1901

Relation of the Pequot Warres, 1901

Lion Gardener

RELATION of the PEQUOT WARRES

WRITTEN IN 1660 BY

Lieutenant Lion Gardener

AND NOW FIRST PRINTED FROM THE

ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

With an HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

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Fourth Publication

ONE HUNDRED AND TWO COPIES PRINTED

No. 13

Hartford Press
The Case, Lockwood & Brainard Company

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INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

Per the shipp Batchler whom God preserve.

London the 16° of August, 1635.

Mr. Jno. Winthropp.

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

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

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

[1] Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VI, 325–327.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[7] Conn. Col. Records, XIII, 247, 304.

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

[9] Conn. Col. Records, XIII, 367.

[10] *Ibid*, XIII, 424.

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

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

[12] John Still Winthrop, 1720–1776.

[13] MS. letter in Conn. Hist. Soc.

[14] Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1835–55, II, 332, note.

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

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

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

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

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

Sir,

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

[16] 5th Series, IX, 211–490.

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

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

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

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

I am Sir

Your most Obedient Servant

David Trumbull.

Lebanon 15*th April* 1794.

Rev[d] J. Belknap.[17]

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

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

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

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

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

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

[18] Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc. 1791–1836, I, 83.

[19] *Ibid.* p. 85 note.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[22] Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1835–55, II, 331–333.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[25] Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1835–55, II, 343–345.

[26] Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., II, 357–359.

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

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

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

W. N. Chattin Carlton.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

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

Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. 3d Series. Volume III. Cambridge, 1833. 8°. pp. 131–160.

Penhallow, Samuel. The History of the Wars of New England with the Eastern Indians. . . . Cincinnati, 1859. sm. 4°. Appendix, pp. 8–32.

Gardiner, Lion. A History of the Pequot War . . . Cincinnati, 1860. Sm. 4°. Title + pp. 36.

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Gardiner, Curtiss C. (*Ed.*) The Papers and Biography of Lion Gardiner, 1559–1663. With an Appendix. St. Louis, 1883. Sm. 4°. pp. 14–34.

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Orr, C. (*Ed.*) History of the Pequot War. The Contemporary Accounts of Mason, Underhill, Vincent, and Gardener. . . . Cleveland, 1897. 8°. pp. 112–149.

(1)

Easthampton June the 12th 1660

Loving ffriends Robert Chapman and Thomas Hurlbut my love remembred to you both, this are to informe if as you desired me when I was with you and Maior Mason at Seabrooke 2 years & a halfe agoe to consider and call to mind the passages of Gods providence at Seabrooke in and about the time of ye Pequit warre whereon I have now endeavoured to answer yor desires, and having rummaged and found sum old papers then written it was a great help to my memorie, you know no I came to you I was an ingenuous or apprentiseer whereof I acquendrie is a little yet, but you know I could never use all the tooles, for although for my occasion I was forced sumtimes to use my shifting chisell and my hookfast yet you know I could never under not abide the smoaking glasse, I have here sent you a quiver of Timber shaved and fitted to frame to any handsome quiver of worke. but seing I have done ye hardest worke, you must get sumbodie to chip it and to smooth it least ye splinters should pierce sum mens fingers, for ye truth must not be spoken at all times though to my knowledge I have written nothing but truth and you may take out or put in to ye quiver or if you will, may throw all into ye fire but I think you may let ye Governor and Maior Mason see it, I have also inserted sum additions of things I have done since yet they may be considered by ye age/ and thus as I was when I was with you so I remaine still Yours Loving ffriend Lion Gardiner

Leift Lion Gardiner his relation of the Pequot Warres.

Found among Gov Trumbulls papers 1809 by me & presen[d] to Com[tee] of Historical So[y] Mas[s] (to Rev[d] Convers Francis) to be restrd When Called for

W T Williams

(Lebanon Con) 19th July 1832

N° 6 —
17 Papers

Original

L[t] Lion Gardener

Received of H. B.
Feb. 10, 1896
C. J. H.

