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The New English Caanan and Thomas Morton

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Preface

In 1883 the Prince Society published in very limited quantity The New English Canaan edited by Charles Francis Adams. Since then there has been no new edition of this informative and entertaining work. Adams held faithfully to the original in spelling, punctuation, and even in the use of the early *ſ* in the text. His footnotes are learned, copious, and occasionally a bit irrelevant, but a number of mystifying expressions are not explained. It may simply be the short supply and relatively poor readability that have caused modern scholars to deny Morton's work the attention that it deserves.

In this edition I have attempted at least a partial remedy of the above by making it more readily readable without doing serious violence to the seventeenth century flavor of the original. In the Preface to his edition of Bradford, Samuel Eliot Morison discusses bringing both the spelling and punctuation up to date.

Undoubtedly some flavor is lost in not printing "could" for "cold," "powre" for "pour," "catch" for "ketch" as Bradford writes these words because such (Bradford spells it "shuch") spellings are a key to the way the Pilgrims and their contemporaries pronounced the language. But one cannot correct the spelling of some words and leave others as he wrote them.¹

He does not explain further why one may not make corrections selectively. Indeed, to improve readability without sacrificing much of the seventeenth century flavor, this compromise of selective updatings seems to be the best course, and it is the one that I have chosen.

1. William Bradford, Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647, ed. Samuel Eliot Morison (New York, 1952), p. ix.

Thus, the spelling has been brought closer to modern usage, but the original is often retained where it does not affect clarity. The terminal e has been frequently omitted, and i is often substituted for Morton's y. "Accompted" I have regularly changed to "accounted," and "one" has become "on" or "own" where appropriate. Several of the Indian names such as Wessagusset and Chickatabot have been spelled in what seems to be their common modern form. On the other hand, the Indians were so widely described as "Salvages" that modernizing this spelling seemed to take away some of the flavor of the original.

Also, some changes in punctuation were made in hopes of improving clarity. A number of commas have been omitted and a very few inserted, and in some places a colon has been replaced by a period and two sentences made of one. Frequently an apostrophe has been added in the possessive form. Capitalization has not been altered save in the rare instances where some possible confusion in meaning might be avoided by omitting, or adding, a capital letter.²

In footnoting some of the more frequently cited sources have been abbreviated. Adams' edition of the New English Canaan is cited simply as "Adams," while his Three Episodes of Massachusetts History becomes "Adams, Three Episodes." The Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings are cited as M.H.S.P., and the Oxford English Dictionary contracts to O.E.D. I have used Harvey Wish's edition of Bradford, and this is abbreviated to Wish, ed.

2. However, both spelling and punctuation have been left entirely unaltered in the table of contents, the poems, and the Maypole Song.

While I have drawn freely on the wisdom (and patience) of many people, I should like to extend my special thanks to six for their help. Professor John Battick of the University of Maine often was able to clear up a puzzle of seventeenth century verbiage, especially in maritime matters. Mr. A.G. Catheron, a learned naturalist and geologist, was of great assistance with some of the footnoting for the Second Book. And Mr. Edwin Scribner of N.Y.U. Press has my thanks for his lasting interest in this project. The other three persons deserving of special thanks are the members of my family, Marcia, Meg, and Nate who suffered patiently through my labor pains while putting this edition together.

J.M.A.

Deer Isle,

Maine

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Introduction

The general impression all too often given in American history texts and in introductory courses is that New England was initially colonized by a sort of Puritan one-two punch. That is, first came Plymouth with a small, solid settlement, and it was followed up by the haymaker of the Great Migration to Massachusetts Bay. According to this impression it was only after the founding of Boston that settlements spread elsewhere in New England. However, a closer look at the first three decades of the seventeenth century reveals a surprising beehive of activity along the New England coast. Monhegan, Damariscove, Richmond Island and the Isles of Shoals all were busy outposts. Short-lived colonies at the mouth of the Kennebec and at Cape Ann, and some interesting individual settlers such as Blackstone and Maverick on the islands of Boston Harbor added to the activity. Two years after Plymouth in August of 1622 we find a second permanent settlement on the shores of Massachusetts Bay. Here at Wessagusset, with the exception of the summer months of 1623, a small plantation existed, first under the leadership of Thomas Weston and then under Robert Gorges and others. Not long after this and but a short distance away grew one of the most intriguing settlements of the whole colonial era. It sparkles especially in contrast with the grey severity of the saintly Plymouth nearby to the south. This was Ma-re Mount.

Specific information on it and on its leader is scarce and frequently biased. Bradford's history of Plymouth and to a lesser extent Winthrop's Journal on the one hand and Morton's New English Canaan on the other are the only detailed first-hand accounts that we have, and

these two sides often depict an event in such totally different lights that the truth can only be guessed at.

In 1624 the tiny settlement at Plymouth was only slightly better off than it had been in previous years. The "starving time" was not only a fresh and bitter memory, but a recurrence was a constant possibility for the immediate future. The arrival of supplies from England could not be counted on to supplement their own uncertain harvest, and therefore they had developed a corn trade with the Indians of the area. In addition to this the Pilgrims were developing a fur trade as well, the nearest source of which was the present Boston Harbor not far to the north. The Mystic, Charles, and Neponset Rivers all empty into it, and these three rivers were highways to the interior and to the furs. Thus, from the very outset the founding of any new settlement along the shores of Massachusetts Bay was viewed with concern from Plymouth as a potential threat to both these growing trades.

Strangely, yet somehow appropriately, the date of the founding of Mount Wollaston, or Ma-re Mount as it soon became, has never been agreed upon. While Charles M. Andrews states that Captain Wollaston and his colonists arrived in 1624,¹ both George Willison and Charles Francis Adams assert that it was in the summer of 1625.² Charles E. Banks, who has done extensive and valuable research on this subject,

1. Charles M. Andrews, The Colonial Period of American History (New Haven, 1934), vol. i, p. 332.

2. George F. Willison, Saints and Strangers (New York, 1945), p. 273. Charles Francis Adams, Three Episodes of Massachusetts History (Cambridge, Mass., 1892), vol. i, p. 174.

says that "1624-25 is the true date,"³ and Bradford agrees that it was either 1624 or 1625.⁴ Thanks to some clever research on the part of Donald F. Connors and to a conclusion which can reasonably be drawn from a juxtaposition of Bradford and Morton's New English Canaan, it seems now beyond question that Captain Wollaston brought the good ship Unity to the shores of Massachusetts Bay, with Thomas Morton as a passenger, in the late spring or early summer of 1624, probably in the month of June.⁵

This assertion is based on the following. Morton's arrival in New England as a passenger on the Unity is confirmed both by Bradford and by the passenger list of that vessel. English court records of 1636 show a petition by Thomas Morton to recover a debt in which he states that,

one Christopher Broderipp of Axbridge in the county of Somerset gent in or about the yeare of our Lord God 1624 was indebted unto your said subject in the some of eight pounds and your said subject being then minded to travaile and to make a voyage into New England...⁶

3. Charles Edward Banks, "Thomas Morton of Merry Mount," Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, LVIII (December, 1924, p. 156.

4. William Bradford, Of Plymouth Plantation, ed. Harvey Wish (New York, 1962), p. 140.

5. See: Donald F. Connors, "Thomas Morton of Merry Mount: His First Arrival in New England," American Literature, XI (March, 1939), pp. 160-66

6. Banks, M.H.S.P., LIX, 92. It is safe to say that this (1624) is Morton's first visit to New England in spite of his own assertion in the New English Canaan that he came in June of 1622. The research done by Banks clearly shows Morton to be in England that summer, where he was sued in Star Chamber on June 3rd, and where he brought counter-suit July 6, 1622. In all probability his stated first-arrival date is one of a number of printing errors which appear in the New English Canaan.

We know, then that Morton at least intended to take ship for New England in 1624. And there is another piece of evidence which leads to the same conclusion. In the New English Canaan Morton refers to a visit to Plymouth shortly after his arrival in North America in which settlement he saw "but 3 Cowes in all."⁷ This simple bovine observation helps date his arrival as being in 1624, since a perusal of Bradford will show that in the spring of 1624 "Mr. Winslow came over, and brought ... 3 heifers & a bull, the first begining of any cattle of that kind in the land ..."⁸ In the spring of 1625 a second and larger shipment of cattle was made, so we can be reasonably sure that Morton visited Plymouth somewhere in the period between the two springs.

Thus, in all likelihood June of 1624 saw the arrival of the Unity under Captain Wollaston with three or four gentlemen passengers and some thirty indentured servants, whose purpose was to establish a plantation about twenty-five miles north of Plymouth. It was called Mount Wollaston instead of Passonagessit, its Indian name.⁹ Almost all of the gentle hill, or mount, and some of the surrounding area had been cleared of trees just prior to the Great Pestilence by the local sachem Chickatabot, thus easing the way for the agriculture of the new settlement. In fact it was probably this factor that caused the choice of Passonagessit, since the area did have other drawbacks.

7. See below p. 130.

8. Wish, ed., p. 101.

9. Almost nothing, including even his first name, is known about Captain Wollaston, or about the reason for naming the settlement in his honor.

It was not, for example, ideally situated for water-borne trade, having a rather shallow water inshore at most tides.

During the summer and fall of 1624 a large house and a few other buildings were constructed, the plantation was laid out, but apparently no planting was done.

The adventurers built their house nearly on the centre of the summit of the hill, where it slopes gently away from the water to the west and south, and from it they commanded a wide view in all directions. On the side towards the bay every entrance to the harbor was in plain sight, so that no vessel could enter without its presence being instantly known.¹⁰

By 1625 contacts had been made with various local Indians and an active fur trade, particularly in beaver, was begun. It appears that the mistake of earlier English colonial attempts was repeated in not planting enough crops to supply the settlement adequately through the winter, and the men of Mount Wollaston were obliged to trade with the Indians for corn in addition to their growing fur trade. The principal trade goods were apparently firearms, powder, and shot, and, although specific evidence is lacking, one feels that on occasion firewater was also used as a trade good. In a short span of time, then, this new plantation was making inroads on the two vital trades of Plymouth, corn and furs. And, equally upsetting to the Pilgrims, the Indians were being armed, so that they became a greater threat to the security of that plantation, and, having seen what furs would gain them in trade at Passonagessit, they were increasingly reluctant to trade with the Pilgrims for anything less.

¹⁰. Adams, Three Episodes, p. 167.

As his second, or third, winter in New England began to wane, Captain Wollaston seems to have decided that the employment of indentured servants was not profitable in the Massachusetts Bay area, and he departed for Virginia with a large portion of the servants, where he sold them for a profit. The date of his departure is not certain, but various vague statements and hints incline this writer to favor 1626 as the more probable date.¹¹ It is, more particularly, the well established dates of incidents to follow that have led to this conclusion.

There is wide agreement, probably based on a statement by Bradford, that not long after his departure Captain Wollaston wrote back to Passonagessit to direct his second-in-command, one Rasdell, to proceed to Virginia with most of the remaining indentured servants. "And he, with the consente of the said Rasdall, appoynted one Fitcher to be his Livetenante, and governe the remaines of the plantation, till he or Rasdall returned to take further order thereabout."¹² So by the end of the summer of 1626 the settlement at Mount Wollaston numbered six indentured servants, Fitcher, and Thomas Morton, and at this point it would seem wise to turn for a moment for a closer look at the latter gentleman.

The author of the New English Canaan has suffered historically from a consistently, if unjustifiedly, bad press. Until the persistent

11. Although no source is cited, Adams (Three Episodes, p. 168) states flatly that it was 1626. Willison also cites no source, but asserts that it was 1627. (Saints & Strangers, p. 273).

12. Wish, ed., p. 140.

patience of Banks produced pertinent documents, very little evidence was available except from Bradford and Winthrop, who can hardly be regarded as objective when dealing with a man who had threatened them and their ideas from several different directions. The New English Canaan itself is surprisingly uninformative about its author. We do know that he was the son, very possibly the younger son, of landed gentry. Morton does say that in his youth he had "common use"¹³ of falcons, and elsewhere he professes to be "the sonne of a Souldier."¹⁴ One need read only a small portion of his book to realize that he was a well educated man. He calls himself, and the evidence bears him out, a Gentleman of Clifford's Inn, which was one of the lesser but highly respectable Inns of Court. He most definitely was not "a petiefogger of Furnefells Inne,"¹⁵ as Bradford has charged. Although his religious affiliation is not certain, it appears that he was a nominal member of the Church of England who was familiar enough with the Bible to insert a number of allusions thereto in the text of his New English Canaan.

Two major suspicions about Morton have been widespread. First, the charge has often been leveled that he married a rich widow for her money, mismanaged her estate, and fled England when her son began asking awkward questions. Banks goes into considerable and incontrovertible detail to show the falseness of this.¹⁶ Morton did in

13. See below p. 72.

14. See below p. 160

15. Wish, ed., p. 140.

16. Banks, M.H.S.P., LVIII, pp. 150 ff.

fact marry a widow on November 6, 1621, and she did have a modest estate and a son. However, he married her only after a courtship of some five years at a time when her estate was in the complete control of her son. By more fine sleuthing Banks shows that this son was a sort of seventeenth century "Teddy Boy," a thoroughly disagreeable sort, who seems to have been the one with designs on his mother's estate. On the other hand, it may be that Morton did desert his wife in coming to New England, but since the date of her death is not known, it is impossible to be certain on this point.

The other suspicion that has clung to Thomas Morton is his supposed involvement in a murder, usually held to have been committed in England, from which he fled. Even Adams, who is not usually sympathetic to Morton, admits that this story should be treated with considerable caution, and Banks is able to show quite simply that in truth, "We may attribute this 'foul suspicion of murder' to the vicious mind of his [Morton's] step-son."¹⁷ There is also a further indication that neither of these tales contains much substance, for on two separate occasions Morton was sent back to England by the Saints, and, although he would seem to have been particularly vulnerable at these times, in neither instance is there any record of legal action being taken against him. In fact, after each "deportation" he was able quickly to obtain a respectable employment.

These few glimpses must suffice to introduce the man who, with Fitcher and six servants, was left to continue the settlement at Mount

17. Ibid., p. 157.

Wollaston. It is safe to assume that this did not displease Morton, for his New English Canaan again and again shows sharp powers of observation and a genuine love of nature and particularly of the New England wilderness. His pleasure in remaining must have been somewhat diluted by having Fitcher placed in command, however, and shortly after the departure of Rasdell for Virginia he took action. He invited the remaining servants to a feast, and after "some strong drinck & other junkats ... he begane to tell them, he would give them good counsell."¹⁸ This "counsell" seems to have consisted of Morton's pointing out what had happened to the other indentured servants, that doubtless a similar fate awaited them and that their best course was to join together and remove Fitcher from his position and from the region. In short order this was done and Thomas Morton was about to become "Mine Host of Ma-re Mount," as he calls himself. Egotism and the desire for more profit doubtless were major motives, and yet "few today will be disposed to find fault with him for releasing his own servants from bondage and protecting others against ..." ¹⁹ what was in fact slavery. The date of this coup is not certain, but in all probability it was late in the summer of 1626.

After this, Bradford agonizes, "they fell to great licenciousnes, and led a dissolute life, powering out them selves into all profanenes. And Morton became lord of misrule, and maintained (as it were) a schoole of Athisme."²⁰ But it also appears that Morton became more and more

18. Wish, ed., p. 140.

19. Willison, Saints & Strangers, p. 275.

20. Wish, ed., p. 141.

lord of the fur trade. Already in 1626 he had largely cut the Pilgrims out of the Kennebec fur trade. Such activities stung Plymouth with a double barb, since they not only lost profits with which to help pay off the colony's debts, but they also lost the additional purchasing power needed to buy, or trade for, corn in times of hunger. As Andrews suggests, they objected "to Morton, not so much for his revelries as for his rivalries in dealing with the Indians ..."²¹ Morton had outstanding success in dealing with the Indians for two reasons: he used firearms as trade goods, and he obtained the confidence of the Indians. As the New English Canaan indicates, he visited among the local tribes and troubled to learn at least the rudiments of their language. He also learned and seems to have been careful to observe many of their customs. Thus, both morally and economically he was offensive to Plymouth, and there must also be added a social offense. For, with such a proven haven nearby the indentured servants at Plymouth might indeed be difficult to keep, as Bradford specifically pointed out.²² In sum, Morton and his merry men were a very real threat to Plymouth for numerous reasons, and by the close of 1626 the situation was becoming tense.

21. Andrews, I, 362. In his doctoral thesis at the University of Colorado Minor Wallace Major takes a different position. It is his contention that the Pilgrims were opposed to Morton and his group for moral reasons, particularly sexual offenses with Indian maidens. See Thomas Morton and his New English Canaan, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, 1957.

22. Wish, ed., p. 143.

The following spring Morton gave the Pilgrims further cause for concern. During the long New England winter, it appears, the decision was made to change the name of the settlement and to celebrate this occasion with a grand carouse which scandalized the coast. May Day of 1627 was the chosen date, and the festivities were in keeping with the rather rough and tumble English tradition for this day. The new name for Mount Wollaston was to be Ma-re Mount, the choice of which was obviously Morton's. It left him able to protest in wide-eyed innocence that the meaning was prosaically "mountain by the sea," while he and his antagonists were equally aware of the pun. To call the plantation openly Merry Mount would probably have been too much of a provocation for the Saints, and yet the Maypole celebration which was held was even more provocative. Morton describes this for us in Chapter XIV of Book Three. They

prepared to set up a Maypole upon the festivall day ... and therefore brewed a barrell of excellent beer and provided a case of bottles to be spent, with other good cheer for all commers of that day ... And upon Mayday they brought the Maypole to the place appointed, with drummes, gunnes, pistols and other fitting instruments, for that purpose; and there erected it with the help of Salvages ... A goodly pine tree of 80 foote longe was reared up, with a pair of buckshorns nailed on somewhat near unto the top of it: where it stood as a fair sea marker for directions how to find out the way to mine Host of Ma-re Mount.²³

Morton also wrote a poem which was fixed to the Maypole and composed a song of several verses whose chorus urged, "Let all your delight be in Hymen's joyes."²⁴ In all, it seems to have been a raucous and ribald

23. See below p. 149.

24. See below p. 152.

likelyhood the sickness that these Indians died of was the Plague, as by conference with them since my arrival and habitation in those parts, I have learned. And by this means there is as yet but a small number of Salvages in New England to that which hath been in former time, and the place is made so much the more fit for the English Nation to inhabit in and erect in it Temples to the glory of God.

Chapter IV

Of their Houses and Habitations

The Natives of New England are accustomed to build them houses much like the wild Irish. They gather Poles in the woods and put the great end of them in the ground, placing them in form of a circle or circumference, and bending the tops of them in form of an Arch, they bind them together with the Bark of Walnut trees, which is wondrous tough, so that they make the same round on the Top for the smoke of their fire to ascend and pass through. These they cover with mats, some made of reeds and some of long flags, or sedge, finely sewed together with needles made of the splinter bones of a Crane's leg with threads made of their Indian hemp, which there groweth naturally, leaving several places for doors, which are covered with mats, which may be rolled up and let down again at their pleasure, making use of the several doors according as the wind fits. The fire is always made in the midst of the house, with wind falls commonly, yet some times they fell a tree that groweth near the

house, and by drawing in the end thereof maintain the fire on both sides, burning the tree by Degrees shorter and shorter until it be all consumed; for it burneth night and day. Their lodging is made in three places of the house about the fire; they lie upon planks, commonly about a foot or 18 inches above the ground raised upon rails that are born up upon forks; they lay mats under them and Coats of Deer skins, otters, beavers, Racownes, and of Bear hides, all which they have dressed and converted into good leather with the hair on, for their coverings: and in this manner they lie as warm as they desire. In the night they take their rest. In the day time either the kettle is on with fish or flesh, by no allowance, or else the fire is employed in roasting of fishes, which they delight in. The air doth beget good stomachs, and they feed continually, and are no niggards of their victuals; for they are willing that any one shall eat with them. Nay, if any one that shall come into their houses and there fall asleep, when they see him disposed to lie down, they will spread a mat for him of their own accord, and lay a roll of skins for a bolster and let him lie. If he sleep until their meat be dished up, they will set a wooden bowl of meat by him that sleepeth, and wake him saying, Cattup keene Meckin: That is, If you be hungry, there is meat for you, where if you will eat you may. Such is their Humanity.⁹

⁹. Other early travelers have commented on the hospitality of the New England Indians, but some have not found it as pleasant as Morton implies. See, for example, Mourts Relation, ed. Dwight B. Heath (New York, 1963), p. 67.

Likewise, when they are minded to remove, they carry away the mats with them; other materials the place adjoining will yield. They use not to winter and summer in one place, for that would be a reason to make fuel scarce; but, after the manner of the gentry of Civilized nations, remove for their pleasures; some times to their hunting places, where they remain keeping good hospitality for that season; and sometimes to their fishing places, where they abide for that season likewise. And at the spring, when fish comes in plentifully, they have meetings from several places where they exercise themselves in gaming and playing of juggling tricks and all manner of Revels, which they are delighted in; that it is admirable to behold what pastime they use of several kinds, every one striving to surpass each other. After this manner they spend their time.

Chapter V

Of their Religion

It has been a common received opinion from Cicero that there is no people so barbarous but have some worship or other. In this particular I am not of opinion therein with Tully; and surely if he had been amongst those people so long as I have been, and conversed so much with them touching this matter of Religion, he would have changed his opinion. Neither should we have found this error, amongst the rest, by the help of that wooden prospect,¹⁰ if it had not been

10. This typical Morton reference is doubtless to some comments on the subject of native religion by William Wood in his New England's Prospect.

so unadvisedly built upon such high land as that Coast (all men's judgements in general) doth not yield, had he but taken the judicial councill of Sir William Alexander, that sets this thing forth in an exact and conclusive sentence. If he be not too obstinate, he would grant that worthy writer that these people are fine fide, fine lege, & fine rege, and he hath exemplified this thing by a familiar demonstration which I have by long experience observed to be true.

And, me thinks, it is absurd to say they have a kind of worship, and not [be] able to demonstrate whom or what it is they are accustomed to worship. For my part I am more willing to believe that the Elephants (which are reported to be the most intelligible of all beasts) do worship the moon for the reasons given by the author of this report, as Mr. Thomas May, the minion of the Muses does recite it in his continuation of Lucan's historical poem, rather than this man. To that I must be constrained to conclude against him, and Cicero, that the Natives of New England have no worship nor religion at all; and I am sure it has been so observed by those that need not the help of a wooden prospect for the matter.

Chapter VI

Of the Indian's apparrell

The Indians in these parts do make their apparel of the skins of several sorts of beasts, and commonly of those that do frequent those parts where they do live; yet some of them for variety will

have the skins of such beasts that frequent the parts of their neighbors, which they purchase of them by Commerce and Trade.

These skins they convert into very good leather, making the same plume and soft. Some of these skins they dress with the hair on and some with the hair off. The hairy side in winter time they wear next to their bodies, and in warm weather they wear the hair outwards. They make likewise some Coats of the Feathers of Turkeys, which they weave together with twine of their own making very prettily: these garments they wear like mantles knit over their shoulders and put under their arm. They have likewise another sort of mantles made of Moose skins, which beast is a great large Deer so big as a horse. These skins they commonly dress bare, and make them wonderous white, and stripe them with size round about the borders in form like lace set on by a Taylor, and some they stripe with size in works of several fashions very curious, according to the several fantasies of the workmen, wherein they strive to excell one another. And Mantles made of Bear skins is an usual wearing among the Natives that live where the Bear do haunt. They make shoes of Moose skins, which is the principal leather used to that purpose; and for want of such leather (which is the strongest) they make shoes of Deer skins, very handsomly and commodious; and of such deer skins as they dress bare they make stockings that comes within their shoes, like a stirrop stocking, and is fastened above at their belt, which is about their middle.

Every male, after he attains unto the age which they call Pubes, wareth a belt about his middle and a broad piece of leather that

goeth between his legs and is tucked up both before and behind under that belt; and this they wear to hide their secrets of nature, which by no means they will suffer to be seen, so much modesty they use in that particular. Those garments they always put on when they go a hunting to keep their skins from the brush of the Shrubs: and when they have their Apparel on they look like Irish in their trousers, the Stockings join so to their breeches. A good well grown deer skin is of great account with them, and it must have the tail on, or else they account it defaced; the tail being three times as long as the tails of our English Deer, yea four times so long. This when they travel is wrapped round about their body, and, with a girdle of their making, bound round about their middles, to which girdle is fastened a bag in which his instruments be with which he can strike fire upon any occasion.

Thus with their bow in their left hand and their quiver of Arrows at their back hanging on their left shoulder with the lower end of it in their right hand, they will run away a dog trot until they come to their journey end; and in this kind of ornament they do seem to me to be handsomer than when they are in English apparel, their gesture being answerable to their own habit and not unto ours.

Their women have shoes and stockings to wear likewise when they please, such as the men have, but the mantle they use to cover their nakedness with is much longer than that which the men use. For, as the men have one Deer's skin, the women have two sewed together at the full length, and it is so large that it trails after them like a great Lady's train; and in time I think they may have their pages

to bear them up; and where the men use but one Bear's skin for a Mantle, the women have two sewed together; and if any of their women would at any time shift one, they take that which they intend to make use of and cast it over them round before they shift away the other, for modesty, being unwilling to be seen to discover their nakedness; and the one [mantle] being so cast over, they slip the other from under them in a decent manner, which is to be noted in people uncivilized; therein they seem to have as much modesty as civilized people, and deserve to be applauded for it.

Chapter VII

Of their Child-bearing, and delivery, and what manner of persons they are.

The women of this Country are not suffered to be used for procreation until the ripeness of their age, at which time they wear a red cap made of leather, in form like to our flat caps, and this they wear for the space of 12 months, for all men to take notice of them that have any mind to a wife; and then it is the custom of some of their Sachems or Lords of the territories to have the first say or maidenhead of the females. Very apt they are to be with child, and very laborious when they bear children; yea, when they are as great as they can be: yet in that case they neither forbear labor nor travel. I have seen them in that plight with burthens at their backs enough to load a horse; yet do they not miscarry, but have a fair delivery and a quick. Their women are very good midwives, and the women very lusty after delivery, and in a day or two will travel

or trudge about. Their infants are born with hair on their heads, and are of complexion white as our nation; but their mothers in their infancy make a bath of Wallnut leaves, husks of Walnuts, and such things as will stain their skin for ever, wherein they dip and wash them to make them tawny; the color of their hair is black and their eyes black.¹¹ These infants are carried at their mothers' backs by the help of a cradle made of a board forked at both ends, whereon the child is fast bound and wrapped in furs; his knees thrust up towards his belly, because they may be the more usefull for them when he sitteth, which is as a dog does on his bumme: and this cradle surely preserves them better than the cradles of our nation, for as much as we find them well proporitoned, not any of them crooked backed or wry legged: and to give their character in a word, they are as proper men and women for feature and limbs as can be found, for flesh and blood as active.

