither; and by the Beginning of 1637, *Hartford*, *Windsor* and *Weathersfield* were Settled, besides a *Fortification* built at *Saybrook* on the Mouth of the River.

At that Time there were especially *three* powerful and warlike Nations of *Indians* in the *South Western* Parts of *New-England*; which spread all the Country from *Aquethneck*, since call'd *Rhode Island*, to *Quinnepiack*, since called *New-Haven*; viz, the NARRAGANSETTS, PEQUOTS and MOHEGANS. The NARRAGANSETTS reached from the Bay of the same Name, to *Pawcatuck River*, now the Boundary be-

tween the Governments of *Rhode-Island* and *Connecticut*: And their Head Sachem was MIANTONIMO. The PEQUOTS reached from thence Westward to *Connecticut River*, and over it, as far as *Branford*, if not *Quinnepiack*; their Head Sachem being SASSACUS. And the MOHEGANS spread along from the *Narragansetts* thro' the Inland Country, on the Back or Northerly Side of the *Pequots*, between *them* and the *Nipmucks*; their Head Sachem being UNCAS.

The most terrible of all those Nations were then the PEQUOTS; who with their *depending Tribes* soon entered on a Resolution to Destroy the *English* out of the Country. In 1634, they killed Capt. *Stone* and all his Company, being *seven* besides Himself, in & near his Bark on *Connecticut River*. In 1635, they killed Capt. *Oldbam* in his Bark at *Block-Island*; and at *Long-Island* they killed *two* more cast away there. In 1636, and the following *Winter* and *March*, they killed *six* & took *seven* more at *Connecticut River*. Those they took alive they tortured to Death in a most barbarous Manner. And on *April 23. 1637*, they killed *nine* more and carried *two* young Women Captive at *Weathersfield*.

They had earnestly solicited the *Narragansetts* to engage in their Confederacy: very politickly representing to them, *That if they shou'd help or suffer the English to subdue the Pequots, they wou'd thereby make Way for their own future Ruin; and that they need not come to open Battle with the English; only Fire our Houses, kill our Cattle, lye in Ambush and shoot us as we went about our Business; so we should be quickly forced to leave this Country, and the Indians not exposed to any great Hazard.* Those truly politick Arguments were upon the Point of prevailing on the *Narragansetts*: And had *These* with the *Mohicans*, to whom the *Pequots* were nearly related, join'd against us; they might *then*, in the infant State of these Colonies, have easily accomplished their desperate Resolutions.

But the *Narragansetts* being more afraid of the *Pequots* than of the *English*; were willing they shou'd weaken each other, not in the least imagining the *English* cou'd destroy *them*; at the same time an *Agency* from the *Massachusetts Colony* to the *Narragansetts*, happily Preserved their staggering Friendship. And as UNCAS the Great Sachim of the *Mohicans*, upon the first coming of the *English*, fell into an intimate Acquaintance with Capt. *Mason*, He from the Beginning entertained us in an amicable Manner: And tho' both by *his Father* and *Mother* He derived from the *Royal Blood* of the *Pequots*, and had

Married the *Daughter* of TATOBAM their then late Sachim; yet such was his Affection for us, as he faithfully adhered to us, ventured his Life in our Service, assisted at the Taking their *Fort*, when about *Seven Hundred* of them were Destroyed, and thereupon in subduing and driving out of the Country the remaining greater Part of that fierce and dangerous Nation.

Soon after the War, Capt. *Mason* was by the Government of *Connecticut*, made the *Major General* of all their Forces, and so continued to the Day of his Death: The Rev. Mr. HOOKER of *Hartford*, being desired by the Government in their Name to deliver *the Staff* into his Hand; We may imagin he did it with that superiour Piety, Spirit and Majesty, which were peculiar to him: Like an ancient Prophet addressing himself to the Military Officer, delivering to him the Principal Ensign of Martial Power, to Lead the Armies & Fight the Battles of the Lord and of *his People*.

Major *Mason* having been trained up in the *Netherland War* under Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX; when the Struggle arose in *England* between K. *Charles I.* and the *Parliament* about the Royal Powers and the National Liberties; *that Famous General* had such an Esteem for the *Major's* Conduct and Bravery, that *He* wrote to the *Major* to come over and help *Him*. But the *Major* excusing himself, continued in this Country as long as he lived, and had some of the greatest Honours his *Colony* cou'd yield him.

For besides his Office of *Major General*, the Colony in *May 1660* chose him their DEPUTY GOVERNOUR; continued him in the same Post by annual Re-elections, by virtue of their first Constitution to 1662 inclusively. The *same Year* K. CHARLES II. comprehending the *Colonies of Connecticut and New Haven* in *One Government* by the name of CONNECTICUT COLONY; He in the *Royal Charter*, signed *April 23*, appointed Major *Mason* their first *Deputy Governour* till the *second Thursday* of *October* following: After which, the *General Court* being left to chuse their Officers, they continued to chuse him their *Deputy Governour* every Year to *May 1670*; when his Age and Bodily Infirmities advancing, he laid down his Office and retired from Publick Business.

After the *Pequot War*, he had removed from *Windsor* to *Saybrook*: But in 1659, he removed thence to *Norwich*; where he *Died* in 1672, or 1673, in the 73d Year of his Age: leaving *three Sons*, viz. *Samuel, John* and *Daniel*, to imitate their Father's Example and inherit his Virtues.

I have only now to observe, that in *The Relation of the Troubles which happened to New England by the Indians from 1614. to 1675*, Published by the then Mr. INCREASE MATHER in 1677, I find a *Copy* of the *following Narrative*, but without the Prefaces, had been communicated to him by Mr. *John Allyn* then the *Secretary of Connecticut Colony*; which that Rev. Author took for Mr. *Allyn's*, and calls it *his*. But we must inform the Reader, that *the Narrative* was originally drawn by Major *Mason*. And as *his Eldest Grandson* Capt. *John Mason* now of *New-London* has put it into my Hands; I have been more than usually careful in Correcting the Press according to the *Original*; as *the most authentick Account* of the *Pequot War*, and as a *standing Monument* both of the extraordinary Dangers & Courage of our pious *Fathers*, & of the eminent Appearance of HEAVEN to save them.

‘ The *other Actions* of Major *Mason* must be referred to the *General History* of *this Country*, when some Gentleman of greater Qualifications and Leisure than I may claim, shall rise up among us, to undertake it. I shall give some Hints in my *Brief Chronology*; which thro’ numerous Hindrances, is now in such a Forwardness, that near 200 *Pages* are Printed already; and in a little Time, Life and Health allow’d, I hope to present the Publick with the *first* of the *two* intended *Volumns*. In the mean while I cannot but Regret it, that such considerable and ancient Towns as *Saybrook*, *Fairfield*, *Stamford*, *Canterbury*, *Groton* in the County of *Middlesex*, *Chelmsford*, *Billerica*, *Woburn*, *Dunstable* and *Bristol*, should afford no more than their *bare Names* in the Published Records of this Country.

Boston, Dec. 23,

1735.

Thomas Prince.



N. B. The only Word left out is *my* in Dedication, Page i, where it should be Read---*My own Unfitness*: the *few Mispellings* are only of the *English Words*; which with the *Mispointings*, are easily Descerned and Corrected.

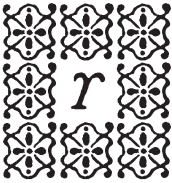


T O

The Honourable

The General Court
of *Connecticut*.

Honoured Gentlemen,

 *OU* well know how often I have been requested by your selves to write something in reference to the Subject of the ensuing Treatise (who have power to Command) and how backward I have been, as being conscious to my own unfitness; accounting it not so proper, I being a Chief Actor therein my self. Yet considering that little hath been done to keep the Memory of such a special Providence alive, though I could heartily have wished that some other who had been less interested and better qualified might have undertaken the Task, for I am not unacquainted with my own Weakness; yet I shall endeavour in plainness and faithfulness impartially to declare the Matter, not taking the Crown from the Head of one and putting it upon another. There are several who have Wrote and also Printed at random on this Subject,

greatly missing the Mark in many Things as I conceive. I shall not exempt my self from frailties, yet from material Faults I presume you may pronounce it not Guilty, and do assure you that if I should see or by any be convinced of an Error, I shall at once confess and amend it.

I thought it my Duty in the Entrance to relate the first Grounds upon which the English took up Arms against the Pequots; for the Beginning is the Moiety of the Whole; and not to mention some Passages at Rovers, as others have done, and not demonstrate the Cause. Judge of me as you please: I shall not climb after Applause, nor do I much fear a Censure; there being many Testimonies to what I shall say. 'Tis possible some may think no better can be expected in these distracting Times; it being so hard to please a few, impossible to please all: I shall therefore content my self that I have attended my Rule: You may please to improve some others who were Actors in the Service to give in their Apprehensions, that so the severals being compared, you may inlarge or diminish as you shall see meet. I desire my Name may be sparingly mentioned: My principal Aim is that GOD may have his due Praise.

By your unworthy Servant,

John Mason.





TO THE
American Reader.

