AN

ENGLISH GARNER

VOLUME II

AN

ENGLISH GARNER

INGATHERINGS FROM OUR HISTORY AND LITERATURE

BY EDWARD ARBER, F.S.A.

'*Yea, history hath triumphed over time: which besides it, nothing but eternity hath triumphed over.*' SIR W. RALEIGH, Hist. of the World.

'*Airs and madrigals that whisper softness in chambers.*' J. MILTON, Areopagitica.

VOLUME II

ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO.

2 WHITEHALL GARDENS, WESTMINSTER

MDCCCXCVII

Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, Printers to Her Majesty

Contents of the Second Volume.

PAGE

The manner of the triumph at Calais and Boulogne. Printed by WYNKEN DE WORDE. (Nov. 1532.) 33

The noble triumphant Coronation of Queen ANNE, Wife unto the most noble King HENRY VIII. (May 1533.) Also printed by WYNKEN DE WORDE. 41

NICHOLAS UDALL. *English Verses and Ditties at the Coronation Procession of Queen ANNE BOLEYN.* (May 1533.) 52

Dean W. TURNER, M.D. *Notes on Wines used in England.* (1568.) 111

Doctor JOHN DEE. *The Petty Navy Royal.* (1 Aug. 1576.) ... 61

Captain R. HITCHCOCK. *A politic Plat for the honour of the Prince, the great profit of the public State, relief of the poor, preservation of the rich, &c.* (1 Jan. 1580.) 133

Sir P. SIDNEY. *Sonnets and Poetical Translations.* [?] 169

T. SANDERS. *The unfortunate Voyage of the* Jesus *to Tripoli, in* 1584. 11

Lyrics, Elegies, &c., from the first printed Collection of *Madrigals;* Edited, and set to Music by W. BYRD. (Nov. 1587.) 71

N. H. *The worthy and famous Voyage of Master THOMAS CAVENDISH, made round about the Globe of the Earth.* (1586–1588.) 117

THOMAS LODGE, M.D. *Rosalynd's Madrigal.* (1590.) 115

Captain R. HITCHCOCK. *The English Army Rations in the time of Queen Elizabeth.* (1591.) 206

H. C[ONSTABLE]. *DIANA or excellent conceited Sonnets.* (1594.) ... 225

F. MERES, M.A. *Sketch of English Literature, Painting, and Music up to September,* 1598. 94

BEN JONSON. *Hue and Cry after Cupid.* (1608.) 107

Sir WALTER RALEIGH. *Opening of his History of the World.* (1614.) 196

PAGE

A fight at sea famously fought by the Dolphin *of London against Five of the Turks' Men of War and a Satlee.* (12 Jan. 1617.) 198

Captain JOHN SMITH. *The present state of New England* [*i.e.*, 1624]. (1626.) 285

ANDREW MARVELL, M.P. *A Dialogue between the Resolved Soul and Created Pleasure* 30

——————— *Bermudas.* 283

ABRAHAM COWLEY. *The Wish.* (1647.) 131

——————— *DAVID's Serenade to MICHAL, the daughter of King SAUL.* (1660.) 205

——————— *Sitting and Drinking in the chair made out of the relics of Sir FRANCIS DRAKE's ship.* (1663.) 269

D. DEFOE. *The Education of Women.* (1692.) 265

[J. WRIGHT.] *The second generation of English professional Actors.* 1625–1670 A.D. (Printed 1699.) 272

Rev T. PRINCE, M.A. *A Chronological History of New England in the form of Annals* [down to 5 August 1633]. Printed at Boston N.E., in 1736 and 1754–5. 287

FIRST LINES OF POEMS AND STANZAS.

	PAGE
A carver, having loved..	252
Adjudge it to me !.....	58
A field there is	184
A fortress foiled.....	84
A friend of mine	230
Ah, hair ! how many ...	192
"Ah PHILIDA !"	82
Ah, wanton eyes !.....	76
Ah, yet, ere I descend...	131
Alas, I lie	194
Alas, she hath no other.	171
All as a sea, the world	87
All day their flocks	2
All joy, wealth	59
All my sense	190
All riches and kingdoms	57
All this fair, and cost ...	32
Although the heathen ...	83
Ambitious love	81
Amid the seas.....	83
And for the great virtues	57
And have I heard... 175,	239
And I, Stable Honour...	57
And if I grant to that ...	87
And if I sleep	115
And where by wrong ...	55
And wise PARIS.....	60
An humble pride	185
A poisoned serpent	84
A quenchless fire	84
Are poets then	180
A Satyr once did run ...	178
As draws the golden ...	259
As for my mirth	180
As I beheld, I saw	82
A soul that knows.....	31
A stranger fish	183
As they of all most	139
Astronomers the heavens	252
At his sight, the sun.....	109
Awake, awake, my lyre	205
Ay me, poor wretch ! ...	246
Beauties ! Have you ...	108
Behold and see	53
Be still, my blessed	89
Blame not my heart	229
But always one myself..	187
But who, by hearsay ...	186
But being care	249
But eyes these beauties.	186
But fine conceits dares	80
But now to take	55
But shame will not	79
But since my thoughts..	181
But since I have not.....	88
But Thou shalt live	90
But who hath fancies ...	186
By that bedside.....	83
Care for thy corps.....	89
Care for the world.....	89
Care for thy soul	89
Cheer up, my mates ! ...	269
Come learners then to me	187
Come to me grief 92,	93
Constance PENELOPE ...	84
Courage, my Soul.....	30
Dead ! no, no.....	93
Dear to my soul ! then..	249
Each day, new proofs ...	243
Earth cannot show	31
Else I with roses	116
Eternal twins, that	223
Everything does seem ...	31
Evil haps do fill.....	176
Fair by inheritance	264
Fair ! seek not to be.....	177
Fair Sun ! if you would	238
Falsely doth Envy	232
Fare Grace of Graces !...	256
Farewell, false LOVE ! ...	84
Finding those beams ...	182
Fire, burn me quite	170
Fly low, dear love !	230
Fools be they	242
Forgive me, Dear !	253
For lawyers.....	82
For like as from this ...	52
For me, alas, I am	187
For where chaste love...	85
For though my sense ...	188
Give period to my matter	261
Gladly my senses	188
GOD, that of His.....	58
Go from dread to die ...	92
Had I but any time.....	31
Had she not been so ...	258
Hark, how Music.....	31
Hark, how the strings...	205
He doth bear a golden..	109
Heralds at arms do	233
Her loving looks	76
He whom the Court.....	92
H' hath of marks about.	108
His bow and shafts	77
His shadow to	248
Honour and grace	53
Hope, like the hyæna ...	245
How happy here	132
I am no model figure ...	248
I, CHASTITY, restrain all	85
Idle minutes are his.....	110
I do not now complain...	246
If by these, ye please ...	110
If either you would	181
If ever sorrow spoke ...	247
If Greeks themselves ...	179
If I could think.....	181
If I had DAVID's crown	88
If oaths may serve	179
If that a sinner's sighs...	88
If things of Sight.....	32
If thou be'st with.....	31
If true love might.....	234

	PAGE
If women could be fair...	80
I joy not in no earthly...	75
I kiss not where I wish	75
I laugh not	78
I meet not mine.....	260
I must therefore.....	80
In chastity	55
In fields abroad	83
In hard estate	176
In wonted walks..... 180,	239
I press to bear	78
I see that plenty	78
I should break JUPITER'S	58
I sup above.....	30
It is no common cause...	107
It may be, LOVE	234
I wish but what I have	75
JUPITER, a strange	57
JUPITER, this apple	57
Lady! in beauty	235
Leave me, O love!	195
Let *dirige* be sung	194
Like as the dove	177
Like to the silly Sylvan	188
Lo! lo! my little Babe!	90
Look then and die	186
Love have I followed ...	255
Love in my bosom	115
Love ye who list	76
"Lully, lully, my baby!"	172
Make much of us	85
Mine eye, with all	231
Mine eyes the strait.....	184
Most excellent Queen ...	52
Much sorrow in itself ...	232
My eyes presume	79
My gentler rest is on ...	31
My God, my God.....	255
"My hand doth not" ...	179
My heart, mine Eye ...	254
My Lady's presence.....	233
My lake is Sense	183
My mind to me	78
My mistress lowers	179
My muse therefore	179
My reason absent.....	236
My ship Desire;	184
My sheep are lost.....	76
My tears are true:	262
My wealth is health.....	79
Near Wilton sweet	183
Needs must I leave	241

	PAGE
No more in thy	190
No! No! Another	58
No, no, no, no	189
None hither mounts.....	32
No princely port	78
Nor think the match ...	193
Now here to be	56
Now thy sweetness	190
Nulli se decit mulier ...	176
Observe not sins	86
O fair! O sweet! ... 172,	173
Of an Athenian young...	240
Of body small	54
O fountains! when	131
Of ships, by shipwreck..	184
Oft have I mused 182,	245
Of this grace, with bliss	193
O happy who thus	82
One sun unto my	251
O no! O no!.....	187
On sandy bank, of late ..	192
On these downy pillows.	30
O that I might declare	80
O that most rare breast!	93
O this it is!	179
Our passions be.....	87
Passing beauty	59
Peak hath a cave	184
Persèver ever and have..	261
Pity refusing my poor...	237
Prefer me, and I shall ...	58
Pride and Ambition	132
Prometheus for stealing.	250
Prometheus, when first..	178
Prostrate, O LORD!...	86
Queen Anne, behold ...	56
Queen Anne so gentle ...	59
Queen Anne! whom ...	56
Qui sceptra sævus duro	177
Ready to seek out death	243
Resolved to love	229
Right so, dear Lady! ...	52
Ring out your bells	193
SIDNEY, the hope	92
She never dies	185
She that will but now ...	108
"Since, baby mine!" ...	172
Since shunning pain 169,	239
Since ye heard his	110
Sleep, baby mine	172
Sleep, sleep again.....	206

	PAGE
So far hath fond Desire	79
Sometimes in verse	263
Sound is the knot..	85
Spy! if you can	107
Stay Nymphs! We then	108
Still the fairest are his...	109
Susanna fair	87
Sweet hand! the sweet.	238
Sweet Lady! As for ...	180
Sweetness? sweetly	191
Sweet Sovereign!.....	241
Tell me, O hair of gold.	192
That store of such.....	91
The Bruertons have.....	183
The cause is this	77
The compass is a mind	87
The Court and cart	75
The earth, her Ears.....	184
The First Created held..	256
The Fire to see	170
The fowler hides	237
The gods did storm	77
The golden ball.....	60
The golden mean	176
Their dealings plain.....	81
The match that's made...	85
The nightingale—	171
Then, good APOLLO! ...	180
The pious wanderer's ...	270
Therefore, Lady VENUS	58
There should these	88
The richest relic Rome..	244
The scourge of life ...175,	239
These ladies striving ...	77
These wonders	185
The sun his.....	235
The sun unto my life's...	251
The virtues all	54
The winds most oft	176
The wonders	86
The world will do't	271
They to the beamy suns	188
Thine eye, the glass.....	231
This White Falcon	54
This gentle bird	54
Thou blind man's mark..	195
Though AMARILLIS	76
Though present times ...	176
Though ye had a will ...	110
Thou shalt know	32
Thou Pain! the only 175,	239
Thou wilt persèver ever	259
Three Kings, this King	90
Thus do I fall to rise ...	188

	PAGE
Thus long imposed to ...	258
Thus may I not be	188
Thus sang they in.....	284
Thy mercy greater	88
To live in hell	251
To mark what choice ...	80
To stranger weights.....	183
Triumph ! triumph !.....	32
Trust him not.....	109
Turned anew	188
'Twill grieve me more...	262
Uncivil Sickness !.....	239
Unhappy day !	254
"Unto nobody"	177
Weak lyre ! Thy virtue	206
Weary of love	253
We have a fish	183
Well then ! I now do ...	131
Welcome the Creation's.	30
Weep ! neighbours	194
Wer't not a price	32
What changes here	191
What do I mean ?.....	270
What friends ! if to.....	32
What if I beat	116
What pleasure	81
What should we	283
What viewed I, Dear !...	257
When JUPITER	59
When LOVE, puft up 170,	239
When tedious much.....	257
When the Creator's skill	31
When to my deadly.....	187
When your perfections ..	242
Where Chasteness fails	85
Where FANCY fond	79
Where the remote.....	283
Whereon to rest	55
Wheresoe'er thy foot ...	32
Which time that we.....	53
Whilst Echo cries.....	250
Who hath such beauty ..	192
Who hath his fancy	185
Who hath ever felt	186
Who likes to love	77
Who makes his seat	83
Whose patience rare.....	91
Who will express	54
Why do I use my paper	91
"Why thus unjustly"...	244
Wilt thou all the glory...	32
Wilt thou be still unkind	260
Wings he hath, which...	109
With violence of	187
Woe to me ! alas	191
Woe to mine eyes !	240
Woe ! woe to me !... 174,	239
Wonder it is, and pity ...	336
Yet for our sport	81
Yet, yet, a life to their ..	188
You better sure shall ...	176
Your dignity	60
You secret vales !	247

PREFACE.



EW OF US adequately realize the immense Literature which has descended to us from our ancestors. Generation after generation has passed away; each of which has produced (in the order of its own thought, and with the tuition of its inherited or acquired experience) many a wise, bright, or beautiful thing: which having served its own brief day, has straitway passed away into utter forgetfulness, there to remain till Doomsday; unless some effort like the present, shall restore it to the knowledge and enjoyment of English-reading peoples.

This Collection is to gather, for the gratification of this and future ages, a vast amount of incomparable poesy and most stirring prose; which hardly any one would imagine to be in existence at all. Of many of the original impressions there survive but one or two copies, and these often are most difficult of access: so that it is not too much to say of the following contents as a whole, that they have never hitherto come within the ken of any single English scholar.

The reader must be prepared often to find most crude and imperfect theories *or* beliefs, *which later experience has exploded, mixed up with most important* facts *or* allusions *as to the times, manners, or customs of the period then under illustration: leaving to us the obligation to reject the one, and to receive the other.*

Many of the following books and tracts are the original materials out of which modern historians have culled the most graphic touches of their most brilliant pages. In fact, the Series is, in regard to much of its prose, a Study on a large scale of detached areas of English history; and stands in the same relation to the general national Story, as a selected Collection of Parish Maps would do to the Ordnance Survey of English land.