Long handed they are, (I never saw a clunchfisted Salvage amongst them all in my time.) The color of their eyes being so generally black made a Salvage that had a young infant whose eyes were gray showed him to us and said they were English mens eyes. I told the Father that his son was nan weeteo, which is a bastard. He replied titta Cheshetue Squaa, which is, he could not tell, his wife might play the whore; and this child the father desired might have an English name, because of the lightness of his eyes, which his father had in admiration because of novelty amongst their nation.

11. At the time Morton was writing it was a fairly common belief that Indian babies were born white. Given the modesty of which he writes, it is very doubtful that he witnessed an Indian birth or the supposed treatment of the newborn.

Chapter VIII

Of their Reverence and respect to age.

It is a thing to be admired and indeed made a precedent, that a Nation yet uncivilized should more respect age than some nations civilized, since there are so many precepts both of divine and humane writers extant to instruct more Civil Nations. In that particular, wherein they excell, the younger are always obedient unto the elder people, and at their commands in every respect without grumbling. In all councils (as therein they are circumspect to do their actions by advise and counsel, and not rashly or inconsiderately) the younger men's opinion shall be heard, but the old men's opinion and counsel embraced and followed. Besides, as the elder feed and provide for the younger in infancy, so do the younger, after being grown to years of manhood, provide for those that be aged: and in distribution of Acts the elder men are first served by their dispensator; and their counsels (especially if they be powahs) are esteemed as oracles amongst the younger Natives.

The consideration of these things, me thinks, should reduce some of our irregular young people of civilized Nations, when this story shall come to their knowledge, to better manners, and make them ashamed of their former error in this kind, and to become hereafter more dutiful; which I, as a friend, (by observation having found) have herein recorded for that purpose.

Chapter IX

Of their pretty conjuring tricks.

If we do not judge amiss of these Salvages in accounting them witches, yet out of all question we may be bold to conclude them to be but weak witches, such of them as we call by the names of Powahs: some correspondency they have with the Devil out of all doubt, as by some of their actions, in which they glory, is manifested. Papasiquineo,¹² that Sachem or Sagamore, is a Powah of great estimation amongst all kind of Salvages there. He is at their Revels (which is the time when a great company of Salvages meet from several parts of the Country, in amity with their neighbors) hath advanced his honor in his feats or juggling tricks (as I may right term them) to the admiration of the spectators, whom he endeavoured to persuade that he would go under water to the further side of a river too broad for any man to undertake with a breath, which thing he performed by swimming over and deluding the company with casting a mist before their eyes that see him enter in and come out, but no part of the way he has been seen: likewise by our English, in the heat of all summer to make Ice appear in a bowl of fair water; first having the water set before him, he hath begun his incantation according to their usual accustom, and before the same has been ended a thick Cloud has darkened the air and on a sudden a thunder

¹². Usually known as Passaconaway, a great and powerful chief for whom the highest peak of the Sandwich Range of New Hampshire's White Mountains was named.

clap hath been heard that has amazed the natives. In an instant he hath showed a firm piece of Ice to float in the midst of the bowl in the presence of the vulgar people, which doubtless was done by the agility of Satan, his consort.

And by means of these sleights, and such like trivial things as these, they gain such estimation amongst the rest of the Salvages that it is thought a very impious matter for any man to derogate from the words of these Powahs. In so much as he that should slight them is thought to commit a crime no less hainous amongst them as sacrilege is with us, as may appear by this one passage which I will set forth for an instance.

A neighbor of mine that had entertained a Salvage into his service to be his factor for the beaver trade amongst his countrymen, delivered unto him divers parcels of commodities fit for them to trade with. Amongst the rest there was one coat of more esteem than any of the other, and with this his new entertained merchant man travels amongst his countrymen to truck them away for beaver. As our custom hath been, the Salvage went up into the Country amongst his neighbors for beaver and returned with some, but not enough answerable to his Master's expectation, but being called to an account, and especially for that one Coat of special note, made answer that he had given that Coat to Tantoquineo, a Powah: to which his master in a rage cried, what have I to do with Tantoquineo? The Salvage, very angry at the matter, cried, what you speak? You are not a very good man; will you not give Tantoquineo a coat? What's this? as if he had offered Tantoquineo the greatest indignity

that could be devised. So great is the estimation and reverence that these people have of these juggling Powahs, who are usually sent for when any person is sick and ill at ease to recover them, for which they receive rewards as do our Chirgeons and Phisitions; and they do make a trade of it, and boast of their skill where they come. One amongst the rest did undertake to cure an Englishman of a swelling of his hand for a parcel of biskett, which being delivered him, he took the party grieved into the woods aside from company, and with the help of the devil (as may be conjectured) quickly recovered him of that swelling, and sent him about his work again.

Chapter X

Of their duels, and the honorable estimation of victory obtained thereby.

These Salvages are not apt to quarrel one with another: yet such hath been the occasion that a difference hath happened which hath grown to that height that it has not been reconciled otherwise than by combat, which hath been performed in this manner: the two champions prepared for the fight with their bows in hand and a quiver full of arrows at their backs, they have entered into the field. The Challenger and challenged have chosen two trees standing within a little distance of each other. They have cast lots for the chief of the trees, then either champion setting himself behind his tree watches an advantage to let fly his shafts, and to gall his enemy. There they continue shooting at each other. If by chance they espy

any part open, they endeavour to gall the combatant in that part, and use much agility in the performance of the task they have in hand. Resolute they are in the execution of their vengeance, when once they have begun; and will in no wise be daunted or seem to shrink though they do catch a clap with an arrow, but fight it out in this manner until one or both be slain.

I have been showed the places where such duels have been performed, and have found the trees marked for a memorial of the Combat, where that champion hath stood that had the hap to be slain in the duel: and they count it the greatest honor that can be to the surviving Combatant to show the scars of the wounds received in this kind of Conflict, and if it happen to be on the arm, as those parts are most in danger in these cases, they will always wear a bracelet upon that place of the arm as a trophy of honor to their dying day.

Chapter XI

Of the maintaining of their Reputation

Reputation is such a thing that it keeps many men in awe, even amongst Civilized nations, and is very much stood upon: it is (as one hath very well noted) the awe of great men and of Kings. And, since I have observed it to be maintained amongst Salvage people, I cannot choose but give an instance thereof in this treatise to confirm the common received opinion thereof.

The Sachem or Sagamore of Saugus made choice, when he came to man's estate, of a Lady of noble descent, Daughter to Papasiquineo, the Sachem or Sagamore of the territories near Merrimack River, a man of the best note and estimation in all those parts, and (as my Countryman Mr. Wood declares in his prospect)¹³ a great Necromancer. This Lady the young Sachem with the consent and good liking of her father marries, and takes for his wife. Great entertainment he and his received in those parts at her father's hands, where they were feasted in the best manner that was expected according to the Custom of their nation with reveling and such other solemnities as is usual amongst them. The solemnity being ended, Papasiquineo causes a selected number of his men to wait upon his Daughter home into those parts that did properly belong to her Lord and husband; where the attendants had entertainment by the Sachem of Saugus and his Countrymen: the solemnity being ended, the attendants were gratified.

Not long after the new married Lady had a great desire to see her father and her native country, from whence she came. Her Lord willing to pleasure her and not deny her request, amongst them thought to be reasonable, commanded a selected number of his own men to conduct his Lady to her Father, where, with great respect, they brought her; and, having feasted there a while, returned to their own country again, leaving the Lady to continue there at her own pleasure amongst her friends and old acquaintance; where she passed away the time for

13. William Wood's New England's Prospect written in 1633.

a while and in the end desired to return to her Lord again. Her father, the old Papasiquineo, having notice of her intent, sent some of his men on ambassage to the young Sachem, his son in law, to let him understand that his daughter was not willing to absent herself from his company any longer, and therefore, as the messengers had in charge, desired the young Lord to send a convoy for her; but he, standing upon terms of honor and the maintaining of his reputation, returned to his father in law this answer, that, when she departed from him, he caused his men to wait upon her to her father's territories, as it did become him. But, now she had an intent to return, it did become her father to send her back with a convoy of his own people; and that it stood not with his reputation to make himself or his men so servile to fetch her again. The old Sachem Papasiquineo, having this message returned, was enraged to think that his young son in law did not esteem him at a higher rate than to capitulate with him about the matter, and returned him this sharp reply; that his daughter's blood and birth deserved more respect than to be so slighted; and, therefore, if he would have her company, he were best to send or come for her.

The young Sachem, not willing to under value himself and being a man of a stout spirit, did not stick to say that he should either send her by his own Convoy or keep her; for he was determined not to stoop so low.

So much these two Sachems stood upon terms of reputation with each other, the one would not send her, and the other would not send for her, least it should be any diminishing of honor on his part that

should seem to comply, that the Lady (when I came out of the Country) remained still with her father; which is a thing worth the noting, that Salvage people should seek to maintain their reputation so much as they do.

Chapter XII

Of their trafficke and trade one with another.

Although these people have not the use of navigation, whereby they may trafficke as other nations that are civilized use to do, yet do they barter for such commodities as they have, and have a kind of beads instead of money to buy withall such things as they want, which they call Wampampeak: and it is of two sorts, the one is white, the other is of a violet color. These are made of the shells of fish. The white with them is as silver with us; the other as our gold: and for these beads they buy and sell, not only amongst themselves, but even with us.

We have used to sell them any of our commodities for this Wampampeak, because we know we can have beaver again of them for it: and these beads are current in all the parts of New England, from one end of the Coast to the other.

And although some have endeavored by example to have the like made of the same kind of shells, yet none hath ever as yet attained to any perfection in the composure of them, but that the Salvages

have found a great difference to be in the one and the other; and have known the counterfeit beads from those of their own making; and have and do slight them.¹⁴

The skins of beasts are sold and bartered to such people as have none of the same kind in the parts where they live.

Likewise they have earthen pots of divers sizes from a quart to a gallon, 2 or 3 to boil their victuals in; very strong, though they be thin like our Iron pots.

They have dainty wooden bowls of maple of high price amongst them; and these are dispersed by bartering one with the other, and are but in certain parts of the Country made, where the several trades are appropriated to the inhabitants of those parts only.¹⁵

So likewise (at the season of the year) the Salvages that live by the Sea side for trade with the inlanders for fresh water, reles curious silver reles,¹⁶ which are bought up of such as have them not frequent in other places. Chestnuts and such like useful things as one place affordeth are sold to the inhabitants of another, where they are a novelty accounted amongst the natives of the land. And there is no such thing to barter withall, as is their Whampampeake.

14. Adams suggests that a better reason for the failure to counterfeit wampum was that it simply cost more than it was worth to do so. (p. 158, footnote)

15. The maple bowls were made from burls on the trunk or major limbs of several varieties of maple trees common to New England.

16. Like Adams, "I have been unable to obtain any even plausible suggestion of what word may have been turned into 'reles' through the compositor's inability to decipher copy." (p. 159, footnote)

Chapter XIII

Of their Magazines or Storehouses.

These people are not without providence, though they be uncivilized, but are careful to preserve food in store against winter; which is the corn that they labor and dress in the summer. And, although they eat freely of it, while it is growing, yet have they a care to keep a convenient portion thereof to relieve them in the dead of winter (like to the Ant and the Bee) which they put under ground.

Their barns are holes made in the earth that will hold a Hogshead of corn apiece in them. In these (when their corn is out of the husk and well dried) they lay their store in great baskets (which they make of Sparke) with mats under, about the sides, and on the top; and putting it into the place made for it, they cover it with earth: and in this manner it is preserved from destruction or putrifaction; to be used in case of necessity and not else.

And I am persuaded that if they knew the benefit of Salt (as they may in time) and the means to make salt meat fresh again, they would endeavor to preserve fish for winter, as well as corn; and that if any thing bring them to civility, it will be the use of Salt, to have food in store, which is a chief benefit in a civilized Commonwealth.

These people have begun already to incline to the use of Salt. Many of them would beg Salt of me for to carry home with them, that had frequented our houses and had been acquainted with our Salt meats: and Salt I willingly gave them, although I sold them all things else,

only because they should be delighted with the use thereof, and think it a commodity of no value in itself, although the benefit was great that might be had by the use of it.

Chapter XIV

Of their Subtlety

These people are not, as some have thought, a dull or slender witted people, but very ingenious and very subtile. I could give main instances to maintain mine opinion of them in this; but I will only relate one, which is a passage worthy to be observed.

In the Massachusetts bay lived Cheecatawback,¹⁷ the Sachem or Sagamore of those territories, who had large dominions which he did appropriate to himself.

Into those parts came a great company of Salvages from the territories of Narohiganset [Narragansett] to the number of 100 persons; and in this Sachem's Dominions they intended to winter.

When they went a hunting for turkeys they spread over such a great scope of ground that a Turkey could hardly escape them. Deer they killed up in great abundance and feasted their bodies very plentifully. Beavers they killed by no allowance; the skins of those they traded away at Wassaguscus [Wessagusset] with my neighbors for corn

17. Chickatabot (or various similar spellings) was the sachem who had cleared the land and begun a settlement at Passonagessit, or Mount Wollaston, which the great pestilence cut short.

and such other commodities as they had need of; and my neighbors had a wonderful great benefit by their being in those parts. Yea, sometimes (like genious fellows) they would present their Merchant with a fat beaver skin, always the tail was not diminished, but presented full and whole; although the tail is a present for a Sachem and is of such masculine virtue that if some of our Ladies knew the benefit thereof they would desire to have ships sent of purpose to trade for the tail alone. It is such a rarity as is not more esteemed of than reason doth require.

But the Sachem Cheecatawbak (on whose possessions they usurped, and converted the commodities thereof to their own use, contrary to his liking) not being of power to resist them, practised to do it by a subtle stratagem. And to that end gave it out amongst us that the cause why these other Salvages of the Narohigansets came into these parts was to see what strength we were of, and to watch an opportunity to cut us off and take that which they found in our custody useful for them. And added further, they would burn our houses, and that they had caught one of his men named Meshebro and compelled him to discover to them where their barns, Magazines, or storehouses were, and had taken away his corn; and seemed to be in a pittifull perplexity about the matter.

And, the more to add reputation to this tale, desires that his wives and children might be harbored in one of our houses. This was granted; and my neighbors put on corslets, headpieces, and weapons defensive and offensive.

This thing being known to Cheecatawback, he caused some of his men to bring the Narohigansets to trade, that they might see the preparation. The Salvage that was a stranger to the plot, simply coming to trade, and finding his merchants look like lobsters all clad in harness, was in a maze to think what would be the end of it. Haste he made to trade away his furs and took anything for them, wishing himself well rid of them and of the company in the house.

But (as the manner has been) he must eat some furmety¹⁸ before he go: down he sits and eats and withall had an eye on every side; and now and then saw a sword or a dagger laid athwart a head piece, which he wondered at and asked his guide whether the company were not angry. The guide (that was privy to his Lord's plot) answered in his language that he could not tell. But the harmless Salvage, before he had half filled his belly, started up on a sudden and ran out of the house in such haste that he left his furmety there and stayed not to look behind him who came after. Glad he was that he had escaped so.

The subtle Sachem, he played the tragedian, and fained a fear of being surprised; and sent to see whether the enemies (as the Messenger termed them) were not in the house and comes in a by way with his wives and children, and stops the chinkes of the out house for fear the fire might be seen in the night and be a means to direct his enemies where to find them.

18. As Adams points out, this doubtless should read "frumenty," which was a food made of wheat boiled in milk and seasoned with cinnamon or sugar.

And, in the mean time, he prepared for his Ambassador to his enemies a Salvage, that had lived 12 months in England, to the end it might add reputation to his embassy. This man he sends to those intruding Narohigansets to tell them that they did very great injury to his Lord, to trench upon his prerogatives: and advised them to put up their pipes and begon in time. If they would not, that his Lord would come upon them, and in his aid his friends the English, who were up in arms already to take his part, and compel them by force to be gone, if they refused to depart by fair means.

This message, coming on the neck of that which doubtless the fearful Salvage had before related of his escape, and what he had observed, caused all those hundred Narohigansets (that meant us no hurt) to be gone with bag and baggage. And my neighbors were gulled by the subtilty of this Sachem and lost the best trade of beaver that ever they had for the time; and in the end found their error in this kind of credulity when it was too late.

Chapter XV

Of their admirable perfection, in the use of the sences.

This is a thing not only observed by me and diverse of the Salvages of New England, but also by the French men in Nova Francia, and therefore I am the more encouraged to publish in this Treatise my observation of them in the use of their sences: which is a thing that I should not easily have been induced to believe, if I my self had not been an eye witness of what I shall relate.

I have observed that the Salvages have the sence of seeing so far beyond any of our Nation that one would almost believe they had intelligence of the Devil sometimes, when they have told us of a ship at Sea, which they have seen sooner by one hour, yea, two hours sail, than any English man that stood by of purpose to look out, their sight is so excellent.

Their eyes indeed are black as jet; and that color is accounted the strongest for sight. And as they excell us in this particular so much noted, so I think they excell us in all the rest.

This I am sure I have well observed, that in the sence of smelling they have very great perfection; which is confirmed by the opinion of the French that are planted about Canada, who have made relation that they are so perfect in the use of that sence that they will distinguish between a Spaniard and a Frenchman by the scent of the hand only.¹⁹ And I am persuaded that the Author of this Relation has seen very probable reasons that have induced him to be of that opinion; and I am the more willing to give credit thereunto, because I have observed in them so much as that comes to.

I have seen a Deer pass by me upon a neck of Land, and a Salvage that has pursued him by the view. I have accompanied him in this pursuit; and the Salvage, pricking the Deer, comes where he finds

19. The possibility of a Micmac or a Huron being familiar with the Spanish scent does seem remote. However, it may well be that Morton is referring to the Portuguese, a much livelier possibility along the northeast coast.

Also, one wonders at the source of his occasional references to the French in Canada. Did he in fact have personal dealings with them, perhaps in a visit to Nova Scotia? I know of no "Relation" such as he refers to.

the view of two deers together, leading several ways. One, he was sure, was fresh, but which (by the sence of seeing) he could not judge. Therefore, with his knife he digs up the earth of one and, by smelling, says that was not of the fresh Deer: then digs he up the other; and viewing and smelling to that, concludes it to be the view of the fresh Deer, which he had pursued; and thereby follows the chase and kills that Deer, and I did eat part of it with him. Such is their perfection in these two sences.

Chapter XVI

Of their acknowledgment of the Creation, and immortality of the Soule.

Although these Salvages are found to be without Religion, Law, and King (as Sir William Alexander hath well observed) yet are they not altogether without the knowledge of God (historically); for they have it amongst them by tradition that God made one man and one woman, and bade them live together and get children, kill deer, beasts, birds, fish and fowl, and what they would at their pleasure; and that their posterity was full of evil, and made God so angry that he let in the Sea upon them and drowned the greatest part of them that were naughty men (the Lord destroyed so) and they went to Sanaconquam, who feeds upon them (pointing to the Center of the Earth, where they imagine is the habitation of the Devil) the other (which were not destroyed) increased the world, and when they died (because they were good)

went to the house of Kytan, pointing to the setting of the sun; where they eat all manner of dainties and never take pains (as now) to provide it.

Kytan makes provision (they say) and saves them that labor; and there they shall live with him forever, void of care. And they are persuaded that Kytan is he that makes corn grow, trees grow, and all manner of fruits.

And that we that use the book of Common prayer do it to declare to them that cannot read what Kytan has commanded us, and that we do pray to him with the help of that book; and do make so much account of it that a Salvage (who had lived in my house before he had taken a wife, by whom he had children) made this request to me (knowing that I always used him with much more respect than others) that I would let his son be brought up in my house, that he might be taught to read in that book: which request of his I granted; and he was a very joyfull man to think that his son should thereby (as he said) become an Englishman; and then he would be a good man.

I asked him who was a good man. His answer was, he that would not lie nor steal.

These, with them, are all the capital crimes that can be imagined. All other are nothing in respect of those; and he that is free from these must live with Kytan for ever in all manner of pleasure.

Chapter XVII

Of their Annals and funerals.

These people that have by tradition some touch of the immortality of the soul, have likewise a custom to make some monuments over the place where the corpse is interred: But they put a great difference between persons of noble, and of ignoble, or obscure, or inferior descent. For indeed, in the grave of the more noble they put a plank in the bottom for the corpse to be laid upon, and on each side a plank, and a plank upon the top in form of a chest before they cover the place with earth. This done, they erect some thing over the grave in form of a hearse cloth, as was that of Cheekatawback's mother, which the Plimmouth planters defaced because they accounted it an act of superstition; which did breed a brawl as hath been before related; for they hold impious and inhumane to deface the monuments of the dead.²⁰ They themselves esteem of it as piaculum;²¹ and have a custom amongst them to keep their annals and come at certain times to lament and bewail the loss of their friend; and use to black their faces, which they so wear, instead of a mourning ornament, for a longer or a shorter time according to the dignity of the person: so is their annals kept and observed with their accustomed solemnity. Afterwards

²⁰. Again, Adams has noted that this must refer to Chapter III of Book Three. In turn, this would indicate that Book One, and probably Book Two, were written after Book Three of the New English Canaan.

²¹. Piaculum means atonement of expiation. O.E.D., VII, 813.

they absolutely abandon the place, because they suppose the sight thereof will but renew their sorrow.

It was a thing very offensive to them, at our first coming into those parts, to ask of them for any one that had been dead; but of later times it is not so offensively taken to renew the memory of any deceased person, because by our example (which they are apt to follow) it is made more familiar unto them; and they marvel to see no monuments over our dead, and therefore think no great Sachem is yet come into those parts, or not as yet dead; because they see the graves all alike.

Chapter XVIII

Of their Custome in burning the Country, and the reason thereof.

The Salvages are accustomed to set fire of the Country in all places there they come, and to burn it twice a year, viz: at the Spring, and the fall of the leaf. The reason that moves them to do so is because it would other wise be so overgrown with underweeds that it would be all a coppice wood, and the people would not be able in any wise to pass through the Country out of a beaten path.

The means that they do it with is with certain mineral stones that they carry about them in bags made for that purpose of the skins of little beasts, which they convert into good leather, carrying in the same a piece of touch wood, very excellent for that purpose, of their own making. These mineral stones they have from the Piquenteenes (which is to the Southward of all the plantations in New England)

by trade and trafficke with those people.

The burning of the grass destroys the underwoods, and so scorcheth the elder trees that it shrinks them, and hinders their growth very much: so that he that will look to find large trees and good timber must not depend upon the help of a wooden prospect to find them on the upland ground;²² but must seek for them (as I and others have done) in the lower grounds, where the grounds are wet, when the Country is fired, by reason of the snow water that remains there for a time until the Sun by continuance of that hath exhaled the vapors of the earth and dried up those places where the fire (by reason of the moisture) can have no power to do them any hurt: and if he would endeavor to find out any goodly Cedars, he must not seek for them on the higher grounds, but make his inquest for them in the vallies, for the Salvages, by this custom of theirs, have spoiled all the rest: for this custom hath been continued from the beginning.

And lest their firing of the Country in this manner should be an occasion of damnifying us and endangering our habitations, we our selves have used carefully about the same times to observe the winds and fire the grounds about our own habitations; to prevent the Dammage that might happen by any neglect thereof, if the fire should come near those houses in our absence.

For, when the fire is once kindled, it dilates and spreads it self as well against as with the wind; burning continually night and day until a shower of rain falls to quench it.

22. Another derogatory reference to Wood's New England's Prospect.

And this custom of firing the Country is the means to make it passable; and by that means the trees grow here and there as in our parks: and makes the Country very beautiful and commodious.

Chapter XIX

Of their inclination to Drunkenesse.

Although Drunkenesse be justly termed a vice which the Salvages are ignorant of, yet the benefit is very great that comes to the planters by the sale of strong liquor to the Salvages, who are much taken with the delight of it; for they will pawn their wits to purchase the acquaintance of it. Yet in all the commerce that I had with them, I never proffered them any such thing. Nay, I would hardly let any of them have a dram, unless he were a Sachem or a Winnaytue, that is a rich man, or a man of estimation next in degree to a Sachem or Sagamore.²³ I always told them it was amongst us the Sachems drink. But they say if I come to the Northern parts of the Country I shall have no trade if I will not supply them with lusty liquors. It is the life of the trade in all those parts: for it so happened that thus a Salvage desperately killed himself: when he was drunk, a gun being charged and the cock up, he sets the mouth to his breast and, putting back the trigger with his foot, shot himself dead.

23. This noble protestation is somewhat weakened by some of the commentary in Book Three. For example, in Chapter XIV regarding the Maypole celebration Morton declares that "a barrell of excellent beare and ... a case of bottles ... with other good cheare" was available "for all commers of that day."

Chapter XX

That the Salvages live a contended life.

A Gentleman and a traveller that had been in the parts of New England for a time, when he returned again, in his discourse of the Country wondered (as he said) that the natives of the land lived so poorly in so rich a Country, like to our Beggers in England. Surely that Gentleman had not time or leisure whiles he was there truly to inform himself of the state of that Country, and the happy life the Salvages would lead were they once brought to Christianity.

I must confess they want the use and benefit of Navigation (which is the very sinewes²⁴ of a flourishing Commonwealth) yet are they supplied with all manner of needfull things for the maintenance of life and lifelyhood. Food and rayment are the chief of all that we make true use of; and of these they find no want, but have, and may have, them in a most plentiful manner.

If our beggers of England should, with so much ease as they, furnish themselves with food at all seasons, there would not be so many starved in the streets, neither would so many gaols be stuffed, or gallouses furnished with poor wretches, as I have seen them.²⁵

But they of this sort of our own nation that are fit to go to this Canaan are not able to transport themselves; and most of them

24. The actual word is printed "sinnus."

25. Gallouses, or gallhouses, in more modern usage becomes gallows.

unwilling to go from the good ale tap, which is the very lodestone of the land by which our English beggers steer their Course. It is the Northpole to which the flowre-de-luce²⁵ of their compass points. The more is the pity that the Commonalty of our Land are of such leaden capacities as to neglect so brave a Country that doth so plentifully feed maine lusty and a brave, able men, women and children, that have not the means that a Civilized Nation hath to purchase food and rayment; which that Country with a little industry will yield a man in a very comfortable measure without overmuch carking.²⁷

I cannot deny but a civilized Nation hath the preheminance of an uncivilized by means of those instruments that are found to be common amongst civil people, and the uncivil want the use of, to make themselves masters of those ornaments that made such a glorious show, that will give a man occasion to cry, sic transit gloria Mundi.