Judicious Reader,

ALTHOUGH it be too true indeed that the Press labours under, and the World doth too much abound with pamphleting Papers; yet know that this Piece cannot or at least ought not to be disaccepted by thee: For by the help of this thou mayest look backward and interpret how GOD hath been working, and that very wonderfully for thy Safety and Comfort: And it being the LORD's doing, it should be marvellous in thine Eyes.

And when thou shalt have viewed over this Paper, thou wilt say the Printers of this Edition have done well to prevent the possible Imputation of Posterity; in that they have consulted the exhibition at least to the American World, of the remarkable Providences of GOD, which thou mayest at thy leisure read, consider and affect thy self with, in the Sequel.

History most properly is a Declaration of Things that are done by those that were present at the doing of them: Therefore this here presented to thee may in that respect

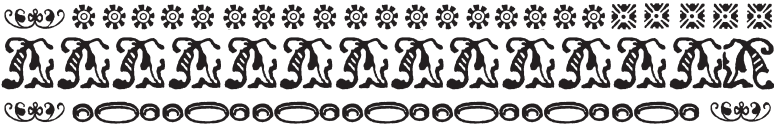
plead for liking and acceptance with thee: The Historiographer being one of the principal Actors, by whom those English Engagements were under GOD carried on and so successfully effected. And for a President for him in this his Publication of his own, in Parte Rei Bellicæ, he hath that great Man at Arms the first of the noble Cæsars, being the Manager and Inditer of his martial Exploits.

He has also that necessary Ingredient in an Historian; Ut nequid falsi dicere, et nequid veri non dicere audeat; That he will tell the Truth and will not say a jot of Falshood.

And Memorandum that those divine Over-rulings, their Recollection, as they ought to be Quickeners of us up to a Theological Reformation, and Awakeners of us from a lethargilike Security, lest the Lord should yet again make them more afflicting Thorns in our Eyes and slashing Scourges in our Sides; so also they may well be Pledges or Earnests to us of his future saving Mercies; and that if we by our Declensions from him in his ways do not provoke him, he will not forsake us, but have respect to us in our Dwellings, and lend us the desirable Providence of his perpetual Salvation.


N. B. This Epistle to the AMERICAN READER appears to have been written by another Hand than *Major Mason's*.





TO THE
Judicious Reader.

Gentlemen,

 *Never had thought that this should have come to the Press, until of late: If I had, I should have endeavoured to have put a little more Varnish upon it: But being over persuaded by some Friends, I thought it not altogether amiss to present it to your courteous Disposition, hoping it might find your favourable Entertainment and Acceptance, though rude and impolish'd. I wish it had fallen into some better Hands that might have performed it to the Life: I shall only draw the Curtain and open my little Casement, that so others of larger Hearts and Abilities may let in a bigger Light; that so at least some small Glimmering may be left to Posterity what Difficulties and Obstructions their Forefathers met with in their first settling these desert Parts of America; how GOD was pleased to prove them, and how by his wise Providence he ordered and disposed all their Occasions and Affairs for them in regard to both their Civils and Ecclesiasticals.*

This with some other Reasons have been Motives to excite me to the enterprizing hereof; no Man that I know of having as yet undertaken to write a general History or Relation;

*so that there is no Commemoration of Matters respecting this War; how they began, how carried on, and continued, nor what Success they had. * They which think the mentioning of some Particulars is sufficient for the understanding of the General, in my Opinion stray no less from the Truth, than if by the separated Parts of a living Man one should think by this Means he knew all the Parts and Perfections of the Creature: But these separated Parts being joyned together having Form and Life, one might easily discern that he was deceived.*

If the Beginning be but obscure and the Ground uncertain, its Continuance can hardly perswade to purchase Belief: Or if Truth be wanting in History, it proves but a fruitless Discourse.

I shall therefore, GOD helping, endeavour not so much to stir up the Affections of Men, as to declare in Truth and Plainness the Actions and Doings of Men: I shall therefore set down Matters in order as they Began and were carried on and Issued: that so I may not deceive the Reader in confounding of Things, but the Discourse may be both Plain and Easy.

And although some may think they have Wrote in a high Stile, and done some notable Thing, yet in my Opinion they have not spoken truly in some Particulars, and in general to little Purpose: For how can History find Credit, if in the Beginning you do not deliver plainly and clearly from whence and how you do come to the Relation which you presently intend to make of Actions?

* The Author Died before the Reverend Mr. *William Hubbard* and Mr. *Increase Mather* Published their Accounts of the *Pequot War*.

As a Rule, although it hath less length and breadth, yet notwithstanding it retains the Name if it hath that which is proper to a Rule. When the Bones are separated from a living Creature it becomes unserviceable: So a History, if you take away Order and Truth, the rest will prove to be but a vain Narration.

I shall not make a long Discourse, nor labour to hold the Reader in doubt, using a multitude of Words, which is no sure Way to find out the Truth; as if one should seek for Verity in the Current of Pratling, having nothing but a conceit worthy to hold the Reader in suspense: (Sed quo vado) In a word, the LORD was as it were pleased to say unto us, The Land of Canaan will I give unto thee tho' but few and Strangers in it: And when we went from one Nation to another, yea from one Kingdom to another, he suffered no Man to do us Wrong, but reprov'd Kings for our sakes: And so through Mercy at length we were settled in Peace, to the Astonishment of all that were round about us: unto whom be ascribed all Glory and Praise for ever and ever.

Norwich in NEW-ENGLAND,
in America.

Farewell

John Mason.





SOME

Grounds of the War

Against

the Pequots.

ABOUT the Year 1632 one Capt. *Stone* Arrived in the *Massachusetts* in a *Ship* from *Virginia*; who shortly after was bound for *Virginia* again in a small *Bark* with one Capt. *Norton*; who sailing into CONNECTICUT RIVER about *two Leagues* from the *Entrance* cast Anchor; there coming to them several *Indians* belonging to that Place whom the *Pequots* Tyrannized over, being a potent and warlike People, it being their Custom so to deal with their neighbour *Indians*; Capt. *Stone* having some occasion with the *Dutch* who lived at a trading House near *twenty Leagues* up the River, procured some of those *Indians* to go as Pilots with *two* of his Men to the *Dutch*: But being benighted before they could come to their desired Port, put the *Skiff* in which they went, ashore, where the *two Englishmen* falling asleep, were both Murdered by their *Indian Guides*: There remaining with the *Bark* about *twelve* of the aforesaid *Indians*; who had in all probability formerly plotted their bloody Design; and waiting an opportunity when some of the *English* were on Shoar and Capt. *Stone* asleep in his Cabbin, set upon them and

cruelly Murdered every one of them, plundered what they pleased and sunk the Bark.

These *Indians* were not *native Pequots*, but had frequent recourse unto them, to whom they tendered some of those Goods, which were accepted by the *Chief Sachem* of the *Pequots*: Other of the said Goods were tendered to *NYNIGRETT Sachem* of *Nayan-ticke*, who also received them.

The *Council* of the *Massachusetts* being informed of their Proceedings, sent to speak with the *Pequots*, and had some Treaties with them: But being unsatisfied therewith, sent forth Captain *John Endicot* Commander in Chief, with Capt. *Underbill*, Captain *Turner*, and with them *one hundred and twenty Men*; who were firstly designed on a Service against a People living on *Block Island*, who were subject to the *Narragansett Sachem*; they having taken a *Bark* of one Mr. *John Oldham*, Murdering him and all his Company: They were also to call the *Pequots* to an Account about the Murder of Capt. *Stone*, who arriving at *Pequot* had some Conference with them; but little effected; only one *Indian* slain and some *Wigwams* burnt. After which, the *Pequots* grew enraged against the *English* who inhabited *CONNECTICOT*, being but a small Number, about *two hundred and fifty*, who were there newly arrived; as also about *twenty Men* at *SAYBROOK*, under the Command of Lieutenant *Lyon Gardner*, who was there settled by several Lords and Gentlemen in *England*. The *Pequots* falling violently upon them, slew divers Men at *Saybrook*; keeping almost a constant Siege upon the Place; so that the *English* were constrained to keep within their pallizado *Fort*; being so hard Beset and sometimes Assaulted, that Capt. *John Mason* was sent by *Connecticut Colony* with *twenty Men* out of their small Numbers to secure the Place: But after his coming, there did not one *Pequot* appear in view for one *Month* Space, which was the time he there remained.

In the Interim certain *Pequots* about *One Hundred* going to a Place called *Weathersfield* on *Connecticut*; having formerly confederated with the *Indians* of that Place (as it was generally thought) lay in Ambush for the *English*; divers of them going

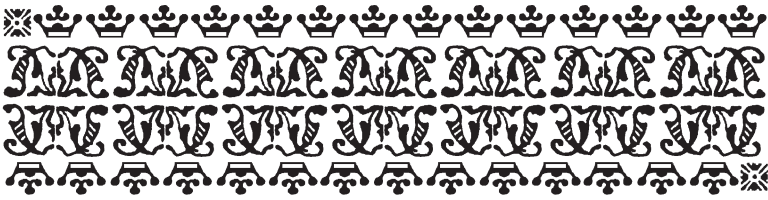
into a large Field adjoining to the Town to their Labour, were there set upon by the *Indians*: *Nine* of the *English* were killed out right, with some Horses, and *two young Women* taken *Captives*.