AN

ENGLISH GARNER

INGATHERINGS

FROM OUR

HISTORY AND LITERATURE

VOL. II.

THOMAS SANDERS.

The unfortunate Voyage of the Jesus *to Tripoli, in* 1584.

[This Narrative was entered at Stationers' Hall on 31st of March 1587 (*Transcript, &c.*, ii. 467. *Ed.* 1875) as a distinct publication under the title of *A most lamentable Voyage made into Turkey, &c.*; but we have not been able to meet with a copy of the original edition, and have taken the text from the early reprint in HAKLUYT's *Voyages*, 1589.]

The voyage made to Tripoli in Barbary, in the year 1584, with a ship called the *Jesus*; wherein the adventures and distresses of some Englishmen are truly reported, and other necessary circumstances observed.



HIS voyage was set forth [*chartered*] by the right worshipful Sir EDWARD OSBORNE, Knight, Chief Merchant of all the "Turkey Company," and one Master RICHARD STAPERS; the ship being of the burden of 100 tons, called the *Jesus*. She was built at Farmne [? *Fareham*], a river by Portsmouth. The owners were Master THOMAS THOMSON, NICHOLAS CARNABIE, and JOHN GILMAN, The Master (under GOD) was one ZACCHEUS HELLIER of Blackwall, and his Mate was one RICHARD MORRIS of that place. Their Pilot was one ANTHONY JERADO, a Frenchman of the province of Marseilles. The Purser was one WILLIAM THOMSON, our owner's son. The Merchants' Factors [*supercargoes*] were ROMAINE SONNINGS a Frenchman, and RICHARD SKEGS servant unto the said Master STAPERS.

The owners were bound unto the merchants by charterparty thereupon, in 1000 marks [=£333, *or in present value about* £2000], that the said ship, by GOD's permission, should go for Tripoli in Barbary: that is to say, first from Portsmouth to Newhaven [*Hâvre*] in Normandy; from thence to San Lucar de Barrameda in Andalusia; and from thence to Tripoli, which is in the east part of [the northern shore of] Africa; and so to return unto London.

But here ought every man to note and consider the works of our GOD; that, many times, what man doth determine, GOD doth disappoint. The said Master having some occasion to go to Farmne, took with him the Pilot and the Purser; and returning again, by means of a perry [*gust*] of wind the boat, wherein they were, was drowned with the said Master, Purser, and all the company; excepting the said Pilot, who by experience in swimming saved himself. These were the beginnings of our sorrows.

After which, the said Master's Mate would not proceed in that voyage; and the owner hearing of this misfortune, and the unwillingness of the Master's Mate, did send down one RICHARD DEIMOND, and shipped him for Master; who did choose for his Mate one ANDREW DIER, and so the said ship

departed on her voyage accordingly. That is to say, about the 16th of October 1583, she made sail from Portsmouth, and the 18th day then next following, she arrived in Newhaven [*Hâvre*] ; where our said last Master, DEIMOND, by a surfeit, died.

The Factors then appointed the said ANDREW DIER, being then Master's Mate, to be their Master for that voyage ; who did choose to be his Mates, the two Quarter Masters of the same ship, to wit, PETER AUSTIN and SHILLABEY, and for Purser was shipped one RICHARD BURGES.

Afterwards, about the 8th day of November, we made sail forward, and by force of weather we were driven back again into Portsmouth ; where we refreshed ourselves with victuals and other necessaries : and then the wind came fair.

About the 29th day then next following, we departed thence ; and the 1st day of December, by means of a contrary wind, we were driven into Plymouth.

The 18th day then next following, we made southward again, and by force of weather we were driven into Falmouth ; where we remained until the 1st day of January [1584]. At which time the wind coming fair, we departed thence ; and about the 20th day of the said month we arrived safely at San Lucar.

About the 9th day of March next following, we made sail from thence ; and about the 18th day of the same month, we came to Tripoli in Barbary : where we were very well entertained by the King of that country, and also of the commons [*people*].

The commodity of that place is sweet oils. The King there is a merchant, and the rather (willing to prefer himself before his commons) requested our said Factors to traffic with him ; and promised them that if they should take his oils at his own price, they should pay no manner of custom [*export duty*] : and they took of him certain tuns of oils. Afterward perceiving that they might have far better cheap notwithstanding the free custom, they desired the King to licence them to take the oils at the pleasure of his commons, for that his price did exceed theirs : whereunto the King would not agree, but was rather contented to abate his price, insomuch that the Factors bought all their oils of the King, custom free, and so laded the same aboard.

In the mean time there came to that place, one MILES DICKENSON, in a ship of Bristol; who, together with our said Factors, took a house to themselves there. Our French Factor, ROMAINE SONNINGS desired to buy a commodity in the market; and wanting money, desired the said MILES DICKENSON to lend him an hundred chikinos [*shekins*] until he came to his lodging: which he did. Afterwards the same SONNINGS met with MILES DICKENSON in the street, and delivered him money bound up in a napkin, saying, "Master DICKENSON, there is the money I borrowed of you!" and so thanked him for the same. He doubted nothing less than falsehood, which is seldom known among merchants, and specially being together in one house; and is the more detestable between Christians, they being in Turkey among the heathen.

The said DICKENSON did not tell [*count*] the money presently [*immediately*], until he came to his lodging; and then finding nine chikinos lacking of his hundred, which was about £3 (=£20 *in present value*), for that every chikino is worth seven shillings of English money; he came to the said ROMAINE SONNINGS, and delivered him his handkerchief, and asked him, "How many chikinos he had delivered him?" SONNINGS answered, "An hundred." DICKENSON said, "No!" And so they protested, and swore on both parts. But in the end, the said ROMAINE SONNINGS did swear deeply, with detestable oaths and curses; and prayed GOD that He might show His works on him that others might take example thereby, and that he might be hanged like a dog, and never come into England again; if he did not deliver into the said DICKENSON a hundred chikinos.

And here, behold a notable example for all blasphemers, cursers, and swearers! how GOD rewarded him accordingly. For many times it cometh to pass that GOD showeth His miracles upon such monstrous blasphemers, to the example of others; as now hereafter you shall hear what befel to this ROMAINE SONNINGS.

There was a man in the said town, a pledge; whose name was Patrone NORADO; who, the year before, had done this SONNINGS some pleasure there. The foresaid Patrone

NORADO was indebted unto a Turk of that town in the sum of 450 crowns (=*about* £130, *or in present value about* £1,000) for certain goods sent by him into Christendom in a ship of his own, and by his own brother; and he himself remained in Tripoli as a pledge until his said brother's return: and, as the report went there, after his brother's arrival in Christendom, he came among lewd company, and lost his brother's said ship and goods at dice; and never returned unto him again.

The said Patrone NORADO—being void of all hope, and finding now opportunity—consulted with the said SONNINGS for to swim a seaboard the islands, and the ship being then out of danger, should take him in (as after was confessed); and so to go to Toulon, in the Province of Marseilles, with this Patrone NORADO, and there to take in the rest of his lading.

The ship being ready the 1st day of May [1584], and having her sails all aboard; our said Factors took their leave of the King, who very courteously bade them farewell: and when they came aboard, they commanded the Master and the company hastily to get out the ship. The Master answered that it was impossible, for that the wind was contrary and overblowed: and he required us upon forfeiture of our bonds, that we should do our endeavour to get her forth. Then went we to warp out the ship. Presently [*immediately*] the King sent a boat aboard of us, with three men in her, commanding the said SONNINGS to come ashore. At whose coming, the King demanded of him custom for the oils. SONNINGS answered him, "that His Highness had promised to deliver them custom free!" But notwithstanding, the King weighed not his said promise, and—as an infidel that had not the fear of GOD before his eyes; nor regard for his word, albeit he was a King—he caused the said SONNINGS to pay the custom to the uttermost penny: and afterwards willed him to make haste away, saying, "that the Janissaries would have the oil ashore again."

These Janissaries are soldiers there, under the Great Turk; and their power is above the King's.

So the said Factor departed from the King, and came to the water side, and called for a boat to come aboard. He brought with him the foresaid Patrone NORADO. The company inquisitive to know what man that was, SONNINGS answered,

that he was his countryman, as passenger. "I pray GOD," said the company, "that we come not into trouble by this man." Then said SONNINGS angrily, "What have you to do with any matters of mine? If anything chance otherwise than well, I must answer for all."

Now the Turk unto whom the Patrone NORADO was indebted, missing him, supposed him to be aboard of our ship; presently went unto the King, and told him "that he thought his pledge Patrone NORADO was aboard the English ship:" whereupon the King presently sent a boat aboard of us, with three men in her, commanding the said SONNINGS to come ashore, and not speaking anything as touching the man. He said, "He would come presently in his own boat." But as soon as they were gone, he willed us to warp forth the ship; and said that "he would see the knaves hanged, before he would go ashore."

And when the King saw that he came not ashore, but still continued warping away the ship, he straight commanded the gunner of the bulwark to fire three shoots [*rounds*] without ball.

Then we came all to the said SONNINGS, and asked of him, "What was the matter that we were shot at?" He said that "it was the Janissaries, who would have the oil ashore again," and willed us to make haste away.

After that the King had discharged three shots without ball, he commanded the gunners in the town to do their endeavour to sink us: but the Turkish gunners could not once strike us. Wherefore the King sent presently to the *bagnio*—this *bagnio* is the prison where all the captives lay at night—and promised that if there were any that could either sink us or else cause us to come in again, he should have a hundred crowns (=£30, *or in present value over* £200) and his liberty. With that, came forth a Spaniard called SEBASTIAN, who had been an old servitor in Flanders; and he said, that "upon the performance of that promise, he would undertake either to sink us or to cause us to come in again; and thereto he would gage his life." At the first shot, he split our rudder's head in pieces; the second shot, he strake us under water; and with the third shot, he shot us through the foremast with a culvering shot. Thus he having rent both our rudder and mast, and shot us under water, we were enforced to go in again.

This SEBASTIAN, for all his diligence herein, had neither his liberty, nor a hundred crowns, so promised by the King; but after his service done, was committed again to prison. Whereby may appear the regard that a Turk or infidel hath of his word, although he be able to perform it: yea more, though he be a King.

Then our Merchants [*i.e.*, *Factors*] seeing no remedy; they together with five of our company went ashore. Then they ceased shooting. They shot unto us in the whole, nine and thirty shots; without the hurt of any man.

And when our Merchants came ashore, the King commanded presently that they, with the rest of our company that were with them, should be chained four and four to an hundredweight of iron. When we came in with the ship, there came presently above a hundred Turks aboard of us. They searched us, and stript our very clothes from our backs, brake open our chests, and made a spoil of all that we had.

The Christian caitiffs [*renegadoes*] likewise that came aboard us made spoil of our goods, and used us as ill as the Turks did.

And our Master's Mate having a "Geneva *Bible*" in his hand; there came the King's Chief Gunner, and took it from him. The Master's Mate showed me of it, and I, having the language, went to the King's Treasurer; and told him of it, saying, "that since it was the will of GOD that we should fall into their hands; yet that they should grant us to use our consciences to our own discretion, as they suffered the Spaniards and other nations to use theirs." He granted it us. Then I told him that "the Master Gunner had taken away a *Bible* from one of our men." The Treasurer went presently, and commanded him to deliver up the *Bible* again: which he did.

But within a little while after, he took it from the man again; and I showed the Treasurer of it, and he commanded him to deliver it again, saying, "Thou villain! wilt thou turn to Christianity again?" For he was *renegado;* which is one that first was a Christian, and afterwards became a Turk. So he delivered me the *Bible* a second time.

And then I having it in my hand, the Gunner came to me, and spake these words, saying, "Thou dog! I will have the book in despite of thee:" and took it from me, saying, "If

thou tell the King's Treasurer of it any more, by Mahomet! I will be revenged of thee!" Notwithstanding, I went the third time unto the King's Treasurer, and told him of it. He came with me, saying thus unto the Gunner, "By the head of the Great Turk, if thou take it from him again; thou shalt have an hundred bastinados!" Forthwith he delivered me the book, saying, "He had not the value of a pin of the spoil of the ship!" which was the better for him, as hereafter you shall hear. For there was none, whether Christian or Turk, that took the value of a pennyworth of our goods from us, but perished both body and goods within seventeen months following; as hereafter shall plainly appear.

Then came the Guardian Pasha, which is the Keeper of the King's captives, to fetch us all ashore. Then I, remembering the miserable estate of the poor distressed captives in the time of their bondage to those infidels, went to mine own chest, and took out thereof a jar of oil and filled a basket full of white rusk to carry ashore with me; but before I came to the *bagnio*, the Turkish boys had taken away almost all my bread; and the Keeper said, "Deliver me the jar of oil, and and when thou comest to the *bagnio*, thou shalt have it again!" but I never had it of him any more.

But when I came to the *bagnio*, and saw our Merchants and all the rest of our company in chains; and we all ready to receive the same reward: whose heart in the world is there so hard, but would have pitied our course? hearing or seeing the lamentable greeting there was betwixt us.

All this happened the 1st of May 1584.

And the 2nd day of the same month, the King with his Council [*Divan*] sate in judgement upon us. The first that were had forth to be arraigned were the Factors and the Master. The King asked them, "Wherefore came they not ashore when he sent for them?" ROMAINE SONNINGS answered, that "though he were King on shore, and might command there; so was he as touching those that were under him," and therefore said, "if there be any offence, the fault is wholly in myself, and in no other." Then forthwith the King gave judgement that the said ROMAINE SONNINGS should be hanged over the north-east bulwark [*rampart*], from whence he conveyed the forenamed Patrone NORADO.