[1] Eafthampton June the 12th: 1660

Louing ffrends Robert Chapman and Thomas Hurlburt my loue remembred to you both, thes are to Informe, yt as you defired me when I was with you and Maior Mafon at Seabrooke 2 years & a halfe agoe to confidr and call to mind the paffages of Gods pruidence at Seabrooke in and about the time of ye Pequit warre whearin I haue now Indeuoured to anfwer yor defires, and hauing rumiged and found fum old papers then written it was a great help to my memorie, you know w̄ I came to you I was an Ingeannere or archecktector whereof carpendrie is a little prt, but you know I could neuer ufe all the tooles, for although for my neceffitie I was forced sumtimes to ufe my fhifting chifell and my houldfaft yet you know I could neuer endure nor abide the fmothing plane, I haue here fent you a piece of Timbr skored and forehewed unfit to Joyne to any handfome piece of worke, but feing I haue done ye hardeft worke, you muft get sumbodie to chip it and to fmooth it leaft ye fplinters should prick sum mens fingers, for ye truth Muft not be fpoken at all times though to my knowledg I haue written nothing but truth and you may take out or put in wt you pleas or if you will, may throw all into ye fire but I thinke you may let ye Gouernr and

Maior Maſon ſe it, I haue allſo inſerted ſum aditions of things y^{t} wear done ſince y^{t} they may be confidered togeath^{r}/and thus as I was when I was with you ſo I remaine ſtill

Yo^{r}

Louing ffriend

Lion Gardener

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

been taken & 3 men more, So they brought her downe and I ſent Mr Higgeſſon & M^{r} pell abord to take an Inuoyce of all y^{t} was in ye veſſell y^{t} nothing might be loſt, — 2 dayes after came to me as I had written to Sir Henerie vane then Gouern^{r} of the bay I say came to me Captain vndrill with 20 luſtie men well armed to ſtay with me 2 moneths or till Sumthing should be done about the pequits, he came at ye charge of my Maſters, Soone after came downe from Harford Maior Maſon, lieftennant Seely, acumpanied with Mr Stone, and 80 Engliſh men and 80 Indeans, with a Cummiſhion from Mr Ludlo and Mr Steele and Some oth^{r}s, thes came to goe fight with the pequits, but w̄ Capt vndrill and I had ſeen th^{r} commiſhion, we both ſaid they were not fitted for ſuch a deſigne and we ſaid to Maior Maſon we wondred he would venture himſelfe being no bett^{r} fitted and he ſaid the Magiſtrats could not or would not ſend bett^{r}, the we ſaid y^{t} none of o^{r} men ſhould goe with them neyth^{r} ſhould they goe vnleſſ we y^{t} weare bred ſouldiers fom our youth could ſee ſome likelihood to do better than the bay men with th^{r} Strong commiſhion laſt yeare, then I aſked them how they durſt truſt the Mohegin Indeans who had but y^{t} yeare come from the pequits, they ſaid they would truſt them for they could not well goe without them for want of guids, yea ſaid I, but I will try them before a man of ours ſhall goe with you or them, & I cald for Vncas & ſaid vnto him you ſay you will help Maior Maſon but I will firſt ſee it, therfore ſend you now 20 men

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

loued ſo well, but they ſent it them again and killed them becauſ they had kild an Engliſhman, but you haue kiled none therfore giue them nothing, Now friend tell me w^{t} I ſhall ſay to them for one of them is a great man. Then ſaid I tell them y^{t} you muſt goe firſt to ye farth^{r} end of long Iland and Speake with all ye reſt, & a moneth hence you will giue them an anſer Meane time you may goe to Mr Haines and he will tell you w^{t} to doe, and I will write all this now in my booke y^{t} I haue here, and So he did, and y^{e} Narraganſits departed, and this Sachem came to me at my houſe: And I wroat this Matt^{r} to Mr Haines, and he went vp with it to Mr Haines, who forbid him to giue any thing to the Narraganſit: & writ to me So: and $\overline{\text{w}}$ they came againe they came by my Iland and I knew them to be the ſame men: and I tould them they might goe home againe, & I gaue them Mr Haynes his letter for Mr Williams to read to y^{e} Sachem: So they returned back again; for I had Said to them that if they would goe to Mantacut I would goe likewiſe with them, and y^{t} long Iland muſt not giue wampum to Naraganſit

A while after this came Miantenomie from block Iland to Mantacut with a troop of men, Waiandance being not at home, and in Stead of receiuing p^{r}ſents wch they vſe to doe in th^{r} progreſſe, he gaue them gifts, calling them brethren & frends, for So are we all Indeans as ye Engliſh are, and Say broth^{r} to one anoth^{r}, So muſt we be one as they are, oth^{r}-wiſe we ſhall be all gone ſhortly, for you know our