At their Return from *Weathersfield*, they came down the *River* of *Connecticut* (Capt. *Mason* being then at *Saybrook Fort*) in *three Canoes* with about *one hundred Men*, which River of necessity they must pass: We espying them, concluded they had been acting some Mischief against us, made a Shot at them with a Piece of Ordnance, which beat off the Beak Head of one of their *Canoes*, wherein our *two Captives* were: it was at a very great distance: They then hastened, drew their *Canoes* over a narrow Beach with all speed and so got away.

Upon which the *English* were somewhat dejected: But immediately upon this, a *Court* was called and met in *Hartford* the *First of May*, 1637,* who seriously considering their Condition, which did look very Sad, for those *Pequots* were a great People, being strongly fortified, cruel, warlike, munitioned, &c, and the *English* but an handful in comparison: But their outrageous Violence against the *English*, having Murdered about *Thirty* of them, their great Pride and Insolency, constant pursuit in their malicious Courses, with their engaging other *Indians* in their Quarrel against the *English*, who had never offered them the least Wrong; who had in all likelihood Espoused all the *Indians* in the Country in their Quarrel, had not GOD by more than an ordinary Providence prevented: These Things being duly considered, with the eminent Hazard and great Peril they were in; it pleased GOD so to stir up the Hearts of all Men in general, and the *Court* in special, that they concluded some Forces should forthwith be sent out against the *Pequots*; their Grounds being Just, and necessity enforcing them to engage in an offensive and defensive *War*: the Management of which *War* we are nextly to relate.

* *May* 1. 1637 was *Monday*.





AN

Epitome or brief History

OF THE

Pequot War.

¶ In the Beginning of *May* 1637 there were sent out by CONNECTICUT COLONY *Ninety* Men under the Command of Capt. *John Mason* against the PEQUOTS, with ONKOS an *Indian Sachem* living at *Mobegan*,[†] who was newly revolted from the *Pequots*; being Shipped in one *Pink*, one *Pinnace*, and one *Shallop*; who sailing down the *River of Connecticut* fell several times a ground, the Water being very low: The *Indians* not being wonted to such Things with their small *Canoes*, and also being impatient of Delays, desired they might be set on Shoar, promising that they would meet us at *Saybrook*; which we granted: They hastening to their Quarters, fell upon *Thirty* or *forty* of the *Enemy* near *Saybrook Fort*, and killed *seven* of them outright; ‡ having only one of their's wounded, who was sent back to *Connecticut* in a *Skiff*: Capt. *John Underhill* also com-

† *Onkos*, usually called *Uncas*, the *Great Sachem* of the MOHEAGS.

‡ Mr. *Increase Mather* in his *History of the Pequot War*, says this was on *May 15*.

ing with him, who informed us what was performed by *Onkos* and his Men; which we looked at as a special Providence; for before we were somewhat doubtful of his Fidelity: Capt. *Underhill* then offered his Service with *nineteen* Men to go with us, if Lieutenant *Gardner* would allow of it, who was Chief Commander at *Saybrook Fort*; which was readily approved of by Lieutenant *Gardner* and accepted by us: In lieu of them we sent back *twenty* of our Soldiers to *Connecticut*.

Upon a *Wednesday* we arrived at *Saybrook*, where we lay Windbound until *Friday*; often consulting how and in what manner we should proceed in our Enterprize, being altogether ignorant of the Country. At length we concluded, GOD assisting us, for *Narragansett*, and so to March through their Country, which Bordered upon the *Enemy*; where lived a great People, it being about *fifteen Leagues* beyond *Pequot*; The *Grounds* and *Reasons* of our so Acting you shall presently understand:

‘ First, *The Pequots our Enemies, kept a continual Guard upon the River Night and Day.*

‘ Secondly, *their Numbers far exceeded ours; having sixteen Guns with Powder and Shot, as we were informed by the two Captives forementioned (where we declared the Grounds of this War) who were taken by the Dutch and restored to us at Saybrook; which indeed was a very friendly Office and not to be forgotten.*

‘ Thirdly, *They were on Land, and being swift on Foot, might much impede our Landing, and possibly dishearten our Men; we being expected only by Land, there being no other Place to go on Shoar but in that River, nearer than Narragansett.*

‘ Fourthly, *By Narragansett we should come upon their Backs and possibly might surprize them unaware, at worst we should be on firm Land as well as they: All which proved very successful as the Sequel may evidently demonstrate.*

But yet for all this *our Counsel*, all of them except the *Captain* were at a stand, and could not judge it meet to sail to *Narragansett*: And indeed there was a very strong Ground for it; our Commission limiting us to land our Men in *Pequot River*; we had also the same Order by a Letter of Instruction sent us to *Saybrook*.

But Capt. *Mason* apprehending an exceeding great Hazard in so doing, for the Reasons fore mentioned, as also some other which I shall forbear to trouble you with, did therefore earnestly desire Mr. *Stone* that he would commend our Condition to the LORD, *that Night*, to direct how & in what manner we should demean our selves in that Respect; He being our *Chaplin* and lying aboard our *Pink*, the Captain on shoar. In the *Morning* very early Mr. *Stone* came ashoar to the Captain's Chamber, and told him, he had done as he had desired, and was fully satisfied to sail for *Narragansett*. Our Council was then called, and the several Reasons alledged: In fine we all agreed with one accord to sail for *Narragansett*, which the *next Morning* we put in Execution.

I declare not this to encourage any Soldiers to Act beyond their Commission, or contrary to it; for in so doing they run a double Hazard. There was a great Commander in *Belgia* who did the *States* great Service in taking a City; but by going beyond his Commission lost his Life: His name was *Grubben-dunk*. But if a War be Managed duly by Judgment and Discretion as is requisite, the Shews are many times contrary to what they seem to pursue: Wherefore the more an Enterprize is dissembled and kept secret, the more facil to put in Execution; as the Proverb, *The farthest way about is sometimes the nearest way home*. I shall make bold to present this as my present Thoughts in this Case; In Matters of War, those who are both able and faithful should be improved; and then bind them not up into too narrow a Compass: For it is not possible for the wisest and ablest Senator to foresee all Accidents and Occurrences that fall out in the Management and Pursuit of a War:

Nay although possibly he might be trained up in Military Affairs; and truly much less can he have any great Knowledge who hath had but little Experience therein. What shall I say? GOD led his People thro' many Difficulties and Turnings; yet by more than an ordinary Hand of Providence he brought them to *Canaan* at last.

On *Friday Morning*, we set Sail for NARRAGANSETT-BAY, and on *Saturday* towards *Evening* we arrived at our desired Port, there we kept the *Sabbath*.

On the *Monday* the Wind blew so hard at North-West that we could not go on Shoar; as also on the *Tuesday* until *Sun set*; at which time Capt. *Mason* landed and Marched up to the Place of the *Chief Sachem's* Residence; who told the SACHEM, 'That we had not an opportunity to acquaint him with our coming Armed in his Country sooner; yet not doubting but it would be well accepted by him, there being Love betwixt himself and us; well knowing also that the Pequots and themselves were Enemies, and that he could not be unacquainted with those intolerable Wrongs and Injuries these Pequots had lately done unto the English; and that we were now come, GOD assisting, to Avenge our selves upon them; and that we did only desire free Passage through his Country.' Who returned us this ANSWER, That he did accept of our coming, and did also approve of our Design; only he thought our Numbers were too weak to deal with the Enemy, who were (as he said) very great Captains and Men skilful in War. Thus he spake somewhat slighting of us.

On the *Wednesday Morning*, we Marched from thence to a Place called NAYANTICKE, it being about *eighteen* or *twenty Miles* distant, where another of those *Narragansett Sachems* lived in a *Fort*; it being a *Frontier* to the *Pequots*. They carried very proudly towards us; not permitting any of us to come into their Fort.

We beholding their Carriage and the Falshood of *Indians*, and fearing lest they might discover us to the Enemy, especially they having many times some of their near Relations among their greatest Foes; we therefore caused a strong Guard to be set about their Fort, giving Charge that no *Indian* should be suffered to pass in or out: We also informed the *Indians*, that none of them should stir out of the *Fort* upon peril of their Lives: so as they would not suffer any of us to come into their *Fort*, so we would not suffer any of them to go out of the *Fort*.

There we quartered *that Night*, the Indians not offering to stir out all the while.

In the *Morning*, there came to us several of MYANTOMO† his Men, who told us, they were come to assist us in our Expedition, which encouraged divers *Indians* of that Place to Engage also; who suddenly gathering into a Ring, one by one, making solemn Protestations how galliantly they would demean themselves, and how many Men they would Kill.