Now since it is but food and rayment that men that live need (though not all alike) why should not the Natives of New England be said to live richly, having no want of either? Clothes are the badge of sin: and the more variety of fashions is but the greater abuse of the Creature: the beasts of the forest there do serve to furnish them at any time when they please: fish and flesh they have in great abundance, which they both roast and boil.

They are indeed not served in dishes of plate with variety of Sauces to procure appetite; that needs not there. The rarity of the

26. Fleur-de-lis.

27. "Carking" means trouble or anxious toil.

air, begot by the medicinable quality of the sweet herbs of the Country, always procures good stomachs to the inhabitants.

I must needs commend them in this particular, that, though they buy many commodities of our Nation, yet they keep but few, and those of special use.

They love not to be cumbered with many utensilles, and although every proprietor knows his own, yet all things (so long as they will last) are used in common amongst them: a bisket cake given to one, that one breaks it equally into so many parts as there be persons in his company, and distributes it. Plato's Commonwealth is so much practised by these people.

According to humane reason guided only by the light of nature these people lead the more happy and freer life, being void of care, which torments the minds of so many Christians. They are not delighted in baubles, but in useful things.

Their natural drink is of the Cristall fountaine, and this they take up in their hands by joining them close together. They take up a great quantity at a time and drink at the wrists. It was the sight of such a feate which made Diogenes hurl away his dish, and, like one that would have this principal confirmed, Natura paucis contentat, used a dish no more.

I have observed that they will not be troubled with superfluous commodities. Such things as they find they are taught by necessity to make use of, they will make choice of and seek to purchase with industry. So that, in respect that their life is so void of care, and they are so loving also that they make use of those things they

enjoy (the wife only excepted) as common goods, and are therein so compassionate that, rather than one should starve through want, they would starve all. Thus do they pass away the time merrily, not regarding our pomp (which they see daily before their faces) but are better content with their own, which some men esteem so meanly of.

They may be rather accounted to live richly, wanting nothing that is needfull; and to be commended for leading a contented life, the younger being ruled by the Elder, and the Elder ruled by the Powahs, and the Powahs are ruled by the Devil; and then you may imagine what good rule is like to be amongst them.

FINIS

NEW ENGLISH CANAAN,

OR

NEW CANAAN

The second Booke

Containing a description of the beauty of the Country with her natural endowments, both in the Land and Sea; with the great Lake of Erocoise.

Chapter I

The generall Survey of the Country.

In the Month of June, Anno Salutis 1622 it was my chance to arrive in the parts of New England with 30 Servants, and provision of all sorts fit for a plantation: and whiles our houses were building, I did endeavor to take a survey of the Country. The more I looked, the more I liked it. And when I had more seriously considered of the beauty of the place, with all her fair endowments, I did not think that in all the known world it could be paralleled, for so many goodly groves of trees, dainty fine round rising hillucks, delicate fair large plains, sweet cristal fountains, and clear running streams that twine in fine meanders through the meads, making so sweet a murmuring noise to hear as would even lull the senses with delight asleep, so pleasantly do they glide upon the pebble stones, jetting most jocundly where they do meet and hand in hand run down to Neptune's Court, to

pay the yearly tribute which they owe to him as sovereign Lord of all the springs. Contained within the volume of the Land, Fowles in abundance, Fish in multitude; and [I] discovered, besides, Millions of Turtledoves on the green boughs, which sat pecking of the full ripe pleasant grapes that were supported by the lusty trees, whose fruitful load did cause the arms to bend: [among] which here and there dispersed you might see Lillies and of the Daphnean-tree: which made the Land to me seem paradise: for in mine eye t'was Nature's Master-piece; Her chiefest Magazine of all where lives her store. If this Land be not rich, then is the whole world poor.

What I had resolved on, I have really performed; and I have endeavored to us this abstract as an instrument to be the means to communicate the knowledge which I have gathered, by my many years residence in those parts, unto my Countrymen to the end that they may the better perceive their error, who cannot imagine that there is any Country in the universal world which may be compared unto our native soil. I will now discover unto them a lountry whose endowments are by learned men allowed to stand in a parallel with the Israelites Canaan, which none will deny to be a land far more excellent than Old England, in her proper nature.

This I consider I am bound in duty (as becommeth a Christian man) to perform for the glory of God, in the first place; next (according to Cicero) to acknowledge that, Non nobis solum nati sumus, sed partim patria, partim parentes, partim amici vindicant.

For which cause I must approve of the endeavors of my Country men that have been studious to enlarge the territories of his Majesty's empire by planting Colonies in America.

And of all other I must applaud the judgement of those that have made choice of this part (whereof I now treat) being of all other most absolute, as I will make it appear hereafter by way of parallel. Among those that have settled themselves in New England, some have gone for their conscience sake (as they profess) and I wish that they may plant the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as becommeth them, sincerely and without satisme or faction, whatsoever their former or present practices are, which I intend not to justify. Howsoever, they have deserved (in mine opinion) some commendations in that they have furnished the Country so commodiously in so short a time; although it has been but for their own profit, yet posterity will taste the sweetness of it, and that very suddenly.

And since my task in this part of mine abstract is to intreat of the natural endowments of the Country, I will make a brief demonstration of them in order, severally, according to their several qualities: and show you what they are, and what profitable use may be made of them by industry.

Chapter II

What trees are there and how commodious.

Oaks are there of two sorts, white and red; excellent timber for the building both of houses and shipping: and they are found

to be a timber that is more tough than the oak of England. They are excellent for pipe-staves and such like vessels; and pipe-staves at the Canary Islands are a prime commodity. I have known them there at 35 p[ounds] the 1000, and will purchase a freight of wines there before any commodity in England, their only wood being pine, of which they are enforced also to build shipping; of oaks there is great abundance in the parts of New England, and they may have a prime place in the Catalogue of commodities.

Ash there is store, and very good for staves, oars or pikes; and may have a place in the same Catalogue.

Elm: of this sort of trees there are some; but there hath not as yet been found any quantity to speak of.

Beech there is of two sorts, red and white; very excellent for trenchers or chairs, and also for oars; and may be accounted for a commodity.

Wallnut: of this sort of wood there is infinite store, and there are 4 sorts: it is an excellent wood, for many uses approved. The younger trees are employed for hoops and are the best for that employment of all other stuff whatsoever. The Nuts serve when they fall to feed our swine, which make them the delicatest bacon of all other food: and is therein a chief commodity.

Chestnut: of this sort there is very great plenty, the timber whereof is excellent for building; and is a very good commodity, especially in respect of the fruit, both for man and beast.

Pine: of this sort there is infinite store in some parts of the Country. I have travelled 10 miles together where is little or no other wood growing. And of these may be made rosin, pitch

and tar, which are such useful commodities that if we had them not from other Countries in Amity with England, our Navigation would decline. Then how great the commodity of it will be to our Nation, to have it of our own, let any man judge.

Cedar: of this sort there is abundance; and this wood was such as Salomon used for the building of that glorious Temple at Jerusalem; and there are of these Cedars, fir trees and other materials necessary for the building of many fair Temples, if there were any Salomons to be at the Cost of them: and if any man be desirous to find out in what part of the Country the best Cedars are, he must get into the bottom grounds and in valleys that are wet at the spring of the year, where the moisture preserves them from the fire in spring time, and not in a wooden prospect.¹ This wood cuts red, and is good for bedsteads, tables and chests; and may be placed in the Catalogue of Commodities.

Cypres:² of this there is great plenty; and vulgarly this tree hath been taken for another sort of Cedar; but workmen put a difference between this Cypres and the Cedar, especially in the color; for this is white and that red white: and likewise in the fineness of the leaf and the smoothness of the barque. This wood is also sweeter than Cedar and (as it is in Garret's herball)³ a more beautiful tree.

1. Again Morton is sneering at William Wood's New England's Prospect.

2. Arbor vitae, or white cedar.

3. This reference, according to Adams, is to the Herball, or Generall Historie of Plants by Gerard which Johnson edited in 1633.

It is of all other, to my mind, most beautiful, and cannot be denied to pass for a commodity.

Spruce: of these there are infinite store, especially in the Northern parts of the Country; and they have been approved by workmen in England to be more tough than those that they have out of the east country: from whence we have them for masts and yards of ships.

The Spruce of this country are found to be 3 and 4 fadum about:⁴ and are reputed able, single, to make masts for the biggest ship that sails on the main Ocean without piecing; which is more than the East country can afford. And seeing that Navigation is the very sinews of a flourishing Commonwealth, it is fitting to allow the Spruce tree a principal place in the Catalogue of commodities.

Alder: of this sort there is plenty by rivers sides, good for turners.

Birch: of this there is plenty in divers parts of the Country. Of the bark of these the Salvages of the Northern parts make them delicate Canoes, so light that two men will transport one of them over Land whether they list; and yet one of them will transport ten or twelve Salvages by water at a time.⁵

4. For fadum read fathom.

5. Of the several varieties of birch in New England it was the large white birch that was used in canoe construction. From Narragansett Bay southward the birchbark canoe was hardly known in the early 17th century.

Mayple: of those trees there is great abundance; and these are very excellent for bowls. The Indians use of it to that purpose; and [it] is to be accounted a good commodity.

Elderne: there is plenty in that Country; of this the Salvages make their Arrows, and it hath no strong unsavory scent like our Eldern in England.⁶

Hawthorne: of this there is two sorts, one of which bears a well tasting berry as big as one's thumb, and looks like little Queene apples.

Vines: of this kind of trees there are that bear grapes of three colors: that is to say, white, black, and red.

The Country is so apt for vines, that, but for the fire at the spring of the year, the vines would so over spread the land that one should not be able to pass for them; the fruit is as big, of some, as a musket bullet, and is excellent in taste.

Plumtrees: of this kind there are many; some that bear fruit as big as our ordinary bullis: others there be that do bear fruit much bigger than pear plums; their color red, and their stones flat; very delicious in taste.⁷

Cheritrees there are [in] abundance; but the fruit is as small as our sloes; but if any of them were replanted and grafted in an orchard, they would soon be raised by means of such; and the like fruits.

6. This is the American elder, a common roadside shrub and source of elderberries, commonly used to make wine in New England.

"Queene apples" referred to in the next sentence are simply an early form of apples.

7. Plum trees are not native to New England. Morton is surely referring to the smaller, very tasty beach plum.

There is great abundance of Muske Roses in divers places. The water distilled excelleth our Rosewater of England.

There is abundance of Sassafras and Sarsaperilla, growing in divers places of the land; whose buds at the spring do perfume the air.

Other trees there are not greatly material to be recited in this abstract, as goose berries, rasberies, and other beries.

There is Hemp that naturally groweth, finer than our Hemp of England.⁸

Chapter III

Potthearbess and other herbes for Sallets.

The Country there naturally affordeth very good potherbes and sallet herbes, and those of a more masculine virtue than any of the same species in England; as Potmarioram, Tyme, Alexander, Angellica, Pursland, Violets, and Anniseeds in very great abundance: and for the pot I gathered in summer, dried and crumbled into a bag to preserve for winter store.

Hunnisuckles, balme, and divers other good herbes are there, that grow without the industry of man, that are used when occasion serveth very commodiously.⁹

⁸. Hemp is not native to New England, but was imported and grown successfully very early.

⁹. These brief comments on herbs are of questionable accuracy. Anniseeds, for example, are not native to New England.

Chapter IV

Of Birds, and feathered fowles.

Now that I have briefly showed the Commodity of the trees, herbes, and fruits, I will show you a description of the fowles of the air; as most proper in ordinary course.

And first of the Swan, because she is the biggest of all the fowles of that Country. There are of them in Merrimack River and in other parts of the country, great store at the seasons of the year.

The flesh is not much desired of the inhabitants, but the skins may be accounted a commodity fit for divers uses, both for fethers and quills.

There are Geese of three sorts, vize: brant Geese which are pide, and white Geese which are bigger, and gray Geese which are a big and bigger than the tame Geese of England,¹⁰ with black legs, black bills, heads and necks black; the flesh far more excellent than the Geese of England, wild or tame; yet the purity of the air is such that the biggest is accounted but an indifferent meal for a couple of men. There is of them great abundance. I have had often 1000 before the mouth of my gun. I never saw any in England, for my part, so fat as I have killed there in those parts. The fethers of them makes a bed softer than any down bed that I have lyen on, and is there a very good commodity. The fethers of the Geese that

¹⁰. Brant, Snow Goose, and Canada Goose respectively.

I have killed in a short time have paid for all the powder and shot I have spent in a year, and I have fed my dogs with as fat Geese there as I have ever fed upon my self in England.

Ducks there are of three kinds, pidge Ducks, gray Ducks, and black Ducks in great abundance. The most about my habitation were black Ducks: and it was a noted Custom at my house to have every man's Duck upon a trencher; and then you will think a man was not hardly used. They are bigger bodied than the tame Ducks of England: very fat and dainty flesh.

The common dogs' fees were the gibletts, unless they were boiled now and then for to make broth.

Teales there are of two sorts, green winged, and blue winged: but a dainty bird. I have been much delighted with a roast of these for a second course. I had plenty in the rivers and ponds about my house.

Widggens there are and abundance of other water foule, some such as I have seen, and [some] such as I have not seen else where before I came into those parts, which are little regarded.

Simpes there are like our Simpes in all respects with very little difference. I have shot at them only to see what difference I could find between them and those of my native Country, and more I did not regard them.¹¹

¹¹. Adams says that this was probably "some species of web-footed bird," but he offers no real evidence. Although he says it is clearly not so, the possibility that "Simpes" is a misprint of Snipes must, I think, be considered. Adams, p. 191, footnote.

Sanderlings are a dainty bird, more full bodied than a Snipe; and I was much delighted to feed on them because they were fat and easy to come by, because I went but a step or two for them: and I have killed between four and five dozen at a shoot, which would load me home.¹² Their food is at ebbing water on the sands of small seeds that grows on weeds there, and are very good pastime in August.

Cranes there are great store, that ever more came there at St. David's day and not before: that day they never would miss. These sometimes eat our corn and do pay for their presumption well enough; and serveth there in powther with turnips to supply the place of powthered beef, and is a goodly bird in a dish, and no discommodity.¹³

Turkies there are, which divers times in great flocks have sallied by our doors; and then a gun, being commonly in a readiness, salutes them with such a courtesy as makes them take a turn in the Cooke room. They dance by the door so well.

Of these there hath been killed that have weighed forty eight pound apiece.

They are by many degree sweeter than the tame Turkies of England, feed them how you can.

I had a Salvage who hath taken out his boy in a morning, and they have brought home their loads about noon.

12. By "Sanderlings" Morton probably meant sandpipers or similar shore birds.

13. "Powthered" beef was salt beef, or corned beef. Presumably the meat of the crane was salted down in similar fashion.

I have asked them what number they found in the woods, who have answered Neent Metawna, which is a thousand that day: the plenty of them is such in those parts. They are easily killed at roost, because, the one being killed, the other sit fast nevertheless; and this is no bad commodity. There are a kind of fowles which are commonly called Pheasants, but whether they be pheasants or no, I will not take upon me to determine. They are in form like our pheasant hen of England. Both the male and the female are alike; but they are rough footed and have staring feathers about the head and neck. The body is as big as the pheasant hen of England; and are excellent white flesh, and delicate white meat, yet we seldom bestow a shoot at them.

Partridges there are, much like our Partridges of England; they are of the same plumes, but bigger in body. They have not the sign of the horseshoe on the breast, as the Partridges of England; nor are they colored about the heads as those are. They sit on the trees, for I have seen 40 in one tree at a time: yet at night they fall on the ground, and sit until morning so together; and are dainty flesh.

There are quails also, but bigger than the quails in England. They take [to] trees also: for I have numbered 60 upon a tree at a time. The cocks do call at the time of the year, but with a different note from the cock quails of England.

The Larkes there are like our Larkes of England in all respects: saving that they do not use to sing at all.¹⁴

There are Owles of divers kinds: but I did never hear any of them whoop as ours do.

There are Crowes, kights and rooks that do differ in some respects from those of England. The Crowes, which I have much admired what should be the cause, both smell and taste of Musk in summer, but not in winter.

There are Hawkes in New England of 5 sorts; and these of all other fether fowles I must not omit to speak of, nor need I to make any Apology for my self concerning any trespass that I am like to make upon my judgement concerning the nature of them, having been bred in so genious a way that I had the common use of them in England: and at my first arrival in those parts practised to take a Lannaret, which I reclaimed, trained and made flying in a fortnight, the same being a passenger at Michuelmas. I found that these are most excellent Mettell, rank winged, well conditioned, and not tickleish footed; and, having hoods, bells, lures, and all things fitting, was desirous to

14. There are no larks native to New England similar to the English Skylark. Both the Horned Lark (*Eremophila alpestris*) and the Meadowlark (*Sturnella magna*) are known in Massachusetts, but both species do sing. See Roger Tory Peterson, A Field Guide to the Birds (Boston, 1947).

make experiment of that kind of Hawke before any other.¹⁵

And I am perswaded that Nature hath ordained them to be of a far better kind than any that have been used in England. They have neither dorre nor worm to feed upon (as in other parts of the world) the Country affording none; the use whereof in other parts makes the Lannars there more bussardly than they be in New England.¹⁶

There are likewise Fawcons [falcons] and tassell gentles,¹⁷ admirable well shaped birds; and they will tower up when they purpose to prey, and, on a sudden when they esspie their game, they will make such a cancellere that one would admire to behold them. Some there are more black than any that have been used in England.

The Tassell gent (but of the least size) is an ornament for a person of estimation among the Indians to wear in the knot of his lock, with the train upright, the body dried and stretched out. They take a great pride in the wearing of such an ornament, and give to one of us, that shall kill them one for that purpose, so much beaver as is worth three pounds sterling, very willingly.

15. "The descriptions given for these Hawks are too vague to be of much use in determining species. A clew is often furnished by familiar terms of falconry, which, we may assume, would be naturally applied to American representatives of Old World forms. Morton, however, uses these terms very loosely, or, perhaps, with a regard to fine distinctions of meaning not now understood." Adams, p. 195, footnote.

It seems probable that Morton's "lannaret" was a Peregrine Falcon (*Falco peregrinus anatum*).

16. "Dorre" refers to a European beetle sometimes known as the Cockchafer.

17. Adams suggests that "tassell gentles" are female or young American Goshawks. (p. 196, footnote).

These do us but little trespass, because they prey on such birds as are by the Sea side, and not on our Chickens. Goshawkes there are, and tassels.

The Tassels are short trussed bussards; but the Goshawkes are well shaped, but they' are small; some of white male, and some red male, I have seen one with 8 bars in the train. These fall on our bigger poultry: the lesser chicken, I think they scorn to make their prey of; for commonly the Cock goes to wrack. Of these I have seen many; and if they come to trespass me, I lay the law to them with the gun, and take them dammage pheasant.

There are very many Marlins;¹⁸ some very small and some so large as is the Barbary Tassell. I have often beheld these pretty birds, how they have scoured after the black bird, which is a small sized Cnoffe that eateth tne Indian maize.

Sparhawkes there are also, the fairest and best shaped birds that I have ever beheld of that kind those that are little, no use is made of any of them, neither are they regarded. I only tried conclusions with a Lannaret at first coming; and when I found what was in that bird, I turned him going: but for so much as I have observed of those birds, they may be a fit present for a prince, and for goodness to be preferred before the Barbary, or any other used in Christendom; and especially the Lannars and Lannarets.

There is a curious bird to see to, called a hunning bird, no bigger than a great Beetle; that out of question lives upon the Bee,

¹⁸. Merlin, or Pigeon Hawk (*Falco columbarius*).

which he eateth and catcheth amongst Flowers: for it is his Custom to frequent those places.¹⁹ Flowers he cannot feed upon by reason of his sharp bill, which is like the point of a Spanish needle, but short. His fethers have a gloss like silk, and as he stirs, they show to be of a changeable color: and has been, and is, admired for shape, color and size.

Chapter V

Of the Beasts of the forrest.

Now that I have made a rehearsall of the birds and feathered Fowles, which participate most of air, I will give you a description of the beasts; and show you what beasts are bred in those parts, and what my experience hath gathered by observation of their kind and nature. I begin with the most useful and most beneficial beast which is bred in those parts, which is the Deer.

There are in this Country three kinds of Deer, of which there are great plenty, and those are very useful.

First, therefore, I will speak of the Elk, which the Salvages call a Moose. It is a very large Deer with a very fair head and a broad palm like the palm of a fallow Deer's horn, but much bigger and is 6 foot wide between the tips, which grow curbing downwards.

¹⁹. The Ruby-throated Hummingbird (*Archilochus colubris*) does not, of course, feed upon bees. A species unknown in England, they must have been quite a curiosity to Morton.

He is of the bigness of a great horse.

There have been of them seen that has been 18 handfulls high: he hath a bunch of hair under his jaws: he is not swift but strong and large in body and long legged; in somuch that he doth use to kneel when he feedeth on grass.

He bringeth forth three faunes, or young ones, at a time; and, being made tame, would be good for draught and more useful (by reason of their strength) than the Elk of Raushea. These are found very frequent in the northern parts of New England. Their flesh is very good food, and much better than our red Deer of England.

Their hides are by the Salvages converted into very good leather and dressed as white as milk.

Of this leather the Salvages make the best shoes; and use to barter away the skins to other Salvages that have none of that kind of beasts in the parts where they live. Very good buffe may be made of the hides. I have seen a hide as large as any horse hide that can be found. There is such abundance of them that the Salvages at hunting time have killed of them so many that they have bestowed six or seven at a time upon one English man whom they have born affection to.

There is a second sort of Deer (less than the red Deer of England, but much bigger than the English fallow Deer) swift of foot, but of a more dark color; with some griseld heares, when his coat is full grown in the summer season: his hornes grow curving with a crooked beam resembling our red Deer, not with a palm like the fallow Deer.

These bring 3 fawns at a time, spotted like our fallow Deer's fawns; the Salvages say four. I speak of what I know to be true, for I have killed in February a doe with three fawns in her belly, all haired and ready to fall; for these Deer fall their fawns 2 months sooner than the fallow Deer of England. There is such abundance of them that an hundred have been found at the spring of the year within the compass of a mile.

The Salvages take these in traps made of their natural Hemp, which they place in the earth where they fell a tree for browse; and when he rounds the tree for the browse, if he tread on the trap he is horsed up by the leg by means of a pole that starts up and catcheth him.

Their hides the Salvages use for clothing, and will give for one hide killed in season 2, 3, or 4 beaver skins, which will yield pounds apiece in that Country: so much is the Deer's hide prized with them above the beaver. I have made good merchandize of these. The flesh is far sweeter than the venison of England: and he feedeth fat and lean together, as a swine or mutton, whereas our Deer of England feed fat on the outside: they do not croak at rutting time, nor spendle shafte, nor is their flesh discolored at rutting. He that will impale ground fitting may be brought once in the year where, with bats and men, he may take so many to put into that park, as the hides will pay the charge of impaleing. If all these things be well considered, the Deer, as well as the Moose, may have a principal place in the catalogue of commodities.

I for my part may be bold to tell you that my house was not without the flesh of this sort of Deer winter nor summer. The humbles was ever my dog's fee, which by the wesell was hanged on the bar in the chimney, for his diet only:²⁰ for he has brought to my stand a brace in a morning, one after the other before sun rising, which I have killed.

There is likewise a third sort of deer, less than the other, (which are a kind of rayne deer), to the southward of all the English plantations.²¹ They are excellent good flesh. And these also bring three fawns at a time; and in this particular the Deer of those parts excell all the known Deer of the whole world.

On all these the Wolfes do prey continually. The best means they have to escape the wolfes is by swimming to Islands or necks of land, whereby they escape: for the wolf will not presume to follow them until they see them over a river; then, being landed, (they waiting on the shore) undertake the water, and so follow with fresh suite.

The next in mine opinion fit to be spoken of is the Beaver; which is a Beast ordained for land and water both, and hath forefeet like a cunny,²² her hinder feet like a goose, mouthed like a cunny, but short eared like a Serat.²³ [It feeds on] fish in summer and

20. The "wesell" means the throat.

21. Whether Morton means the Caribou of northern New England, the small Virginia Deer of the southern colonies, or some other that seems pure invention, is not clear.

22. Rabbit, or cony.

23. Serat may be a contracted form of sea rat.

wood in winter; which he conveys to his house built on the water, wherein he sits with his tail hanging in the water, which else would over heat and rot off.²⁴

He cuts the bodies of trees down with his fore-teeth, which are so long as a boar's tusks, and with the help of other beavers (which hold by each others tails like a team of horses, the hindmost with the log on his shoulder stayed by one of his fore feet against his head) they draw the log to the habitation appointed, placing the logs in a square; and so, by piling one upon another, they build up a house, which with boughs is covered very strongly, and placed in some pond to which they make a dam of brush wood like a hedge, so strong that I have gone on the top of it cross the current of that pond. The flesh of this beast is excellent food. The fleece is a very choice fur, which (before the Salvages had commerce with Christians) they burned of the tail. This beast is of a masculine virtue for the advancement of Priapus, and is preserved for a dish for the Sachems, or Sagamores; who are the princes of the people, but not Kings, (as is fondly supposed.)

The skins are the best merchantable commodity that can be found to cause ready money to be brought into the land, now that they are raised to 10 shillings a pound.

24. This and the following paragraph show Morton at his creative "best." Apparently, if specific information was lacking, he was not averse to inventing some to beguile the reader on matters of natural history.

A servant of mine in 5 years was thought to have a 1000 p. in ready gold gotten by beaver when he died; whatsoever became of it. And this beast may challenge preheminance in the Catalogue.

The Otter of those parts in winter season hath a fur so black as jet; and is a fur of very high price. A good black skin is worth 3 or 4 Angels of gold.²⁵ The Flesh is eaten by the Salvages: but how good it is I cannot show, because it is not eaten by our Nation. Yet is this a beast that ought to be placed in the number amongst the Commodities of the Country.

The Luseran, or Luseret, is a beast like a Cat, but so big as a great hound: with a tail shorter than a Cat. His claws are like a Cat's. He will make a prey of the Deer. His Flesh is dainty meat, like a lamb. His hide is a choice fur, and accounted a good commodity.