Then he called for our Master, ANDREW DIER, and used few words to him; and so condemned him to be hanged over the walls of the westermost bulwark. Then fell our other Factor, named RICHARD SKEGS, upon his knees before the King, and said, "I beseech your Highness either to pardon our Master, or else suffer me to die for him. For he is ignorant of this cause." Then the people of that country favouring the said RICHARD SKEGS, besought the King to pardon them both. Then the King spake these words, "Behold, for thy sake, I pardon the Master!" Then presently the Turks shouted, and cried, saying, "Away with the Master from the presence of the King!" Then he came into the *bagnio* where we were, and told us what had happened: and we all rejoiced at the good hap of Master SKEGS; that he was saved, and our Master for his sake.

But afterwards our joy was turned to double sorrow, for in the mean time the King's mind was altered, for that one of his Council had advised him that unless the Master died also, by the law they could not confiscate the ship nor goods, nor captive [*enslave*] any of the men. Whereupon the King sent for our Master again, and gave him another judgement, after his pardon for one cause; which was that he should be hanged.

Here all true Christians may see what trust a Christian man may put in an infidel's promise; who, being a King, pardoned a man now, as you have heard, and within an hour after hanged him for the same cause before a whole multitude: and also promised our Factors their oils custom free, and at their going away made them pay the uttermost penny for the custom thereof.

When that ROMAINE SONNINGS saw no remedy but that he should die; he protested to turn Turk, hoping thereby to have saved his life. Then said the Turk, "If thou wilt turn Turk, speak the words that thereunto belong!" And he did so. Then said they unto him, "Now thou shalt die in the faith of a Turk!" And so he did, as the Turks reported that were at his execution.

The forenamed Patrone NORADO, whereas before he had liberty, and did nothing; he was then condemned to be a slave perpetually; unless there were payment made of the foresaid money.

Then the King condemned us all—who were in number six and twenty; of the which two were hanged, as you have heard, and one died the first day we came on shore by the visitation of Almighty GOD—the other three and twenty he condemned to be slaves perpetually unto the Great Turk; and the ship and goods were confiscated to the use of the Great Turk.

Then we all fell down upon our knees, giving GOD thanks for this sorrowful visitation, and giving ourselves wholly to the almighty power of GOD; unto whom all secrets are known, that He of His goodness would vouchsafe to look upon us.

Here, may all true Christian hearts see the wonderful works of GOD showed upon such infidels, blasphemers, and runnagate Christians! and so you shall read in the end of this book [*narrative*], of the like upon the unfaithful King and all his children, and upon as many as took any portion of the said goods.

But first to show our miserable bondage and slavery, and unto what small pittance we were tied. Every five men had allowance of but five Aspers of bread in a day, which are but two pence English: and our lodging was to lie on the bare boards, with a very simple cape to cover us. We were also forcibly and most violently shaven, head and beard.

Within three days after [*on 5th May* 1584], I and six more of my fellows together with four score Italians and Spaniards, were sent forth in a galliot to take a Greek Carmosel, which came into Arabia [?] to steal negroes; and went out of Tripoli unto that place, which was 240 leagues thence. We were chained three and three to an oar, and we rowed naked above the girdle. The Boatswain of the galley walked abaft the mast, and his Mate afore the mast; and each of them with a thong in their hands. When their devilish choler rose, they would strike the Christians for no cause. They allowed us but half a pound of bread a man in a day, without any other kind of sustenance, water excepted.

And when we came to the place where we saw the Carmosel, we were not suffered to have either needle, bodkin, knife, or any other instrument about us; nor at any other time in the night, upon pain of one hundred bastinados. We were then

also cruelly manacled in such sort that we could not put our hands the length of one foot asunder the one from the other: and every night, they searched our chains three times, to see if they were fast rivetted.

We continued fight with the Carmosel three hours, and then we took it. We lost but two men in that fight, but there were slain of the Greeks, five; and fourteen were cruelly hurt. They that were sound were presently made slaves, and chained to the oars: and within fifteen days after we returned again to Tripoli; and then we were put to all manner of slavery.

I was put to hew stones, others to carry stones, some to draw the cart with earth, some to make mortar, and some to draw stones: for at that time the Turks builded a church [*mosque*]. Thus we were put to all kind of slavery that was to be done.

In the time of our being there, the Moors that are the husbandmen of the country, rebelled against the King, because he would have constrained them to pay greater tribute than heretofore they had done: so that the soldiers of Tripoli marched forth from the town to have joined battle against the Moors for their rebellion. The King sent with them four pieces of ordnance; which were drawn by the captives twenty miles into the country after them. At the sight thereof, the Moors fled: and then the captives returned back again.

Then I and certain Christians more were sent twelve miles into the country, with a cart to load timber; and we returned the same day.

Now the King had eighteen captives which three times a week went to fetch wood thirty miles from the town; and on a time he appointed me for one of the eighteen. We departed at eight o'clock in the night, and upon the way as we rode upon the camels, I demanded of one of our company, who did direct us the way? He said, there was a Moor in our company which was our guide. I demanded of them how Tripoli and the wood bare one off the other? He said, "East-north-east, and west-south-west."

At midnight or thereabouts, as I was riding on my camel, I fell asleep; and the guide and all the rest rode away from

me, not thinking but that I had been among them. When I awoke, finding myself alone, I durst not call nor halloa, for fear lest the wild Moors should hear me; because they hold this opinion that in killing a Christian they do GOD good service. Musing with myself what were best for me to do, if I should go forth and the wild Moors should hap to meet with me, they would kill me; and on the other side, if I should return back to Tripoli without any wood or company, I should be most miserably used therefore: of the two evils, rather did I go forth to the losing of my life, than to turn back and trust to their mercy, fearing to be used as before I had seen others. Understanding before by some of my company how Tripoli and the said wood did lie one off another, by the north star I went forth at adventure; and, as GOD would have it, I came right to the place where they were, even about an hour before day. There all together we rested, and gave our camels provender; and as soon as the day appeared, we rode all into the wood. I seeing no wood here, but a stick here and a stick there, about the bigness of a man's arm, growing in the sand; it caused me to marvel how so many camels should be laden in that place. The wood was Juniper. We needed no axe nor edge tool to cut it, but pluckt it up by strength of hands, roots and all; which a man might easily do: and so gathered it together a little at one place, and so at another; and laded our camels, and came home about seven o'clock that night following. And because I fell lame, and my camel was tired, I left my wood in the way.

There was in Tripoli, at that time, a Venetian whose name was BENEDETTO *Venetiano*, and seventeen captives more of his company; who ran away from Tripoli in a boat, and came in sight of an island called Malta, which lieth forty leagues right north from Tripoli. Being within a mile of the shore, and with very fair weather, one of their company said, *In dispetto de DIO adesso venio a pilliar terra*; which is as much as to say, "In the despite of GOD, I shall now fetch the shore:" and presently there arose a mighty storm with thunder and rain, and the wind at north. Their boat being very small, there were enforced to bear up room, and to shear right afore the wind over against the coast of Barbary from whence they came; and rowing up and down

the coast, their victuals being spent, the twenty-first day after their departure they were enforced through want of food to come ashore, thinking to have stolen some sheep. But the Moors of the country, perceiving their intent, very craftily gathered together a threescore horsemen, and hid themselves behind a sandy hill; and when the Christians were come all ashore, and had passed up half a mile into the country; the Moors rode betwixt them and their boat, and some of them pursued the Christians. So they were all taken and brought to Tripoli, from whence they had before escaped. Presently the King commanded that the foresaid BENEDETTO with one more of his company should lose their ears, and the rest to be most cruelly beaten; which was presently done.

This King had a son, who was a ruler in an island called Jerbah, whereunto arrived an English ship called the *Green Dragon*, of the which was Master one Master BLONKET: who had a very unhappy boy in that ship; and understanding that whosoever would turn Turk should be well entertained of the King's son, this boy did run ashore, and voluntarily turned Turk.

Shortly after [*May* 1584], the King's son came to Tripoli to visit his father; and seeing our company, he greatly fancied RICHARD BURGES our Purser, and JAMES SMITH. They were both young men. Therefore he was very desirous to have them to turn Turks: but they would not yield to his desire, saying, "We are your father's slaves; and as slaves, we will serve him." Then his father the King sent for them, and asked them if they would turn Turk? They said, "If it please your Highness, Christians we were born, and so we will remain;" and beseeched the King that they might not be enforced thereunto. The King had there before, in his house, a son of a Yeoman of our Queen's Guard; whom the King's son had enforced to turn Turk. His name was JOHN NELSON. Him, the King caused to be brought to these young men, and then said unto them, "Will you not bear this your countryman company, and be Turk as he is?" And they said, "They would not yield thereunto during life."

But it fell out, that within a month after, the King's son went home to Jerbah again, being six score miles from

Tripoli; and carried our two foresaid young men with him, which were RICHARD BURGES and JAMES SMITH. After their departure from us, they sent us a letter signifying that there was no violence showed to them as yet. But within three days after, they were violently used: for that the King's son demanded of them again, "If that they would turn Turk?" Then answered RICHARD BURGES, "A Christian I am, and so will I remain." Then the King's son very angrily said unto him, "By Mahomet! thou shalt presently [*instantly*] be made Turk!" Then called he for his men, and commanded them to make him Turk; and they did so, and circumcised him: and would have had him speak the words that thereunto belonged; but he answered them stoutly that he would not, and although they had put on him the habit of a Turk; "Yet," said he, "a Christian I was born, and so I will remain; though you force me to do otherwise." And then he called for the other, and commanded him to be made Turk perforce also; but he was very strong, for it was as much as eight of the King's son's men could do to hold him; so in the end they circumcised him, and made him Turk.

Now to pass over a little, and so to show the manner of our deliverance out of that miserable captivity.

In May [1584] aforesaid, shortly after our apprehension, I wrote a letter into England unto my father dwelling at Eavistoke [*Tavistock*] in Devonshire, signifying unto him the whole state of our calamities; and I wrote also to Constantinople to the English Ambassador: both of which letters were faithfully delivered.

But when my father had received my letter, and understood the truth of our mishap and the occasion thereof, and what had happened to the offendors; he certified the Right Honourable the Earl of BEDFORD thereof, who, in short space, acquainted Her Highness with the whole cause thereof: and Her Majesty, like a merciful Princess tendering her subjects, presently took order for our deliverance.

Whereupon the right worshipful Sir EDWARD OSBORNE, Knight, directed his letters [*5th of September* 1584] with all speed to the English Ambassador in Constantinople to procure

our delivery. He obtained the Great Turk's Commission [*October* 1584], and sent it forthwith [*January* 1585] to Tripoli by one Master EDWARD BARTON [*his Secretary*], together with [MAHOMET Beg] a Justice of the Great Turk's, one soldier, another Turk; and a Greek who was his Interpreter, and could speak Greek, Turkish, Italian, Spanish, and English.

When they came to Tripoli, they were well entertained; and the first night, they did lie in a captain's house in the town. All our company that were in Tripoli came that night for joy, to Master BARTON and the other Commissioners to see them. Then Master BARTON said unto us, "Welcome, my good countrymen!" and lovingly entertained us; and at our departure from him, he gave us two shillings, and said, "Serve God! for to-morrow I hope you shall be as free as ever you were." We all gave him thanks, and so departed.

The next day in the morning, very early, the King having intelligence of their coming, sent word to the Keeper that "none of the Englishmen," meaning our company, "should go to work."

Then he sent for Master BARTON and the other Commissioners, and demanded of the said Master BARTON his message. The Justice answered that "the Great Turk my Sovereign had sent them unto him, signifying that he was informed that a certain English ship called the *Jesus* was by him, the said King, confiscated about twelve months since; and now my said Sovereign hath here sent his especial Commission by us unto you for the deliverance of the said ship and goods; and also the free liberty and deliverance of the Englishmen of the said ship, whom you have taken and kept in captivity." And further the same Justice said, "I am authorised by my said Sovereign the Great Turk to see it done; and therefore I command you by virtue of this Commission presently to make restitution of the premises or the value thereof." So did the Justice deliver unto the King, the Great Turk's Commission to the effect aforesaid; which Commission the King with all obedience perused.

After the perusing of the same, he forthwith commanded all the English captives to be brought before him; and then willed the Keeper to strike off all our irons. Which done, the King said, "You Englishmen! for that you did offend the

laws of this place: by the same laws therefore, some of your company were condemned to die, as you know; and you to be perpetual captives during your lives. Notwithstanding, seeing it hath pleased my Sovereign Lord the Great Turk to pardon your said offences, and to give you your freedom and liberty; behold, here I make delivery of you to this English gentleman!" So he delivered us all that were there, being thirteen [*or rather* eleven] in number, to Master BARTON: who required also those two young men which the King's son had taken with him. Then the King answered that "it was against their law to deliver them, for that they had turned Turks." And touching the ship and goods, the King said that "he had sold her; but would make restitution of the value, and as much of the goods as came unto his hands." So the King arose, and went to dinner; and commanded a Jew to go with Master BARTON and the other Commissioners to show them their lodging, which was a house provided and appointed them by the said King. And because I had [*knew*] the Italian and Spanish tongues, by which most of their traffic in that country is; Master BARTON made me his cater [*caterer*] to buy his victuals for him and his company, and delivered me money needful for the same. Thus were we set at liberty the 28th day of April 1585.

Now to return to the King's plagues and punishments: which Almighty GOD at His will and pleasure, sendeth upon men, in the sight of the world; and likewise of the plagues that befel his children and others aforesaid.

First, when we were made bondmen, being the 2nd day of May 1584, the King had 300 captives; and before the month was expired, there died 150 of them of the plague. And whereas there were twenty-six men of our company; of whom two were hanged, and one died the same day that we were made bondslaves: that present month there died of the plague, nine [? *ten*] more of our company; and other two were forced to turn Turks, as is before rehearsed.

On the 4th day of June next following, the King lost 150 camels, which were taken from him by the wild Moors.

On the 28th day of the said month of June, one GEOFFREY MALTESE, a *renegado* of Malta, ran away to his country; and stole a brigantine which the King had builded for to take

Christians withal: and carried with him twelve Christians more, which were the King's captives.

Afterwards about the 10th day of July next following, the King rode forth upon the greatest and fairest mare that might be seen, as white as any swan. He had not ridden forty paces from his house, but on a sudden the same mare fell down under him stark dead: and I with six more were commanded to bury her, skin, shoes, and all; which we did.