On the *Thursday* about *eight of the Clock* in the *Morning*, we Marched thence *towards* PEQUOT, with about *five hundred Indians*: But through the Heat of the Weather and want of Provisions some of our Men Fainted: And having Marched about *twelve Miles*, we came to *Parwcatuck-River*, at a *Ford* where our *Indians* told us the *Pequots* did usually Fish; there making an *Alta*, we stayed some small time: The *Narragansett Indians* manifesting great Fear, in so much that many of them returned, although they had frequently despised us, saying, *That we durst not look upon a PEQUOT, but themselves would perform great Things*; though we had often told them *that we came on purpose and were resolved, GOD assisting, to see the PEQUOTS,*

† He was usually called *Miantonimo* the Great Sachem of the *Narraganset Indians*.

and to Fight with them before we returned, though we perished. I then enquired of ONKOS, *what he thought the Indians would do?* Who said, *The NARRAGANSETTS would all leave us, but as for HIMSELF He would never leave us:* and so it proved: For which Expressions and some other Speeches of his, I shall never forget him. Indeed he was a great Friend, and did great Service.

And after we had refreshed our selves with our mean Commons, we Marched about *three Miles*, and came to a *Field* which had lately been planted with *Indian Corn*: There we made another *Alt*, and called our Council, supposing we drew near to the Enemy: and being informed by the *Indians* that the Enemy had *two Forts* almost impregnable; but we were not at all Discouraged, but rather Animated, in so much that we were resolved to Assault both their Forts at once. But understanding that *one of them* was so remote that we could not come up with it before *Midnight*, though we Marched hard; whereat we were much grieved, chiefly because the greatest and bloodiest *Sachem* there resided, whose name was SAS-SACOUS: We were then constrained, being exceedingly spent in our March with extream Heat and want of Necessaries, to accept of the *nearest*.

We then Marching on in a silent Manner, the *Indians* that remained fell all into the *Rear*, who formerly kept the *Van*; (being possessed with great Fear) we continued our March till about *one Hour in the Night*: and coming to a *little Swamp between two Hills*, there we pitched our little Camp; much wearied with hard Travel, keeping great Silence, supposing we were very near the *Fort* as our *Indians* informed us; which proved otherwise: The Rocks were our Pillows; yet Rest was pleasant: The *Night* proved Comfortable, being clear and Moon Light: We appointed our Guards and placed our Sentinels at some distance; who heard the Enemy Singing at the *Fort*, who continued that Strain until Midnight, with great Insulting and Rejoycing, as we were afterwards informed: They

seeing our *Pinnaces* sail by them some Days before, concluded we were affraid of them and durst not come near them; the Burthen of their Song tending to that purpose.

In the *Morning*, we awaking and seeing it very light, supposing it had been day, and so we might have lost our Opportunity, having purposed to make our Assault before Day; rowed the Men with all expedition, and briefly commended ourselves and Design to GOD, thinking immediately to go to the Assault; the *Indians* shewing us a *Path*, told us that it led directly to the *Fort*. We held on our March about *two Miles*, wondering that we came not to the *Fort*, and fearing we might be deluded: But seeing Corn newly planted at the Foot of a *great Hill*, supposing the *Fort* was not far off, a *Champion Country* being round about us; then making a stand, gave the Word for some of the *Indians* to come up: At length ONKOS and one WEQUOSH appeared; We demanded of them, *Where was the Fort?* They answered: *On the Top of that Hill:* Then we demanded, *Where were the Rest of the Indians?* They answered, *Behind, exceedingly affraid:* We wished them to tell the rest of their Fellows, *That they should by no means Fly, but stand at what distance they pleased, and see whether ENGLISH MEN would now Fight or not.* Then Captain *Underhill* came up, who Marched in the Rear; and commending our selves to GOD divided our Men: There being *two Entrances* into the *Fort*, intending to enter both at once: Captain *Mason* leading up to that on the *North East Side*; who approaching within one Rod, heard a Dog bark and an *Indian* crying *Owanux! Owanux!* which is *Englishmen! Englishmen!* We called up our Forces with all expedition, gave Fire upon them through the Pallizado; the *Indians* being in a dead indeed their last Sleep: Then we wheeling off fell upon the *main Entrance*, which was blocked up with Bushes about Breast high, over which the *Captain* passed, intending to make good the Entrance, encouraging the rest to follow. Lieutenant *Seeley* endeavoured to enter; but being somewhat cumbred, stepped back and pulled out the Bushes and so

entred, and with him about *sixteen Men*: We had formerly concluded to destroy them by the Sword and save the Plunder.

Whereupon Captain *Mason* seeing no *Indians*, entred a *Wigwam*; where he was beset with many *Indians*, waiting all opportunities to lay Hands on him, but could not prevail. At length *William Heydon* espying the Breach in the *Wigwam*, supposing some *English* might be there, entred; but in his Entrance fell over a dead *Indian*; but speedily recovering himself, the *Indians* some fled, others crept under their Beds: The *Captain* going out of the *Wigwam* saw many *Indians* in the Lane or Street; he making towards them, they fled, were pursued to the End of the Lane, where they were met by *Edward Pattison*, *Thomas Barber*, with some others; where *seven* of them were Slain, as they said. The *Captain* facing about, Marched a slow Pace up the Lane he came down, perceiving himself very much out of Breath; and coming to the other End near the Place where he first entred, saw *two Soldiers* standing close to the Pallizado with their Swords pointed to the Ground: The *Captain* told them that *We should never kill them after that manner*: The *Captain* also said, WE MUST BURN THEM; and immediately stepping into the *Wigwam* where he had been before, brought out a Fire-Brand, and putting it into the Matts with which they were covered, set the *Wigwams* on Fire. Lieutenant *Thomas Bull* and *Nicholas Omsted* beholding, came up; and when it was throughly kindled, the *Indians* ran as Men most dreadfully Amazed.

And indeed such a dreadful Terror did the ALMIGHTY let fall upon their Spirits, that they would fly from us and run into the very Flames, where many of them perished. And when the *Fort* was thoroughly Fired, Command was given, that all should fall off and surround the *Fort*; which was readily attended by all; only one *Arthur Smith* being so wounded that he could not move out of the Place, who was happily espied by Lieutenant *Bull*, and by him rescued.

The Fire was kindled on the *North East Side* to windward; which did swiftly over-run the *Fort*, to the extream Amazement of the Enemy, and great Rejoycing of our selves. Some of them climbing to the Top of the Palizado; others of them running into the very Flames; many of them gathering to windward, lay pelting at us with their Arrows; and we repayed them with our small Shot: Others of the Stoutest issued forth, as we did guess, to the Number of *Forty*, who perished by the Sword.

What I have formerly said, is according to my own Knowledge, there being sufficient living Testimony to every Particular.

But in reference to Captain *Underhill* and his Parties acting in this Assault, I can only intimate as we were informed by some of themselves immediately after the Fight, Thus *They* Marching up to the *Entrance* on the *South West Side*, there made some Pause; a valiant, resolute Gentleman, one Mr. HEDGE, stepping towards the *Gate*, saying, *If we may not Enter, wherefore came we hear*; and immediately endeavoured to Enter; but was opposed by a sturdy *Indian* which did impede his Entrance: but the *Indian* being slain by himself and Sergeant *Davis*, Mr. *Hedge* Entred the *Fort* with some others; but the *Fort* being on Fire, the Smoak and Flames were so violent that they were constrained to desert the *Fort*.

Thus were they now at their Wits End, who not many Hours before exalted themselves in their great Pride, threatening and resolving the utter Ruin and Destruction of all the *English*, Exulting and Rejoycing with Songs and Dances: But GOD was above them, who laughed his Enemies and the Enemies of his People to Scorn, making them as a fiery Oven: Thus were the Stout Hearted spoiled, having slept their last Sleep, and none of their Men could find their Hands: Thus did the LORD judge among the Heathen, filling the Place with dead Bodies!

And here we may see the just Judgment of GOD, in sending even the very *Night before* this Assault, *One hundred and fifty Men* from their other *Fort*, to join with them of that Place, who were designed as some of themselves reported to go forth against the *English*, at that very Instant when this heavy Stroak came upon them, where they perished with their Fellows. So that the Mischief they intended to us, came upon their own Pate: They were taken in their own snare, and we through Mercy escaped. And thus in *little more than one Hour's space* was their impregnable *Fort* with themselves utterly Destroyed, to the Number of *six or seven Hundred*, as some of themselves confessed. There were only *seven* taken *Captive* & about *seven* escaped.*

Of the *English*, there were *two Slain* outright, and about *twenty Wounded*: Some Fainted by reason of the sharpness of the Weather, it being a cool Morning & the want of such Comforts & Necessaries as were needful in such a Case; especially our *Chyrurgeon* was much wanting, whom we left with our *Barks* in *Narragansett-Bay*, who had Order there to remain until the *Night* before our intended Assault.

And thereupon grew many *Difficulties*: Our Provision and Mmunition near spent; we in the Enemies Country, who did far exceed us in Number, being much enraged: all our *Indians*, except ONKOS, deserting us; our *Pinnaces* at a great distance from us, and when they would come we were uncertain.

But as we were consulting what Course to take, it pleased GOD to discover our *Vessels* to us before a fair Gale of Wind, sailing into *Pequot Harbour*, to our great Rejoycing.