The Martin is a beast about the bigness of a Fox. His fur is chestnut color: and of those there are great store in the Northern parts of the Country, and is a good commodity.

The Racowne is a beast as big, full out, as a Fox, with a Bushtail. His Flesh excellent food: his oil precious for the Syattica: his fur course, but the skins serve the Salvages for coats, and is with those people of more esteem than a coat of beaver, because of the tails that (hanging round in their order) do adorn the garment, and is therefore so much esteemed of them. His fore feet are like the feet of an ape; and by the print thereof, in the

25. "An old English gold coin ... having as its device the archangel Michael standing upon, and piercing the dragon." O.E.D., I, 323.

time of snow, he is followed to his hole, which is commonly in a hollow tree; from whence he is fired out, and so taken.

The Foxes are of two colors; the one red, the other gray. These feed on fish, and are good fur. They do not stink, as the Foxes of England, but their condition for their prey is as the Foxes of England.

The Wolfes are of divers colors; some sandy colored, some griselled, and some black. Their food is fish, which they catch when they pass up the rivers into the ponds to spawn at the spring time. The Deer are also their prey, and at summer, when they have whelpes, the bitch will fetch a puppy dog from our doors to feed their whelpes with. They are fearefull Curs and will run away from a man (that meeteth them by chance at a bank end) as fast as any fearefull dog. These prey upon the Deer very much. The skins are used by the Salvages, especially the skin of the black wolf, which is esteemed a present for a prince there.

When there ariseth any difference between prince and prince, the prince that desires to be reconciled to his neighboring prince does endeavor to purchase it by sending him a black wolfe's skin for a present, and the acceptance of such a present is an assurance of reconciliation between them; and the Salvages will willingly give 40 beaver skins for the purchase of one of these black Wolfe's skins: and although the beast himself be a discommodity, which other Countries of Christendom are subject unto, yet is the skin of the black wolf worthy the title of a commodity in that respect that hath been declared.

If I should not speak something of the bear, I might happily leave a scruple in the minds of some effeminate person who conceived of more danger in them than there is cause. Therefore, to encourage them against all Fear and fortify their minds against needless danger, I will relate what experience hath taught me concerning them. They are beasts that do no harm in those parts. They feed upon Hurtleberries, Nuts, and Fish, especially shell-fish.

The Bear is a tyrant at a Lobster, and at low water will down to the Rocks and grope after them with great diligence.

He will run away from a man as fast as a little dog. If a couple of Salvages chance to espie him at his banquet, his running away will not serve his turn, for they will coat him and chase him between them home to their houses, where they kill him, to save a labor in carrying him far. His Flesh is esteemed venison and of a better taste than beef.

His hide is used by the Salvages for garments, and is more commodious than discommodious; and may pass (with some allowance) with the rest.

The Muskewashe²⁶ is a beast that frequenteth the ponds. What he eats I cannot find. He is but a small beast, less than a Cunny, and is indeed in those parts no other than a water Rat; for I have seen the suckers of them digged out of a bank, and at that age they neither differed in shape, color, nor size, from one of our great Rats. When he is old, he is of the Beaver's color; and hath passed in waite with our Chapmen for Beaver.

26. Muskrat.

The Male of them have stones,²⁷ which the Salvages, in uncasing of them, leave to the skin, which is a most delicate perfume, and may compare with any perfume that I know for goodness. Then may not this be excluded the Catalogue.

This Country in the North parts thereof hath many Porcupines, but I do not find the beast any way usefull or hurtfull.

There are in those Northerne parts many Hedgehoggs, of the like nature to our English Hedgehoggs.²⁸

Here are great store of Conyes in those parts of divers colors; some white, some black, and some gray. Those towards the Southern parts are very small, but those to the North are as big as the English Cony. Their ears are very short. For meat the small rabbit is as good as any that I have eaten of else where.

There are Squirils of three sorts, very different in shape and condition; one is gray and he is as big as the lesser Cony, and keepeth the woods, feeding upon nuts.

Another is red and he haunts our houses and will rob us of our Corn; but the Cat many times pays him the price of his presumption.

The third is a little flying Squirill with batlike wings, which he spreads when he jumps from tree to tree and does no harm.

27. Scent glands.

28. In New England the porcupine and the hedgehog are the same beast, and have no close English relative.

Now because I am upon a treaty of the beasts, I will place this creature, the snake, amongst the beasts, having my warrant from the holy Bible; who (whough his posture in his passage be so different from all other, being of a more subtile and aidry nature, that he can make his way without feet, and lift himself above the superficialities of the earth, as he glides along) yet may he not be ranked with any but the beasts, notwithstanding he frequents the water as well as the land.

There are of Snakes divers and of several kinds, as be with us in England; but that Country hath not so many as in England have been known.

The general Salvage name of them is Ascowke.

There is one creeping beast or long creeple (as the name is in Devonshire) that hath a rattle at his tail that does discover his age. For so many years as he hath lived, so many joints are in that rattle, which soundeth (when it is in motion) like pease in a bladder; and this beast is called a rattle Snake; but the Salvages give him the name of Sesick, which some take to be the Adder; and it may well be so, for the Salvages are significant in their denomination of any thing, and is no less hurtfull than the Adder of England, nor no more. I have had my dog venommed with troubling one of these, and so swelled that I had thought it would have been his death: but with one Saucer of Salet oil poured down his throat he has recovered and the swelling asswaged by the next day. The like experiment hath been made upon a boy that hath by chance trod upon one of these,

and the boy never the worse. Therefore it is simplicity in any one that shall tell a bugbear tale of horrible, or terrible Serpents that are in that land.

Mice there are good store, and my Lady Woodbees black gray-malkin may have pastime enough there: but for Rats, the Country by Nature is troubled with none.

Lyons there are none in New England. It is contrary to the Nature of the beast to frequent places accustomed to snow; being like the Cat that will hazard the burning of her tail rather than abide from the fire.

Chapter VI

Of Stones and Minerals.

Now (for as much as I have in a brief abstract showed you the Creatures whose special Natures do simpathise with the elements of fire and air) I will come to speak of the Creatures that participate of earth more than the other two, which is stones.

And first of the Marble for building; whereof there is much in those parts, in so much there is one bay in the land that beareth the name of Marble harbor, because of the plenty of Marble there:²⁹ and these are usefull for building of Sumpteous Pallaces.

²⁹. The reference is to Marblehead. The plentiful stone was not true marble at all but a granite.

And because no good building can be made permanent or durable without Lime, I will let you understand that there is good Limestone near to the river of Monatoquinte at Uttaquatock, to my knowledge; and we hope other places too (that I have not taken so much notice of) may have the like or better: and those stones are very convenient for building.

Chalk stones there are near Squanto's Chappell, showed me by a Salvage.³⁰

There is abundance of excellent Slate in divers places of the Country; and the best that ever I beheld for covering of houses: and the inhabitants have made good use of these materials for building.

There is a very useful Stone in the Land, and as yet there is found out but one place where they may be had in the whole Country. Ould Woodman (that was choaked at Plimmouth after he had played the unhappy Markes man when he was pursued by a careless fellow that was new come into the Land) they say labored to get a patent of it to himself. He was beloved of many and had many sons that had a mind to engross that commodity. And I cannot spie any mention made

³⁰. Morton may have mistaken some other stone for chalk, since there is none known in the area of Squantum, "Squanto's Chappell," or indeed in Massachusetts.

of it in the wooden prospect.³¹

Therefore I begin to suspect his aim, that it was for himself; and therefore will I not discover it. It is the Stone so much commended by Ovid, because love delighteth to make his habitation in a building of those materials, where he advises those that seek for love to do it. Duris in Cotibus illum.

This stone the Salvages do call Cos; and of these (on the North end of Richmond Island)³² are store, and those are very excellent good for edged tools. I envy not his happiness. I have been there: viewed the place: liked the commodity: but will not plant so Northerly for that, nor any other commodity that is there to be had.

31. This paragraph is another typical Morton comment, rather obscure, at least at this distance in time, and seemingly snide. As Adams has observed, "It is difficult to say whether he is perpetrating a clumsy joke, or indulging in a malicious insinuation. John Billington was hanged at Plymouth in September, 1630, being apparently the second person so executed in what is now Massachusetts, the first having been executed at Weymouth during the winter of 1622-3. The man shot by Billington, and for whose murder he was hung, was John New-comin, whence Morton's play upon the name..... Why Morton should have called him [Billington] 'Ould Woodman' is not clear. From his immediately going on to talk of the 'wooden prospect,' and the wish of its author to secure for himself a monopoly of the Richmond Island whetstones, which 'Ould Woodman labored to get a patent of,' it would seem as if he had intended to convey the idea that William Wood, the author of the New England's Prospect, was one of the 'many sons' of 'Old Woodman,' who had been hanged at Plymouth. That such was Morton's intention, however, is not clear." Adams, p. 217, footnote.

32. Richmond Island is on the Maine coast near Cape Elizabeth and the mouth of Casco Bay.

There are Loadstones also in the Northern parts of the land: and those which were found are very good, and are a commodity worth the noting.

Iron stones there are [in] abundance: and several sorts of them known.

Lead ore is there likewise, and hath been found by the breaking of the earth, which the Frost hath made mellow.

Black Lead I have likewise found very good, which the Salvages use to paint their faces with.

Red Lead is there likewise in great abundance.³³

There is very excellent Boll Armoniack.³⁴

There is most excellent Vermilion.³⁵ All these things the Salvages make some little use of, and do find them on the circumference of the Earth.

Brimstone mines there are likewise.³⁶

Mines of Tinne are likewise known to be in those parts: which will in short time be made use of: and this cannot be accounted a mean commodity.³⁷

33. Black lead is doubtless graphite, while red lead is a pigment used in making paint.

34. Adams identifies this as "a sort of reddish clay, such as may be used for marking,--a clayey ochre..." (p. 219, footnote)

35. Vermilion is not found in quantity in New England. It may be that Morton is referring to oxide of mercury.

36. Sulphur-bearing rock is fairly common.

37. Small quantities of tin were found quite early, often in stream beds. Virginia was the most likely place for a true mine, however.

Copper mines are there found likewise, that will enrich the Inhabitants. But until their young Cattle be grown hardy laborers in the yoke, that the Plough and the Wheat may be seen more plentifully, it is a work must be forborne.

They say there is a Silver and a gold mine found by Captaine Littleworth.³⁸ If he get a patent of it to himself he will surely change his name.

Chapter VII

Of the Fishes, and what commodity they proov

Among Fishes, first I will begin with the Cod, because it is the most commodious of all fish, as may appear by the use which is made of them in foreign parts.

The Cod fishing is much used in America (whereof New England is a part) in so much as 300 Sail of ships from divers parts have used to be employed yearly in that trade.

I have seen in one Harbor, next Richmond Island, 15 Sail of ships at one time, that have taken in them dryed Cod for Spain and the Straights, and it has been found that the Sailors have made 15, 18, 20, 22 p. share for a common man.

The Coast aboundeth with such multitudes of Cod that the inhabitants of New England do dunge their grounds with Cod; and it is a commodity better than the golden mines of the Spanish Indies; for without dried Cod the Spaniard, Portingal and Italian would not be

38. Morton's derogatory name for John Endicott.

able to victual of a ship for the Sea; and I am sure at the Canaries it is the principal commodity: which place lyeth near New England, very convenient for the vending of this commodity, one hundred of these being at the price of 300 New found land Cods. Great store of train oil is made of the livers of the Cod, and is a commodity that without question will enrich the inhabitants of New England quickly; and is therefore a principal commodity.

The Bass is an excellent Fish, both fresh and Salt; one hundred whereof salted (at a market) have yielded 5 p. They are so large, the head of one will give a good eater a dinner; and for daintiness of diet they excell the Marybones of Beef.³⁹ There are such multitudes that I have seen stopped into the river close adjoining to my house, with a sand at one tide, so many as will load a ship of a 100 Tons.

Other places have greater quantities, in so much as wagers have been laid that one should not throw a stone in the water but that he should hit a fish.

I my self at the turning of the tide have seen such multitudes pass out of a pound that it seemed to me that one might go over their backs dryshod.⁴⁰

These follow the bait up the rivers and sometimes are followed for bait and chased into the bays and shallow waters by the grand

39. Marrow-bones of beef.

40. "Pound" may well be a misprint for pond.

pise:⁴¹ and these may have also a prime place in the Catalogue of Commodities.

The Mackarels are the bait for the Bass, and these have been chased into the shallow waters where so many thousands have shot themselves ashore with the surf of the Sea that whole hogges-heads have been taken up on the Sands; and for length they excell any of other parts. They have been measured 18 and 19 inches in length and seven in breadth: and are taken with a drayle (as boats use to pass to and froe at Sea on business) in very great quantities all along the Coast.⁴²

The Fish is good salted for store against the winter, as well as fresh; and to be accounted a good Commodity.

This Sturgeon in England is regalis piscis. Every man in New England may catch what he will. There are multitudes of them, and they are much fatter than those that are brought into England from other parts, in so much as by reason of their fatness they do not look white, but yellow, which made a Cook presume they were not so good as them of Russia: silly fellow that could not understand that it is the nature of fish salted, or pickelled, the fatter the yellower being best to preserve.

41. Grand pise "is either an expression which has wholly passed out of use, or else a misprint. Probably the latter. It may, however, also be surmised that Morton characteristically coined a word from the Latin, and here meant to refer to the various large fish in New England waters ..." such as the tuna or various sharks. Adams, P. 223, footnote.

42. The drayle was an early form of the present day mackerel jig, a simple form of lure which combines hook and sinker and is often trolled on a line from a boat.

For the taste, I have warrant of Ladies of worth with choice pallats for the commendations, who liked the taste so well that they esteemed it beyond the Sturgeon of other parts and said they were deceived in the looks. Therefore let the Sturgeon pass for a Commodity.

Of Salmons there is great abundance: and these may be allowed for a Commodity and placed in the Catalogue.

Of Herrings there is great store, fat and fair: and (to my mind) as good as any I have seen; and these may be preserved and make a good commodity at the Canaries.

Of Eels there is abundance, both in the Saltwaters and in the fresh: and the fresh water Eel there (if I may take the judgement of a London Fishmonger) is the best that he hath found in his life time. I have with 2 eel pots found my household (being nine persons, besides dogs) with them, taking them every tide (for 4 months space) and preserving of them for winter store: and these may prove a good commodity.

Of Smelts there is such abundance that the Salvages do take them up in the rivers with baskets like sieves.

There is a Fish (by some called shad, by some allizes) that at the spring of the year pass up the rivers to spawn in the ponds; and are taken in such multitudes in every river that hath a pond at the end that the Inhabitants dung their ground with them.⁴³ You may see in one township a hundred acres together set with these fish,

⁴³. This fish was the alewife, whose springtime spawning run was prodigious indeed.

every acre taking 1000 of them: and an acre thus dressed will produce and yield so much corn as 3 acres without fish: and, lest any Virginia man would infer hereupon that the ground of New England is barren, because they use no fish in setting their corn, I desire them to be remembred the cause is plain, in Virginia they have it not to set. But this practice is only for the Indian Maize (which must be set by hands) not for English grain: and this is therefore a commodity there.

There is a large sized fish called Hallibut, or Turbut. Some are taken so big that two men have much ado to hale them into the boat; but there is such plenty that the fisher men only eat the heads and fins and throw away the bodies. Such in Paris would yield 5 or 6 crowns apiece: and this is no discommodity.

There are excellent Plaice, and easily taken.⁴⁴ They (at flowing water) do almost come ashore, so that one may step but half a foot deep and pick them up on the sands and this may pass with some allowance.

Hake is a dainty white fish and excellent victual fresh; and may pass with other commodities, because there are multitudes.

There are great store of Pilchers.⁴⁵ At Michelmas in many places I have seen the Cormorants in length 3 miles feeding upon the Sent.

44. Plaice refers to the several varieties of flounder found in New England waters.

45. Herring or Menhaden.

Lobsters are there infinite in store in all the parts of the land, and very excellent. The most use that I made of them in 5 years after I came there was but to bait my hook for to catch Bass; I had been so cloyed with them the first day I went a shore.

This being known, they shall pass for a commodity to the inhabitants; for the Salvages will meet 500 or 1000 at a place where Lobsters come in with the tide, to eat and save dried for store; abiding in that place, feasting and sporting, a month or 6 weeks together.

There are great store of Oysters in the entrance of all Rivers. They are not round as those of England, but excellent fat and all good. I have seen an Oyster bank a mile at length.

Mustles there are infinite store. I have often gone to Wessagusset where were excellent Mustles to eat for variety, the fish is so fat and large.

Clams is a shellfish which I have seen sold in Westminster for 12 pe. the score. These our swine feed upon, and of them there is no want. Every shore is full. It makes the swine prove exceedingly. They will not fail at low water to be with them. The Salvages are much taken with the delight of this fish, and are not cloyed, notwithstanding the plenty. For our swine we find it a good commodity.⁴⁶

Raser fishes there are.

46. Needless to point out, New England clams are now regarded as a great delicacy, not food for swine, and it would border on sacrilege to use lobster, as Morton did, for bass bait.

Freeles there are, Cockles and Scallopes; and divers other sorts of Shellfish, very good food.⁴⁷

Now that I have showed you what commodities are there to be had in the Sea, for a Market; I will show what is in the Land, also, for the comfort of the inhabitants wherein it doth abound. And because my task is an abstract, I will discover to them the commodity thereof.

There are in the rivers and ponds very excellent Trouts, Carpes, Breames, Pikes, Roches, Perches, Tenches, Eeles, and other fishes such as England doth afford, and as good for variety; yea, many of them much better; and the Natives of the inland parts do buy hooks of us to catch them with: and I have known the time that a Trout's hook hath yielded a beaver skin, which hath been a good commodity to those that have bartered them away.

These things I offer to your consideration (courteous Reader) and require you to show me the like in any part of the known world, if you can.

Chapter VIII

Of the goodnes of the Country and the Waters.

Now since it is a Country so infinitely blest with food and fire to roast or boil our Flesh and Fish, why should any man fear for cold there, in a Country warmer in the winter than some parts of France, and nearer the Sun: unless he be one of those that Salomon bids go to the Ant and the Bee.

47. "Freeles," or frills, were crabs. O.E.D., IV, 551.

There is no boggy ground known in all the Country, from whence the Sun may exhale unwholsom vapors: But there are divers arematicall herbs and plants, as Sassafras, Muske Roses, Violets, Balm, Lawrell, Hunnisuckles, and the like that with their vapors perfume the air; and it has been a thing much observed that ships have come from Virginia where there have been scarce five men able to haul a rope until they have come within 40 Degrees of latitude and smell the sweet air of the shore, where they have suddenly recovered.

And for the water, therein it excelleth Canaan by much; for the Land is so apt for Fountaines a man cannot dig amiss. Therefore, if the Abrahams and Lots of our times come thether, there needs be no contention for wells.

Besides there are waters of most excellent virtues, worthy [of] admiration.

At Ma-re-Mount there was a water (by me discovered) that is most excellent for the cure of Melancolly probatum.

At Winnisimmet is a water, the virtue whereof is to cure barrenesse.⁴⁸ The place taketh its name of that Fountaine which signifieth quick spring, or quickening spring probatum.

Near Squantos Chappell⁴⁹ (a place so by us called) is a Fountaine that causeth a dead sleep for 48 hours to those that drink 24 ounces at a draught, and so proportionably. The Salvages that are Powahs at set times use it and reveal strange things to the vulgar

⁴⁸. The present Chelsea, which Morton spells Weenasemute.

⁴⁹. Squantum

people by means of it. So that in the delicacy of waters and the conveniency of them, Canaan came not near this Country.

As for the Milk and Honey, which that Canaan flowed with, it is supplied by the plenty of birds, beasts and Fish; whereof Canaan could not boast her self.

Yet never the less (since the Milk came by the industry of the first Inhabitants) let the cattle be chereshed that are at this time in New England, and forborne but a little, I will ask no long time, no more but until the Brethren have converted one Salvage and made him a good Christian, and I may be bold to say Butter and cheese will be cheaper there than ever it was in Canaan. It is cheaper there than in old England at this present; for there are store of Cows, considering the people, which (as my intelligence gives) is 12000 persons: and in god's name let the people have their desire, who write to their friends to come out of Sodom to the land of Canaan, a land that flows with Milk and Honey.

And I appeal to any man of judgement, whether it be not a Land that for her excellent endowments of Nature may pass for a plain parallel to Canaan of Israel, being in a more temperate Climate, this being in 40 Degrees and that in 30.

Chapter IX

A Perspective to view the Country by.

As for the Soil, I may be bold to commend the fertility thereof, and prefer it before the Soil of England (our Native Country); and

I need not to produce more than one argument for proof thereof, because it is so infallible.

Hemp is a thing by Husbandmen in general agreed upon to prosper best in the most fertile Soil: and experience hath taught this rule, that Hemp seed prospers so well in New England that it shooteth up to be ten foot high and ten foot and a half, which is twice so high as the ground in old England produceth it; which argues New England the more fertile of the two.

As for the air, I will produce but one proof for the maintenance of the excellency thereof; which is so general as I assure myself it will suffice.

No man living there was ever known to be troubled with a cold, a cough, or a murre; but many men coming sick out of Virginia to New Canaan have instantly recovered with the help of the purity of that air; no man ever surfeited himself either by eating or drinking.

As for the plenty of that Land, it is well known that no part of Asia, Africa or Europe affordeth deer that do bring forth any more than one single fawn; and in New Canaan the Deer are accustomed to bring forth 2 and 3 fawns at a time.⁵⁰

Besides, there are such infinite flocks of Fowl and Multitudes of fish, both in the fresh waters and also on the Coast, that the like hath not else where been discovered by any traveller.

50. In Chapter V above Morton makes quite a bit of his assertion that three fawns are commonly born, yet it is much more common to find two or one than it is to find three. Here as in several other places his enthusiasm for New England leads to exaggeration.

The winds there are not so violent as in England; which is proved by the trees that grow in the face of the wind by the Sea Coast; for there they do not lean from the wind as they do in England: as we have heard before.

The Rain is there more moderate than in England; which thing I have noted in all the time of my residence to be so.

The Coast is low Land, and not high Land: and he is of a weak capacity that conceaveth otherwise of it, because it cannot be denied but that boats may come a ground in all places along the Coast, and especially within the Compass of the Massachusetts patent, where the prospect is fixed.

The Harbors are not to be bettered for safety and goodness of ground, for anchorage, and (which is worthy observation) shipping will not there be furred; neither are they subject to worms, as in Virginia and other places.

Let the Scituation also of the Country be considered (together with the rest which is discovered in the front of this abstract) and then I hope no man will hold this land unworthy to be entitled by the name of the second Canaan.

And, since the Seperatists are desirous to have the denomination thereof, I am become an humble Suter on their behalf for your consents (courteous Readers) to it, before I do show you what Revels they have kept in New Canaan.

Chapter X

Of the Great Lake of Erocoise in New England, and the commodities thereof.

Westwards from the Massachusetts bay (which lyeth in 42 Degrees and 30 Minutes of Northern latitude) is scituated a very spacious Lake (called of the Natives the Lake of Erocoise),⁵¹ which is far more excellent than the Lake of Genezereth in the Country of Palestine, both in respect of the greatness and properties thereof, and likewise of the manifold commodities it yieldeth: the circumference of which Lake is reputed to be 240 miles at the least: and it is distant from the Massachusetts bay 300 miles, or thereabouts: wherein are very many fair Islands, where innumerable flocks of several sorts of Fowl do breed, Swans, Geese, Ducks, Widgines, Teales, and other water Fowl.

There are also more abundance of Beavers, Deer and Turkies breed about the parts of that lake than in any place in all the Country of New England; and also such multitudes of fish (which is a great part of the food that the Beavers live upon) that it is a thing to be admired at: So that about this Lake is the principallest place for a plantation in all New Canaan, both for pleasure and profit.

Here may very many brave Towns and Cities be erected, which may have intercourse one with another by water very commodiously: and it is of many men of good judgement accounted the prime seat for the Metropolis of New Canaan. From this Lake, Northwards, is derived the famous River of Canada (so named of Monsieur de Cane, a French Lord that first planted a Colony of French in America, there called

51. Lake Champlain

Nova Francia) from whence Captain Kerke of late, by taking that plantation, brought home in one ship (as a Seaman of his Company reported in my hearing) 25000 Beaver skins.⁵²

And from this Lake, Southwards, trends that goodly River called of the Natives Patomack, which dischargeth herself in the parts of Virginia; from whence it is navigable by shipping of great Burthen up to the Falls (which lieth in 41 Degrees and a half of North latitude) and from the Lake down to the Falls by a fair current. This River is navigable for vessels of good Burthen; and thus much hath often been related by the Natives, and is of late found to be certain.⁵³

They have also made description of great heards of well grown beasts that live about the parts of this Lake, such as the Christian world (until this discovery) hath not been made acquainted with. These beasts are of the bigness of a Cow; their Flesh being very good food, their hides good leather, their fleeces very useful, being a kind of wool as fine almost as the wool of the Beaver; and the Salvages do make garments thereof.

It is ten years since first the relation of these things came to the ears of the English: at which time we were but slender proficient in the language of the Natives, and they (which now have attained to more perfection of English) could not then make us rightly apprehend their meaning.

52. M. de Cane is

53. In reference to this imaginative geography Adams says of Morton, "The little he knew had been obtained in England, after his return there in 1631; for the Massachusetts Indians can hardly have known much of the remote interior, and in 1630 no attempts even at exploration away from the seashore had been made by the straggling occupants of the New England coast." (p. 236, footnote.)

We supposed, when they spake of Beasts thereabouts as high as men, they have made report of men all over hairy like Beavers, in so much as we questioned them whether they eat of the Beavers, to which they replied Matta (no), saying they were almost Beavers' Brothers. This relation at that time we concluded to be fruitless, which, since, time hath made more apparent.

About the parts of this Lake may be made a very great Commodity by the trade of furs to enrich those that shall plant there. A more complete discovery of those parts is (to my knowledge) undertaken by Henry Josselyn, Esquire, son of Sir Thomas Josselyn of Kent, Knight, by the approbation and appointment of that Heroick and very good Commonwealths man, Captain John Mason, Esquire, a true foster Father and lover of virtue (who at his own charge) hath fitted Master Josselyn and employed him to that purpose; who no doubt will perform as much as is expected, if the Dutch (by getting into those parts before him) do not frustrate his so hopeful and laudable designs.