And about three months after our delivery [*i.e.*, *July* 1585], Master BARTON with all the residue of his company, departed from Tripoli for *Z*ante, in a vessel called a Settee, of one MARCUS SEGOORUS who dwelt in *Z*ante. After our arrival at *Z*ante, we remained fifteen days aboard our vessel before we could have *platego*, that is, leave to come ashore; because the plague was in that place from whence we came.

About three days after we came ashore, thither came another Settee of Marseilles bound for Constantinople. Then did Master BARTON and his company, with two more of our Company, ship themselves as passengers in the same Settee; and went to Constantinople.

But the other nine of us that remained in *Z*ante, about three months after, shipped ourselves in a ship of the said MARCUS SEGOORUS, which came to *Z*ante, and was bound for England.

In which three months, the soldiers of Tripoli killed the said King. Then the King's son, according to the custom there, went to Constantinople to surrender up all his father's treasure, goods, captives, and concubines unto the Great Turk: and took with him our said Purser RICHARD BURGES, and JAMES SMITH; and also the other two Englishmen which he, the King's son, had enforced to become Turks, as is aforesaid.

And they, the said Englishmen, finding now some opportunity, concluded with the Christian captives which were going with them unto Constantinople, being in number about 150, to kill the King's son and all the Turks which were on board the galley: and privily the said Englishmen conveyed unto the said Christian captives weapons for that purpose.

And when they came into the main sea, toward Constantinople, upon the faithful promise of the said Christian captives, these four Englishmen leaped suddenly into the *crossia*, that is, into the midst of the galley where the cannon lieth, and with their swords drawn, did fight against all the foresaid Turks: but for want of help from the said Christian captives, who falsely brake their promises, the said Master BLONKET's boy and [JOHN NELSON] the other Englishman were killed; and the said JAMES SMITH and our Purser RICHARD BURGES were taken, and bound in chains, to be hanged at their arrival in Constantinople.

And as the LORD's will was, about two days after, passing through the Gulf of Venice, at an island called Cephalonia, they met with two of the Doge of Venice's galleys; which took that galley, and killed the King's son, his mother, and all the Turks that were there, 150 in number. They saved the Christian captives; and would have killed the two Englishmen, because they were circumcised and become Turks; had not the other Christian captives excused them, saying that "they were enforced to be Turks by the King's son," and showed the Venetians also how they did enterprise at sea to fight all the Turks, and that their two fellows were slain in that fight. Then the Venetians saved them; and they, with all the residue of the said captives (which were in number 150 or thereabouts), had their liberty: and the said galley and all the Turks' treasure was confiscated to the use of the State of Venice.

From thence, our two Englishmen travelled homeward by land.

In this mean time, one more of our company died at *Z*ante, and afterwards the other eight shipped themselves at *Z*ante in a ship of the said MARCUS SEGOORUS, which was bound for England. Before we departed thence, there arrived the *Ascension* and the *George Bonaventure* of London, in Cephalonia; in a harbour there called Argostoli; whose Merchants [*supercargoes*] agreed with the Merchant of our ship, and so laded all the merchandise of our ship into the said ships of London; who took us eight also in as passengers. So we came home.

And within two months after our arrival at London, our

said Purser RICHARD BURGES and his fellow came home also.

For all which, we are bound to praise Almighty GOD during our lives; and as duty bindeth us, to pray for the preservation of our most gracious Queen, for the great care Her Majesty had over us her poor subjects, in seeking and procuring our deliverance aforesaid; and also for her honourable Privy Council. And I especially for the prosperity and good estate of the house of the late deceased the Right Honourable [FRANCIS RUSSELL] the Earl of BEDFORD [d. 1585]; whose Honour, I must confess, most diligently, at the suit of my father now departed, travailed herein; for the which I rest continually bounden to his; whose soul, I doubt not, but is already in the heavens in joy, with the Almighty. Unto which place, He vouchsafe to bring us all, that for our sins suffered most vile and shameful death upon the cross: there to live perpetually, world without end. Amen.

ANDREW MARVELL, M.P.

A Dialogue between the Resolved Soul and Created Pleasure.

[*Miscellanies.* 1681.]



OURAGE, my Soul! Now learn to wield
The weight of thine immortal shield!
Close on thy head thy helmet bright!
Balance thy sword against the fight!
See where an army, strong as fair,
With silken banners spreads the air!
Now if Thou be'st that thing divine,
In this day's combat, let it shine!
And show that Nature wants an art
To conquer one resolvèd heart!

PLEASURE. Welcome, the Creation's Guest!
Lord of Earth! and Heaven's Heir!
Lay aside that warlike crest,
And of Nature's banquet share!
Where the souls of fruits and flowers
Stand prepared to heighten yours!

SOUL. I sup above; and cannot stay
To bait so long upon the way.

PLEASURE. On these downy pillows lie!
Whose soft plumes will thither fly:
On these roses! strewed so plain,
Lest one leaf thy side should strain.

SOUL. My gentler rest is on a Thought;
Conscious of doing what I ought.

PLEASURE. If thou be'st with perfumes pleased,
Such as oft the gods appeased;
Thou, in fragrant clouds, shall show
Like another god below!

SOUL. A soul that knows not to presume,
Is heaven's, and its own perfume.

PLEASURE. Everything does seem to vie
Which should first attract thine eye;
But since none deserves that grace,
In this crystal, view *thy* face!

SOUL. When the Creator's skill is prized;
The rest is all but earth disguised.

PLEASURE. Hark, how Music then prepares
For thy stay these charming airs!
Which the posting winds recall,
And suspend the river's fall.

SOUL. Had I but any time to lose;
On this, I would it all dispose.
Cease Tempter! None can chain a mind,
Whom this sweet chordage cannot bind.

CHORUS. *Earth cannot show so brave a sight*
As when a single Soul does fence
The batteries of alluring Sense;
And heaven views it with delight.
Then persevere! for still new charges sound;
And if thou overcom'st, thou shalt be crowned!

PLEASURE. All this fair, and cost, and sweet,
Which scatteringly doth shine,
Shall within one Beauty meet;
And she be only thine!

SOUL. If things of Sight such heavens be;
What heavens are those, we cannot see?

PLEASURE. Wheresoe'er thy foot shall go,
The minted gold shall lie;
Till thou purchase all below,
And want new worlds to buy!

SOUL. Wer't not a price, who'ld value gold?
And that's worth nought, that can be sold.

PLEASURE. Wilt thou all the glory have
That war or peace commend?
Half the world shall be thy slave;
The other half thy friend!

SOUL. What friends! if to myself untrue?
What slaves! unless I captive you?

PLEASURE. Thou shalt know each hidden cause!
And see the future time!
Try what depth, the centre draws!
And then to heaven climb!

SOUL. None thither mounts by the degree
Of Knowledge, but Humility.

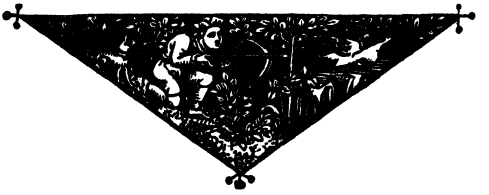
CHORUS. *Triumph! triumph! victorious Soul!*
The world has not one pleasure more.
The rest does lie beyond the pole,
And is thine everlasting store!



¶ The manner of the triumph at Calais and Boulogne.

The second printing. With more additions as it was done indeed.

Cum privilegio Regali.



¶ The names of the Noblemen of France.

¶ First, the French King.
The King of NAVARRE.
The Dauphin, FRANCIS, Duke de BRETAGNE.
HENRY, Duke D'ORLEANS.
CHARLES, Duke D'ANGOULEME.
CHARLES, Duke DE VENDÔME.
The Duke DE GUISE.
The Duke DE LONGUEVILLE.

The Cardinal DE BOURBON.
The Cardinal DE LORAINE.
The Legate, and Cardinal Chancellor of France, ANTONY DE PRAYT.
The Cardinal TOURNON.
The Cardinal GRAMOND.

The Marquis DE LORAINE DE PONT.
The Marquis DE ROCHELINE.

The two sons of the Duke DE VENDÔME.
The son of the Duke DE GUISE, Comte D'AUMALLE.
The Comte DE SAINT PAUL, FRANCOIS DE BOURBON.
The Comte DE NEVERS.
The Comte LOUIS DE NEVERS, Comte DANSEORE.
The Lord Marshal, Seigneur DE FLORAINE.
The Lord MIREPOIS, *Maréchal de la Foy*.
The Comte DE PORSEAN.
The Comte DE BRENE.
The Comte DE TONNORE.
The Comte DE SENSARE.
The Comte DE GRAND PRÉ.
The Comte D'APREMONT.
The Lord Great Master, ANNE DE MONTMERANCY.
The Lord Admiral, PHILIPPE CHABOT.
The Lord Grand Esquire, GALLIOT.
The Prince of MOLSE.
The Comte DE TANDE.
The Comte DE VILLARS.
The Comte D'ESTAMPES, JEAN DE LA BERRE.
The Comte DE CHAMBRE.
The Lord CANAMPLES.
The Lord BARBELVIEZ.
The Lord HUMMERES.
The Lord ROCHEPIOT.
The Lord of SAINT ANDREWS.
The Lord MONTIGUE.
The Lord PIENNES.
The Lord PONTREMY.
Monsieur DE LANGE.
Monsieur DE BELLAY.

The Archbishop of ROUEN.
The Archbishop of VIENNE.

The Bishop of LISIEUX.
The Bishop of LANGRES.
The Bishop of CHARTRES.
The Bishop of LIMOGES.
The Bishop of BEAUVAIS.
The Bishop of AUVERGNE.
The Bishop of MACON.
The Bishop of CASTRES.
The Bishop of PARIS.
The Bishop of ANGOULÊME.

¶ And as concerning the nobles and royal states of this realm; it needeth not to be expresse by name.



WILL certify you of our news in the parts of Calais.

First, the 11th day of October [1532], which was Friday; in the morning at five o'clock, the King's Grace took his ship called the *Swallow*: and so came to Calais by ten o'clock.

And there he was received with procession, and with the Mayor and the Lord Deputy, and all the spears [*knights*] and the soldiers in array; with a great peal of guns: and lay in Calais till the Sunday se'nnight after [the 20th of October].

And on the 16th day of October, my lord of NORFOLK, accompanied with my lord of DERBY and a great number of gentlemen besides, met with the Great Master of France six miles from Calais at the "English Pale:" the said Great Master having two great lords in his company of their order, and a hundred gentlemen attending upon them. And there my lord of NORFOLK and the Great Master devised the place where the two kings should meet: which was at Sandingfield. And that so done; they went both to Calais with their companies.

And the said Great Master, with divers other strangers, dined that day with the King: and after dinner, my lord of NORFOLK brought them forth of their way a mile or two; and so departed for that time.

And on the Monday, the 21st day of October, the King of England took his way to meet with the French King at the place before appointed, with seven score [gentlemen] all in velvet coats afore him, lords and knights; and forty of his guard, and others to the number, as we think, of six hundred horse, and as well horsed as ever was seen.

And the King, our Master, met with the French King at Sandingfield, within the English Pale three miles. There the French King tarried for our Master the space of an hour or two: the French King being accompained with the King of NAVARRE, the Cardinal DE LORRAINE, the Duke DE VENDÔME; with divers others noblemen well and richly appointed, being of like number as our King was of, that is to say, six hundred persons.

There was the lovingest meeting that ever was seen; for the one embraced the other five or six times on horseback; and so did the lords on either party each to other: and so did ride hand in hand with great love the space of a mile.

At the meeting of these two noble Kings, there were [*English*] sakers and sakrets cast off: and at divers flights [*of shot*], two kites were beaten down, which were soaring in the air, with such like pastime, which greatly pleased all the nobles of both parties. And then they did light off their horses, and drank each to other. The French King drank first to our King: and when they had drunk they embraced each other again with great love; and so rode towards Boulogne, our King on the right hand.

And when they came within a mile of Boulogne, there met with the Kings, the Dauphin, being accompanied with his two brethren the Duke D'ORLEANS and the Duke D'ANGOULÊME; very goodly children: and attending on them, four Cardinals; with a thousand horse, very well beseen.

And when they came near the town, the French King caused our Master to tarry, while the gunshot was shot; which was heard twenty English miles from Boulogne: and so entered the town.

Where stood the Captain with the soldiers in good order. And above them stood a hundred Switzers of the French King's Guard, in their doublets and their hose of yellow velvet cut, goodly persons; and above them, stood two hundred more of the French King's Guard, Scots and Frenchmen, in coats of yellow, blue, and crimson velvet, bearing halberts in their hands; and above them stood two hundred gentlemen, being in their gowns well and richly beseen, every man having a battle axe in his hand, and their captains standing by them.

And so they tarried in Boulogne; Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday all day.

The Tuesday, being the second day of this their being there, the French King gave our King rich apparel wrought with needle work purled [*fringed*] with gold; in the which like apparel both the Kings went to our Lady's Church at Boulogne. At that time, our King obtained release and liberty from the French King, for all prisoners at that time prisoners in Boulogne. And in like wise, did the French King in Calais of our King and Master at his being there;

and obtained grace for all banished men that would make suit for their pardon. And to esteem the rich traverses [*low curtains*] that were in our Lady's Church in Boulogne, and in our Lady's Church in Calais likewise, for both the Kings; the rich ordinances and provision for the same: it is too much to write!

And as for the great cheer that was there, no man can express it. For the King's Grace was there entertained all at the French King's cost and charges. And every day noblemen of France desired our nobles and gentlemen home to their lodgings: where they found their houses richly hanged [with tapestry], great cupboards of plate, sumptuous fare, with singing and playing of all kinds of music. And also there was sent unto our lodgings great fare with all manner of wines for our servants; and our horses' meat was paid for: and all at their charges.

And every day the French king had at dinner and supper with him certain noblemen of England: and the King's Grace had in like wise certain of their nobles at dinner and supper; during the time of their being at Boulogne. And this continued with as great cheer and familiarity as might be. And as concerning ladies and gentlewomen, there were none.