* The Place of the Fort being called MISTICK, this Fight was called MISTICK-FIGHT: And Mr. *Increase Mather*, from a *Manuscript* He met with, tells us; It was on *Friday, May 26, 1637, a memorable Day!*

We had no sooner discovered our *Vessels*, but immediately came up the *Enemy* from the OTHER FORT; *Three Hundred or more* as we conceived. The *Captain* lead out a *File or two* of Men to Skirmish with them, chiefly to try what Temper they were of, who put them to a stand: we being much encouraged thereat, presently prepared to March towards our Vessels: *Four or Five* of our Men were so wounded that they must be carried with the Arms of *twenty* more. We also being faint, were constrained to put *four to one* Man, with the Arms of the rest that were wounded to others; so that we had not above *forty* Men free: at length we hired several *Indians*, who eased us of that Burthen in carrying of our wounded Men. And Marching about *one quarter of a Mile*; the Enemy coming up to the Place where the *Fort* was, and beholding what was done, stamped and tore the Hair from their Heads: And after a little space, came mounting down the *Hill* upon us, in a full career, as if they would over run us; But when they came within Shot, the Rear faced about, giving Fire upon them: Some of them being Shot, made the rest more wary: Yet they held on running to and fro, and shooting their Arrows at Random. There was at the *Foot of the Hill* a *small Brook*, where we rested and refreshed our selves, having by that time taught them a little more Manners than to disturb us.

We then Marched on towards *Pequot Harbour*; and falling upon several *Wigwams*, burnt them: The Enemy still following us in the Rear, which was to windward, though to little purpose; yet some of them lay in Ambush behind Rocks and Trees, often shooting at us, yet through Mercy touched not one of us: And as we came to any Swamp or Thicket, we made some Shot to clear the Passage. Some of them fell with our Shot; and probably more might, but for want of Munition: But when any of them fell, our *Indians* would give a great Shout, and then would they take so much Courage as to fetch their Heads. And thus we continued, until we came within *two Miles* of *Pequot Harbour*; where the Enemy gathered together and

left us: we Marching on to the *Top* of an *Hill* adjoining to the Harbour, with our Colours flying; having left our Drum at the Place of our Rendezvous the *Night before*: We seeing our *Vessels* there Riding at Anchor, to our great Rejoycing, and came to the *Water-Side*, we there sat down in Quiet.

Captain *Patrick* being Arrived there with our *Vessels*, who as we were informed was sent with *Forty Men* by the *Massachusetts* Colony, upon some Service against the *Block Islanders*: Who coming to the Shore in our Shallop with all his Company, as he said, to Rescue us, supposing we were pursued, though there did not appear any the least sign of such a Thing.

But we could not prevail with Him by any Means to put his Men ashore, that so we might carry our Wounded Men a Board; although it was our own Boat in which he was: We were very much Troubled; but knew not how to help our selves. At length we were fetched a Board to the great Rejoycing of our Friends.

Shortly after our coming a Board, there fell out a great Contest between Captain *Underhill* and Capt. *Patrick*: Captain *Underhill* claiming an Interest in the Bark where Captain *Patrick* was, which indeed was *Underhill's* Right; The Contest grew to a great Heighth. At length we propounded, that if *Patrick* would Ride there with that *Bark* in Contention, and secure the *Narragansett Indians*, it being also the Place of Rendezvous to those Vessels that were expected from *Massachusetts*, until we Transported our Wounded Men to *Saybrook* five *Leagues* distant; then we wou'd immediately return our *Pink* to convey the *Narragansetts* home: The which Captain *Patrick* seemed very readily to accept.

Captain *Underhill* soon after set sail in one of our *Barks* for *Saybrook*: But before he was out of Sight; Captain *Patrick* signified by Writing, that he could not attend that Service, but

he must wait for the *Bay Vessels* at *Saybrook*, wishing us, having the Honour of that Service to compleat it, by securing the *Narragansett Indians*; which at first seemed very Difficult, if not Impossible: For our *Pink* could not receive them, and to march by *Land* was very Dangerous; it being near *twenty Miles* in the Enemies Country, our Numbers being much weakened, we were then about *twenty Men*; the rest we had sent home for fear of the *Pequots* Invasion. But absolutely necessitated to March by Land, we hasted ashore, with our *Indians* and small Numbers. Captain *Patrick* seeing what we intended, came ashore also with his Men; although in truth we did not desire or delight in his Company, and so we plainly told him: However he would and did March a long with us.

About the *midway* between that and *Saybrook*, we fell upon a People called *Nayanticks*, belonging to the *Pequots*, who fled to a Swamp for Refuge: They hearing or espying of us, fled: We pursued them a while by the Track as long as they kept together: But being much spent with former Travel, and the *Sabbath* drawing on, it being about *Two* or *Three* of the *Clock* on the *Saturday* in the *Afternoon*; we leaving our Pursuit, hasted towards *Saybrook*, about *Sun set* we Arrived at *Connecticut River Side*; being nobly Entertained by Lieutenant *Gardner* with many great Guns: But were forced there to *Quarter* that Night: On the *Morrow* we were all fetched over to *Saybrook*, receiving many Courtesies from Lieut. *Gardner*.

And when we had taken Order for the safe Conduct of the *Narragansett Indians*, we repaired to the Place of our Abode: where we were Entertained with great Triumph and Rejoycing and Praising GOD for his Goodness to us, in succeeding our weak Endeavours, in Crowning us with Success, and restoring of us with so little Loss. *Thus was God seen in the Mount, Crushing his proud Enemies and the Enemies of his People: They who were ere while a TERROR to all that were round about them, who resolved to Destroy all the ENGLISH and to Root*

their very Name out of this Country, should by such weak Means, even SEVENTY SEVEN (there being no more at the FORT) bring the Mischief they plotted, and the Violence they offered and exercised, upon their own Heads in a Moment; burning them up in the Fire of his Wrath, and dunging the Ground with their Flesh: It was the LORD's Doings, and it is marvellous in our Eyes! It is HE that hath made his Work wonderful, and therefore ought to be remembered.

Immediately the whole Body of *Pequots* repaired to *that Fort* where *SASSACOUS* the *Chief Sachem* did reside; charging him that he was the only Cause of all the Troubles that had befallen them; and therefore they would Destroy both him and his: But by the Intreaty of their *Counsellors* they spared his Life; and consulting what Course to take, concluded *there was no abiding any longer in their Country*, and so resolved to *fly into several Parts*. The greatest Body of them went towards *MANHATANCE*:* And passing over *Connecticut*, they met with *three English Men* in a *Shallop* going for *Saybrook*, whom they slew: The *English* Fought very stoutly, as themselves confessed, Wounding many of the Enemy.

About a *Fortnight* after our *Return* home, which was about one *Month* after the *Fight* at *MISTICK*, there Arrived in *PEQUOT RIVER* several *Vessels* from the *MASSACHUSETS*, Captain *Israel Stoughton* being Commander in Chief; and with him about *One hundred and twenty Men*; being sent by that Colony to pursue the War against the *Pequots*: The Enemy being all fled before they came, except some few *Straglers*, who were surprised by the *Mobeags* and others of the *Indians*, and by them delivered to the *Massachusetts Soldiers*.

Connecticut Colony being informed hereof, sent forthwith *forty Men*, Captain *Mason* being Chief Commander; with some

*I suppose this the same which is sometimes called *Manhatan* or *Manbatoes*; which is since called *New York*.

other Gent, to meet those of the *Massachusetts*, to consider what was necessary to be attended respecting the future: Who meeting with them of the *Massachusetts* in *Pequot Harbour*; after some time of consultation, concluded to pursue those *Pequots* that were fled towards *Manbatance*, and so forthwith Marched after them, discovering several Places where they Rendezvoused and lodged not far distant from their several Removes; making but little haste, by reason of their Children, and want of Provision; being forced to dig for Clams, and to procure such other things as the Wilderness afforded: Our *Vessels* sailing along by the Shore. In about the space of *three Days* we all Arrived at *New Haven Harbour*, then called *Quinnypiag*. And seeing a great Smoak in the Woods not far distant, we supposing some of the *Pequots* our Enemies might be there; we hastened ashore, but quickly discovered them to be *Connecticut Indians*. Then we returned aboard our Vessels, where we stayed some short time, having sent a *Pequot Captive* upon discovery, we named him *Luz*; who brought us Tydings of the Enemy, which proved true; so faithful was he to us, though against his own Nation. Such was the Terror of the *English* upon them; that a *Mobeage Indian* named *Jack Eatow* going ashore at that time, met with *three Pequots*, took *two* of them and brought them aboard.