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

him a way how [9] he might know all and then y^{t} he ſhould come and tell me, and So he did and found all out as is aboue written, and I Sent intelligence of it ouer to Mr Haynes and Mr Eaton, but becauſ my boat was gone from home it was 15 dayes before they had any letter, and Miantenomie was gotten home before they had Newes of and ye ould men w̄ they ſaw how I and ye Sachem had beguiled them and y^{t} he was come ouer to me, they Sent ſecretly a Canoe ouer in a mooneſhine night to Naraganſit to tell them al was diſcouered, So ye plot failed bleſſed be God, & ye plotter next ſpring after did as ahab did at ramoth Gillead So he to Mohegin and there had his fall

Two years aft^{r} this, Ninechrat ſent ouer a Captain of his who acted in euerie poynt as ye former, him ye Sachem tooke and bound and brought him to me and I wroat the ſame to Gouern^{r} Eaton & ſent an Indean y^{t} was my ſeruant and had liued 4 years with me him with 9 more I Sent to carie him to New hauen and gaue them foode for 10 dayes, but ye wind hindred them at Plum Iland, then they went to Shelt^{r} Iland, where the old Sachem dwelt waiandances elder brth^{r} and in ye night they let him goe, only my letter they ſent to New hauen and thus thes 2 plots was diſcouered but now my frend and brth^{r} is gone, who will now do the like

But if the p^{r}miſſes be not ſufficient to proue Waiandance a true frend to ye Engliſh for ſum may ſay he did all this out of malice to ye pequits and Naraganſits, Now I ſhall proue the like with reſpect

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

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

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

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

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

erates y^{t} helped him to warre when he redeemed his broth^{r} lot, but vncas of Miſtik and Waiandance at ye great Swamp, and euer ſince yor trustie frend is forgotten and for our ſakes perſecuted to this day with fire and ſword & Ahaſuerouſ of New England is ſtill aſleep, and if there be any like to Ahaſuerouſ let him remember what glorie to God and honner to our natiō hath followed th^{r} wiſdome and vallor, awake, awake Ahaſuerous if there be any of thy ſeed or ſpirit here and let not haman deſtroy vs as he hath done our mordecay

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

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

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

The Family and the Land

THE ISLAND. By Robert Payne. Illustrated. 248 pp. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co. $4.95.

By A. B. C. WHIPPLE

"THERE is no other island quite like it off the coast of America. It is not only that the island seen from the air or from the sea gives the appearance of being legendary—something you can hardly believe because it is so perfectly poised there, and so brilliantly shaped —but once you step ashore, you seem to have entered another age, richer than our own."

Thus Robert Payne emphasizes in his latest book the particular distinction of Gardiner's Island, off the eastern tip of Long Island: it is a bit of the American past held in a state of suspension. Many another island is richer in history. Nassau was visited by a great many more pirates than Gardiner's; some Maine islands featured bloodier Indian battles; and for more than a century during the age of whaling, Nantucket Island was famous around the world. But today Nassau is splattered with air-conditioned pleasure palaces for deep-sea fishermen, and most Maine islands look like stage sets waiting for Norman Rockwell to come along. Even Nantucket, thirty miles out at sea and jealously preserved by its antiquarians, has become so befouled by time and tourists that few English language epithets equal the word "off-islander" as spoken by a Nantucketer.

All this has passed Gardiner's Island by. Given by royal grant to the family's American progenitor, Lion Gardiner, in 1639, it has remained under the family's control ever since. Except for a group of sportsmen currently leasing the island, visitors are, happily, forbidden. Mr. Payne has written not so much about this unique island as about a unique family—one of America's least known and one of its greatest, one that was a dynasty even before the American Revolution. Among the Gardiners, Mr. Payne has found some fine, full-fleshed characters. Lion, the founder, who fought the Indians in Saybrook, Conn., befriended them on his island, seemed to give the whole Gardiner family the robustness it kept for centuries. "Lord" John Gardiner domesticated the island's Indians (and fathered innumerable squaws' sons), developed the island's farmlands and was host to Captain Kidd. Julia Gardiner became Mrs. John Tyler and one of the nation's most colorful First Ladies; she deserves part of the credit (or blame, depending on your point of view) for bringing Texas into the Union.