It is well known they aim at that place and have a possibility to attain unto the end of their desires therein by means of the River of Mohegan, which of the English is named Hudson's River, where the Dutch have settled two well fortified plantations already. If that River be derived from the Lake, as our Country man in his prospect affirms it to be,⁵⁴ and if they get and fortify this place also, they will gleane away the best of the Beaver both from the French and the English, who have hitherto lived wholly by it; and very many old planters have gained good estates out of small beginnings by means thereof.

54. Wood again.

And it is well known to some of our Nation that have lived in the Dutch plantation that the Dutch have gained by Beaver 20000 pound a year.

The Salvages make report of 3 great Rivers that issue out of this Lake, 2 of which are to us known, the one to be Patomack, the other Canada: and why may not the third be found there likewise, which they describe to trend westward, which is conceived to discharge herself into the South Sea? The Salvages affirm that they have seen ships in this Lake with 4 Masts, which have taken from thence for their lading earth, that is conjectured to be some mineral stuff.

There is probability enough for this; and it may well be thought that so great a conflux of waters as are there gathered together must be vented by some great Rivers; and that if the third River (which they have made mention of) prove to be true, as the other two have done, there is no doubt but that the passage to the East India may be obtained without any such dangerous and fruitless inquest by the Norwest, as hitherto hath been endeavored: And there is no Traveller of any reasonable capacity but will grant that about this Lake must be innumerable springs, and by that means many fruitfull and pleasant pastures all about it. It hath been observed that the inland part (witness Neepnet)⁵⁵ are more pleasant and fertile than the borders of the Sea coast. And the Country about Erocoise is (not without good cause) compared to Delta, the most fertile part in all Egypt that aboundeth with Rivers and Rivalets derived from

55. The country of the Nipmuck tribe, central Massachusetts.

Nilus fruitfull chanel, like veins from the liver; so in each respect is this famous Lake of Erocoise.

And, therefore, it would be adjudged an irreparable oversight to protract time and suffer the Dutch (who are but intruders upon his Majesty's most hopefull Country of New England) to possess themselves of that so pleasant and commodious Country of Erocoise before us: being (as appeareth) the principal part of all New Canaan for plantation, and not elsewhere to be paralleled in all the known world.

NEW CANAAN'S GENIUS

EPILOGUS

Thou that art by Fate's degree,
Or Providence, ordain'd to see
Nature's wonder, her rich store
Ne'r discovered before,
Th'admired Lake of Erocoise
And fertile Borders, now rejoyce.
See what multitudes of fish
Shee presents to fitt thy dish.
If rich furs thou dost adore,
And of Beaver Fleeces store,
See the Lake where they abound,
And what pleasures els are found.
There chast Leda, free from fire,
Does enjoy her heart's desire;
Mongst the flowry bancks at ease
Live the sporting Najades,
Bigg lim'd Druides, whose browes
Bewtified with greenbowes.
See the Nimphes, how they doe make
Fine Meanders from the Lake,
Twining in and out, as they
Through the pleasant groves make way,
Weaving by the shady trees

Curious Anastomases,
Where the harmeles Turtles breede,
And such usefull Beasts doe feede
As no Traveller can tell
Els where how to parallel.
Colcos golden Fleece reject;
This deserveth best respect.
In sweete Peans let thy voyce,
Sing the praise of Erocoise,
Peans to advaunce her name,
New Canaan's everlasting fame.

NEW ENGLISH CANAAN

OR NEW CANAAN

The Third Booke

Containing a description of the People that are planted there, what remarkable Accidents have happened there since they were settled, what Tenents they hold, together with the practise of their Church.

Chapter I

Of a great League made with the Plimmouth Planters after their arrival, by the Sachem of those Territories.

The Sachem of the Territories where the Planters of New England are settled, that are the first of the now Inhabitants of New Canaan, not knowing what they were, or whether they would be friends or foes, and being desirous to purchase their friendship that he might have the better Assurance of quiet trading with them (which he conceived would be very advantagious to him) was desirous to prepare an ambassador, with commission to treat on his behalf, to that purpose. And having one that had been in England (taken by a worthless man out of other parts, and after left there by accident)¹ this Salvage he

¹. Morton's account of the appearance of an English-speaking Indian is somewhat confused. In March of 1621 Samoset walked into Plymouth and spoke with them in English and told the Pilgrims of Squanto, another Indian who spoke better English, having spent some time in England after being kidnapped from his native Massachusetts by Capt. Thomas Hunt. Samoset was from Maine and seems to have arrived in the Plymouth the preceding year. It was Squanto who acted as "ambassador" for the great sachem Massasoit.

instructed how to behave himself in the treaty of peace; and the more to give him encouragement to adventure his person amongst these new come inhabitants, which was a thing he durst not himself attempt without security or hostage, promised that Salvage freedom, who had been detained there as their Captive: which offer he accepted, and accordingly came to the Planters, saluting them with welcome in the English phrase, which was of them admired to hear a Salvage there speak in their own language, and used him great courtesy: to whom he declared the cause of his comminge, and contrived the business so that he brought the Sachem and the English together, between whom was a firm league concluded, which yet continueth.

After which league the Sachem, being in company with the other, whom he had freed and suffered to live with the English, espying a place where a hole had been made in the ground, where was their store of powder layed to be preserved from danger of fire (under ground) demanded of the Salvage what the English had hid there under ground; who answered the plague; at which he startled, because of the great mortality lately happened by means of the plague (as it is conceived) and the Salvage, the more to increase his fear, told the Sachem if he should give offense to the English party they would let out the plague to destroy them all, which kept him in great awe. Not long after, being at variance with another Sachem bordering upon his Territories, he came in solemn manner and entreated the governor that he would let out the plague to destroy the Sachem and his men who were his enemies, promising that he himself and all his posterity would be their everlasting friends, so great an opinion he had of the English.

Chapter II

Of the entertainement of Mr. Weston's people sent to settle a plantation there.

Master Thomas Weston, a Merchant of London that had been at some cost to further the Brethren of new Plimmouth in their designs for these parts, shipped a company of Servants, fitted with provision of all sorts for the undertaking of a Plantation to be settled there; with an intent to follow after them in person. These servants at first arrived at new Plimmouth, where they were entertained with courtly bread by the Brethren: they were made very welcome, in show at least. There these servants goods were landed, with promises to be assisted in the choice of a convenient place; and still the good cheer went forward and the strong liquors walked. In the mean time the Brethren were in consultation what was best for their advantage, singing the song, Frustra sapit, qui sibi non sapit.

This plantation would hinder the present practice and future profit; and Master Weston, an able man, would want for no supplies upon the return of Beaver, and so might be a plantation that might keep them under, who had a Hope to be the greatest: besides his people were no chosen Seperatists, but men made choice of at all adventures, fit to have served for the furtherance of Master Weston's undertakings: and that was as much as he need to care for: aiming at Beaver principally for the better effecting of his purpose. Now when the Plimmouth men began to find that Master Weston's men's

store of provision grew short with feasting, then they hasted them to a place called Wessagusset,² in a weak case, and there left them fasting.

Chapter III

Of a Battle fought at the Massachusetts between the English and the French.³

The Planters of Plimmouth at their last being in those parts having defaced the monument of the dead at Passonagessit (by taking away the hearse Cloth which was two great Bears skins sewed together at full length and propped up over the grave of Chickatabot's mother)⁴ the Sachem of those territories, being enraged at the same, stirred up his men in his behalf to take revenge: and, having gathered his men together, he begins to make an oration in this manner.

When last the glorious light of all the sky was underneath this globe, and Birds grew silent, I began to settle (as my custom is) to take repose. Before mine eyes were fast closed me thought I saw a vision (at which my spirit was much troubled) and, trembling at that dolefull sight, a spirit cried aloud behold, my son, whom I have

2. Morton's spelling is "Wessaguscus."

3. This battle in March of 1623 was between the Plymouth settlers and the Indians, not the French.

4. Adams find it "far more probable" that the Wessagusset settlers stripped the grave. (p. 247, footnote) However, according to Mourt's Relation, the Saints had earlier desecrated other Indian burial places during an exploration of Cape Cod.

cherisht, see the papps that gave thee suck, the hands that [s?]lapped thee warm and fed thee oft. Canst thou forget to take revenge of those uild⁵ people that hath my monument defaced in despitefull manner, disdainning our ancient antiquities and honorable Customs? See now the Sachem's grave lies like unto the common people of ignoble race, defaced. Thy mother doth complaine, implores thy aid against this theevish people new come hither; if this be suffered I shall not rest in quiet within my everlasting habitation. This said, the spirit vanished; and I, all in a sweat, not able scarce to speak, began to get some strength and recollect my spirits that were fled: all which I thought to let you understand, to have your Councill, and your aid likewise. This being spoken, straight way arose the grand Captain and cried aloud, come, let us to Arms. It doth concern us all. Let us them Battle. So to Arms they went, and laid weight for the boat; and, forcing them to forsake their landing place, they seek another best for their convenience. Thither the Salvages repaire in hope to have the like success; but all in vain, for the English Captain warily foresaw, and, perceiving their plot knew the better how to order his men fit for Battle in that place. He, boldly leading his men on, ranged about the field to and fro, and, taking his best advantage, lets fly and makes the Salvages give ground. The English followed them fiercely on and made them take trees for their shelter (as their custom is) from whence their Captain let fly a main; yet no man was hurt. At last, lifting up his right arm to draw a fatal

5. Wild? or vile?

shaft (as he then thought to end this difference) received a shot upon his elbow, and straight way fled; by whose example all the army followed the same way, and yielded up the honor of the day to the English party; who were such a terror to them after that the Salvages durst never make to a head against them any more.

Chapter IV

Of a Parliament held at Wessagusset, and the Actes.

Master Weston's Plantation being settled at Wessagusset, his Servants, many of them lazy persons that would use no endeavor to take the benefit of the Country, some of them fell sick and died.

One amongst the rest, an able bodied man that ranged the woods to see what it would afford, lighted by accident on an Indian barn, and from thence did take a cap full of corn. The Salvage owner of it, finding by the foot some English had been there, came to the Plantation, and made complaint after this manner.

The chief Commander of the Company on this occasion called a Parliament of all his people, but those that were sick and ill at ease. And wisely now they must consult upon this huge complaint, that a privy knife or string of beads would well enough have qualified; and Edward Johnson was a special judge of this business. The fact was there in repetition; construction made that it was felony, and by the Laws of England punished with death; and this in execution must be put for an example, and likewise to appease the Salvage. When straight away one arose, moved as it were with some compassion,

and said he could not well gaine say the former sentence, yet he had conceived within the compass of his brain an Embrion that was of special consequence to be delivered and cherished. He said that it would most aptly serve to pacify the Salvages complaint and save the life of one that might (if need should be) stand them in some good stead, being young and strong, fit for resistance against an enemy, which might come unexpected for any thing they knew. The Oration made was liked of every one, and he entreated to proceed to show the means how this may be performed. Says he, you all agree that one must die, and one shall die. This young man's clothes we will take off and put upon one that is old and impotent, a sickly person that cannot escape death, such is the disease on him confirmed that die he must; put the young man's clothes on this man and let the sick person be hanged in the other's stead. Amen says one; and so says many more.

And this had like to have proved their final sentence, and, being there confirmed by Act of Parliament, to after ages for a Precedent: But that one with a ravenous voice begun to croak and bellow for revenge; and put by that conclusive motion, alledging such deceits might be a means hereafter to exasperate the minds of the complaining Salvages, and that by his death the Salvages should see their zeal to Justice; and therefore he should die. This was concluded; yet nevertheless a scruple was made; now to countermand this act did represent itself unto their minds, which was, how they should do to get the man's good will? This was indeed a special obstacle, for without that, they all agreed it would be dangerous for any man to attempt the execution of

it, lest mischief should befall them every man. He was a person that in his wrath did seem to be a second Sampson, able to beat out their brains with the jawbone of an Ass. Therefore they called the man and by persuasion got him fast bound in jest; and then hanged him up hard by in good earnest, who with a weapon and at liberty would have put all those wise judges of this Parliament to a pittiful non plus (as it hath been credibly reported) and made the chief Judge of them all buckell to him.⁶

Chapter V

Of a Massacre made upon the Salvages at Wessagusset.

After the end of that Parliament some of the plantation there, about three persons, went to live with Chickatabot and his company; and had very good quarter for all the former quarrell with the Plimmouth planters: they are not like Will Sommers, to take one for another.⁷ There they proposed to stay until Master Weston's arrival: but the

6. Apparently a hanging as punishment for stealing corn did take place at Wessagusset, but there is some doubt as to who was hanged. Adams asserts that it was the real thief, but his evidence is not entirely convincing. See Adams, p. 251, footnote. Also, Bradford paints a much bleaker picture of the desperate straights into which Wessagusset had fallen, and he concludes by saying simply that they hanged "one of their men, whom they could not reclaime from stealing, to give the Indeans contente." (Wish (ed.), p. 87.

7. "Will Sommers was the famous jester and court fool of Henry VIII." Adams, p. 253, footnote

Plimmouth men, intending no good to him (as appeared by the consequence) came in the mean time to Wessagusset and there pretended to feast the Salvages of those parts, bringing with them Pork and things for the purpose, which they set before the Salvages. They eat thereof without suspicion of any mischief, who were taken upon a watchword given, and with their own knives (hanging about their necks) were by the Plimmouth planters stabbed and slain: one of which were hanged up there after the slaughter.

In the mean time the Sachem had knowledge of this accident by one that ran to his Countrymen at the Massachusetts and gave them intelligence of the news; after which time the Salvages there, consulting of the matter, in the night (when the other English, fearless of danger, were asleep) knockt them all in the head in revenge of the death of their Countrymen: but if the Plimmouth Planters had really intended good to Master Weston or those men, why had they not kept the Salvages alive in Custody until they had secured the other English? Who, by means of this evil managing of the business, lost their lives, and the whole plantation was dissolved thereupon; as was likely, for fear of a revenge to follow, as a relation to this cruel antecedent. And when Master Weston came over he found things at an evil exigent by means thereof: but could not tell how it was brought about.

The Salvages of the Massachusetts that could not imagine from whence these men should come, or to what end, seeing them perform such unexpected actions; neither could [they] tell by what name properly to distinguish them; did from that time afterwards call the English Planters Wotawquenange, which in their language signifieth stabbers

or Cutthroates. And this name was received by those that came there after for good, being then unacquainted with the signification of it, for many years following; until, from a Southerly Indian that understood English well, I was by demonstration made to concieve the interpretation of it, and rebuked these other that it was not forborne. The other calling us by the name of Wotoquansawge, what that doth signify, he said, he was not able by any demonstration to express; and my neighbors durst no more in my hearing call us by the name formerly used for fear of my displeasure.

Chapter VI

Of the surprizinge of a Merchant's Shipp in Plimmouth harbour.

This Merchant, a man of worth, arriving in the parts of New Canaan and finding that his Plantation was dissolved, some of his men slain, some dead with sickness, and the rest at Plimmouth, he was perplexed in his mind about the matter; coming as he did with supply and means to have raised their fortunes and his own exceedingly: and seeing what had happened resolved to make some stay in the Plimmouth harbor.⁸

⁸. Bradford gives a very different account of the arrival of Weston, even asserting the he came disguised as a blacksmith using an alias. Wish (ed.), pp. 88 ff. It appears that Weston may have been in some difficulty with the English authorities, but subsequent events lead one to believe that it could not have been a very serious matter, perhaps not serious enough to warrant the adoption of a disguise and an alias.

And this suited to their purpose; wherefore the Brethren did congratulate with him at his safe arrival, and their best of entertainment for a sweetening cast, deploring the disaster of his Plantation, and glozing upon the test,⁹ alledging the mischeivous intent of the Salvages there, which by friendly intelligence of their neighbors was discovered before it came to be full summed: so that they lost not all, although they saved not all: and this they pretended to proceed from the Fountaine of love and zeal to him and Christianity, and to chastise the insolency of the Salvages, of which that part had some dangerous persons. And this, as an article of the new creed of Canaan, would they have received of every new comer there to inhabit, that the Salvages are a dangerous people, subtill, secret and mischeivous; and that it is dangerous to live separated, but rather together: and so be under their Lee that none might trade for Beaver, but at their pleasure, as none do or shall do there. Nay, they will not be reduced to any other song yet of the Salvages to the southward of Plimmouth, because they would have none come there, saying that he that will sit down there must come strong: but I have found the Massachusetts Indian more full of humanity than the Christians; and have had much better quarter with them. Yet, I observed not their humors, but they mine; although my great number that I landed were dissolved and my Company as few as might be: for I know that this falls out infallibly where two Nations meet, one must rule and the other be ruled before a peace can be hoped for: and for a Christian to submit to the rule of a Sal-

⁹. Glossing over the truth.

vage, you will say, is both shame and dishonor. At least it is my opinion, and my practise was accordingly, and I have the better quarter by the means thereof. The more Salvages the better quarter, the more Christians the worser quarter, I found; as all the indifferent minded Planters can testify. Now, whiles the Merchant was ruminating on this mishap, the Plimmouth Planters perceiving that he had furnished himself with excellent Commodities fit for the Merchandise of the Country (and holding it good to fish in troubled waters, and so get a snatch unseen) practised in secret with some other in the land, whom they thought apt to embrace the benefit of such a cheat, and it was concluded and resolved upon that all this ship and goods should be confiscated, for business done by him, the Lord knows when, or where. A letter must be framed to them, and hands unto it, to be their warrant; this should shadow them. That is the first practise; they will insane a man and then pretend that Justice must be done. They cause the Merchant (secure) to come ashore and then take him in hold, showing they are compelled unto it legally, and enter straight aboard, peruse the Cargazowne, and then deliver up the charge of her to their Confederates: and how much less this is than Piracy, let any practise in the Admiralty be judge. The Merchant, his ship and goods confiscated, himself a prisoner and threatened so to be sent and conveyed to England, there to receive the sum of all that did belong to him a malefactor (and a great one too). This he, good man, endured with patience long time, until the best of all his goods were quite dispersed, and every actor [had] his portion. The Merchant was enlarged; his ship, a burthen to the owner now, his undertakings in these

parts being quite overthrown, was redelivered, and bonds of him were taken not to prosecute. He, being grieved hereat, betakes him to drive a trade between that and Virginia many years. The brethren (sharp witted) had it spread by and by amongst his friends in England that the man was mad. So thought his wife, so thought his other friends that had it from a Planter of the Town. So was it thought of those, that did not know the Brethren could dissemble: why, thus they are all of them honest men in their particular, and every man, being bound to seek another's good, shall in the general do the best he can to effect it, and so they may be excused I think.¹⁰

Chapter VII

Of Thomas Morton's entertainement at Plimmouth, and castinge away upon an Island.

This man arrived in those parts, and, hearing news of a Town that was much praised, he was desirous to go thither and see how things stood; where his entertainement was their best, I dare be bold to say. For, although they had but 3 Cows in all, yet had they fresh butter and a salad of eggs in dainty wise, a dish not common in a wilderness.¹¹ There he bestowed some time in the survey of

¹⁰. Not long before this Thomas Weston had been one of the Merchant Adventurers and a strong supporter of the Pilgrims. By 1622, he had broken with the men of Plymouth Colony and had attempted "a private and possibly a rival venture of his own" (Andrews, I, 330) at nearby Wessagusset. The threat of competition may have influenced the Saints handling of him, just as it seems to have a few years later with Morton at Mare Mount. In each case some legal niceties were observed, but neither man's "crime" was serious enough even to warrant a trial.

¹¹. See above pp.

this plantation. His new come servants, in the mean time, were tane to task, to have their zeal appear, and questioned what preacher was among their company; and finding none, did seem to condole their estate as if undone, because no man among them had the gift to be in Jona's stead, nor they the means to keep them in that path so hard to keep.

Sour Master, say they, reads the Bible and the word of God, and useth the book of common prayer: but this is not the means, the answer is. The means, they cry, alas, poor Souls where is the means? You seem as if betrayed, to be without the means. How can you be stayed from falling headlong to perdition? Facilis descensus averni: the book of common prayer, said they, what poor thing is that for a man to read in a book? No, no good sirs, I would you were near us, you might receive comfort by instruction. Give me a man hath the gifts of the spirit, not a book in hand. I do profess says one, to live without the means is dangerous, the Lord doth know.

By these insinuations, like the Serpent, they did creep and wind into the good opinion of the illiterate multitude that were desirous to be freed and gone to them, no doubt, (which some of them after confessed); and little good was to be done on them after this charm was used. Now plots and factions how they might get loose: and here was some 35 stout knaves; and some plotted how to steal Master Weston's barque. Others, exasperated knavishly to work, would practise how to get their Master to an Island, and there leave him; which he had notice of, and fitted him to try what would be done; and steps aboard his shallop bound for Cape Ann to the Massachusetts

with an Hogshead of Wine. Sugar he took along, the Sails hoist up, and one of the Conspirators aboard to steer; who in the mid way pretended foul weather at the harbor mouth, and therefore, for a time, he would put in to an Island near, and made some stay where he thought to tempt his Master to walk the woods and so be gone: but their Master to prevent them caused the sails and oars to be brought ashore to make a tilt if need should be, and kindled fire, broached that Hogshead and caused them fill the can with lusty liquor, Claret sparkling neat; which was not suffered to grow pale and flat but tippled of with quick dexterity. The Master makes a show of keeping round, but with close lips did seem to make long draughts, knowing the wine would make them Protestants; and so the plot was then at large disclosed and discovered, and they made drowsy; and the inconstant winds shifting at night did force the kellecke home,¹² and bilged the boat, that they were forced to leave her so, and cut down trees that grew by the shore to make Casses. Two of them went over by help of a fore sail almost a mile to the maine. The other two stayed five days after, till the winds would serve to fill the sails. The first two went to Cape Ann by land and had fowle enough, and fowle weather by the way. The Islanders had fish enough, shellfish and fire to roast, and they could not perish for lack of food, and wine they had to be sure; and by this you see they were not then in any want: the wine and good brought thence; the boat left there so bilged that it was not worth the labor to be mended.

12. Shifting winds caused the anchor to drag.

Chapter VIII

Of the Banishment of Master John Layford, and John Oldam
from Plimmouth.

Master Layford was at the Merchants' charge sent to Plimmouth plantation to be their Pastor: But the Brethren, before they would allow of it, would have him first renounce his calling to the office of the Ministry, received in England, as hereticall and Papisticall (so he confest) and then to receive a new calling from them after their fantastick invention: which he refused, alledging and maintaining that his calling as it stood was lawfull, and that he would not renounce it; and so John Oldam, his opinion was on the affirmative; and both together did maintaine the Church of England to be a true Church, although in some particulars (they said) defective; concluding so against the Tenents there and by this means cancelled their good opinion amongst the number of the Seperatists, that stay they must not lest they should be spies; and to fall fowle on this occasion the Brethren thought it would betray their cause and make it fall under censure, Therefore, against Master Layford they had found out some scandall to be laid on his former course of life to blemish that; and so, to conclude, he was a spotted beast, and not to be allowed where they ordained to have the Passover kept so zealously. As for John Oldam, they could see he would be passionate and moody and prove himself a mad Jack in his mood, and as soon moved to be moody, and this impatience would Minister advantage to them to be rid of him.

Hanniball when he had to do with Fabius was kept in awe more by the patience of that one enemy than by the resolution of the whole army. A well tempered enemy is a terrible enemy to encounter. They enjoin him to come to their needless watch house in person, and for refusing give him a cracked Crown for press money,¹³ and make the blood run down about his ears; a poor trick, yet a good vaile,¹⁴ though Luscus may see through it; and, for his further behavior in the Case, proceed to sentence him with banishment, which was performed after a solemn invention in this manner. A lane of Musketers was made, and he compelled in scorn to pass along between, and to receive a bob upon the bum by every musketer; and then aboard a shallop and so conveyed to Wessagusset shore, and stayed at Massachusetts: to whom John Layford and some few more did resort; where Master Layford freely executed his office and preached every Lord's day, and yet maintained his wife and children four or five upon his industry there, with the blessing of God and the plenty of the Land, without the help of his auditory in an honest and laudable manner; till he was wearied and made to leave the Country.¹⁵

13. Press money was "money paid in advance for work undertaken, or expenses to be incurred." O.E.D., I, 858.

14. A good vaile means worthwhile, of good value.

15. Bradford, of course, presents a somewhat different account of these events. See: Wish (ed.), pp. 103 ff.

Chapter IX

Of a barren doe of Virginia growne fruitful in
New Canaan.¹⁶

Children, and the fruit of the Wombe, are said in holy writt to be an inheritance that commeth of the Lord; then they must be coupled in God's name first, and not as this and some other have done.

They are as arrows in the hand of a Giant; and happy, faith David, is the man that hath his quiver full of them; and by that rule, happy is that Land, and blessed too, that is apt and fit for increase of children.

I have showed you before, in the second part of the discourse, how apt it is for the increase of Minerals, Vegetables, and sensible Creatures.

Now I will show you how apt New Canaan is likewise for the increase of the reasonable Creatures; Children, of all riches, being the principal: and I give you this for an instance.

This Country of New Canaan in seven years time could show more Children living, that have been born there, than in 27 years could

16. "This chapter and Chapter XIII relate to the same matter. It is impossible to venture a surmise even as to their meaning. It would seem clear that they have no historical value, but relate rather to some humorous incident--having the full seventeenth-century flavor of coarseness--which occurred in the settlement of Boston Bay. Apparently ... some English prostitute found her way out to Mount Wollaston, in company with one of the adventurers there, and subsequently went on to Virginia." Adams, p. 264, footnote.

be shown in Virginia; yet here are but a handful of women landed, to that of Virginia.

The Country doth afford such plenty of Lobsters and other delicate shellfish, and Venus is said to be born of the Sea; or else it was some salad herb proper to the Climate, or the fountain at Winnisimmet made her become teeming here that had tried a camp royal in other parts where she had been; and yet never the near, till she came in to New Canaan.

She was delivered (in a voyage to Virginia) about Bussardes Bay, to west of Cape Cod, where she had a Son born, but died without baptisme and was buried; and being a thing remarkable, had this Epitaph following made of purpose to memorize the worth of the persons.

EPITAPH

Time, that bringes all things to light,
Doth hide this thing out of sight:
Yet fame hath left behinde a story,. .
A hopefull race to show the glory:
For underneath this heape of stones
Lieth a percell of small bones;
What hope at last can such impes have,
That from the wombe goes to the grave.