We then hastened our March towards the Place where the Enemy was: And coming into a Corn Field, several of the *English* espyed some *Indians*, who fled from them: They pursued them; and coming to the Top of an Hill, saw several *Wigwams* just opposite, only a *Swamp* intervening, which was almost divided in two Parts. Serjeant *Palmer* hastening with about *twelve Men* who were under his Command to surround the smaller Part of the *Swamp*, that so He might prevent the *Indians* flying; Ensign *Danport*,* Serjeant *Jef-fries* &c, entering the *Swamp*, intended to have gone to the *Wigwams*, were there set upon by several *Indians*, who in all

* It should be *Davenport*, who was afterwards Captain of the *Castle* in *Boston Harbour*.

probability were deterred by Serjeant *Palmer*. In this Skirmish the *English* slew but few; *two* or *three* of themselves were Wounded: The rest of the *English* coming up, the *Swamp* was surrounded.

Our *Council* being called, and the *Question* propounded, *How we should proceed*, Captain *Patrick* advised that we should cut down the *Swamp*; there being many *Indian Hatchets* taken, Captain *Traske* concurring with him; but was opposed by others: Then we must pallizado the *Swamp*; which was also opposed: Then they would have a Hedge made like those of *Gotham*; all which was judged by some almost impossible, and to no purpose, and that for several Reasons, and therefore strongly opposed. But some others advised to force the *Swamp*, having time enough, it being about *three* of the *Clock* in the *Afternoon*: But that being opposed, it was then propounded to draw up our Men close to the *Swamp*, which would much have lessened the Circumference; and with all to fill up the open Passages with Bushes, that so we might secure them until the *Morning*, and then we might consider further about it. But neither of these would pass; so different were our Apprehensions; which was very grievous to some of us, who concluded the *Indians* would make an Escape in the *Night*, as easily they might and did: We keeping at a great distance, what better could be expected? Yet Captain *Mason* took Order that the Narrow in the *Swamp* should be cut thro'; which did much shorten our Leaguer. It was resolutely performed by Serjeant *Davis*.

We being loth to destroy *Women* and *Children*, as also the *Indians* belonging to that Place; whereupon Mr. *Tho. Stanton* a Man well acquainted with *Indian Language* and Manners, offered his Service to go into the *Swamp* and treat with them: To which we were somewhat backward, by reason of some Hazard and Danger he might be exposed unto: But his importunity prevailed: Who going to them, did in a short time return to us, with near *Two Hundred old Men, Women* and *Children*; who delivered themselves to the Mercy of the *English*.

And so *Night* drawing on, we beleaguered them as strongly as we could. About *half an Hour before Day*, the *Indians* that were in the *Swamp* attempted to break through Captain *Patrick's Quarters*; but were beaten back several times; they making a *great Noise*, as their Manner is at such Times, it sounded round about our Leaguer: Whereupon Captain *Mason* sent Serjeant *Stares* to inquire into the Cause, and also to assist if need required; Capt. *Traske* coming also in to their Assistance: But the Tumult growing to a very great Heighth, we raised our Siege; and Marching up to the Place, at a Turning of the *Swamp* the *Indians* were forcing out upon us; but we sent them back by our small Shot.

We waiting a little for a second Attempt; the *Indians* in the mean time facing about, pressed violently upon Captain *Patrick*, breaking through his *Quarters*, and so escaped. They were about *sixty* or *seventy* as we were informed. We afterwards searched the *Swamp*, & found but few *Slain*. The *Captives* we took were about *One Hundred and Eighty*; whom we divided, intending to keep them as *Servants*, but they could not endure that Yoke; few of them continuing any considerable time with their Masters.

Thus did the LORD scatter his Enemies with his strong Arm! The *Pequots* now became a Prey to all *Indians*. Happy were they that could bring in their Heads to the *English*: Of which there came almost daily to *Winsor*, or *Hartford*. But the *Pequots* growing weary hereof, sent some of the Chief that survived to *mediate* with the *English*; offering that *If they might but enjoy their Lives, they would become the English Vassals, to dispose of them as they pleased.* Which was granted them. Whereupon *ONKOS* and *MYANTONIMO* were sent for; who with the *Pequots* met at *Hartford*. The *Pequots* being demanded, *How many of them were then living?* Answered, about *One Hundred and Eighty*, or *Two Hundred*. There were then given to *ONKOS*, Sachem of *MONHEAG*, *Eighty*; to *MYAN-*

TONIMO, Sachem of NARRAGANSETT, *Eighty*; and to NYNIGRETT, † *Twenty*, when he should satisfy for a *Mare* of *Edward Pomroye's* killed by his Men. The *Pequots* were then bound by COVENANT, *That none should inhabit their native Country, nor should any of them be called PEQUOTS any more, but MOHEAGS and NARRAGANSETTS for ever.* Shortly after, about *Forty* of them went to *Mobeag*; others went to *Long Island*; the rest settled at *Parwcatuck*, a Place in *Pequot Country*, contrary to their late Covenant and Agreement with the *English*.

Which *Connecticut* taking into Consideration, and well weighing the several Inconveniences that might ensue; for the Prevention whereof, they sent out *forty Men* under the command of Captain *John Mason*, to supplant them, by burning their *Wigwams*, and bringing away their Corn, except they would desert the Place: ONKOS with about *One Hundred of his Men* in *twenty Canoes*, going also to assist in the Service. As we sailed into *Parwcatuck-Bay* We met with *three* of those *Indians*, whom we sent to inform the rest with the end of our coming, and also that we desired to speak with some of them: They promised speedily to return us an Answer, but never came to us more.

We run our *Vessel* up into a *small River*, and by reason of Flatts were forced to land on the *West Side*; their *Wigwams* being on the *East* just opposite, where we could see the *Indians* running up and down Jeering of us. But we meeting with a *narrow Place* in the *River* between *two Rocks*, drew up our *Indians Canoes*, and got suddenly over sooner than we were expected or desired; Marching immediately up to their *Wigwams*; the *Indians* being all fled, except some old People that could not.

We were so suddenly upon them that they had not time to convey away their Goods: We viewed their Corn, whereof there

† He was usually called NINNICRAFT.

was Plenty, it being their time of *Harvest*: And coming down to the Water Side to our Pinnacle with *half* of ONKOS's his *Men*, the rest being plundering the *Wigwams*; we looking towards a *Hill* not far remote, we espyed about *sixty* *Indians* running towards us; we supposing they were our absent Men, the *Mo-beags* that were with us not speaking one word, nor moving towards them until the other came within *thirty* or *forty* *Paces* of them; then they run and met them and fell on pell mell striking and cutting with Bows, Hatchets, Knives, &c, after their feeble Manner: Indeed it did hardly deserve the Name of *Fighting*. We then endeavoured to get between them and the Woods, that so we might prevent their flying; which they perceiving, endeavoured speedily to get off under the *Beach*: We made no Shot at them, nor any hostile Attempt upon them. Only *seven* of them who were NYNIGRETT's *Men*, were taken. Some of them growing very outrageous, whom we intended to have made shorter by the Head; and being about to put it in Execution; one *Otash* a Sachem of *Narragansett*, Brother to MYANTONIMO stepping forth, told the *Captain*, *They were his Brother's Men, and that he was a Friend to the English, and if we would spare their Lives we should have as many Murtherers Heads in lieu of them which should be delivered to the English.* We considering that there was no Blood shed as yet, and that it tended to Peace and Mercy, granted his Desire; and so delivered them to ONKOS to secure them until his Engagement was performed, because our *Prison* had been very much pestered with such Creatures.

We then drew our *Bark* into a *Creek*, the better to defend her; for there were *many* *Hundreds* within *five* *Miles* waiting upon us. There we *Quartered* that *Night*: In the *Morning* as soon as it was *Light* there appeared in Arms at least *Three Hundred* *Indians* on the other Side the *Creek*: Upon which we stood to our Arms; which they perceiving, some of them fled, others crept behind the Rocks and Trees, not one of them to be seen. We then called to them, saying, *We desired to speak with them, and that we would down our Arms for*

that end: Whereupon they stood up: We then informed them, *That the Pequots had violated their Promise with the English, in that they were not there to inhabit, and that we were sent to supplant them:* They answered saying, *The Pequots were good Men, their Friends, and they would Fight for them, and protect them:* At which we were somewhat moved, and told them, *It was not far to the Head of the Creek where we would meet them, and then they might try what they could do in that Respect.*

They then replied, *That they would not Fight with ENGLISH MEN, for they were SPIRITS, but would Fight with ONKOS.* We replied, *That we thought it was too early for them to Fight, but they might take their opportunity; we should be burning Wigwams, and carrying Corn aboard all that Day.* And presently beating up our Drum, we Fired the *Wigwams* in their View: And as we Marched, there were *two Indians* standing upon a *Hill* jeering and reviling of us: Mr. *Thomas Stanton* our Interpreter, Marching at Liberty, desired to make a Shot at them; the *Captain* demanding of the *Indians*, *What they were?* Who said, *They were Murtherers:* Then the said *Stanton* having leave, let fly, Shot one of them through both his Thighs; which was to our Wonderment, it being at such a vast distance.

We then loaded our *Bark* with Corn; and our *Indians* their *Canoes:* And *thirty* more which we had taken, with Kittles, Trays, Matts, and other *Indian* Luggage. That *Night* we went all aboard, & set Sail homeward: It pleased GOD in a short Time to bring us all in safety to the Place of our Abode; although we strook and stuck upon a Rock. The Way and Manner how GOD dealt with us in our Delivery was very Remarkable: The Story would be somewhat long to trouble you with at this time; and therefore I shall forbear.