And on the Friday following, the Kings came towards Calais. And the Dauphin, with the Cardinals and all their gentlemen, brought the Kings unto the place where they first met them; and then departed. The French King had great carriage [*baggage*]; for there came more than three hundred mules laden with stuff.

And so coming towards Calais, the Duke of RICHMOND, accompanied with Bishops, and many other noblemen that were not with the King at Boulogne; and all the King's Guard, which were with all others marvellously well horsed and trimmed; they stood in a place appointed, in array and good order in the way, two miles out of Calais where the French King should come: who saluted the French King with great honour, in like manner as the King our Master was saluted at Boulogne, with amicable and goodly salutations as ever were seen. They were saluted with great melody; what with guns, and all other instruments [!]: and the order of the town, it was a heavenly sight for the time!

First at Newnam Bridge, 400 shot; at the Block House,

30 shot; at Risbank Tower [*in Calais harbour*] 300 shot; within the town of Calais 2,000 shot, great and small; besides the ships. It was all numbered at 3,000 shot. And at Boulogne, by estimation, it passed not 200 shot; but they were great pieces [*cannon*].

Also for the order of the town there was set all serving men on the one side, in tawny coats; and soldiers on the other side, all in coats of red and blue, with halberts in their hands.

And so the Kings came riding in the midst: and so the French King went to Staple Hall; which is a princely house.

And upon Saturday, both the Kings rode to our Lady's Church to mass; and in the afternoon both their councils sat together.

And upon Sunday, both the Kings heard mass in their lodgings. And at afternoon, the King of England rode to Staple Hall to the French King; and there was both bear-baiting and bull-baiting till night.

And at night, the French King supped with our King, and there was great banqueting.

After supper, there came in a Masque, my Lady Marquess of PEMBROKE [*i.e.*, ANNE BOLEYN], my Lady MARY [BOLEYN], my lady DERBY, my lady FITZ-WALTER, my lady ROCHFORD, my lady L'ISLE, and my lady WALLOP, gorgeously apparelled, with visors on their faces: and so came and took the French King, and other lords of France, by the hand; and danced a dance or two.

After that, the King took off their visors; and then they danced with gentlemen of France an hour after: and then they departed to their lodgings.

As for the apparel of the French lords, my tongue cannot express it, and especially the French King's apparel passeth my pen to write; for he had a doublet set over all with stones and rich diamonds, which was valued by discreet men at a £100,000 [=£800,000 *in the present day*]. They far passed our lords and knights in apparel and richesse.

They had great cheer in Calais, and loving also; and all at our King's costs and charges.

Also the same day that the Kings came from Boulogne, the French King made the Duke of NORFOLK, and the Duke of SUFFOLK, of the Order of Saint Michael. And upon Monday, which was the 29th day of October, at Calais; our King

made the Great Maister of France and the Admiral of France, Knights of the Garter.

And that day, there was a great wrestling between Englishmen and Frenchmen, before both the Kings. The French King had none but priests that wrestled, which were big men and strong (they were brethren); but they had most falls.

As concerning the abundance and liberal multitude of gifts that were so lovingly and cordially given on both parties (to the great honour of both the Kings) my pen or capacity cannot express it: as well among the great lords as with the lowest yeoman that bare any office in either King's house; and specially the King's gifts, on both parties, always rewarded the one like unto the other.

And all other gifts were nothing but rich plate, and gold coin—silver was of no estimation—besides raiments, horses, geldings, falcons, bears, dogs for the game: with many other, which were too much to write.

And upon the 29th day of October, the French King departed from Calais to Paris ward: and our King brought him as far as Morgyson, which is from Calais, seven miles; and so came to Calais again.

And he purposeth, GOD willing, to be at Canterbury the 8th day of November, and so home. Whom GOD, of His goodness, ever preserve! and send good passage, and safe again into England. Amen.

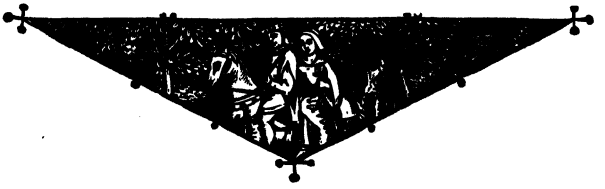
¶ God save the King.

¶ Imprinted by Wynkyn de Worde, under the grace and privilege of our most royal and redoubted Prince, King Henry the viijth, for John Gough dwelling at Paul's gate in Cheap [*i.e. Cheapside*].

Cum privilegio.



¶ The noble triumphant Coronation of Queen Anne, Wife unto the most noble King Henry the viiith.





This Triumph was a much greater matter than a simple Coronation pageant. It was the official recognition of the Revolt from the Papacy; and all who took a prominent part in it favoured the new Faith.

FIRST, the 29th day of May [1533], being Thursday; all the worshipful Crafts and Occupations in their best array, goodly beseen, took their barges which were splayed [*displayed*] with goodly banners fresh and new, with the cognizance and arms of their faculty; to the number of fifty great barges, comely beseen, and every barge had minstrels making great and sweet harmony.

Also there was the Bachelors' Barge comely beseen, decked with innumerable banners and all about hanged with rich cloth of gold; and foists [*swift boats*] waiting upon her, decked [*adorned*] with a great shot of ordnance: which descended the river afore all the barges; the Batchelors' Barge foremost. And so following in good order, every Craft [*i.e., City Company*] in their degree and order, till they came to Greenwich, and there tarried; abiding the Queen's Grace: which was a wonderful and goodly sight to behold.

Then at three o'clock, the Queen's Grace came to her barge: and incontinent [*immediately*] all the citizens with that goodly company set forth towards London in good array, as is before said. And to write what number of gun shots—what with chambers, and great pieces of ordnance—were shot off as she passed by, in divers places, and especially at Ratcliff and at Limehouse out of certain ships; it passeth my memory to write or to tell the number of them! And so the Queen's Grace, being in her rich barge among her nobles, the citizens accompanied her to London, unto the Tower wharf.

Also ere she came near the Tower, there were shot off innumerable pieces of ordnance, as ever there was there by any men's remembrances: where the King received her Grace with a noble loving countenance; and so gave thanks and praise to all the citizens for all their great kindness and loving labour and pains taken in that behalf, to the great joy and comfort of all the citizens.

Also to behold the wonderful number of people that ever was seen, that stood on the shore on both sides of the river; it was never seen, in one sight, out of the City of London. What in goodly lodgings and houses that be on the river side between Greenwich and London; it passeth all men's judgements to esteem the infinite number of them: wherein her Grace with all her ladies rejoiced much.

¶ Knights made at Greenwich the Sunday before Whit-sunday.

¶ And the Sunday before this Triumph, being the 25th day of May [1533]; the King made at his Manor of Greenwich all these knights.

Sir CHRISTOPHER DANBY.
Sir CHRISTOPHER HYLARD.
Sir BRIAN HASTINGS.
Sir THOMAS METHEM.
Sir THOMAS BUTTELLER.
Sir WILLIAM WALGRAVE.
Sir WILLIAM FIELDING.

¶ The Friday, were made Knights of the Bath, nineteen; whose names followeth.

¶ Also on Friday the 30th day of May, the king created and made in the Tower of London, nineteen noblemen, Knights of the Bath: whose names follow.

The Lord Marquis DORSET.
The Earl of DERBY.
The Lord CLIFFORD, son and heir to the Earl of CUMBERLAND.
The Lord FITZ-WALTER, son and heir to the Earl of SUSSEX.
The Lord HASTINGS, son and heir to the Earl of HUNTINGDON.
The Lord BERKELEY.

The Lord MONTEAGLE.
The Lord VAUX.
Sir HENRY PARKER, son and heir to the Lord MORLEY.
Sir WILLIAM WINDSOR, son and heir to the LORD WINDSOR.
Sir JOHN MORDAUNT, son and heir to the Lord MORDAUNT.
Sir FRANCIS WESTON.
Sir THOMAS ARUNDELL.
Sir JOHN HUDLESTON.
Sir THOMAS PONINGS.
Sir HENRY SAVILLE.
Sir GEORGE FITZWILLIAM, of Lincolnshire.
Sir JOHN TYNDALL.
Sir THOMAS JERMEY.

¶ Also Saturday, the last day of May, the King made those Knights of the sword, in the Tower of London, whose names follow:

Sir WILLIAM DRURY.
Sir JOHN GERNINGHAM.
Sir THOMAS RUSH.
Sir RANDOLPH BUERTON.
Sir GEORGE CALVERLEY.
Sir EDWARD FYTTON.
Sir GEORGE CONYERS.
Sir ROBERT NEDHAM.
Sir JOHN CHAWORTH.
Sir GEORGE GRESLEY.
Sir JOHN CONSTABLE.
Sir THOMAS UMPTON.
Sir JOHN HORSLEY.
Sir RICHARD LYGON.
Sir John SAINT CLERE.
Sir EDWARD MAIDISON.
Sir HENRY FERYNGTON.
Sir MARMADUKE TUNSTALL.
Sir THOMAS HALSALL.
Sir ROBERT KIRKHAM.
Sir ANTHONY WINDSOR.
Sir WALTER HUBBERT.
Sir JOHN WILLOUGHBY.
Sir THOMAS KITSON.
Sir THOMAS MYSSEDEN.
Sir THOMAS FOULEHURST.
Sir HENRY DELVES.
Sir PETER WARBURTON.
Sir RICHARD BULKELEY.
Sir THOMAS LAKING.
Sir WALTER SMITH.
Sir HENRY EVERYNGHAM.
Sir WILLIAM UVEDALL.
Sir THOMAS MASSINGBERD.
Sir WILLIAM SANDON.
Sir JAMES BASKERVYLLE.
Sir EDMOND TRAFFORD.
Sir ARTHUR EYRE.
Sir HENRY SUTTON.
Sir JOHN NORIES.
Sir WILLIAM MALORY.
Sir JOHN HARCOURT.
Sir JOHN TYRELL.
Sir WILLIAM BROWNE.
Sir NICHOLAS STURLEY.
Sir RANDOLPH MANERING.

¶ Also the Sunday after Whit-sunday, being Trinity Sunday, and the 8th day of June; were made at Greenwich, these Knights following.

Sir CHRISTOPHER CORWEN.
Sir GEOFREY MYDLETON.
Sir HUGH TREVYNEON.
Sir GEORGE WEST.
Sir CLEMENT HERLESTON.
Sir HUMPHREY FERIES.
Sir JOHN DAWN.
Sir RICHARD HAUGHTON.
Sir THOMAS LANGTON.
Sir EDWARD BOWTON.
Sir HENRY CAPEL.

¶ Also all the pavements of the City, from Charing Cross to the Tower, were covered over and cast with gravel.

And the same Saturday, being Whitsun Eve, the Mayor with all the Aldermen and the Crafts of the City prepared array in a good order to stand and receive her Grace; and with rails for every Craft to stand and lean, from the press of people.

The Mayor met the Queen's Grace at her coming forth of the Tower. All his brethren and aldermen standing in Cheap [*Cheapside*].

And upon the same Saturday, the Queen came forth from the Tower towards Westminster, in goodly array; as hereafter followeth.

She passed the streets first, with certain strangers, their horses trapped with blue silk; and themselves in blue velvet with white feathers, accompanied two and two. Likewise Squires, Knights, Barons, and Baronets, Knights of the Bath clothed in violet garments, edged with ermine like judges. Then following: the Judges of the law, and Abbots. All these estates were to the number of two hundred couple and more: two and two accompanied.

And then followed Bishops, two and two; and the Archbishops of York and Canterbury; the Ambassadors of France and Venice; the Lord Mayor with a mace: Master Garter the King of Heralds, and the King's coat armour upon him, with the Officers of Arms, appointing every estate in their degree.

Then followed two ancient Knights with old fashioned hats, powdered on their heads, disguised, who did represent the Dukes of NORMANDY and of GUIENNE, after an old custom: the Lord Constable of England for the time, being the

Duke of SUFFOLK; the Lord WILLIAM HOWARD, the Deputy for the time to the Lord Marshal, the Duke of NORFOLK.

Then followed the Queen's Grace in her litter, costly and richly beseen, with a rich canopy over her: which was borne by the Lords of the Five Ports [*i.e., Barons of the Cinque Ports*]. After her, following the Master of her Horse with a spare white palfrey richly appointed, and led in his hand.

Then followed her noble Ladies of Estate richly clothed in crimson powdered with ermines; to the number of twelve.

Then the Master of the Guard, with the guard on both sides of the streets in good array; and all the Constables well beseen in velvet and damask coats with white staves in their hand; setting every man in array and order in the streets until she came to Westminster.

Then followed four rich chariots with Ladies of Honour. After them followed thirty Ladies and gentlewomen richly garnished: and so the serving men after them.

And as she was departed from the Tower a marvellously great shot of guns [*cannonade*] was there fired, and shot off.

So this most noble company passed, till her Grace came to Fenchurch; where was a pageant fair and seemly, with certain children who saluted her Grace with great honour and praise, after a goodly fashion: and so passed forth to Gracechurch. Where was a rightly costly pageant of APOLLO, with the Nine Muses among the mountains, sitting on the mount of Parnassus: and every of them having their instruments and apparel according to the description of poets, and namely [*particularly*] of VIRGIL; with many goodly verses to her great praise and honour.

And so she passed forth through Gracious [*Gracechurch*] Street unto Leaden Hall where was built a sumptuous and costly pageant in manner of a castle wherein was fashioned a heavenly roof and under it upon a green was a root or a stock, whereout sprang a multitude of white and red roses curiously wrought. So from the heavenly roof descended a white falcon, and lighted upon the said stock and root: and incontinent [*immediately*] descended an angel with goodly harmony, having a close crown between his hands, and set it on the falcon's head. And on the said floor sat Saint ANNE in the highest place. And on that one side, her progeny with Scripture, that is to wit, the three MARIES with their issue,

that is to understand, MARY, the mother of Christ, MARY SALOME the mother [*or rather the wife*] of ZEBEDEE with the two children of them. Also MARY CLEOPHAS with her husband ALPHEUS, with their four children on the other side. With other poetical verses [*see p.* 52] said and sung; and with a ballad in English [*see p.* 54] to her great praise and honour, and to all her progeny also.