Chapter X

Of a man indued with many spetiall guifts sent over to
be Master of the Ceremonies

This was a man approved of the Brethren, both for his zeal and gifts, yet but a Bubble, and at the public Charge conveyed to New England, I think to be Master of the Ceremonies between the Natives and the Planters: for he applied himself chiefly to pen the language down in Stenography: But there for want of use, which he rightly understood not, all was loss of labor; something it was when next it came to view, but what he could not tell.

This man, Master Bubble, was in the time of John Oldam's absence made the house Chaplain there, and every night he made use of his gifts, whose oratory lulld his auditory fast asleep, as Mercuries pipes did Argus eyes: for, when he was in, they said he could not tell how to get out.¹⁷ Nay, he would hardly out till he were fired out, his zeal was such (one fire they say drives out another). He would become a great Merchant, and by any thing that was to be sold so as he might have day and be trusted never so little time. The price it seemed he stood not much upon, but the day: for to his friend he showed commodities, so priced as caused him to blame the buyer, till the man this Bubble did declare that it was tane up at day, and did rejoyce in the bargain, insisting on the day; the day, yea, marry, quoth his friend, if you have doomesday for payment you are then well to pass. But if he had not, it were as good he had; they were payed all alike.

17. Who Master Bubble was is a mystery. In this chapter, as in two or three others, Morton seems to be enjoying himself playing with words. What, if any, real events he is camouflaging are unknown now after three and one-half centuries. Perhaps his purpose was merely to preach entertainingly, both here and in Chapter XII.

And now this Bubble's day is become a common proverb. He obtained house room at Passonagessit and removed thither, because it stood convenient for the Beaver trade: and the rather because the owner of Passonagessit had no Corn left, and this man seemed a big boned man, and therefore thought to be a good laborer, and to have store of corn; but, contrary wise, he had none at all, and hoped upon this friend his host. Thither were brought the trophies of this Master Bubbles honor, his water tankard and his Porter's basket, but no provision; so that one gun did serve to help them both to meat; and now the time for fowle was almost past.

This man and his host at dinner, Bubbles begins to say grace; yea, and a long one too, till all the meat was cold. He would not give his host leave to say grace. Belike, he thought mine host past grace, and further learned as many other Schollers are: but in the usage and custom of this blind oratory his host took himself abused, and the whiles fell to and had half done before this man Bubble would open his eyes to see what stood afore him, which made him more cautius, and learned that brevis oratio penetrat Calum. Together Bubbles and he goes in the Canaw to Nut Island for brants, and there his host makes a shot and breaks the wings of many. Bubble, in haste and single handed, paddels out like a Cow in a cage. His host calls back to row two handed like to a pair of oars; and, before this could be performed, the fowle had time to swim to other flocks and so to escape. The best part of the prey being lost made his host to mutter at him, and so to part for that time discontented.

Chapter XI

Of a Composition made by the Sachem for a Theft committed
by some of his men, shewing their honest meaninge.

The owner of Passonagessit, to have the benefit of company, left his habitation in the Winter and reposed at Wessagusset (to his cost). Mean time, in the Depth of Winter, the neighbor Salvages, accustomed to buy food, came to the house (for that intent perhaps) and peeping in all the windows (then unglased) espied corn, but nobody to sell the same; and having company and help at hand did make a shift to get into the house, and, take out corn to serve but for the present, left enough behind. The Sachem having knowledge of the fact and being advertised likewise of the displeasure that had been conceived by the Proprietor thereof at this offence, prepares a Messenger, the Salvage that had lived in England, and sends him with commission for the trespass of his men, who had ten skins perposed for it to be paid by a day certain. The Sachem, at the time appointed, brings the Beaver to Wessagusset where the owner lived, but just then was gone abroad. Mean time the skins were by the Wessagusset men gelded, and the better half by them juggled away before the owner came; and he by the Actors persuaded to be contented with the rest, who not so pleased did draw the Sachem then to make a new agreement and so to pay his remnant left in hand, and ten skins more by a new day assigned, and then to bring them to Passonagessit. But the Wessagusset men went the day before to the Salvages with this saying, that they were sent to call upon him there for payment; and received ten skins,

and took a Salvage there to justify that at their house the owner stayed the while. He verified this, because he saw the man before at Wessagusset: the Sachem did believe the tale, and at that time delivered up ten skins on that behalf, in full discharge of all demands against the trespass and the trespassers, to them; who consented to him, and them, to the owner, and kept nine to themselves, and made the Salvage take the tenth, and give the owner all that yet was to be had, themselves confessing their demands for him, and that there was but only one as yet prepared. So that by this you may easily perceive the uncivilized people are more just than the civilized.

Chapter XII

Of a voyage made by the Master of the Ceremonies of New Canaan to Neepenett, from whence he came away; and of the manifold dangers he escaped.

This worthy member Master Bubble, a new Master of the Ceremonies, having a conceit in his head that he had hatched a new device for the purchase of Beaver, beyond Imagination, packs up a sack full of odd implements, and without any company but a couple of Indians for guides (and therefore you may, if you please, believe they are so dangerous as the Brethren of Plimmouth give it out) he betakes him to his progress into the Inland for Beaver, with his carriage on his shoulders like Milo. His guides and he in process of time come to the place appointed, which was about Neepenett, thereabouts being more Beavers to be had than this Milo could carry, and both his

journey men. Glad he was, good man, and his guides were willing to pleasure him: there the Salvages stay. Night came on, but, before they were inclined to sleep, this good man Master Bubble had an evation crept into his head, by misapplying the Salvage actions, that he must needs be gone in all haste, yea and without his errand. He purposed to do it so cunningly that his flight should not be suspected. He leaves his shoes in the house with all his other implements and flies. As he was on his way, to increase his fear, suggesting himself that he was pressed by a company of Indians and that their shafts were let fly as thick as hail at him, he puts off his breeches and puts them on his head for to save him from the shafts that flew after him so thick that no man could perceive them, and crying out, avoid Satan, what have yee to do with me! Thus running on his way without his breeches he was pittifully scratched with the brush of the underwoods, as he wandered up and down in unknown ways.

The Salvages in the mean time put up all his implements in the sack he left behind and brought them to Wessagusset, where they thought to have found him; but, understanding he was not returned, were fearfull what to do and what would be conceived of the English was become of this mazed man, the Master of the Ceremonies; and were in consultation of the matter. One of the Salvages was of opinion the English would suppose him to be made away; fearfull he was to come in fight. The other, better acquainted with the English, (having lived some time in England)¹⁸ was more confident,

18. One can only surmise that this was intended as a reference to Squanto.

and he persuaded his fellow that the English would be satisfied with relation of the truth, as having had testimony of his fidelity. So they boldly adventured to show what they had brought and how the matter stood. The English (when the sack was opened) did take a note in writing of all the particulars that were in the sack; and heard what was by the Salvages related of the accidents: but, when his shoes were shown, it was thought he would not have departed without his shoes; and therefore they did conceive that Master Bubble was made away by some sinister practise of the Salvages, who unadvisedly had been culpable of a crime which now they sought to excuse; and straightly charged the Salvages to find him out again, and bring him dead or alive, else their wives and children should be destroyed. The poor Salvages, being in a pitefull perplexity, caused their Countrymen to seek out for this mazed man; who, being in short time found, was brought to Wessagusset; where he made a discourse of his travels and of the perillous passages, which did seem to be no less dangerous than [those] of that worthy Knight Errant, Don Quixote, and now miraculously he had been preserved; and in conclusion lamented the great loss of his goods, whereby he thought himself undone.

The particuler whereof being demanded, it appeared that the Salvages had not diminished any part of them; no, not so much as one bit of bread: the number being known and the fragments laid together, it appeared all the bisket was preserved, and not any diminished at all. Whereby the Master of the Ceremonies was overjoyed and the whole Company made themselves merry at his discourse of all his perillous adventures.

And by this you may observe whether the Salvage people are not full of humanity, or whether they are a dangerous people, as Master Bubble and the rest of his tribe would persuade you.

Chapter XIII

Of a lamentable fit of Mellancolly that the Barren doe fell into (after the death of her infant, seeing herself despised of her Sweete hart) whereof she was cured.

Whether this goodly creature of incontinency went to work upon even terms like Phillis, or no, it does not appear by any Indenture of covenants then extant; whereby she might legally challenge the performance of any complete Marriage at his hands that had been trading with her, as Demopheon here to fore had been with his ostis.¹⁹

Nevertheless (for his future advantage) she endeavored (like Phillis) to gain the Demopheon all to herself; who (as it seems) did mean nothing less by leaving her for the next commer, that had any mind to cool his courage by that means; the whipping post (as it seems) at that time not being in public use for such kind of Cony catchers; but seeing herself rejected, she grew into such a passion of Mellancolly on a sudden that it was thought she would exhibit a petition for redress to grim Pluto, who had set her a work; and knowing that the house of fate has many entrances, she was

19. "The reference here is to the story of Demopheon and Phyllis, told by Ovid." Adams, p. 273, footnote.

pusseld to find the nearest way. She could not resolve on a sudden which door would soonest bring her to his presence handsomely.

If she should make way with a knife, she thought she might spoil her drinking in after ages; if by poison, she thought it might prolong her passage thither; if by drowning, she thought Caron might come the while with his boat and wast her out of sight; if she should tie up her complaint in a halter, she thought the Ropemakers would take exceptions against her good speed. And in this manner she debated with herself, and demurred upon the matter: so that she did appear willing enough, but a woman of small resolution.

Which thing when it was publically known made many come to comfort her. One amongst the rest was by her requested, on her behalf, to write to her late unkind Demopneon. The Gentleman, being merrily disposed, instead of writing an heroicall Epistle composed this Elegi, for a memoriall of some mirth upon the Circumstance of the matter, to be sent unto her, as followeth:

CARMEN ELEGIACUM

Melpomene, (at whose mischeifous love
The screech owles voyce is heard the mandraks grove,)
Commands my pen in an Iambick vaine
To tell a dismall tale, that may constraine
The hart of him to bleede, that shall discern
How much this foule amisse does him concerne.
Alecto (grim Alecto) light thy tortch
To thy beloved sister next the porch

That leads unto the mansion house of fate,
Whose farewell makes her freind more fortunate.
A Great Squa Sachem can shee poynt to goe
Before grim Minos; and yet no man know
That knives and halters, ponds, and poysonous things
Are alwayes ready, when the Divell once brings
Such deadly sinners to a deepe remorse
Of conscience selfe accusing, that will force
Them to dispaire, like wicked Kain, whiles death
Stands ready with all these to stopp their breath.
The beare comes by that oft hath bayted ben
By many a Satyres whelpe; unless you can
Commaund your eies to drop huge milstones forth,
In lamentation of this losse on earth
Of her, of whome so much prayse wee may finde,
Goe when shee will, shee'l leave none like behinde;
Shee was too good for earth, too bad for heaven.
Why then for hell the match is somewhat even.

After this, the water of the fountain at Ma-re Mount was thought fit to be applied unto her for a remedy, she willingly used according to the quality thereof.

And when this Elegy came to be divulged, she was so conscious of her crime that she put up her pipes, and with the next ship she packt away to Virginia (her former habitation) quite cured of her mellancolly, with the help of the water of the fountain at Ma-re Mount.

Chapter XIV

Of the Revells of New Canaan.

The Inhabitants of Passonagessit (having translated the name of their habitation from that ancient Salvage name to Ma-re Mount, and being resolved to have the new name confirmed for a memorial to after ages) did devise amongst themselves to have it performed in a solemn manner with Revels and merriment after the old English custom; prepared to set up a Maypole upon the festivall day of Philip and Jacob, and therefore brewed a barrell of excellent beer and provided a case of bottles to be spent, with other good cheer, for all commers of that day. And because they would have it in a complete form, they had prepared a song fitting to the time and present occasion. And upon Mayday they brought the Maypole to the place appointed, with drummes, gunnes, pistols and other fitting instruments, for that purpose; and there erected it with the help of Salvages that came thether of purpose to see the manner of our Revels. A goodly pine tree of 80 foote longe was reared up, with a pair of buckshorns nailed on somewhat near unto the top of it: where it stood as a fair sea marker for directions how to find out the way to mine Host of Ma-re Mount.

And because it should more fully appear to what end it was placed there, they had a poem in readiness made, which was fixed to the Maypole to show the new name confirmed upon that plantation; which, although it were made according to the occurrents of the time, it, being Enigmatically composed, pusselled the Seperatists most pittifully to expound it, which (for the better information of the reader) I have here inserted.

THE POEM

Rise Oedipeus, and, if thou canst, unfould
What meanes Caribdis underneath the mould,
When Scilla sollitary on the ground
(Sitting in forme of Niobe) was found,
Till Amphitrites Darling did acquaint
Grim Neptune with the Tenor of her plaint,
And causd him send forth Triton with the sound
Of Trumpet lowd, at which the Seas were found
So full of Protean formes that the bold shore
Presented Scilla a new parramore
So stronge as Sampson and so patient
As Job himselfe, directed thus, by fate,
To comfort Scilla so unfortunate.
I doe professe, by Cupids beautious mother,
Heres Scogan's choise for Scilla, and none other;
Though Scilla's sick with greife, because no signe
Can there be found of vertue masculine.
Esculapius come; I know right well
His laboure's lost when you may ring her Knell.
The fatall sisters doome none can withstand,
Nor Cithareas powre, who poynts to land

With proclamation that the first of May
At Ma-re Mount shall be kept hollyday.²⁰

The setting up of this Maypole was a lamentable spectacle to the precise seperatists that lived at new Plimmouth. They termed it an Idoll. Yea, they called it the Calf of Horeb, and stood at defiance with the place, naming it Mount Dagon; threatening to make it a woefull mount and not a merry mount.

The Riddle, for want of Oedipus, they could not expound; only they made some explication of part of it and said it was meant by Sampson Job, the carpenter of the ship that brought over a woman to her husband, that had been there long before and thrived so well that he sent for her and her children to come to him; where shortly after he died: having no reason but because of the sound of those two words; when as (the truth is) the man they applied it to was altogether unknown to the Author.

There was likewise a merry song made, which (to make their Revells more fashionable) was sung with a Corus, every man bearing his part; which they performed in a dance, hand in hand about the Maypole, whiles one of the Company sung and filled out the good liquor, like gammedes and Jupiter.

20. The real meaning, if any, of this poem is obscure. One is tempted to see references to Plymouth in such phrases as, "the bold shore presented Scilla a new parramore," but this is only speculation. As Morton explains toward the close of this chapter, "Scogan's choise" means that having any choice at all is preferable to having none. His "illustration" of the poem is not, however, very enlightening.

THE SONGE

Chorus:

Drinke and be merry, merry, merry boyes;

Let all your delight be in Hymen's joyes;

Yo to Hymen, now the day is come,

About the merry Maypole take a Roome.

Make greene garlons, bring bottles out

And fill sweet Nectar freely about.

Uncover thy head and feare no harme,

For here's good liquor to keep it warme.

[Chorus]

Nectar is a thing assign'd

By the Deities owne minde

To cure the hart opprest with greife,

And of good liquors is the cheife.

[Chorus]

Give to the Mellancolly man

A cup or two of 't now and than;

This physick will soon revive his bloud,

And make him be of a merrier moode.

[Chorus]

Give to the Nympe thats free from scorne

No Irish stuff nor Scotch over worne.

Lasses in beaver coats come away,

Yee shall be welcome to us night and day.

[Chorus]

This harmless mirth made by younge men (that lived in hope to have wifes brought over to them, that would save them a labor to make a voyage to fetch any over) was much distasted of the precise Seperatists, that keep much ado about the title of Mint and Cummin,²¹ troubling their brains more than reason would require about things that are indifferent: and from that time sought occasion against my honest Host of Ma-re Mount to overthrow his undertakings and to destroy his plantation quite and clean. But because they presumed with their imaginary gifts, (which they have out of Phaos box) they could expound hidden misteries to convince them of blindness, as well in this as in other matters of more consequence, I will illustrate the poem, according to the true intent of the authors of these Revells, so much distasted by those Moles.

Oedipus is generally received for the absolute reader of riddles, who is invoaked: Silla and Caribdis are two dangerous places for seamen to incounter, near unto Venice: and have been by poets formerly resembled to man and wife. The like licence the author challenged for a pair of his nomination, the one lamenting for the

21. See above p. , footnote 4.

loss of the other as Niobe for her children. Amphitrite is an arm of the Sea by which the news was carried up and down of a rich widow, now to be tane up or laid down. By Triton is the same spread that caused the Suters to muster (as it had been to Penellope of Greece) and, the Coast lying circular, all our passage to and froe is made more convenient by Sea than Land. Many aimed at this mark; but he that played Proteus best and could comply with her humor must be the man that would carry her; and he had need have Sampson's strength to deal with a Dallila, and as much patience as Job that should come there, for a thing that I did observe in the life-time of the former.

But marriage and hanging (they say) comes by desteny and Scogan's choise tis better [than] none at all. He that played Proteus (with the help of Priapus) put their noses out of joint, as the Proverb is.

And this the whole company of the Revellers at Ma-re ~~Moon~~ knew to be the true sence and exposition of the riddle that was fixed to the Maypole, which the Seperatists were at defiance with. Some of them affirmed that the first institution thereof was in memory of a whore; not knowing that it was a Trophe erected at first in honor of Maja, the Lady of learning which they despise, vilifying the two universities with uncivil terms, accounting what is there obtained by studdy is but unnecessary learning; not considering that learning does enable men's minds to converse with eliments of a higher nature than is to be found within the habitation of the Mole.

Chapter XV

Of a great Monster supposed to be at Ma-re Mount; and
the preparation made to destroy it.

The Seperatists, envying the prosperity and hope of the Plantation at Ma-re Mount (which they perceived began to come forward, and to be in a good way for gain in the Beaver trade) conspired together against mine Host especially (who was the owner of that Plantation) and made up a party against him; and mustered up what aid they could, accounting of him as of a great Monster.

Many threatening speeches were given out both against his person and his Habitation, which they divulged should be consumed with fire. And taking advantage of the time when his company (which seemed little to regard their threats) were gone up into the Inlands to trade with the Salvages for Beaver, they set upon my honest host at a place called Wessagusset, where by accident they found him. The inhabitants there were in good hope of the subvertion of the plantation at Mare Mount (which they principally aimed at) and the rather because mine host was a man that endeavored to advance the dignity of the Church of England; which they (on the contrary part) would labor to vilifie with uncivil terms: enveying against the sacred book of common prayer, and mine host that used it in a laudable manner amonst his family, as a practise of piety.

There he would be a means to bring sacks to their mill (such is the thirst after Beaver) and helped the conspirators to surprise mine host (who was there all alone) and they charged him (because

they would seem to have some reasonable cause against him to set a gloss upon their mallice) with criminal things; which indeed had been done by such a person, but was of their conspiracy. Mine host demanded of the conspirators who it was that was author of that information that seemed to be their ground for what they now intended. And because they answered they would not tell him, he as peremptorily replied that he would not say whether he had, or he had not done as they had been informed.

The answer made no matter (as it seemed) whether it had been negatively or affirmatively made; for they had resolved what he should suffer, because (as they boasted) they were now become the greater number. They had shaken off their shackles of servitude and were become Masters, and masterless people.

It appears they were like bears whelps in former time, when mine host's plantation was of as much strength as theirs, but now (theirs being stronger) they (like overgrown bears) seemed monstrous. In brief, mine host must endure to be their prisoner until they could contrive it so that they might send him for England (as they said), there to suffer according to the merit of the fact which they intended to father upon him; supposing (belike) it would prove a hainous crime.

Much rejoicing was made that they had gotten their cappitall enemy (as they concluded him) whom they purposed to hamper in such sort that he should not be able to uphold his plantation at Mare Mount.

The Conspirators sported themselves at my honest host, that meant them no hurt, and were so joccund that they feasted their bodies and fell to tippeling as if they had obtained a great prize; like the Trojans when they had the custody of Hippeus pinetree horse.

Mine host fained grief and could not be persuaded either to eat or drink; because he knew emptiness would be a means to make him as watchfull as the Geese kept in the Roman Cappitall. Whereon, the contrary part, the conspirators would be so drowsy that he might have an opportunity to give them a slip instead of a tester. Six persons of the conspiracy were set to watch him at Wessagusset: but he kept waking; and in the dead of night (one lying on the bed for further surety) up gets mine Host and got to the second door that he was to pass, which, notwithstanding the lock, he got open and shut it after him with such violence that it affrighted some of the conspirators.

The word, which was given with an alarm, was, o he's gone, he's gone, what shall we do, he's gone! The rest (half asleep) start up in a maze and, like rams, ran their heads one at another full butt in the dark.

Their grand leader, Captain Shrimp,²² took on most furiously and tore his clothes for anger to see the empty nest and their bird gone.

The rest were eager to have torn their hair from their heads; but it was so short that it would give them no hold. Now Captain

22. Miles Standish

Shrimp thought in the loss of this prize (which he accounted his Master peece) all his honor would be lost for ever.

In the mean time mine Host was got home to Ma-re Mount through the woods, eight miles round about the head of the river Monatoquit that parted the two Plantations, finding his way by the help of the lightening (for it thundered as he went terribly), and there he prepared powder, three pounds dried, for his present employment, and four good guns for him and the two assistants left at his house, with bullets of severall sizes, three hundred or thereabouts, to be used if the conspirators should pursue him thether: and these two persons promised their aid in the quarrell, and confirmed that promise with health in good rosa solis.²³

Now Captain Shrimp, the first Captain in the Land (as he supposed) must do some new act to repair this loss and to vindicate his reputation, who had sustained blemish by this oversight, begins now to study how to repair or survive his honor: in this manner, calling of Councell, they conclude.

He takes eight persons more to him, and (like the nine Worthies of New Canaan) they embark with preparation against Ma-re Mount, where this Monster of a man, as their phrase was, had his den. The whole number, had the rest not been from home, being but seven, would have given Captain Shrimp (a quondam Drummer) such a welcome as would have made him wish for a Drum as big as Diogenes' tub, that he might have crept into it out of sight.

23. Rosa solis doubtless refers to a glass of liquid courage, presumably red wine.

Now the nine Worthies are approached and mine Host prepared: having intelligence by a Salvage that hastened in love from Wessagusset to give him notice of their intent.

One of mine Host's men proved a craven. The other had proved his wits to purchase a little valor before mine Host had observed his posture.

The nine worthies comming before the Den of this supposed Monster (this seven headed hydra, as they termed him) and began, like Don Quixote against the Windmill, to beat a parley and to offer quarter, if mine Host would yield; for they resolved to send him for England; and bade him lay by his arms.

But he (who was the Sonne of a Souldier) having taken up arms in his just defence, replied that he would not lay by those arms, because they were so needefull at Sea, if he should be sent over. Yet, to save the effusion of so much worthy blood as would have issued out of the vaynes of these 9 worthies of New Canaan, if mine Host should have played upon them out at his port holes (for they came within danger like a flock of wild geese, as if they had been tayed one to another, as colts to be sold at a fair) mine Host was content to yield upon quarter; and did capitulate with them in what manner it should be for more certainty, because he knew what Captain Shrimp was.

He expressed that no violence should be offered to his person, none to his goods, nor any of his Household: but that he should have his arms and what else was requisit for the voyage: which their Herald retornes, it was agreed upon and should be performed.

But mine Host no sooner had set open the door and issued out but instantly Captain Shrimp and the rest of the worthies stepped to him, laid hold of his arms, and had him down: and so eagerly was every man bent against him (not regarding any agreement made with such a carnal man) that they fell upon him as if they would have eaten him. Some of them were so violent that they would have a slice with scabbert, and all for haste; untill an old Souldier (of the Queenes, as the Proverbe is) that was there by accident clapt his gun under the weapons and sharply rebuked these worthies for their unworthy practises. So the matter was taken into more deliberate consideration.

Captain Shrimp and the rest of the nine worthies made themselves (by this outrageous riot) Masters of mine host of Ma-re Mount and disposed of what he had at his plantation.

This they knew (in the eye of the Salvages) would add to their glory and diminish the reputation of mine honest Host; whom they practised to be rid of upon any terms as willingly as if he had been the very Hidra of the time.

Chapter XVI

How the 9 worthies put mine Host of Ma-re Mount into the inchaunted Castle at Plimmouth, and terrified him with the Monster Briareus.

The nine worthies of New Canaan having now the Law in their own hands (there being no generall Governour in the Land; nor none of the Seperation that regarded the duty they owe their Soveraigne, whose naturall born Subjects they were, though translated out of Holland, from whence they had learned to work all to their own ends, and make

a great show of Religion, but no humanity) for they were now to sit in Counsell on the cause.

And much it stood mine honest Host upon to be very circumspect, and to take Eacus to task;²⁵ for that his voice was more allowed of than both the other: and had not mine Host confounded all the arguments that Eacus could make in their defence, and confuted him that swayed the rest, they would have made him unable to drink in such manner of merriment any more. So that following this private counsell, given him by one that knew who ruled the roost, the Hircano ceased that else would split his pinnace.

A conclusion was made and sentence given that mine Host should be sent to England a prisoner. But when he was brought to the ships for that purpose, no man durst be so fool hardy as to undertake [to] carry him.²⁶ So these Worthies set mine Host upon an Island without gun, powder, or shot or dog or so much as a knife to get any thing to feed upon, or any other clothes to shelter him with at winter than a thin suit which he had on at that time. Home he could not get to Ma-re Mount. Upon this Island he stayed a month at least and was releev'd by Salvages that took notice that mine Host was a Sachem of Passonagessit, and would bring bottles of strong liquor to him, and unite themselves into a league of brotherhood with mine Host; so

25. Probably Eacus was Samuel Fuller, one of the original Mayflower company who migrated from Redenhall parish, Norfolk. Pope has a few lines about him in The Pioneers of Massachusetts, p. 178.

26. Adams says that it was actually two years later in Boston that Morton was refused passage by the master of the Gift. (p. 289, footnote)

full of humanity are these infidels before those Christians.

From this place for England sailed mine Host in a Plimmouth ship (that came into the Land to fish upon the Coast) that landed him safe in England at Plimmouth: and he stayed in England until the ordinary time for shipping to set forth for these parts, and then returned: no man being able to tax him of any thing.

But the Worthies (in the mean time) hoped they had been rid of him.

Chapter XVII

Of the Baccanall Triumphe of the nine worthies of New Canaan.