Thus we may see, *How the Face of GOD is set against them that do Evil, to cut off the Remembrance of them from the Earth. Our Tongue shall talk of thy Righteousness all the Day long; for they are*

confounded, they are bro't to Shame that sought our Hurt! Blessed be the LORD GOD of Israel, who only doth wondrous Things; and blessed be his holy Name for ever: Let the whole Earth be filled with his Glory! Thus the LORD was pleased to smite our Enemies in the hinder Parts, and to give us their Land for an Inheritance: Who remembred us in our low Estate, and redeemed us out of our Enemies Hands: Let us therefore praise the LORD for his Goodness and his wonderful Works to the Children of Men!



ADDITION.

I shall add a Word or two by way of COMENT.

✿✿✿✿ OUR *Commons* were very short, there being a general scarcity throughout the *Colony* of all sorts of Provision, it being upon our first Arrival at the Place. We had but one Pint of strong Liquors among us in our whole March, but what the Wilderness afforded; (the Bottle of Liquor being in my Hand) & when it was empty, the very smelling to the Bottle would presently recover such as Fainted away, which happened by the extremity of the Heat: And thus we Marched on in an uncoath and unknown Path to the *English*, though much frequented by *Indians*. And was not the Finger of GOD in all this? By his special Providence to lead us along in the Way we should go: Nay though we knew not where their Forts were, how far it was to them, nor the Way that led to them, but by what we had from our *Indian* Guides; whom we could not confide in, but looked at them as uncertain: And yet notwithstanding all our Doubts, we should be brought on the very fittest Season; nay and which is yet more, that we should be carried in our March among a treacherous and perfidious People, yea in our allodgment so near the Enemy, all Night in so populous a Country, and not the least Notice of us; seemeth somewhat strange, and more than ordinary: Nay that we should come to their very Doors: *What shall I say?* GOD was pleased to hide us in the Hollow of his Hand; I

still remember a Speech of Mr. HOOKER at our going aboard; THAT THEY SHOULD BE BREAD FOR US. And thus when the LORD turned the Captivity of his People, and turned the Wheel upon their Enemies; we were like Men in a Dream; then was our Mouth filled with Laughter, and our Tongues with Singing; thus we may say the LORD hath done great Things for us among the Heathen, whereof we are glad. Praise ye the LORD!

I shall mention two or three *special Providences* that GOD was pleased to vouchsafe to *Particular Men*; viz. *two Men*, being one Man's Servants, namely, *John Dier* and *Thomas Stiles*, were both of them Shot in the Knots of their Handkerchiefs, being about their Necks, and received no Hurt. Lieutenant *Seeley* was Shot in the Eye-brow with a flat headed Arrow, the Point turning downwards: I pulled it out my self. Lieutenant *Bull* had an Arrow Shot into a hard piece of Cheese, having no other Defence: Which may verify the old Saying, *A little Armour would serve if a Man knew where to place it*. Many such Providences happened; some respecting my self; but since there is none that Witness to them, I shall forbear to mention them.

The Year ensuing, the Colony being in extream Want of Provision, many giving *twelve Shillings* for *one Bushel* of *Indian Corn*; the Court of *Connecticut* employing Captain *Mason*, Mr. *William Wadsworth* and Deacon *Stebbin*, to try what Providence would afford, for their Relief in this great Straight: Who notwithstanding some discouragement they met with from some *English*, went to a Place called *Pocomtuck*:‡ where they procured so much *Corn* at reasonable Rates, that the *Indians* brought down to *Hartford* and *Windsor*, FIFTY CANOES laden with *Corn* at one time. Never was the like known to this Day! So although the LORD was pleased to shew his People hard Things; yet did he execute Judgment for the Oppressed, and gave Food to the Hungry. O let us meditate on the Great Works of GOD: Ascribing all Blessing and Praise to his Great Name, for all his Great Goodness and Salvation! *Amen, Amen.*

‡ Since called *Deerfield*.

F I N I S.

Notes

- ii.9 MILES STANDISH] (c.1584-1656); he probably joined the English forces at Ostend in 1601, and may have become an officer before the truce with Spain in 1609. He served in the peacetime garrisons of Holland until 1616.
- ii.10 JOHN MASON] (c.1600-1672); his parentage and ancestry are not known.
- ii.30 *Vaudois*] Waldensians, a reformist Christian movement of the twelfth through the sixteenth centuries, centered in southern France and northern Italy. They were condemned and persecuted by the Roman Catholic authorities, and were ultimately absorbed into the Protestant Reformation.
- ii.30 *North-Britons*] This phrase usually means the Scots.
- iii.17-18 *John Mason ... New-Hampshire*] (1586-1635), governor of Newfoundland 1615-1621 and author of *A Briefe Discourse of the New-Found-Land* (1620). In 1622 he became associated with Sir Ferdinando Gorges to develop land grants in New England, with Mason having proprietorship of the region between the Merrimac and Piscataqua rivers.
- iv.2 MIANTONIMO] or Miantonomo (c.1565-1643). In a later war with the Mohegans, he was captured by Uncas and delivered to the English, tried, and executed.
- iv.4 SASSACUS] (c.1560-1637); he was killed by the Mohawks.
- iv.4-5 MOHEGANS] An Algonquian-speaking tribe of Connecticut; not the Mohicans or Mahicans of the Hudson River valley.
- iv.7 UNCAS] (c.1588-1682)
- iv.10-II 1634 ... Capt. Stone] John Winthrop's journal records the news of this killing on January 21, 1634 (new style). John Stone had stopped in Boston in the summer of 1633 carrying cattle and salt from Virginia. During his brief stay he was arrested twice on suspicion of piracy and charges of adultery and cursing the magistrates. He was fined and ordered out of

- port. Walter Norton (c.1580–1633), who was associated with Gorges' New England trading ventures and had settled in Maine in 1623, embarked with Stone at Agamenticus (York, Maine) following Stone's eviction from Boston.
- iv.12 1635 ... Capt. Oldham] The murder of John Oldham (c.1600–1636) occurred in July 1636. Oldham was active in the Indian trade and the Bay colony's negotiations with the western tribes. Originally, an emigrant to the Plymouth Colony in 1623, he was exiled from that community in 1624. He had resettled in Hull, and moved to Watertown in 1632. In 1634 he established a trading post on the Connecticut River at the future site of Wethersfield. Evidence suggests that Oldham was killed by members of the Narragansetts, two of whom were serving among his crew, and not by their rivals the Pequots.
- v.9 Rev. Mr. HOOKER] Thomas Hooker (1585–1647), one of the founders of Connecticut.
- v.17 Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX] The third Lord Fairfax of Cameron (1612–1671); he served in the Netherlands under Horace Vere, Baron Vere of Tilbury, 1629–1632. He was commander in chief of the New Model army 1644–49.
- vi.5 *John Allyn*] Lt. Col. John Allyn (1630–1696) of Hartford; he was the secretary of Connecticut Colony for 30 years (1664–65, 1667–1696).
- vi.27 *Thomas Prince*] (1687–1758); he was, from 1718, minister of the Old South Church in Boston. He was a lifelong collector of books, manuscripts, maps, and materials relating to the history of New England; he published *A Chronological History of New-England in the Form of Annals ... from the Discovery by Capt. Gosnold in 1602, to the arrival of Governor Belcher, in 1730* (2 vols.: 1736 & 1755).
- ii.9 *at Rovers*] In archery, at a target selected at random.
- iv.4 President] *i.e.*, precedent
- iv.6 *first of the noble Cæsars*] Julius Caesar, who wrote *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* (*Commentaries on the Gallic War*) and *Commentarii de Bello Civili* (*Commentaries on the Civil War*).

- v.23-24 *no Man ... general History*] “P. Vincentius” (Philip Vincent) had published *A True Relation of the Late Battell fought in New England, between the English, and the Salvages: With the present state of things there* (1637), which relates only the Mystick Fight; John Underhill had published *Newes from America; Or, A New and Experimentall Discoverie of New England; Containing, A True Relation of Their War-like Proceedings These Two Teares Last Past, with a Figure of the Indian Fort, or Palizado* (1638), which relates the Block Island expedition and the Mystick Fight; neither work covers the later campaigns after May 1637. Lion Gardener had written an account around 1660, but it remained in manuscript in the colony archives until rediscovered and published in the early nineteenth century.
- vi.29 Reverend Mr. *William Hubbard*] *The History of the Indian Wars in New England, from the First Settlement to the Termination of the War with King Philip in 1677* (Boston, 1677)
- viii.5 Capt. *Stone*] see note iv.10-11
- viii.15-16 *Dutch ... up the River*] Dutch traders from New Amsterdam had established a post fifty miles up the Connecticut River, near the present site of Hartford, in 1633.
- ix.11 *John Endicot*] John Endicott (1588-1665) is generally considered the most intolerant and least conciliable of the early Massachusetts magistrates and governors.
- ix.15 *John Oldham*] see note iv.12
- ix.23 *Lyon Gardner*] Lion Gardener, or Gardiner, (1599-1663) was an English military engineer, formerly in the service of the prince of Orange, who was hired by members of the Connecticut Company in 1635 to oversee construction of fortifications for their new colony. On arriving in Connecticut in early 1636, his first assignment was to finish and garrison Saybrook Fort, at the mouth of the Connecticut River. Gardener later (1639) acquired and gave his name to Gardiners Island.
- i.11 one *Pinke*] from the Dutch *pincke*, a small ship with a narrow stern.