And so she passed forth from thence, through Cornhill; and at the Conduit was a sumptuous pageant of the Three Graces. At the coming of the Queen's Grace a poet declared the nature of all those three Ladies; and gave high praises unto the Queen. And after this preamble finished, each Lady in particular spake great honour and high praise of the Queen's Grace [*see p.* 56].

And so she passed forth with all her nobles till she came in Cheap [*Cheapside*]. And at the Great Conduit was made a costly fountain, where out ran white wine, claret, and red wine, in great plenty, all that afternoon. And there was great melody, with speeches.

And so passed forth through Cheap to the Standard, which was costly and sumptuously garnished with gold and azure, with [coats of] arms and stories [? *galleries*]: where was great harmony and melody.

And so passed she forth by the Cross in Cheap, which was new garnished: and so through Cheap towards the lesser Conduit. And in the midway between, the Recorder of London received her before the Aldermen; with great reverence and honour saluting her Grace, with a loving and humble proposition, presenting her Grace with a rich and costly purse of gold, and in it a thousand marks [= £666 *or about* £5,000 *in present value*] in gold coin; given unto her as a free gift of honour. To whom she gave great thanks both with heart and mind.

And so her Grace passed a little further, and at the lesser Conduit was a costly and rich pageant; whereat was goodly harmony of music and other minstrels, with singing. And within that pageant were five costly seats, wherein were set these five personages, that is to wit, JUNO, PALLAS, MERCURY, VENUS, and PARIS; who having a ball of gold presented it to her Grace with certain verses of great honour [*see p.* 57]: and children singing a ballad [*see p.* 59] to her Grace, and praise to all her ladies.

And so passed forth to Paul's Gate, where was a proper and sumptuous pageant, that is to wit, there sat three fair ladies, virgins, costly arrayed, with a fair round throne over their heads; where about was written, *Regina ANNA prospere! procede! et regna!* that is in English, "Queen ANNE prosper! proceed! and reign!" The lady that sat in the midst having a table of gold in her hand, written with letters of azure, *Veni amica coronaberis*, "Come my love! thou shalt be crowned!" And two angels having a close crown of gold between their hands. And the lady on the right hand had a table of silver, whereon was written, *DOMINE! dirige gressos meos!* "LORD GOD! direct my ways!" The other on the left hand had in another table of silver written, this *Confide in DOMINO!* "Trust in GOD!" And under their feet was a long roll wherein was written this, *Regina ANNA novum regis de sanguine natum, cum paries populis aurea secula tuis.* "Queen ANNE when thou shalt bear a new son of the King's blood; there shall be a golden world unto thy people!" And so the ladies cast over her head a multitude of wafers with rose leaves; and about the wafers were written with letters of gold, this posy. [*Not given by the Writer.*]

And so her Grace passed forth into Paul's Churchyard. And at the East end of the Church against the [*i.e., Saint Paul's*] School was a great scaffold, whereon stood the number of two hundred children, well beseen: who received her with poet's verses to her noble honour. When they had finished, she said "Amen," with a joyful smiling countenance.

And so passed forth through the long Churchyard; and so to Lud Gate, which was costly and sumptuously garnished with gold, colours, and azure; with sweet harmony of ballads to her great praise and honour; with divers sweet instruments.

And thus her Grace came through the City with great honour and royalty, and passed through Fleet Street till she came to the Standard and Conduit where was made a fair tower with four turrets with vanes. Therewithin was a great plenty of sweet instruments, with children singing. The Standard, which was of mason work, costly made with images and angels, costly gilt with gold and azure, with other colours, and divers sorts of [coats of] arms costly set out, shall there continue and remain: and within the Standard a vice with a

chime. And there ran out of certain small pipes great plenty of wine all that afternoon.

And so her Grace passed through the city to Temple Bar; and so to Charing Cross: and so through Westminster into Westminster Hall, that was well and richly hanged with cloth of Arras [*tapestry*], with a marvellous rich cupboard of plate: and there was a void [*collation*] of spice-plates and wine.

And that done, the Queen's Grace withdrew her into the White Hall for that night; and so to York Place by water.

¶ The Sunday, in the morning, at eight o'clock, the Queen's Grace with noble ladies in their robes of estate, assembled with all the nobles apparelled in Parliament robes, as Dukes, Earls, Archbishops and Bishops, with Barons and the Barons of the Five Ports; with the Mayor of the City and the Aldermen in their robes, as mantles of scarlet.

The Barons of the Five Ports bare a rich canopy of cloth of gold, with staves of gold, and four bells of silver and gilt. The Abbot of Westminster with his rygals [? *regalia*] came into the Hall *in pontificalibus*, with his monks in their best copes; the [members of] the King's chapel in their best copes: with the Bishops, richly adorned *in pontificalibus*.

And the blue 'ray cloth spread from the high dosses [? *dais*] of the King's Bench unto the high altar of Westminster.

And so every man proceeding to the Minster in the best order, every man after his degree appointed to his order and office as appertaineth; came unto the place appointed: where her Grace received her crown, with all the ceremonies thereof, as thereunto belongeth. And so all ceremonies done, with the solemn Mass: they departed home in their best orders; every man to the Hall of Westminster: where the Queen's Grace withdrew for a time into her chamber appointed.

And so after a certain space, Her Grace came into the Hall. Then ye should have seen every nobleman doing their service to them appointed, in the best manner that hath been seen in any such ceremony.

The Queen's Grace washed. The Archbishop of CANTERBURY [CRANMER] said grace. Then the nobles were set to the table. Therewith came the Queen's service with the service of the Archbishop. A certain space, three men with the Queen's Grace's service.

Before the said service, came the Duke of SUFFOLK (High Constable that day, and Steward of the feast) on horseback, and marvellously trapped in apparel with richesse. Then with him came the Lord WILLIAM HOWARD, as Deputy to the Duke of NORFOLK, in the room [*office*] of the Marshal of England, on horseback.

The Earl of ESSEX, Carver. The Earl of SUSSEX, Sewer. The Earl of DERBY, Cupbearer. The Earl of ARUNDEL, Butler. The Viscount LISLE, Panterer. The Lord BRAYE, Almoner.

These noble men did their service in such humble sort and fashion, as it was a wonder to see the pain and diligence of them: being such noble personages.

The service borne by Knights, which were to me too long to tell in order: the goodly service of kinds of meat; with their devices from the highest unto the lowest: there have not been seen a more goodly nor more honourably done in no man's days.

¶ There were four tables in the great Hall, along the said hall.

The noblewomen, one table: sitting all on that one side.

The noblemen another table.

The Mayor of London another table, with his brethren.

The Barons of the [*Cinque*] Ports, with the Master of the Chancery, the fourth table.

And thus all things nobly and triumphantly done at her Coronation; her Grace returned to White Hall, with great joy and solemnity.

And on the morrow, there were great justs at the tilt done by eighteen Lords and Knights, where were broken many spears valiantly; and some of their horses would not come at their pleasure, near unto the tilt; which was displeasure to some that there did run.

¶ Thus endeth this triumph.

Imprinted at London in Fleet Street by Wynkyn de Worde, for John Gough. Cum privilegio.

NICHOLAS UDALL.

English Verses and Ditties at the Coronation Procession of Queen ANNE BOLEYN.

[*Royal MS.* 18. A. Lxiv.]

At the Pageant representing the Progeny of Saint ANNE, exhibited at Cornhill, besides Leadenhall [see p. 48],

Were pronounced unto the Queen's Grace, these words following.

BY A CHILD.

MOST excellent Queen, and bounteous Lady!
Here now to see your gracious Goodness,
With such honour entering this City;
What joy we take, what hearty gladness,
No pen may write, nor any tongue express!
For of you, depend the sure felicity
And hope, both of us and our posterity.

For like as from this devout Saint ANNE
Issuèd this holy generation,
First CHRIST, to redeem the soul of man;
Then JAMES th'apostle, and th'evangelist JOHN;
With these others, which in such fashion
By teaching and good life, our faith confirmed,
That from that time yet to, it hath not failed:

Right so, dear Lady! our Queen most excellent!
Highly endued with all gifts of grace,
As by your living is well apparent;
We, the Citizens, by you, in short space,

Hope such issue and descent to purchase;
Whereby the same faith shall be defended,
And this City from all dangers preserved.

Which time that we may right shortly see,
To our great comfort, joy and solace;
Grant the most high and blessed Trinity!
Most humbly beseeching your noble Grace,
Our rude simpleness showed in this place
To pardon; and, the brief time considering,
To esteem our good minds, and not the thing.

This spoken, opened a cloud, and let down a White Falcon, in the descending of which was pronounced, as followeth:

BY ANOTHER CHILD.

BEHOLD and see the Falcon White!
How she beginneth her wings to spread,
And for our comfort to take her flight.
But where will she cease, as you do read?
A rare sight! and yet to be joyed,
On the Rose; chief flower that ever was,
This bird to 'light, that all birds doth pass!

Then out of the same cloud descended an Angel, and crowned the same Falcon with a Crown Imperial: at which doing, was pronounced as followeth:

BY ANOTHER CHILD.

HONOUR and grace be to our Queen ANNE!
For whose cause an Angel celestial
Descendeth, the Falcon as white as swan,
To crown with a Diadem Imperial!
In her honour rejoice we all.
For it cometh from GOD, and not of man.
Honour and grace be to our Queen ANNE!

Then, at the departing of the Queen's said Grace, was sung this ballad following.

THis White Falcon,
Rare and geason,
This bird shineth so bright;
Of all that are,
No bird compare
May with this Falcon White.

The virtues all,
No man mortal,
Of this bird can write.
No man earthly
Enough truly
Can praise this Falcon White.

Who will express
Great gentleness
To be in any wight;
He will not miss,
But call him this
The gentle Falcon White.

This gentle bird
As white as curd
Shineth both day and night;
Nor far ne near
Is any peer
Unto this Falcon White.

Of body small,
Of power regal,
She is, and sharp of sight;
Of courage hault
No manner fault
Is in this Falcon White.

In chastity,
Excelleth she,
Most like a virgin bright:
And worthy is
To live in bliss
Always this Falcon White.

But now to take
And use her make
Is time, as troth is plight;
That she may bring
Fruit according
For such a Falcon White.

And where by wrong,
She hath fleen long,
Uncertain where to light;
Herself repose
Upon the Rose,
Now may this Falcon White.

Whereon to rest,
And build her nest;
GOD grant her, most of might!
That England may
Rejoice alway
In this same Falcon White.

At the Conduit in Cornhill was exhibited a Pageant of the Three Graces [see p. 48.]

In which a Child, apparelled like a Poet, pronounced unto the Queen's Grace these verses:

QUEEN ANNE, behold your servants, the Three Graces!
Giving unto your Grace faithful assistance.
With their most goodly amiable faces,
They attend with their continual presence,
Where your Grace goeth. Absent in your absence.
While your Grace is here, they also here dwell
About the pleasant brinks of this live well.

Now here to be, they thought it their duty,
And presently to salu[t]e you, gracious Queen!
Entering this day into this noble City,
In such triumphant wise as hath not been seen:
Which thing, to your honour and joy may it been!
These Three Sisters thought it their rebuke and shame,
This day to be slack in honouring their Dame.

Then immediately followed the speeches of the Three Graces, in this wise:

AGLAIA. HEARTY GLADNESS.

QUEEN ANNE! whom to see, this City doth rejoice;
We three Graces, ladies of all pleasance,
Clasped hand in hand, as of one mind and voice,
With our three gifts in all good assurance,
Shall never fail your Grace, to t'endue and enhance!
For I, HEARTY GLADNESS by my name called,
Shall your heart replenish with joy unfeigned.

THALEIA. STABLE HONOUR.

AND I, STABLE HONOUR, gracious Queen ANNE!
Joying in your joy, with this noble City,
In honour and dignity, all that I can,
Shall you advance! as your Grace is most worthy.
You to assist, I am bound by my duty.
For your virtues being incomparable,
You cannot but live, aye, most honourable.

EUPHROSYNE. CONTINUAL SUCCESS.

AND FOR the great virtues, which I perceive
To be in your Grace, so high and excellent!
By me, CONTINUAL SUCCESS, ye receive
Long fruition, with daily increasement
Of joy and honour, without diminishment.
Never to decay, but always to arise!
All men, women, and children pray the same wise.

At the Little Conduit in Cheapside was exhibited the Judgement of PARIS [see p. 48],

In manner and form following:

MERCURY. JUPITER, this apple unto thee hath sent,
Commanding, in this cause, to give
true judgement!

PARIS. JUPITER, a strange office hath given me,
To judge which is fairest of these ladies three.

JUNO. All riches and kingdoms be at my behest,
Give me the apple! and thou shalt have the best!

PALLAS. Adjudge it to me! and for a kingdom,
I shall give thee incomparable wisdom!

VENUS. Prefer me! and I shall reward thee, PARIS!
With the fairest lady that on the earth is.

PARIS. I should break JUPITER's high commandment,
If I should for mede or reward give judgement.

Therefore, lady VENUS! before both these twain,
Your beauty much exceeding; by my sentence,
Shall win, and have this apple. Yet, to be plain!
Here is the fourth Lady, now in presence,
Most worthy to have it of due congruence,
As peerless in riches, wit, and beauty;
Which are but sundry qualities in you three.
But for her worthiness, this apple of gold
Is too simple a reward a thousand fold!

The conclusion of this Pageant pronounced by
A CHILD.

NO! No! Another reward there is
Ordained for the worthiness of Her Grace;
And not to be disposed by you, PARIS!
Nor to be given here in this place.
Queen ANNE! most excellent that ever was,
For you is ready a Crown Imperial!
To your joy, honour, and glory immortal.

GOD, that of His goodness all things doth us send,
Hath sent us your Grace, our hearts to make glad.
Wherefore with as much humbleness we intend
Your noble Grace to serve, as ever Queen had.
For nothing there is, that may now make us sad,
Having your noble Grace, our refuge and rest,
Provided by Him, that knoweth what is best.