The Seperatists were not so contented (when mine Host of Ma-re Mount was gone), but they were as much discontented when he was returned again: and the rather because their passages about him, and the business, were so much derided and in songs exemplified: which (for better satisfaction of such as are in that kind affected) I have set forth, as it was then in use by the name of the Baccanall Triumphe, as followeth:

THE POEM

I sing th' adventures of nine worthy wights,
And pittty 't is I cannot call them Knights,
Since they had brawne and braine, and were right able
To be installed of Prince Arthures table;
Yet all of them were Squires of low degree,

As did appeare by rules of heraldry.
The Magi tould of a prodigious birth
That shortly should be found upon the earth,
By Archimedes art, which they misconster
Unto their Land would prove a hiddeous monster;
Seaven heades it had, and twice so many feete,
Arguing the body to be wondrous greate,
Besides a forked taile heav'd up on highe
As if it threaten'd battell to the skie.
The Rumor of this fearefull prodigy
Did cause th' effeminate multitude to cry
For want of great Alcides aide, and stood
Like People that have seene Medusas head.
Great was the greife of hart, great was the mone,
And great the feare conceaved by every one
Of Hydras hiddeous forme and dreadfull powre,
Doubting in time this Monster would devoure
All their best flocks, whose dainty wolle consorts
It selfe with Scarlet in all Princes Courts.
Not Jason nor the adventerous youths of Greece
Did bring from Colcos any richer Fleece.
In Emulation of the Gretian force
These Worthies nine prepar'd a wooden horse,
And, prick'd with pride of like successe, devise
How they may purchase glory by this prize;

And, if they give to Hidreas head the fall,
It will remaine a plat forme unto all
Theire brave atchivements, and in time to comme,
Per fas aut nefas, they'l erect a throne.
Cloubs are turn'd trumps: so now the lott is cast:
With fire and sword to Hidras den they haste,
Mars in th' assendant, Soll in Cancer now,
And Lerna Lake to Plutos court must bow.
What though they [be] rebuk'd by thundring Jove,
Tis neither Gods nor men that can remove
Their mindes from making this a dismall day.
These nine will now be actors in this play,
And Sumon Hidra to appeare anon
Before their witles Combination:
But his undaunted spirit, nursd with meate
Such as the Cecrops gave their babes to eate,
Scorn'd their base accons; for with Cecrops charme
He knew he could defend himselfe from harme
Of Minos, Eacus, and Radamand,
Princes of Limbo; who must out of hand
Consult bout Hidra, what must now be done:
Who, having sate in Counsell, one by one
Retorne this answeare to the Stiggean feinds;
And first grim Minos spake: most loving freinds,
Hidra prognosticks ruine to our state
And that our Kingdome will grow desolate;

But if one head from thence be tane away
The Body and the members will decay.
To take in hand, what Eacus, this taske,
Is such as harebraind Phaeton did aske
Of Phebus, to begird the world about;
Which graunted put the Netherlands to rout;
Presumptious fooles learne wit at too much cost,
For life and laboure both at once hee lost.
Sterne Radamantus, being last to speake,
Made a great hum and thus did silence breake:
What if, with ratling chaines or Iron bands,
Hidra be bound either by feete or hands,
And after, being lashd with smarting rodde,
Hee be conveyd by Stix unto the godds
To be accused on the upper ground
Of Lesae Majestatis, this crime found
T'will be unpossible from thence, I trowe,
Hidra shall come to trouble us belowe.
This sentence pleasd the friends exceedingly,
That up they tost their bonnets, and did cry,
Long live our Court in great prosperity.
The Sessions ended, some did straight devise
Court Revells, antiques and a world of joyes,
Brave Christmas gambols: there was open hall
Kept to the full, and sport, the Divell and all:
Laboure's despised, the loomes are laid away,

And this proclaim'd the Stigeian Holliday.
In came grim Mino, with nis motly beard,
And brought a distillation well prepar'd;
And Eacus, who is as suer as text,
Came in with nis preparatives the next;
Then Radamantus, last and principall,
Feasted the Worthies in his sumptuous hall.
There Charon Cerberous and the rout of feinds
Had lap enough: and so their pastims ends.

THE ILLUSTRATIONS

Now to illustrate this Poem, and make the sence more plain, it is to be considered that the Persons at Ma-re Mount were seven, and they had seven heads and 14 feet; these were accounted Hidra with the seven heads: and the Maypole, with the Hornes nailed near the top, was the forked tail of this supposed Monster, which they (for want of skill) imposed: yet feared in time (if they hindred not mine Host) he would hinder the benefit of their Beaver trade, as he had done (by means of this help) in [the] Kennebec river finely, ere they were awares; who, comming too late, were much dismaide to find that mine Host his boat had gleaned away all before they came; which Beaver is a fit companion for Scarlett: and I beleeve that Jason's golden Fleece was either the same, or some other Fleece not of so much value.

This action bred a kind of hart burning in the Plimmouth Planters, who after sought occasion against mine Host to overthrow his undertakings

and to destroy his Plantation; whom they accounted a main enemy to their Church and State.

Now when they had begun with him, they thought best to proceed: for as much as they thought themselves far enough from any control of Justice, and therefore resolved to be their own carvers (and the rather because they presumed upon some encouragement they had from the favourites of their Sect in England) and with fire and sword, nine in number, pursued mine Host, who had escaped their hands, in scorn of what they intended, and betook him to his habitation in a night of great thunder and lightening, when they durst not follow him, as hardy as these nine worthies seemed to be.

It was in the month of June that these Marshallists had appointed to go about this mischeifous project and deal so crabbidly with mine Host.

After a parley he capitulated with them about the quarter they proffered him, if he would consent to go for England, there to answer (as they pretended) some thing they could object against him principall to the generall: but what it would be he cared not, neither was it any thing materiall.

Yet when quarter was agreed upon, they, contrary wise, abused him and carried him to their town of Plimmouth, where (if they had thought he durst have gone to England) rather than they would have been any more affronted by him they would have dispatched him, as Captain Shrimp in a rage profest that he would do with his Pistoll, as mine Host should set his foot into the boat. Howsoever, the chief Elder's voice in that place was more powerfull than any of the rest, who con-

cluded to send mine Host without any other thing to be done to him. And this being the final agreement (contrary to Shrimp and others) the nine Wortnies had a great Feast made, and the frumenty pot was provided for the boats gang by no allowance: and all manner of pastime.²⁷

Captain Shrimp was so overjoyed in the performance of this exploit that they had at that time extraordinary merriment (a thing not usual amongst those presisians) and when the wind served they took mine host into their Shallop, hoisted Sail, and carried him to the Northern parts; where they left him upon a Island.²⁸

Chapter XVIII

Of a Doctor made at a Commencement in New Canaan.

The Church of Plimmouth, having due regard to the weale publike and the Brethren that were to come over, and knowing that they would

27. See above p. 41, footnote 18.

28. In regard to this poem and "the illustrations" of it, Adams has done some interesting research. In the original edition of the New English Canaan in the margin opposite the first two lines the words "Master Ben Johnson" appear. Adams tells us that "the first five versified lines are a paraphrase of five lines at the beginning of one of Johnson's productions ... [but] with the last of the foregoing lines the paraphrase stops, and the rest of the verses in the New Canaan are, it must in justice be said, not only more cleanly, but in other respects superior to those to be found in Jonson's works Morton, it appears to me, abandoning, at the sixth line, the paraphrase with which he began, went on with a production of his own, but very properly put Jonson's name opposite the lines he borrowed from him." (p. 290, footnote.)

be busily employed to make provision for the cure of Soules and therefore might neglect the body for that time, did hold themselves to be in duty bound to make search for a fitting man that might be able (if so need requir'd) to take the charge upon him in that place of employment: and therefore called a Counsell of the whole Synagoge: amongst which company they chose out a man that long time had been nurst up in the tender bosome of the Church: one that had special gifts. He could write and read. Nay, more: he had tane the oath of abjuration, which is a special step, yea, and a main degree unto perferment. Him they weane, and out of Phaos box fit him with special gifts of no less worth. The stile him Doctor and forth they send him to gain employment and opinion.

What luck is it I cannot hit on his name: but I will give you him by a periphrasis, that you may know him when you meet him next.²⁹

He was born at Wrington in the County of Somerset, where he was bred a Butcher. He wears a long beard, and a Garment like the Greek that beggd in Paul's Church. This new made Doctor comes to Salem to congratulate: where he finds some are newly come from Sea and ill at ease.

He takes the patient, and the urinall: eyes the State there; finds the Crasis Syptomes, and the attomi natantes:³⁰ and tells

29. His name, as Morton well knew, was Samuel Fuller.

30. Crasis Syptomes may be read as gross symptoms. The exact meaning of the next phrase, attomi natantes, is not as easily stated. Attomi, or atomy as it is more commonly spelled, means an emaciated or withered living body. One of the now obsolete meanings of natant was "of the pulse: buoyant." (O.E.D., VII, 29) Thus, Morton indicates that "this new made Doctor" examined an obvious victim of seasickness in various ways and diagnosed "wind." It is this sort of acid wit that led Bradford to call the New English Canaan "an infamouse & scurillous booke against many godly & cheefe men." (Wish, ed., p. 147).

the patient that his disease was wind, which he had tane by gapeing feasting over board at Sea; but he would quickly ease him of that grief and quite expell the wind. And this he did performe with his gifts he had: and then he handled the patient so handsomely that he eased him of all the wind he had in an instant.

And yet I hope this man may be forgiven, if he were made a fitting plant for Heaven.

How he went to work with his gifts is a question; yet he did a great cure for Captain Littleworth.³¹ He cured him of a disease called a wife: and yet I hope this man may be forgiven, if she were made a fitting plant for heaven.

By this means he was allowed 4 p. a month and the chirgeon's chest, and made Phisition general of Salem: where he exercised his gifts so well that of full 42 that there he took to cure, there is not one has more cause to complain or can say black's his eye. This saved Captain Littleworth's credit, that had truck'd away the vittels: though it brought forth a scandall on the Country by it: and then I hope this man may be forgiven, if they were all made fitting plants for Heaven.

But in mine opinion, he deserves to be set upon a palfrey and led up and down in triumph through new Canaan, with a coller of Jurdans about his neck, as was one of like desert in Richard the second's time

³¹. John Endicott, whose first wife Anna died shortly after coming to New England.

through the streets of London, that men might know where to find a Quacksalver.³²

Chapter XIX

Of the silencing of a Minister in new Canaan.

A silenced Minister, out of covetousness, came over into new Canaan to play the spy. He pretended, out of a zealous intent to do the Salvages good, and to teach them. He brought a great Bundle of Horne books with him, and careful he was (good man) to blott out all the crosses of them, for fear lest the people of the land should become Idolaters. He was in hope, with his gifts, to prepare a great auditory against great Josua should arrive there.³³

He applied himself on the week days to the trade of Beaver, but it was (as might seem) to purchase the principal benefit of the Land, when the time should come; for he had a hope to be the Caiphas of the Country: and well he might, for he was higher by the head than any of his tribe that came after him.

32. A palfrey is a saddle-horse. A "coller of Jurdans" is a string of chamber pots hung around his neck. This is probably another example of Morton's appreciation of the double entendre, for a Jurdan, or more properly Jordan, was also a vessel used by physicians and alchemists.

A common term in the 17th century, quacksalver has since been shortened to quack. It is "an ignorant person who pretends to a knowledge of medecine or of wonderful remedies." O.E.D., VIII, 2.

33. Joshua Temperwell was Morton's name for John Winthrop. The "silenced Minister" of this chapter may have been Francis Bright. See Adams, p. 300, footnote.

This man, it seems, played the spy very handsomely; for in the exercise of his gifts on the Lord's day at Winnisimmet, he espied a Salvage come in with a good Beaver coat, and took occasion to reprove the covetous desire of his auditory to trade for Beaver on those days; which made them all use so much modesty about the matter for the present that he found opportunity the same day to take the Salvage a side into a corner, where (with the help of his Wampampeack he had in his pocket for that purpose in a readiness) he made a shift to get that Beaver coat, which their mouths watered at; and so deceived them all.

But shortly after, when Josua came into the Land, he had soon spied out Caiphaz practise, and put him to silence; and either he must put up his pipes and be packing, or forsake Jonas posture and play Demas part altogether.³⁴

Chapter XX

Of the practise of the Seperatists to gett a snare to hamper mine Host of Ma-re Mount.

Although the nine Worthies had left mine Host upon an Island in such an inhumane manner as ye heard before. Yet when they understood that he had got shipping and was gone to England of his own accord, they dispatched letters of advise to an Agent they had there: and by the next ship sent after to have a snare made that might hamper mine Host so as he might not any more trouble their conscience: and to

³⁴. These biblical references simply mean that Winthrop caused this minister to cease his activities, on pain of expulsion from the area.

that end made a general collection of Beaver to defray the charge, and he was not thought a good Christian that would not lay much out for that employment.

Some contributed three pounds, some four, some five pounds; and procured a pretty quantity by that Devise, which should be given to a cunning man that could make a snare to hamper him.

The Agent (according to his directions) does his endeavoure (in the best manner he could) to have this instrument made: and used no little diligence to have it effected. His reputation stood upon the task imposed upon him against mine Host, the only enemy (accounted) of their Church and State.

Much inquiry was made in London, and about, for a skillfull man that would work the feate. No cost was spared, for gold he had good store. First he inquires of one, and then another. At the last he heard news of a very famous man, one that was excellent at making subtile instruments such as that age had never been acquainted with.

He was well known to be the man that had wit and wondrous skill to make a cunning instrument where with to save himself and his whole family, if all the world besides should be drowned; and this the best; yea, and the best cheap too, for, no good done, the man would nothing take.

To him this agent goes and prays his aide: Declares his cause, and tells the substance of his greivance, all at large, and laid before his eyes a heap of gold.

When all was showed that could be [showed],³⁵ and said what could be said, and all too little for to have it done, the agent then did see his gold refused, his cause despised, and thought himself disgraced to leave the work undone: so that he was much dismayed, yet importun'd the cunning [man], who found no reason to take the task in hand.

He thought, perhaps, mine Host (that had the flight to escape from the nine Worthies, to chain Argus eyes, and by inchantment make the doors of the watch tower fly open at an instant) would not be hampered but with much ado: and so he was unwilling to be troubled with that task.

The agent, wondring to see that his gold would do no good, did ask the cunning man if he could give him no advise? Who said he would: and what was that think you? To let mine Host alone. Who, being ship'd again for the parts of New Canaan, was put in at Plimmouth in the very faces of them to their terrible amazement to see him at liberty: and told him he had not yet fully answered the matter they could object against him. He only made this modest reply, that he did perceive they were willfull people that would never be answered: and derided them for their practises and loss of labor.

Chapter XXI

Of Captain Littleworth his new devise for the purchase of Beaver.

In the mean time, whiles these former passages were, there was a

35. Morton, or the printer, has "she'd."

great swelling fellow, of Littleworth, crept over to Salem (by the help of Master Charter party,³⁶ the Tresorer, and Master Ananias Increase,³⁷ the Collector for the Company of Seperatists) to take upon him their employments for a time.

He, resolving to make hay whiles the Sun did shine, first pretended himself to be sent over as chief Justice of the Massachusetts Bay and Salem, forsooth, and took unto him a councell; and a worthy one no doubt, for the Cowkeeper of Salem was a prime man in those employments; and to add a Majesty (as he thought) to his new assumed dignity, he caused the Patent of the Massachusetts (new brought into the Land) to be carried where he went in his progress to and froe, as an embleme of his authority: which the vulgar people, not acquainted with, thought it to be some instrument of Musick locked up in that covered case, and thought (for so some said) this man of littleworth had been a fiddler, and the rather because he had put into the mouthes of poor silly things. that were sent along with him, what skill he had in Engines, and in things of quaint devise: all which proved in conclusion to be but impostury.

This man, thinking none so worthy as himself, took upon him infinitely: and made warrants in his own name (without relation to his Majesties authority in that place) and summoned a general apparence at the worshipfull town of Salem: there in open assembly was tendered certain Articles, devised between him and their new Pastor Master Eager,³⁸

36. Matthew Cradock

37. Possibly Increase Nowell. See Adams, p. 305, footnote.

38. Samuel Skelton

(that had renounced his old calling to the Ministry received in England by warrant of God's word, and taken a new one there, by their fantastical way imposed, and conferred upon him with some special gifts had out of Phaos box.)

To these Articles every Planter, old and new, must sign, or be expelled from any manner of abode within the Compass of the land contained within that grant then showed: which was so large it would suffice for Elbow room for more than were in all the land by 700,000. Such an army might have planted them a Colony with that circuit which he challenged, and not contend for room for their Cattell. But for all that, he that should refuse to subscribe must pack.

The tenor of the Articles were these: That in all causes, as well Ecclesiasticall as Politicall, we should follow the rule of Gods word.

This made a show of a good intent, and all the assembly (only mine Host replied did subscribe) he would not unless they would add this Caution: So as nothing be done contrary or repugnant to the Laws of the Kingdom of England. These words he knew, by former experience, were necessary, and without these the same would prove a very mousetrapp to catch some body by his own consent (which the rest nothing suspected) for the construction of the word would be made by them of the Seperation to serve their own turnes: and if any man should, in such a case, be accused of a crime, (though in it self it were petty) they might set it on the tenter hooks of their imaginary gifts, and stretch it to make it seem cappitall; which was the reason why mine Host refused to subscribe.

It was then agreed upon that there should be one generall trade used within that Patent (as he said) and a generall stock: and every man to put in a part: and every man, for his person, to have shares alike: and for their stock, according to the ratable proportion was put in: and this to continue for 12 months, and then to call an account.

All were united, but mine Host refused. Two truckmasters were chosen; wages prefixed. Only mine Host put in a Caveat that the wages might be paid out of the clear proffit, which there in black and white was plainly put down.

But before the end of 6 months the partners in this stock (handled by the Truckmasters) would have an account. Some of them had perceived that Wampambeacke could be pocketted up, and the underlings (that went in the boats along) would be neere the Wiser for any thing but what was trucked for Beaver only.

The account being made between Captain Littleworth and the two Truckmasters, it was found that instead of increasing the proffit, they had decreased it; for the principall stock, by this employment, was fretted so, that there was a great hole to be seen in the very middle of it, which cost the partners afterwards one hundred markes to stop and make good to Captain Littleworth.

But mine Host, that sturred not his foot at all for the matter, did not only save his stock from such a Cancar, but gained six and seven for one. In the mean time he derided the Contributors for being catch'd in that snare.

Chapter XXII

Of a Sequestration made in New Canaan.

Captain Littleworth (that had an akeing tooth at mine Host of Ma-re Mount) devised how he might put a trick upon him, by color of a Sequestration; and got some persons to pretend that he had corn and other goods of theirs in possession; and the rather because mine Host had store of corn and he had improvidently truckt his store for the present gain of Beaver; in so much that his people under his chardge were put to short allowance, which caused some of them to sicken with conceipt of such useage, and some of them by the practise of the new entertained Doctor Noddy, with his Imaginary gifts. They sent therefore to exhibit a petition to grim Minos, Eacus and Radamant, where they wished to have the author of their greife to be converted: and they had procured it quickly, if curses would have caused it: for good prayers would be of no validity (as they supposed) in this extremity.

Now in this extremity Capt. Littleworth gave commission to such as he had found ready for such employments to enter in the house at Ma-re Mount, and, with a shallop, to bring from thence such corn and other utensilles as in their commission he had specified. But mine Host, wary to prevent eminent mischeife, had conveyed his powder and shot (and such other things as stood him in most stead for his present condition) into the woods for safety: and, whiles this was put in practise by him, the shallop was landed and the Commissioners entered the house, and willfully bent against mine honest Host, that

loved good hospitality. After they had feasted their bodies with that [which] they found there, they carried all his corn away, with some other of his goods, contrary to the Lawes of hospitality: a small parcell of refuse corn only excepted, which they left mine Host to keep Christmas with.

But when they were gone, mine Host fell to make use of his gun (as one that had a good faculty in the use of that instrument) and feasted his body nevertheless with fowle and venison, which he purchased with the help of that instrument, the plenty of the Country and the commodiousnes of the place affording means by the blessing of God; and he did but deride Captain Littleworth, that made his servants snap short in a Country so much abounding with plenty of food for an industrious man, with great variety.

Chapter XXIII

Of a great Bonfire made for joy of the arrivall of great Josua, surnamed Temperwell, into the Land of Canaan.

Seven ships set forth at once, and altogether arrived in the Land of Canaan to take a full possession thereof. What, are all the 12 Tribes of new Israell come? No, none but the tribe of Issacar, and some few scattered Levites of the remnant of thos that were descended of old Elies house.³⁹

³⁹. This refers, of course, to the arrival of the Winthrop Fleet in June of 1630.

And here comes their Josua too among them; and they make it a more miraculous thing for these seven ships to set forth together and arrive at New Canaan together, than it was for the Israelites to go over Jordan dryshod: perhaps it was, because they had a wall on the right hand and a wall on the left hand.

These Seperatists suppose there was no more difficulty in the matter than for a man to find the way to the Counter at noon days, between a Sergeant and his yeoman. Now you may think mine Host will be hamperd or never.

These are the men that come prepared to rid the Land of all pollution. These are more subtile than the Cunning that did refuse a goodly heap of gold. These men have brought a very snare indeed; and now mine Host must suffer. The book of Common Prayer, which he used, to be despised: and he must not be spared.

Now they are come, his doom before hand was concluded on. They have a warrant now: a chief one too: and now mine Host must know he is the subject of their hatred. The Snare must now be used; this instrument must not be brought by Josua in vaine.

A Court is called of purpose for mine Host: he there convented, and must hear his doom before he go: nor will they admitt him to capitulate, and know wherefore they are so violent to put such things in practise against a man they never saw before: nor will they allow of it, though he decline their Jurisdiction.

There the all with one assent put him to silence, crying out, hear the Governour, hear the Govern[our]: who gave this sentence against mine Host at first sight: that he should be first put in

the Billbowes, his goods should be all confiscated, his Plantation should be burned down to the ground, because the habitation of the wicked should no more appear in Israell, and his person banished from those territories; and this put in execution with all speede.

The harmeles Salvages (his neighbors) came the while (greived, poor silly lambs, to see what they went about) and did reprove these Eliphants of witt for their inhumane deed. The Lord above did open their mouthes like Balams Ass, and made them speak in his behalf sentences of unexpected divinity, besides murrallity; and told them that god would not love them that burned this good man's house; and plainly said that they who were new come would find the want of such a house in the winter: so much themselves to him confessed.

The smoake that did assend appeared to be the very Sacrifice of Kain. Mine Host (that afar of aboard a ship did there behold this wofull spectacle) knew not what he should do in this extremity but beare and forbear, as Epictetus says: it was bootelesse to exclaime.

He did consider then these transitory things are but ludibria fortuna, as Cicero calls them. All was burnt down to the ground, and nothing did remain but the bare ashes as an emblem of their cruelty: and unless it could (like to the Phenix) rise out of these ashes and be new again (to the immortall glory and renowne of this fertile Canaan the new) the stumps and posts in their black liveries will mourne; and piety it self will add a voice to the bare remnant of that Monument, and make it cry for recompence (or else revenge)

against the sect of cruell Schismaticks.⁴⁰

Chapter XXIV

Of the digrading and creating gentry in New Canaan.

There was a zealous Professor in the Land of Canaan (grown a great Merchant in the Beaver trade) that came over for his conscience sake (as other men have done) and the means (as the phrase is) who in his minority had been prentice to a tomb maker; who, comming to more ripenes of years (though less discretion) found a kind of scruple in his conscience that the trade was in part against the second commandement: and therefore left it off wholly, and betook himself to some other employments.

In the end he settled upon this course, where he had hope of preferment, and became one of those things that any Judas might hang himself upon, that is an Elder.

He had been a man of some recconing in his time (as himself would boast) for he was an officer, just under the Exchequer at Westminster, in a place called Phlegeton. There he was comptroller, and conversed with no plebians, I tell you, but such as have angels or their attendants, (I mean some Lawyers with appertenances, that is,

40. In these last two paragraphs Morton's bantering sarcasm gives way to a sincere sadness. Only rarely do we catch a glimpse of what must have been a deep affection for New England and for his plantation at Mare Mount. Even after such persecution and being twice deported to England he came back again to die, finally, in New England.

Clerks); with whom a Jugg of Beer and a crusty roll, in the term, is as currant as a three penny scute at Hall time.⁴¹

There is another place thereby called sticks. These are two dangerous places by which the infernall gods do swear: but this of Sticks is the more dangerous of the two, because there (if a man be once in) he cannot tell how to get out again handsomely.

I knew an under sheriff was in unawaires, and he labored to be free of it: yet he broke his back before he got so far as quietus est. There is no such danger in Palegton, where this man of so much reckoning was comptroller.

He being here, waited an opportunity to be made a gentleman, and now it fell out that a gentleman newly come into the land of Canaan (before he knew what ground he stood upon) had incurred the displeasure of great Josua so highly that he must therefore be disgraded.

No reconciliation could be had for him. All hopes were past for that matter. Where upon this man of much reckoning (pretending a graunt of the approach in avoydance) helps the lame dog over the stile, and was a jocund on the matter as a Magpie over a Mutton.

Wherefore the Heralls, with Drums, and Trumpets, proclaiming in a very solemn manner that it was the pleasure of great Josua (for divers and sundry very good causes and considerations, Master Temperwell

41. The exact meaning of this last phrase is not clear. "Current", in obsolete usage, meant circulation, as money in circulation. Also in the 17th century "current" meant "to give acceptance to." "Scute" was common terminology for small change, or a small coin. And "Hall time" meant Court time; that is, the time when a judge, or a prince, was holding court. Thus, this phrase may mean "as acceptable as a threepence (or three penny bit) on court day," or it might mean "as much in circulation as a threepence on court day."

thereunto especially moving) to take away the title, prerogative and preheminance of the Delinquent, as unworthy of it, and to place the same upon a Professor of more recconing: so that it was made a penall thing for any man after to lift the same man again on the top of that stile, but that he should stand perpetually digraded from that prerogative. And the place by this means being void, this man, of so much more reckoning, was received in like a Cypher to fill up a room,⁴² and was made a Gentleman of the first head; and his Coat of Arms, blazon'd and tricked out fit for that purpose, in this Poem following.

THE POEM

What ailes Pigmalion? Is it Lunacy;
Or Doteage on his owne Imagery?
Let him remember how he came from Hell,
That after ages by record may tell
The compleate story to posterity.
Blazon his Coat in forme of Heraldry.
He beareth argent alwaies at commaund,
A barre betweene three crusty rolls at hand,
And, for his crest, with froth, there does appeare
Dextra Paw Elevant a Jugg of beare.