- 1.20 Capt. *John Underhill*] John Underhill (c.1608–1672) was born in the Netherlands to English parents and received military training in the service of William, Prince of Orange. In 1630 he was hired by the Massachusetts Bay Colony with the rank of captain to help train the colony's militia. Following his service in the Pequot War, he faced charges of Antinomianism and adultery. He was removed from office and disenfranchised in 1637, banished in 1638, and excommunicated in 1640. He settled in Dover (New Hampshire) and ultimately was reconciled with the Massachusetts authorities after a public repentance. He removed to Connecticut in 1642, but left in 1653 to accept a captaincy in New Netherland's military forces. He prosecuted their war with the Natives of Long Island and southwestern Connecticut, destroying villages at Massapequa and Stamford. He lived in Flushing until 1653, when he served with the English in their war with the Dutch. He afterwards returned to Long Island and settled at Oyster Bay, where he died in 1672.
- 3.10 Mr. *Stone*] Samuel Stone (1602–1663), minister at Hartford
- 3.22–25 *Belgia ... Grubbendunk*] The "States" are the States-General (Staten-Generaal), the parliament of the Netherlands. Antoine Schetz (1560–1640), baron of Grobendonk, was the governor of Bois-le-Duc (*Dutch*, s' Hertogenbosch) and commanded its defense in the siege of 1629. However, he served on the side of the Spanish, not the States, and does not appear to have died as a result of military action. Jan Janszn Orlers in *The triumphs of Nassau: or, A description and representation of all the victories both by land and sea, granted by God to the noble, high, and mightie lords, the Estates generall of the vniited Netherland Prouinces Vnder the conduct and command of his excellencie, Prince Maurice of Nassau* (1613), does report that "Grobendonck" gave safe passage to the surrendered garrison of Huy, preventing their murder by the Spaniards in February 1595.
- 4.28 NAYANTICKE] Probably near present-day Charlestown, Rhode Island.
- 5.23 *Parwcatuck-River*] This river flows southwest from central Rhode Island; its lower 10 miles form the present border with Connecticut.

- 7.34 Lieutenant *Seeley*] Robert Seeley (d.1668) of Wethersfield
- 8.6 *William Heydon*] William Haydon (d.1669) of Hartford.
- 8.12-13 *Edward Pattison*] of Windsor, later of Saybrook.
- 8.13 *Thomas Barber*] of Windsor (d.1662).
- 8.24 Lieutenant *Thomas Bull*] of Hartford (d.1684).
- 8.24 *Nicholas Omsted*] or Olmstead, of Hartford (d.1684).
- 8.32 *Arthur Smith*] of Hartford (d.1655).
- 9.16-17 Mr. HEDGE] William Hedge or Hedges (1612-1670) of Lynn, Mass.; he later removed to Sandwich, Yarmouth, and Taunton.
- 9.20-21 Serjeant *Davis*] Philip Davis (d.1689) of Hartford.
- 12.6 Captain *Patrick*] Daniel Patrick (d.1643), a veteran of the Low Country wars, was hired by the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1630 to train soldiers and manufacture ammunition. He later moved to New Haven Colony and was involved in the founding of Greenwich, Conn. On his death and loose morals, see *The Journal of John Winthrop, 1630-1649* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 67, 491-92.
- 14.24 *Israel Stoughton*] (1603-1644) of Dorchester, Mass. He returned to England in 1643 and became lieutenant colonel in the Parliamentary army.
- 15.29 Serjeant *Palmer*] Nicholas Palmer (d.1689) of Windsor.
- 15.32 Ensign *Danport*] Richard Davenport (1605-1665) of Boston.
- 15.32-33 Serjeant *Jeffries*] Thomas Jefferies, or Jeffrey (c.1613-1661), of Dorchester; later (1639) removed to New Haven.
- 16.8 Captain *Traske*] William Trask (c.1587-1666) of Salem.
- 16.10-11 Hedge ... *Gotham*] According to legend, the twelfth-century inhabitants of Gotham, Nottinghamshire, feigned idiocy to prevent King John from establishing a residence there. In the tale "The Cuckoo Bush of Gotham," in *The Merry Tales of the Mad Men of Gotham* (1540), villagers build a hedge around a tree to entrap a cuckoo.

- 16.26 *Leaguer*] A military camp, especially one engaged in a siege; an investing force. (OED)
- 16.29 Mr. *Thos. Stanton*] (d.1678) of Hartford, and later (1658) of Stonington.
- 17.7 Serjeant *Stares*] Thomas Staires (d.1640) of Windsor.
- 18.2-3 *Edward Pomroye's*] probably Eltweed Pomeroy (1585-1673) of Hartford.
- 22.10 *John Dier*] or Dyer, of Windsor (d.1659).
- 22.10 *Thomas Stiles*] or Styles, of Windsor; he later removed to Long Island.
- 22.21 Mr. *William Wadsworth*] (1594-1675) of Hartford.
- 22.22 Deacon *Stebbin*] Edward Stebbins (1595-1663) of Hartford.

Note on the Text

This online electronic edition of *A Brief History of the Pequot War* is based on the first book edition, edited and published by Thomas Prince in Boston in 1736. The spelling, punctuation, capitalization, italics, and pagination scheme follow the original source. The text was transcribed from digital page images of the the Library of Congress copy of the 1736 edition, accessed in the Sabin Americana collection, and was collated against the Readex Microprint edition of the American Antiquarian Society's copy (Evans no. 4033). Some typographical errors have been corrected and a list is provided below, keyed to page and line of the present edition (the line count includes chapter headings, but not running heads or hairlines):

<i>Page.line</i>	<i>1736 edition</i>	<i>emended to</i>
i.19	<i>dist</i>	<i>didst</i>
ii.9	Capt	Capt.
i.11	<i>to own</i>	<i>to my own</i>
iv.24	<i>Mason's</i>	<i>Mason's.</i>
vi.30	Accoun s	Accounts
x.26	pelased	pleased
10.19	<i>Ba ks</i>	<i>Barks</i>
10.21	<i>Diffi ulties</i>	<i>Difficulties</i>
21.24	condfie	confide
22.12-13	Eyebrew	Eyebrow

It appears that the original printers, Samuel Kneeland (1697-1769) and his cousin Timothy Green II (1703-1763), put considerably greater effort and care into the ornamentation than into the justification of the type. Many lines lack even word spacing, and separate words are often run together, even where adequate word spacing exists elsewhere on the same line. The following passages have been emended by the addition of word space:

<i>Page. line</i>	<i>1736 edition reading</i>
i. 20	<i>howThou</i>
i. 22	<i>theLight</i>
ii. 6-7	<i>Cape-CodHarbour</i>
iii. 8	thatHe
iii. 27	theseMatters
iii. 27	toObserve
iii. 34	<i>SouthWestern</i>
v. 11	superiourPiety
ii. 8	<i>thePequots</i>
x. 23-24	theCountry
3. 10-11	ourCondition
3. 12-13	our <i>Chaplin</i>
6. 9	<i>IndianCorn</i>
6. 13	allDiscouraged
6. 31	MoonLight
7. 31-32	withBushes
9. 18-19	toEnter
10. 14	outright, and
10. 15	SomeFainted
10. 20	intendedAssault
13. 8	the <i>Pequots</i> Invasion
13. 24	thatNight
14. 16-17	towardsMANHATANCE
14. 27	fewStraglers
16. 1-2	thisSkirmish
16. 30	aMan
17. 28	English <i>Vassals</i>
18. 23	the <i>West</i>
19. 22	<i>the</i> English
19. 23	noBlood
19. 27	suchCreatures
21. 15-16	myHand
21. 27	perfidiousPeople
22. 9-10	oneMan's

Since most involve the lack of space before an upper-case letter, this may be an indication that the capital letters represent changes in type where the line spacing was not readjusted.

This online edition is set in IM Fell DW Pica, a typeface cut in the late seventeenth century by Peter de Walpergen for John Fell, Bishop of Oxford, and digitized and furnished by Iginio Marini: <http://www.iginomarini.com/fell.html>. For the convenience of modern readers and for more accurate searching and excerpting, the long s (ſ, or *f*) and its ligatures have not been used, except in the title page and running heads. The ornaments, borders, and initials are reconstructions of those in the 1736 edition. The pagination sequence follows that of the original edition: there are two sets of roman numerals (i–vi and i–x), corresponding to Prince’s “Introduction” and restarting with Mason’s preliminary materials. The page layout and design are based on the first edition, and page breaks correspond approximately to those of the original.

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Paul Royster
University of Nebraska–Lincoln
August 17, 2007