THE author dwells at perhaps too great length on the outstanding members of the family while slighting some of the lesser ones. Even the Gardiners produced some individuals who were just plain dull; but it would be nice to know more about such family members, for example, as the Dr. Gardiner who cured warts by spitting on them, and who treated a bedridden lady hypochondriac by hiring a man to creep under her bed at night.

In order to tell fully the story of the Gardiners, Mr. Payne has to stray far from their island. Generally it is worth it. The adventures of Julia Gardiner in Europe and later in Washington make a lively, little-known tale. The touching account of John Gardiner's voyage to Boston to watch Capt. William Kidd being betrayed and sent off to his death is a fascinating and well-researched piece of work. The author is particularly good, too, with his Indians, in describing that period when the white man held only a precarious beachhead on the North American continent.

Altogether "The Island" is a rousing, lively book, suffering only from something not complained about much these days: it whets the appetite for more.

Mr. Whipple is author of "Pirate: Rascals of the Spanish Main" and "Yankee Whalers in the South Seas."

Gardiner's Island.

119 **GARDENER** [sic], Lion. Relation of the Pequot Warres. Written in 1660 by Lieutenant Lion Gardener and Now First Printed from the Original Manuscript, with an Historical Introduction. Printed wrappers. [Hartford], 1901. $15.00

102 copies printed for the Acorn Club. The title page is incorrect in calling this the first printing; there was an edition of Cincinnati, 1860. The introduction by W. N. Chattin Carlton makes this edition desirable.

#4

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1955.

Famed Gardiners Island Leased To a New Club as Game Preserve

3,300-Acre Tract on Which Captain Kidd Buried Loot to Be Used by Hunters

Special to The New York Times.

EAST HAMPTON, L. I., Nov. 28 — Gardiners Island, where Captain Kidd buried a $40,000 treasure in 1699, has a temporary new corporate tenant.

A group of sportsmen who formed a corporation called Bayberry Ventures will use the 3,300-acre island until March 1 as a well-stocked hunting preserve.

The president of Bayberry Ventures is George S. Starke, who summers here and has a home at 37 East Eighty-seventh Street, New York. He is vice president for sales at the Sperry Gyroscope Company division of the Sperry Corporation. He would not disclose tonight the names of his associates in Bayberry Ventures.

The island, seven miles long and three miles across at its widest point, is as rich in history as it is in deer, pheasant, ducks and geese.

It became the site of the first English settlement in New York State after Lion Gardiner, an engineer sent from the Netherlands to build Saybrook Fort at the mouth of the Connecticut River, acquired it from the Montauk Indians in 1639. It lies between Montauk and Orient points.

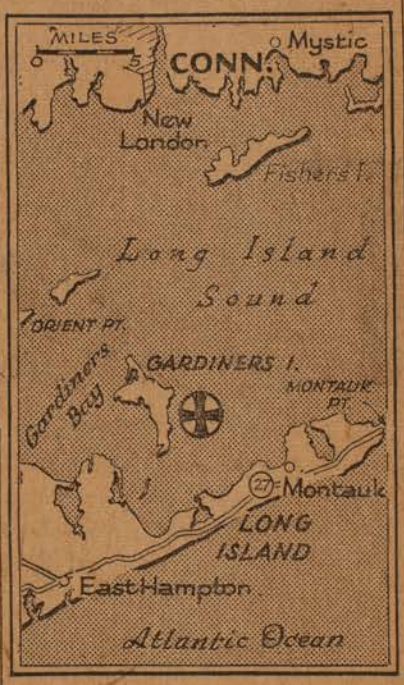
The same year Gardiner obtained a royal grant from Charles I of England. Local historians say it has been the only royal grant to remain in the hands of the original American family for 300 years.

Captain Kidd, a pirate hunter who turned buccaneer himself, sailed his six-gun sloop to the island and at Cherry Tree Beach buried a small chest containing bags of gold dust, coined gold, silver coin, unpolished gems, rings and buttons.

He sailed for Boston, was arrested immediately and later was executed in London. The Gardinerss dug up the booty, turned is over to colonial authorities and received a receipt that is now a museum piece.

The island, also noted for its great stand of white oak and a thriving colony of 500 eagle-like ospreys, or fish hawks, was used regularly by memberss of the Gardiner family until they began renting it in 1920.

Tenants have included Clarence Mackay, Winston Guest and Marion C. (Joe) Gale. Mr. Gale sub-let the island to Bayberry Ventures.



The New York Times Nov. 28, 1955

Historic island newly leased