Now, that it may the more easily be understood, I have here endeavoured to set it forth in these illustrations following:

42. The Oxford English Dictionary gives this definition of "Cypher;" "A person who fills a place, but is of no importance or worth." O.E.D., II, 421.

Pigmalion waa an Image maker, who, doting on his own perfection in making the Image of Venus, grew to be a mazed man, like our Gentleman here of the first head: and by the figure Antonomasia is ne herein exemplified.⁴³

He was translated from a tomb maker to be the tapster at hell (which is in Westminster, under the Ex-Chequer office) for benefit of the means he translated himself into New England, where, by the help of Beaver and the commaund of a servant or two, he was advanced to the title of a gentleman; where I left him to the exercise of his gifts.

Chapter XXV

Of the manner how the Seperatists doe pay debts to them that are without.⁴⁴

There was an honest man, one Mr. Innocence Fairecloath, Mr. Mathias Charterparty sent over into New Canaan to raise a very good merchantable commodity for his benefit; for whiles the man was bound by covenant to stay for a time, and to employ such servants as did there belong to Mr. Charterparty, he disdained the tenents of the Seperatists: and they also (finding him to be none) disdained to be employed by a carnall man (as they termed him) and sought occasion against him to do him a mischeife. Intelligence was conveyed to

43.

Antonomasia may be either the substitution of the name of a position or office for a person's name, or the use of a proper name to express a general idea, such as calling an orator a Cicero. O.E.D., I, 377.

44. This is the sorry tale of Philip Ratcliffe, a servant of Governor Cradock, and called by Morton Innocence Fairecloath. Mathias Charterparty is Cradock. The severity of the treatment of Ratcliffe caused considerable comment in England.

Mr. Charterparty that this man was a member of the Church of England, and therefore (in their account) an enemy to their Church and state. And (to the end they might have some coloure against him) some of them practised to get into his debt, which he, not mistrusting, suffered, and gave credit for such Commodity as he had sold at a price. When the day of payment came, instead of money he, being at that time sick and weak and stood in need of the Beaver he had contracted for, he had an Epistle full of zealous exhortations to provide for the foule; and not to mind these transitory things that perished with the body, and to bethinke himself whether his conscience would be so prompt to demand so great a sum of Beaver as had been contracted for. He was further exhorted therein to consider he was but a steward for a time, and by all likelihood was going to give up an account of his stewardship: and therefore perswaded the creditor not to load his conscience with such a burthen, which he was bound by the Gospell to ease him of (if it were possible); and for that cause he had framed this Epistle in such a friendly maner to put him in mind of it. The perusall of this (lap'd in the paper) was as bad as a potion to the creditor, to see his debtor Master Subtlety (a zealous professor as he thought) to deride him in this extremity, that he could not chuse (in admiration of the deceit) but cast out these words:

Are these your members? If they be all like these, I believe the Divell was the setter of their Church.

This was called in question when Mr. Fairecloath least thought of it. Capt. Littleworth must be the man [who] must press it against him, for blasphemy against the Church of Salem: and to great Josua Temperwell he goes with a bitter accusation, to have Master Innocence made an example

for all carnall men to presume to speak the least word that might tend to the dishonor of the Church of Salem; yea, the mother Church of all that holy Land.

And he convented was before their Synagoge,⁴⁵ where no defence would serve his turn; yet was there none to be seen to accuse him, save the Court alone.

The time of his sickness, nor the urgent cause, were not allowed to be urg'd for him; but whatsoever could be thought upon against him was urged, seeing he was a carnall man, of them that are without. So that it seems, by those proceedings there, the matter was adjudged before he came: he only [being] brought to hear his sentence in publicke: which was to have his tongue bored through; his nose slit; his face branded; his ears cut; his body to be ship'd in every severall plantation of their Jurisdiction; and a fine of forty pounds impos'd, with perpetuall banishment: and (to execute this vengeance) Shackles (the Deacon of Charles Towne)⁴⁶ was as ready as Mephostophiles, when Doctor Faustus was bent upon mischeife.

He is the purser generall of New Canaan, who (with his whip, with knots most terrible) takes this man unto the Counting house: there capitulated with him why he should be so hasty for payment, when God's dear children must pay as they are able: and he weeps and sobs and his handkercher walks as a sign of his sorrow for Master Fairecloath's

45. To convent means to summon on a charge; to cite.

46. "The first two deacons of the church at Charlestown were Robert Hale and Ralph Monsall. The Charlestown church, however, was not organized until November, 1632, sixteen months after Ratcliff's punishment." Adams, p. 319, footnote.

sin, that he should bear no better affection to the Church and the Saints of New Canaan: and strips Innocence the while, and comforts him.

Though he be made to stay for payment, he should not think it long. The payment would be sure when it did come, and he should have his due to a doite. He should not wish for a token more. And then told it [to] him down in such manner that he made Fairecloath's Innocent back like the picture of Rawhead and bloody bones, his shirt like a pudding wife's aperon. In this employment Shackles takes a great felicity and glories in the practise of it. This cruell sentence was stopped in part by Sir Christopher Gardiner (then present at the execution) by expostulating with Master Temperwell: who was content (with that whipping and the cutting of part of his ears) to send Innocence going, with the loss of all his goods, to pay the fine imposed, and perpetual banishment out of their Lands of New Canaan, in terrorem populi.

Loe, this is the payment you shall get, if you be one of them they term, without.

Chapter XXVI

Of the Charity of the Seperatists.

Charity is said to be the darling of Religion, and is indeed the Mark of a good Christian: but where we do find a Commission for ministring to the necessity of the Saints, we do not find any prohibition against casting our bread upon the waters, where the unsanctified, as well as the sanctified, are in possibility to make use of it.

I cannot perceive that the Seperatists do allow of helping our poor, though they magnify their practise in contributing to the nourishment of their Saints. For, as much as some that are of the number of those whom they term without (though it were in case of sickness) upon their landing, when a little fresh victuals would have recovered their nealts, yet could they not find any charitable assistance from them. Nay, mine Host of Ma-re Mount (if he might have had the use of his gun, powder and shot, and his dog, which were denied) he doubtless would have preserved such poor helpless wretches as were neglected by those that brought them over; which was so apparent (as it seemed) that one of their own tribe said, the death of them would be required at some bodies hands one day (meaning Master Temperwell).

But such good must not come from a carnall man. If it come from a member, then it is a sanctified work. If otherwise, it is rejected as unsanctified.

But when Shackles wife, and such as had husbands, parents or friends, happened to be sick, mine Host's help was used, and instruments provided for him to kill fresh vittell with (wherein he was industrious) and the persons, having fresh vittell, lived.

So doubtless might many others have been preserved, but they were of the number left without; neither will those precise people admit a carnall man into their houses, though they have made use of his in the like case; they are such antagonists to those that do not comply with them, and seek to be admitted to be of their Church, that in scorn they say, you may see what it is to be without.

Chapter XXVII

Of the practise of their Church.⁴⁷

The Church of the Seperatists is governed by Pastors, Elders and Deacons, and there is not any of these, though he be but a Cow keeper, but is allowed to exercise his gifts in the publik assembly on the Lord's day, so as he do not make use of any notes for the help of his memory: for such things, they say, smell of Lamp oil, and there must be no such unsavory perfume admitted to come into the congregation.

These are all publike preachers. There is amongst these people a Deakonesse, made of the sisters, that uses her gifts at home in an assembly of her sex by way of repetition or exhortation: such is their practice.

The Pastor (before he is allowed of) must disclaim his former calling to the Ministry, as hereticall; and take a new calling after their fantastical inventions: and then he is admitted to be their Pastor.

The manner of disclaiming is to renounce his calling with bitter execrations for the time that he hath heretofore lived in it: and after his new election there is great joy conceived at his commission.

47. Adams viewed the New English Canaan as an entirely political document. Within that frame he saw that this chapter "was intended to act on the well-known prejudices of Archbishop Laud, the head and controlling spirit of that Board of Lords Commissioners of Foreign Plantations which then had supreme authority over the colonies." Adams, p. 322, footnote.

And their Pastors have this preheminance above the Civil Magistrate. He must first consider of the complaint made against a member: and if he be disposed to give the partie complained of an admonition, there is no more to be said. If not, he delivers him over to the Magistrate to deal with him in a course of Justice, according to their practise in cases of that nature.

Of these pastors I have not known many. Some I have observed together with their carriage in New Canaan, and can inform you what opinion hath been conceived of their conditions in the perticuler. There is one who (as they give it out there that think they speak it to advance his worth) has been expected to exercise his gifts in an assembly that stayed his coming, in the midst of his Journey falls into a fitt (which they term a zealous meditation) and was 4 miles past the place appointed before he came to himself, or did remember whereabouts he went. And how much these things are different from the actions of mazed men, I leave to any indifferent man to judge; and if I should say they are all much alike, they that have seen and heard what I have done, will not condemne me altogether.

Now, for as much as by the practise of their Church every Elder or Deacon may preach, it is not amiss to discover their practise in that perticuler, before I part with them.⁴⁸

It has been an old saying, and a true, what is bred in the bone will not out of the flesh, nor the stepping into the pulpit that can make the person fit for the employment. The unfitness of the person

48. Much of the next 8 or 9 paragraphs is the product of Morton's creativity.

undertaking to be the Messenger has brought a blemish upon the message, as in the time of Lewes the Eleventh, King of France, who (having advanced his Barber to place of Honor, and graced him with eminent titles)⁴⁹ made him so presumptuous to undertake an Embassage to treat with foreign princes of Civil affaires.

But what was the issue? He behaved himself so unworthily (yet as well as his breeding would give him leave) that both the Messenger and the message were despised; and had not he (being discovered) conveyed himself out of their territories, they had made him pay for his barbarous presumption.

Socrates says, loquere ut te videam. If a man observe these people in the exercise of their gifts, he may thereby discern the tincture of their proper calling, the asses ears will peep through the lion's hide. I am sorry they cannot discern their own infirmities. I will deal fairely with them, for I will draw their pictures cap a pe, that you may discern them plainely from head to foot in their postures, that so much bewitch (as I may speak with modesty) these illiterate people to be so fantastical, to take Jonas task upon them without sufficient warrant.

One steps up like the Minister of Justice with the ballance only, not the sword for fear of affrighting his auditory. He points at a text, and handles it as evenly as he can; and teaches the auditory, that the thing he has to deliver must be well weighed, for it is a very precious thing, yes, much more precious than gold or pearl:

49. "Oliver Le Daim, barber of Louis XI, created by him Comte de Meulan, and sent in 1477 on a confidential mission to Mary of Burgundy at Ghent." Adams, p. 326, footnote.

And he will teach them the means how to weigh things of that excellent worth; that a man would suppose he and his auditory were to part stakes by the scale; and the like distribution they have used about a bag pudding.

Another (of a more cutting disposition) steps in his stead; and he takes a text, which he divides into many parts: (to speak truly) as many as he list. The fag end of it he pares away, as a superfluous remnant.

He puts his auditory in comfort, that he will make a garment for them, and teach them how they shall put it on; and encourages them to be in love with it, for it is of such a fashion as doth best become a Christian man. He will assuer them that it shall be armor of proof against all assaults of Satan. This garment (says he) is not composed as the garments made by a carnall man, that are sewed with a hot needle and a burning thread; but it is a garment that shall outlast all the garments: and, if they will make use of it as he shall direct them, they shall be able (like Saint George) to terrify the great Dragon, error; and defend truth, which error with her wide chaps would devoure: whose mouth shall be filled with the shreds and parings, which he continually gapes for under the cutting board.

A third, he supplies the rome: and in the exercise of his gifts begins with a text that is drawn out of a fountaine that has in it no dreggs of popery. This shall prove unto you (says he) the Cup of repentance. It is not like unto the Cup of the Whore of Babilon, who will make men drunk with the dreggs thereof. It is filled up to the brim with comfortable joyce, and will prove a comfortable cordiall to a sick soul, says he. And so he handles the matter as if he dealt

by the pint and the quart, with Nic and Froth.⁵⁰

An other (a very learned man indeed) gives another way to work with his auditory; and he exhorts them to walk upright in the way of their calling, and not (like carnall men) tread awry. And if they should fail in the performance of that duty, yet they should seek for amendement whiles it was time; and tells them it would be too late to seek for help when the shop windows were shut up: and pricks them forward with a friendly admonition not to place their delight in worldly pleasures, which will not last, but in time will come to an end; but so to handle the matter that they may be found to wax better and better, and then they shall be doublely rewarded for their work: and so closes up the matter in a comfortable manner.

But stay: Here is one stept up in haste, and (being not minded to hold his auditory in expectation of any long discourse) he takes a text; and (for brevities sake) divides it into one part: and then runs so fast a fore with the matter that his auditory cannot follow him. Doubtless his Father was some Irish footman; by his speed it seems so. And it may be at the hour of death the son, being present, did participate of his Father's nature (according to Pithagoras) and so the virtue of his Father's nimble feet being infused into his braines, might make his tongue outrun his wit.

50. "I am indebted to Mr. Lindsay Swift, of the Boston Public Library, for the following explanation . . . 'Nic, or more correctly, nick - namely, a raised or indented bottom in a beer-can, by which the customers were cheated, the nick below and the froth above filling up part of the measure.'" Adams, p. 328, footnote.

Well, if you mark it, these are special gifts indeed: which the vulgar people are so taken with that there is no perswading them that it is so ridiculous.

This is the means (O the means) that they pursue: this that comes without premeditation; this is the Superlative: and he that does not approve of this, they say is a very reprobate.

Many unwarrantable Tenents they have likewise: some of which being come to my knowledge I will here set down: one whereof, being in publicke practise maintained, is more notorious than the rest. I will therefore begin with that and convince them of manifest error by the maintenance of it, which is this:

That it is the Magistrates office absolutely (and not the Minsters) to join the people in lawfull matrimony. And for this they vouch the History of Ruth, saying Boas was married to Ruth in presence of the Elders of the people. Herein they mistake the scope of the text.

2. That it is a relique of popery to make use of a ring in marriage: and that it is a diabolicall circle for the Divell to dance in.

3. That the purification used for women after delivery is not to be used.

4. That no child shall be baptised whose parents are not received into their Church first.

5. That no person shall be admitted to the Sacrament of the Lords supper that is without.

6. That the book of Common prayer is an idoll: and all that use it, Idolaters.

7. That every man is bound to believe a professor upon his bare affirmation only, before a Protestant upon oath.

8. That no person hath any right to God's creatures, but God's children only, who are themselves: and that all others are but usurpers of the Creatures.

9. And that, for the general good of their Church and commonwealth, they are to neglect father, mother and all friendship.

10. Much ado they keep about their Church discipline, as if that were the most essentiall part of their Religion. Tithes are banished from thence, all except the tithe of Mint and Commin.

11. They differ from us something in the creed too, for if they get the goods of one that is without into their hands, he shall be kept without remedy for any satisfaction: and they believe that this is not cosenage.

12. And lastly they differ from us in the manner of praying; for they wink when they pray, because they think themselves so perfect in the high way to heaven that they can find it blindfould: so do not I.

Chapter XXVIII

Of their Policy in publik Justice.

Now that I have anottomized the two extreme parts of this Politique Commonwealth, the head and the inferior members, I will show you the hart, and read a short lecture over that too; which is Justice.

I have a petition to exhibit to the high and mighty Mr. Temperwell; and I have my choice whether I shall make my plaint in a case of conscience, or bring it within the Compass of a point in law. And because I will go the surest way to work, at first, I will see how others are answered in the like kind, whether it be with hab or nab, as the Judge did the

Countryman.

Here comes Mr. Hopewell: his petition is in a case of conscience (as he says). But, see, great Josua allows conscience to be of his side: yet cuts him off with this answer; Law is flat against him. Well let me see another. I marry: Here comes one Master Doubtnot: his matter depends (I am sure) upon a point in Law: alas, what will it not do, look ye it is affirmed that Law is on his side: but Conscience, like a blanket, overspreads it. This passage is like to the Procustes of Roome, me thinks; and therefore I may very well say of them,

Even so, by racking out the joints & chopping of the head,

Procustes fitted all his guests unto his Iron bedd.

And, if these speed no better, with thom they are friends, that neither find Law nor Conscience to help them, I do not wonder to see mine Host of Ma-re Mount speed so ill, that has been proclaimed an enemy so many years in New Canaan to their Church and State.

Chapter XXIX

How mine Host was put into a whales belly.

The Seperatists (after they had burned Ma-re Mount they could not get any ship to undertake the carriage of mine Host from thence, either by fair means or fowle) they were enforced (contrary to their expectation) to be troubled with his company: and by that means had time to consider more of the man, than they had done of the matter: wherein at length it was discovered that they (by means of their credulity of the intelligence given them in England of the matter and the false Carecter of the man) had run themselves headlong into an error, and had done

that on a sudden which they repented at leasure, but could not gell which way to help it as it stood now. They could debate upon it and especially upon two difficult points, whereof one must be concluded upon. If they sent mine Host away by banishment, he is in possibility to survive, to their disgrace for the injury done. If they suffer him to stay, and put him in statu quo prius, all the vulgar people will conclude they have been too rash in burning a house that was usefull, and count them men unadvised.

So that it seems (by their discourse about the matter) they stood betwixt Hawk and Bussard: and could not tell which hand to incline unto. They had founded him secretly: he was content with it, go which way it would. Nay, Shackles himself (who was employed in the burning of the house, and therefore feared to be caught in England) and others were so forward in putting mine Host in statu quo prius, after they had found their error (which was so apparent that Luceus eyes would have served to have found it out in less time) that they would contribute 40 shillings a peece towards it; and affirmed that every man according to his ability that had a hand in this black designe should be taxed to a Contribution in like nature: it would be done exactly.

Now (whiles this was in agitation, and was well urged by some of those parties to have been the upshot) unexpected, (in the depth of winter, when all ships were gone out of the land) in comes Mr. Wethercock, a proper Mariner; and, they said, he could observe the wind: blow it high, blow it low, he was resolved to lie at Hull⁵¹ rather than encounter

51. Hull, Massachusetts, not far from Boston.

such a storm as mine Host had met with: and this was a man for their turn.

He would do any office for the brethren, if they (who he knew had a strong purse, and his conscience waited on the strings of it, if all the zeal he had) would bear him out in it: which they professed they would. He undertakes to rid them of mine Host by one means or another. They gave him the best means they could, according to the present condition of the work, and letters of credence to the favors of that Sect in England; with which (his business there being done, and his ship cleared) he hoist the Sails and put to Sea: since which time mine Host has not troubled the brethren, but only at the Counsell table: where now Sub indice lis est.

Chapter XXX

Of Sir Christopher Gardiner Knight, and how he sped amongst the Seperatists.

Sir Christopher Gardiner (a Knight, that had been a traveller both by Sea and Land; a good judicious gentleman in the Mathematticke and other Sciences usefull for Plantations, Kimistry &c. and also being a practicall Engineer) came into those parts, intending discovery.

But the Seperatists love not those good parts when the procede from a carnall man (as they called every good Protestant); in short time had found the means to pick a quarrell with him. The means is that they pursue to obtaine what they aim at: the word is there, the means.

So that, when they find any man like to prove an enemy to their Church and state, then straight the means must be used for defence. The first precept in their Politiques is to defame the man at whom they aim, and then he is a holy Israelite in their opinions who can spread that same brodest, like butter upon a loaf: no matter how thin, it will serve for a vaile: and then this man (who they have thus depraved) is a spotted unclean leper: he must out, least he pollute the Land, and them that are clean.

If this be one of their gifts, then Machiavelli had as good gifts as they. Let them raise a scandall on any, though never so innocent, yet they know it is never wiped clean out. The staind marks remain, which hath been well observed by one in these words of his,

Stick Candles gainst a Virgin walls white back;

If they'l not burne yet, at the least, they'l black.

And thus they dealt with Sir Christopher: and plotted by all the ways and means they could to overthrow his undertakings in those parts.

And therefore I cannot chuse but conclude that these Seperatists have special gifts: for they are given to envy and mallice extremely.

The knowledge of their defamacion could not please the gentleman well, when it came to his ear; which would cause him to make some reply, as they supposed, to take exceptions at, as they did against Fairecloath: and this would be a means, they thought, to blow the coal, and so to kindle a brand that might fire him out of the Country too, and send him after mine Host of Ma-re Mount.

They take occasion (some of them) to come to his house when he was gone up into the Country, and (finding he was from home) so went to

work that they left him neither house nor habitation nor servant, nor any thing to help him, if he should return: but of that they had no hope (as they gave it out) for he was gone (as they affirmed) to lead a Salvage life, and for that cause took no company with him: and they having considered of the matter, thought it not fit that any such man should live in so remote a place within the Compass of their patent. So they fired the place, and carried away the persons and goods.

Sir Christopher was gone with a guide (a Salvage) into the inland parts for discovery: but, before he was returned, he met with a Salvage that told the guide, Sir Christopher would be killed: Master Temperwell (who had now found out matter against him) would have him dead or alive. This he related; and would have the gentleman not to go to the place appointed, because of the danger that was supposed.

But Sir Christopher was nothing dismayed. He would on, whatsoever come of it: and so met with the Salvages: and between them was a terrible skirmish: but they had the worst of it, and he scaped well enough.

The guide was glad of it, and learned of his fellows that they were promised a great reward for what they should do in this employment.⁵²

⁵² As might be expected, Bradford presents a somewhat different version of these events. Gardiner, he says "brought over with him a servante or 2 and a comly yonge woman, whom he caled his cousin, but it was suspected, she (after the Italian maner) was his concubine. Living at the Massachusets, for some miscariages which he should have answered, he fled away from authority, and got among the Indeans of these parts; they sent after him . . . and promissed some reward to those that should find him." (Wish, ed., p. 160) Taking into account the earlier treatment of both Morton and Ratcliffe, the inclination is to give more weight to the story as told by mine Host of Mare Mount.

Which thing (when Sir Christopher understood) he gave thanks to God; and after (upon this occasion to sollace himself) in his table book he composed this sonnet, which I have here inserted for a memoriall.

THE SONNET

Wolfes in Sheeps clothing, why will ye
Think to deceave God that doth see
Your simulated sanctity?
For my part, I doe wish you could
Your owne infirmities behold.
For then you would not be so bold.
Like Sophists, why will you dispute
With wisdome so? You doe confute
None but yourselves. For shame, be mute
Least great Jehovah, with his powre,
Do come upon you in a howre
When you least think, and you devoure.

This Sonnet the Gentleman composed as a testimony of his love towards them that were so ill-affected towards him; from whom they might have received much good, if they had been so wise to have embraced him in a loving fashion.

But they despise the help that shall come from a carnall man (as they termed him) who, after his return from those designes, finding how they had used him with such disrespect, took shipping,

and disposed of himself for England and discovered their practises in those parts towards his Majesties true harted Subjects, which they made wery of their abode in those parts.

Chapter XXXI

Of mine Host of Ma-re Mount how he played Jonas after he had been in the Whales belly for a time.

Mine Host of Ma-Re Mount, being put to Sea, had delivered him, for his release by the way (because the ship was unvitted, and the Seamen put to straight allowance, which could hold out but to the Canaries) a part of his own provision, being two months proportion; in all but 3 small pieces of pork, which made him expect to be famished before the voyage should be ended, by all likelyhood. Yet he thought he would make one good meal before he died: like the Colony servant in Virginia that, before he should go to the gallows, called to his wife to set on the loblolly pot, and let him have one good meal before he went; who had committed a petty crime, that in those days was made a capital offence.

And now, mine Host being merrily disposed, on went the pieces of pork wherewith he feasted his body, and cherished the poor Sailers; and got out of them what Mr. Wethercock, their Master, purposed to do with him that he had no more provision: and along they sailed from place to place, from Island to Island, in a pittifull weather beaten ship, where mine Host was in more danger (without all question) than Jonas when he was in the Whales belly; and it was the great mercy of

God that they had not all perished. Vitelled they were but for a month, when they wayd Ancor and left the first port.

They were a prey for the enemy for want of powder, if they had met them: besides the vessell was a very slugg, and so unserviceable that the Master called a counsell of all the company in general to have their opinions which way to go and how to bear the helm, who all under their hands affirmed the ship to be unserviceable: so that, in fine, the Master and men and all were at their wits end about it: yet they employed the Carpenters to search and caulk her sides, and do their best whiles they were in her. Nine months they made a shift to use her, and shifted for supply of vittels at all the Islands they touched at: though it were so poorly that all those helps, and the short allowance of a bisket a day, and a few Lymons taken in at the Canaries, served but to bring the vessell in view of the land's end.

They were in such a desperate case that (if God in his great mercy had not favored them, and disposed the winds fair until the vessell was in Plimmouth road) they had without question perished. For, when they let drop an Anchor near the Island of St. Michael,⁵³ not one bit of food [was] left, for all that starving allowance of this wretched Wethercock, that, if he would have launched out his beaver, might have bought more vittells in New England than he, and the whole ship with the Cargazoun,⁵⁴ was worth (as the passingers he carried

53. In the Azores.

54. Cargo or freight.

who vittelled themselves affirmed). But he played the miserable wretch and had possessed his men with the contrary who repented them of waying anchor before they knew so much.

Mine Host of Ma-re Mount (after he had been in the Whales belly) was set ashore to see if he would now play Jonas, so metamorphosed with a long voyage that he looked like Lazarus in the painted cloth.

But mine Host (after due consideration of the premises) thought it fitter for him to play Jonas in this kind, than for the Seperatists to play Jonas in that kind as they do. He therefore bid Wethercock tell tne Seperatists that they would be made in due time to repent those malicious practises, and so would he too; for ne was a Seperatist amongst the Seperatists, as far as his wit would give nim leave; though when he came in Company of basket makers, he would do his endeavor to make them pin the basket,⁵⁵ if he could, as I have seen him. And now mine Host, being merrily disposed, having past many perillous adventures in that desperate Whales belly, began in a posture like Jonas, and cryed, Repent you cruell Seperatists, repent; there are as yet but 40 days, if Jove vouchsafe to thunder, Charter and the Kingdom of the Seperatists will fall asunder. Repent you cruell Schismaticks, repent. And in that posture he greeted them by letters returned into New Canaan; and ever (as opportunity was fitted for the purpose) he was both heard and seen in the posture of Jonas against them,

55. In the phrase of the day, to "pin the basket" meant to finish the business at hand, to conclude the matter.

crying, repent you cruell Seperatists, repent. There are as yet
but 40 days. If Jove vouchsafe to thunder, the Charter and the Kingdom
of the Seperatists will fall asunder. Repent you cruell Schismaticks,
repent. If you will hear any more of this proclamation meet him at
the next markettowne, for Cynthius aurem vellet.