All joy, wealth, and honour, with long space of life,
Be to your Grace; with succession royal!
And He, that hath power of all prerogative,
The most blessed Trinity, GOD eternal,
Save our King HENRY in his estate royal!
Thus pray all the citizens, wife, child, and man,
GOD save King HENRY, and his Spouse Queen ANNE!

At the departing of the Queen's said Grace was sung this ballad following:

QUEEN ANNE so gent,
Of high descent.
ANNE excellent
In nobleness!
Of ladies all,
You principal
Should win this ball
Of worthiness!

Passing beauty
And chastity,
With high degree,
And great riches;
So coupled be
In unity,
That chief are ye
In worthiness.

When JUPITER
His messenger
Sent down hither,
He knew certes
That you, victrice
Of all ladies,
Should have the prize
Of worthiness.

And wise PARIS
Made judge in this;
Anon, I wis,
Most high Princess!
Well understood
Your virtues good,
Your noble blood
And worthiness.

Your dignity
When he 'gan see,
The Ladies Three,
Queen ANNE peerless!
He bade give place
Unto your Grace;
As meet it was
In worthiness.

The golden ball,
Of price but small,
Have VENUS shall,
The fair goddess!
Because it was
Too low and base
For your good Grace
And worthiness!

Doctor JOHN DEE.

The Petty Navy Royal.

[*General and rare Memorials*, &c., better known from its headline as *The British Monarchy*. 1577.]

Of this large Argument for a standing volunteer Home Fleet of War, at the time when the English nation were first (as here invited) taking to the sea, as to their native element, and before DRAKE had started for his Voyage round the World; we have only space for the two following extracts. The English Royal Navy is at this hour more than fulfilling the dream of this eminent Philosopher: inasmuch as it is the world's Police; not simply guarding the British Isles, as he proposed, but the sea coasts all round the habitable globe.

WHOM *also I have heard often and most heartily wish*, That all manner of persons passing or frequenting our seas appropriate, and many ways next environing England, Ireland, and Scotland, might be in convenient and honourable sort, at all times at the commandment and order, by beck or check, of a Petty Naval Royal of three-score tall ships or more, but in no case fewer; and they to be very well appointed, thoroughly manned, and sufficiently victualled.

The public commodities whereof ensuing are, or would be so great and many, as the whole commons, and all the subjects of this noble Kingdom would for ever bless the day and hour wherein such good and politic order was, in so good time and opportunity, taken and established: and esteem them not only most worthy and royal Councillors, but also heroical Magistrates, who have had so fatherly care for the commonalty; and most wisely procured so general British security,

1. That, henceforth, neither France, Denmark, Scotland, Spain, nor any other country can have such liberty for invasion, or their mutual conspiracies or aids, any way transporting, to annoy the blessed state of our tranquillity; as either they have in times past had, or else may have, whensoever they will forget or contemn the observing of their sworn or pretended amity.

2. Besides that, I report me to all English merchants, *said he*, of how great value to them, and consequently to the

public weal of this Kingdom, such a security were? (a) Whereby, both outward and homeward, continually their merchantlike ships, many or few, great or small, may in our seas and somewhat further, pass quietly unpilled, unspoiled, and untaken by pirates or others in time of peace. (b) What abundance of money now lost by assurance [*marine insurance*] given or taken, would by this means also, be greatly out of danger?

3. And thirdly, (a) how many men, before time of urgent need, would thus be made very skilful in all the foresaid seas and sea coasts; in their channels knowing, in soundings all over, in good marks taking for avoiding dangers, in good harbours trying out, in good landings essaying, in the order of ebbs and floods observing, and all other points advisedly learning, which to the perfect Art of Navigation are very necessary: whereby they may be the better able to be divided and distributed in a greater Navy, with charge of Mastership or Pilotage, in time of great need. (b) They of this Navy should oftentimes espy or meet the privy sounders and searchers of our channels, flats, banks, pits, &c.; and so very diligently deciphering our sea coasts, yea, in the river of Thames also; otherwhile up to the station of the Grand Navy Royal. (c) And likewise, very often meet with the abominable thieves that steal our corn and victuals from sundry our coasts, to the great hindrance of the public plenty of England. And these thieves are both subjects and foreigners; and very often and to to [*far to*] evidently seen, and generally murmured at, but as yet not redressed; for all the good and wise order by the most honourable Senate of the Privy Council taken therein.

4. Fourthly, how many thousands of soldiers of all degrees, and apt ages of men, would be, by this means, not only hardened well to brook all rage and disturbance of sea, and endure healthfully all hardness of lodging and diet there; but also would be well practised and easily trained up to great perfection of understanding all manner of fight and service at sea? so that, in time of great need, that expert and hardy crew of some thousands of sea soldiers [*Marines*] would be to this realm a treasure incomparable. And who knoweth not, what danger it is, in time of great need, either to use all fresh water soldiers; or to be a fortnight

in providing a little company of *omni-gatharums*, taken up on the sudden to serve at sea? For our ordinary Land Musters are generally intended, or now may be spared to be employed otherwise, if need be.

5. How many hundreds of lusty and handsome men would be, this way, well occupied, and have needful maintenance, which now are either idle, or want sustenance, or both; in too many places of this renowned Monarchy?

6. Moreover, what a comfort and safeguard will it, or may it be to the whole Realm, to have the great advantage of so many warlike ships, so well manned and appointed for all assays, at all hours, ready to affront straightway, set on and overthrow, any sudden or privy foreign treachery by sea, directly or indirectly, attempted against this Empire, in any coast or part thereof. For *sudden* foreign attempts (that is to say, unknown or unheard of to us, before their readiness) cannot be done with great power. For great navies most commonly are espied or heard somewhat of, and that very certainly, while they are in preparing; though in the meanwhile, politicly, in divers places, they distribute their ships and their preparations appertaining.

7. And by reason of the foresaid Petty Navy Royal, it shall at all times, not only lie in our hands greatly to displease and pinch the petty foreign offender at sea; but also, if just occasion be given, on land to do very valiant service, and that speedily: as well against any of the foresaid foreign possible offenders, as also against such of Ireland or England, who shall or will traitorously, rebelliously, or seditiously assemble in troops or bands within the territories of Ireland or England; while greater armies, on our behalf, shall be in preparing against them, if further need be. For skilful sea soldiers are also on land far more trainable to all martial exploits executing; and therein to be more quick-eyed and nimble at handstrokes or scaling; better to endure all hardness of lodging or diet; and less to fear all danger near or far: than the land soldier can be brought to the perfection of a sea soldier.

8. By this Navy also, all pirates—our own countrymen, and they be no small number—would be called, or constrained to come home. And then (upon good assurance taken of the reformable and men of choice, for their good abearing

from henceforth) all such to be bestowed here and there in the foresaid Navy. For good account is to be made of their bodies, already hardened to the seas; and chiefly of their courage and skill for good service to be done at the sea.

9. Ninthly, Princes and potentates, our foreign friends or privy foes, the one for love and the other for fear, would not suffer any merchant or others, subjects of the Queen's Majesty, either to have speedy wrong in their Courts; or by unreasonable delays or trifling shifts to be made weary and unable to follow their rights. And notwithstanding such our friends or privy foes, their subjects would be glad most reverently to become suitors and petitioners to the royal State of this Kingdom for just redress, if, any kind of way, they could truly prove themselves by any subject of this realm injuried; and they would never be so stout, rude, and dishonourably injurious to the Crown and Dignity of this most sacred Monarchy as, in such cases, to be their own judges, or to use against this Kingdom and the royal chief Council thereof, such abominable terms of dishonour as our to to great lenity and their to to barbarous impudency might in a manner induce them to do. And all this would come to pass through the Royalty and Sovereignty of the seas adjacent or environing this Monarchy of England, Ireland, and (by right) Scotland and the Orkneys also, very princely, prudently, and valiantly recovered (that is to say, by the said Petty Navy Royal); duly and justly limited; discreetly possessed; and triumphantly enjoyed.

10. Should not Foreign Fishermen (overboldly now, and to to injuriously abusing our rich fishings about England, Wales, and Ireland) by the presence, oversight, power, and industry of this Petty Navy Royal be made content; and judge themselves well apaid to enjoy, by our leave, some great portion of revenue to enrich themselves and their countries by, with fishing within the seas appertaining to our ancient bounds and limits? Where now, to our great shame and reproach, some of them do come in a manner home to our doors; and among them all, deprive us yearly of many hundred thousand pounds, which by our fishermen using the said fishings as chief, we might enjoy; and at length, by little and little, bring them (if we would deal so rigorously with them) to have as little portion of our peculiar commodity (to

our Islandish Monarchy, by GOD and Nature assigned) as now they force our fishermen to be contented with: and yearly notwithstanding, do at their fishing openly and ragingly use such words of reproach to our Prince and realm, as no true subject's heart can quietly digest. And besides that, offer such shameful wrongs to the good laboursome people of this land, as is not by any reason to be borne withal, or endured any longer: destroying their nets; cutting their cables to the loss of their anchors, yea, and oftentimes of barks, men and all.

And this sort of people they be, which otherwhile by colour and pretence of coming about their feat of fishing, do subtilly and secretly use soundings and searchings of our channels, deeps, shoals, banks, or bars along the sea coasts, and in our haven mouths also, and up in our creeks, sometimes in our bays, and sometimes in our roads, &c.; taking good marks, for avoiding of the dangers, and also trying good landings. And so, making perfect charts of all our coasts round about England and Ireland, are become almost perfecter in them, than the most part of our Masters, Leadsmen, or Pilots are. To the double danger of mischief in times of war; and also to no little hazard of the State Royal, if, maliciously bent, they should purpose to land any puissant army, in time to come.

And as concerning those fishings of England, Wales, and Ireland, of their places, yearly seasons, the many hundreds of foreign fisherboats yearly resorting, the divers sorts of fish there taken, with the appurtenances: I know right well that long ago* all such matter concerning these fishings was declared unto some of the higher powers of this Kingdom, and made manifest by R[OBERT]. H[ITCHCOCK]. another honest gentleman of the Middle Temple, who very discreetly and faithfully hath dealt therein; and still travaileth, and by divers other ways also, to further the weal public of England so much as in him lieth.

But note, I pray you, this point very advisedly. That as by this *Plat** of our said fishing commodities, many a hundred thousand pounds of yearly revenue might grow to the Crown of England more than now doth, and much more to

* This work was put into its final shape in 1577, and first printed in 1580. It will be found at *pp.* 133–168.

the commons of this Monarchy also: besides the inestimable benefit of plentiful victualling and relieving of both England and Ireland; the increasing of many thousands of expert, hard, and hardy mariners; the abating of the sea forces of our foreign neighbours and unconstant friends; and contrariwise, the increasing of our own power and force at sea; so it is most evident and certain that *principium* in this case is, *Plus quam dimidium totius*, as I have heard it verified proverbially in many other affairs.

Wherefore the very entrance and beginning towards our Sea Right recovering, and the foresaid commodities enjoying at length; yea, and the *only* means of our countinuance therewith, can be no other; but by the dreadful presence and power, with discreet oversight and due order, of the said Petty Navy Royal; being—wholly sometimes, sometimes a part thereof—at all the chief places of our fishings; as if they were Public Officers, Commissioners, and Justiciers, by the supreme authority royal of our most renowned Queen ELIZABETH, rightfully and prudently thereto assigned.

So that this Petty Navy Royal is thought to be the only Master Key wherewith to open all locks that keep out or hinder this incomparable British Empire from enjoying, by many means, such a yearly Revenue of Treasure, both to the Supreme Head and the subjects thereof—as no plat [*tract*] of ground or sea in the whole world else, being of no greater quantity—can with more right, greater honour, with so great ease and so little charges, so near at hand, in so short time, and in so little danger, any kind of way, yield the like to either King or other potentate and absolute Governor thereof whosoever. Besides, the Peaceable Enjoyment, to enjoy all the same, for ever; yea, yearly and yearly, by our wisdom and valiantness duly used, all manner of our commodities to arise greater and greater; as well in wealth and strength as of foreign love and fear, where it is most requisite to be: and also of Triumphant Fame the whole world over, undoubtedly.

Also, this Petty Navy Royal will be the perfect means of very many other and exceeding great commodities redounding to this Monarchy; which our fishermen and their fisher-boats only, can never be able to compass or bring to pass: and

those being such as are more necessary to be cared for presently [*instantly*] than wealth.

Therefore, the premises well weighed, above and before all other, this Plat [*plan*] of a Petty Navy Royal will, by GOD's grace, be found the plain and perfect A. B. C., most necessary for the commons and every subject in his calling to be carefully and diligently musing upon, or exercising himself therein; till, shortly, they may be able in effect to read before their eyes, the most joyful and pleasant British histories (by that Alphabet only deciphered, and so brought to their understanding and knowledge) that ever to this or any kingdom in the whole world else, was known or perceived.

11. Furthermore, how acceptable a thing may this be to the Ragusyes [*Argosies*], Hulks, Caravels, and other foreign rich laden ships, passing within or by any of the sea limits of Her Majesty's royalty; even there to be now in most security where only, heretofore, they have been in most jeopardy: as well by the ravin of the pirate, as the rage of the sea distressing them, for lack of succour, or good and ready pilotage! What great friendship in heart of foreign Prince and subject! And what liberal presents and foreign contributions in hand will duly follow thereof, who cannot imagine?

12. Moreover, such a Petty Navy Royal, *said he*, would be in such stead, as though (**a**) one [fleet] were appointed to consider and listen to the doings of Ireland; and (**b**) another to have as good an eye, and ready hand for Scottish dealings; (**c**) another to intercept or understand all privy conspiracies, by sea to be communicated; and privy aids of men, munition, or money by sea to be transported; to the endamaging of this kingdom, any way intended: (**d**) another against all sudden foreign attempts: (**e**) another to oversee the foreign fishermen: (**f**) another against all pirates haunting our seas: and therewith as well to waft and guard our own merchant fleets as they shall pass and repass between this realm, and wheresoever else they may best be planted for their ordinary marts' keeping; if England may not best serve that turn. And also to defend, help, and direct many of our foreign friends, who must needs pass by or frequent any of those seas, whose principal royalty, undoubtedly, is to the Imperial Crown of these British Islands appropriate.

One such Navy, *said he*, by royal direction, excellently well manned, and to all purposes aptly and plentifully furnished and appointed; and *now, in time of our peace and quiet everywhere, yet beforehand set forth to the foresaid seas* with their charges and commissions (most secretly to be kept from all foes and foreigners) would stand this common wealth in as great stead as four times so many ships would or could do; if, upon the sudden and all at once, we should be forced to deal for removing the foresaid sundry principal matters of annoyance: we being then utterly unready thereto, and the enemy's attempt requiring speedy, and admitting of no successive, defeating.

13. To conclude herein. This Petty Navy Royal undoubtedly will stand the realm in better stead than the enjoying of four such forts or towns as Calais and Boulogne only could do. For this will be as great strength, and to as good purpose in any coast of England, Ireland, or Scotland, between us and the foreign foe, as ever Calais was for that only one place that it is situated in; and will help to enjoy the Royalty and Sovereignty of the Narrow Seas throughout, and of other our seas also, more serviceable than Calais or Boulogne ever did or could do: if all the provisos hereto appertaining be duly observed. Forasmuch as we intend now *peace only preserving*, and no invasion of France or any enemy on that main inhabiting; toward whom by Calais or Boulogne we need to let in our land forces, &c. Much I know may be here said, *Pro et Contra*, in this case: but GOD hath suffered such matters to fall so out; and all to us for the best, if it be so, thankfully construed and duly considered.

For when all foreign Princes, our neighbours, doubtful friends, or undutiful people, subjects or vassals to our Sovereign, perceive such a Petty Navy Royal hovering purposely here and there, ever ready and able to overthrow any of their malicious and subtle secret attempts intended against the weal public of this noble Kingdom in any part or coast thereof: then, every one of them will or may think that, of purpose, that Navy was made out only to prevent them, and none other; and for their destruction, being bewrayed [*betrayed*] as they would deem. So that not one such foreign enemy would adventure, first, to break out into any notable disorder against us; nor homish subject or

wavering vassal, for like respects, durst, then, privily muster to rebellion, or make harmful rodes [*inroads*] or dangerous riots in any English or Irish Marches.

But such matter as this, I judge you have, or might have heard of, ere now, by worshipful Master DYER; and that abundantly: seeing *Synopsis Reipublicæ Britanicæ*, was, at his request, six years past [*i.e.*, *in* 1570] contrived; as by the methodical author thereof, I understand. Whose policy for the partings, meetings, followings, circuits, &c., of the ships (to the foresaid Petty Navy Royal belonging) with the alterations both of times, places, and numbers, &c., is very strange to hear.

So that, in total sum of all the foresaid considerations united in one, it seemeth to be almost a mathematical demonstration, next under the merciful and mighty protection of GOD, for a feasible policy to bring and preserve this victorious British Monarchy in a marvellous security. Whereupon, the revenue of the Crown of England and wealth public will wonderfully increase and flourish; and then, thereupon, sea forces anew to be increased proportionally, &c. And so the Fame, Renown, Estimation, and Love or Fear of this British *Microcosmus*, all the whole and great World over, will be speedily be spread, and surely be settled, &c.

IT is most earnestly and carefully to be considered that our herring fishings, [over] against Yarmouth chiefly, have not (so notably, to our great injury and loss and the great and incredible gain of the Low Countries) been traded, but from Thirty-six years ago hitherward. [*This fixes the commencement of the Dutch herring fishery on the English coasts about* 1540.] In which time, as they have in wealth, and numbers of boats and men, by little and little increased, and are now become very rich, strong, proud, and violent; so, in the race [*course*] of the selfsame time running, the coasts of Norfolk and Suffolk next to those fishing-places adjacent, are decayed in their navy to the number of 140 Sail, and they [of] from threescore to a hundred tons and upwards [each]; besides Crayers and others. Whereupon, besides many other damages thereby sustained publicly, these coasts are not able to trade to Iceland,

Though of late in the Flushing and Low Country's troublesome disorders, some few (by stealing over [*smuggling*] of victuals and other things from this commonwealth) have made themselves privately rich; and so able to set

forth to Iceland a ship or two: who, before, were far unable thereto by their own wealth, and lawfull rade of dealing.

as in times past they have done; to no little loss yearly to the wealth public of this kingdom.

But the Herring Busses hither yearly restoring out of the Low Countries, under King PHILIP his dominion, are above 500.

Besides 100 or such a thing, of Frenchmen.

The North Seas fishing, within the English limits, are yearly possessed of 300 or 400 Sail of Flemings [*Dutch*]; so accounted.

The Western fishings of Hake and Pilchards are yearly possessed by a great navy of Frenchmen; who yearly do great injuries to our poor countrymen, Her Majesty's faithful subjects.

Strangers also enjoy at their pleasure the Herring fishing of Allonby, Workington, and Whitehaven on the coast of Lancashire.

And in Wales, about Dyfi [*the Dovey*] and Aberystwith, the plentiful Herring fishing is enjoyed by 300 Sail of strangers.

But in Ireland, Baltimore [*near Cape Clear*] is possessed yearly, from July to Michaelmas most commonly, with 300 Sail of Spaniards, entering there into the fishing at a Strait [*passage*] not so broad as half the breadth of the Thames [over] against Whitehall. Where, our late good King EDWARD VI.'s most honourable Privy Council was of the mind once to have planted a strong bulwark [*fort*]; for other weighty reasons, as well as His Majesty to be Sovereign Lord of the fishing of Millwin and Cod there.

Black Rock [*? co. Cork*] is yearly fished by 300 or sometimes 400 Sail of Spaniards and Frenchmen.

But to reckon all, I should be too tedious to you; and make my heart to ache for sorrow, &c.

Yet surely I think it necessary to leave to our posterity some remembrance of the places where our rich fishings else are, about Ireland. As at Kinsale, Cork, Carlingford, Saltesses, Dungarven, Youghal, Waterford, La Foy, The Band, Calibeg [*Killibegs*], &c. And all chiefly enjoyed, as securely and freely from us by strangers, as if they were within their own Kings' peculiar sea limits: nay, rather as if those coasts, seas, and bays, &c., were of their private and several purchases. To our unspeakable loss, discredit, and discomfort; and to no small further danger in these perilous times, of most subtle treacheries and fickle fidelity.

Dictum, Sapienti sat esto.

Lyrics, Elegies, &c. from Madrigals, Canzonets, &c.

Our purpose is to give, under this general title, a large Selection from the printed Madrigal literature of what was pre-eminently the Age of Part Song Music in our history, viz., from 1588 to 1640 A.D.

It first began when the English printers learnt to print Part Music on wood, with the *Psalms, Sonnets, and Songs of Sadness and Piety*, published in 1588, by WILLIAM BYRD, one of the Gentlemen of the Queen's Chapel: from which collection the pieces immediately following are taken.

The Dedications and Epistles will also be given, partly for their general elegance and self-respecting modesty, and partly for what they have to tell us about the Part Singing of the time. Poems which have already appeared in the *English Garner* will of course be omitted.

The Madrigal Verse of that time is "a thing of beauty" and "a joy for ever." Being chiefly intended for daily use in the family assembled around the table after supper, it was wonderfully pure; delightful words being wedded to delightful music: and the iridescence of its lightsome fancy soon became a lost art among the subsequent poets, and is, probably, now almost beyond the reach of any one in this age.

Many of the lighter songs are, if not direct translations from the Italian, close imitations of the more favourite Madrigals, Canzonets, &c., in that language.

PSALMS, SONNETS, AND SONGS OF SADNESS AND PIETY.

Edited by WILLIAM BYRD.

Entered at Stationers' Hall on 6 November, 1587, but printed with the date 1588.

¶ Reasons briefly set down by the author, to persuade every one to learn to sing.

1. FIRST it is a knowledge easily taught, and quickly learned; where there is a good master, and an apt scholar.

2. The exercise of singing is delightful to Nature, and good to preserve the health of man.

3. It doth strengthen all the parts of the breast, and doth open the pipes.

4. It is a singular good remedy for a stutt[er]ing and stammering in the speech.

5. It is the best means to procure a perfect pronunciation, and to make a good orator.

6. It is the only way to know where Nature hath bestowed the benefit of a good voice; which gift is so rare, as there is not one among a thousand that hath it: and in many, that excellent gift is lost, because they want Art to express Nature.

7. There is not any music of instruments whatsoever comparable to that which is made of the voices of men; where the voices are good, and the same well sorted or ordered.

8. The better the voice is, the meeter it is to honour and serve GOD therewith: and the voice of man is chiefly to be employed to that end.

Omnis spiritus laudet DOMINUM!

Since singing is so good a thing,
I wish all men would learn to sing.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE Sir CHRISTOPHER HATTON, Knight, Lord Chancellor of England; WILLIAM BYRD wisheth long life, and the same to be most healthy and happy.

THE OFTEN desires of many my good friends, Right Honourable! and the consideration of many untrue incorrected copies of divers of my Songs spread abroad; have been the two causes chiefly moving my consent, at length, to put in print the fruits of my small skill and labours in Music. Then the duty, honour and service due from me unto your Lordship, together with the remembrance of your judgement and love of that art, did move and embolden me to present this first printed work of mine in English, to pass under your Lordship's favour and protection; unworthy I confess, of the view or patronage of so worthy a personage. Yet remembering that small things sometimes do great service, and that repose is best tasted by bodies forewearied: I hoped that, by this occasion, these poor Songs of mine might happily yield some sweetness, repose, and recreation unto your Lordship's mind, after your daily pains and cares taken in the high affairs of the common wealth.

Most humbly beseeching your Lordship, that if my boldness herein be faulty, my dutiful good will and good meaning may excuse it: which, if I may so fortunately perceive, it shall encourage me to suffer some other things of more depth and skill to follow these; which being not yet finished, are of divers expected and desired. Incessantly beseeching our LORD to make your years happy and end blessed, I wish there were anything in me worthy of your Lordship to be commanded.

Most humbly, your Lordship's ever to command,

WILLIAM BYRD.

THE EPISTLE TO THE READER.

BENIGN Reader! Here is offered unto thy courteous acceptance! Music of sundry sorts, and to content divers humours. If thou be disposed to pray, here are Psalms! if to be merry, here are Sonnets! if to lament for thy sins, here are Songs of Sadness and Piety! if thou delight in music of great compass, here are divers songs, which being originally made for instruments to express the harmony and one voice to pronounce the ditty, are now framed, in all parts for voices to sing the same! If thou desire songs of small compass and fit for the reach of most voices: here are most in number of that sort! Whatsoever pains I have taken herein, I shall think to be well employed; if the same be well accepted, music thereby the better loved, and the more exercised.

In the expressing of these Songs, either by voices or instruments, if there happen to be any jar or disonance, blame not the printer! who, I do assure thee, through his great pains and diligence, doth here deliver to thee a perfect and true copy. If in the composition of these Songs, there be any fault by me committed, I desire the skilful, either with courtesy to let the same be concealed; or in friendly sort, to be thereof admonished; and at the next impression he shall find the error reformed; remembering always, that it is more easy to find a fault than to amend it.

If thou find anything here worthy of liking and commendation, give praise unto GOD! from Whom, as from a most pure and plentiful fountain, all good gifts of science do flow. Whose Name be glorified for ever!

The most assured friend to all that love or learn Music,

WILLIAM BYRD.

Lyrics, Elegies, &c. from Madrigals, Canzonets, &c.

SONNETS AND PASTORALS.



JOY NOT in no earthly bliss.
I force not CRŒSUS' wealth a straw.
For care, I know not what it is.
I fear not Fortune's fatal law.
My mind is such as may not move,
For beauty bright nor force of love.

I wish but what I have at will.
I wander not to seek for more.
I like the plain, I climb no hill.
In greatest storms, I sit on shore
And laugh at them that toil in vain
To get, what must be lost again.

I kiss not where I wish to kill.
I fain not love, where most I hate.
I break no sleep to win my will.
I wait not at the mighty's gate.
I scorn no poor, nor fear no rich;
I feel no want, nor have too much.

The Court and cart I like nor loath.
Extremes are counted worst of all;
The golden mean, between them both,
Doth surest sit and fears no fall.
This is my choice, for why? I find
No wealth is like the quiet mind.

THOUGH AMARILLIS dance in green
Like Fairy Queen,
And sing full clear;
CORINNA can with smiling, cheer.
Yet since their eyes make heart so sore.
Chil=I will. Hey ho! chil love no more.

My sheep are lost for want of food
And I so wood!
That all the day
I sit and watch a herd-maid gay;
Who laughs to see me sigh so sore.
Hey ho! chil love no more.

Her loving looks, her beauty bright,
Is such delight;
That all in vain,
I love to like, and lose my gain
For her, that thanks me not therefore.
Hey ho! chil love no more.

Ah, wanton eyes! my friendly foes
And cause of woes;
Your sweet desire
Breeds flames of ice, and freeze in fire!
Ye scorn to see me weep so sore!
Hey ho! chil love no more.

Love ye who list, I force him not:
Since God it wot,
The more I wail,
The less my sighs and tears prevail.
What shall I do? but say therefore,
Hey ho! chil love no more.

WHO LIKES to love, let him take heed!
And wot you why?
Among the gods, it is decreed
That LOVE shall die;
And every wight that takes his part,
Shall forfeit each, a mourning heart.

The cause is this, as I have heard,
A sort of dames,
Whose beauty he did not regard,
Nor secret flames,
Complained before the gods above,
That gold corrupts the god of love.

The gods did storm to hear this news,
And there they swore;
That sith he did such dames abuse,
He should no more
Be god of love, but that he should
Both die, and forfeit all his gold.

His bow and shafts they took away,
Before his eyes;
And gave these dames a longer day
For to devise
Who should them keep; and they be bound,
That love for gold should not be found.

These ladies striving long, at last
They did agree
To give them to a maiden chaste,
Whom I did see;
Who with the same, did pierce my breast,
Her beauty's rare; and so I rest.

MY MIND to me a kingdom is.
Such perfect joy therein I find,
That it excels all other bliss,
That GOD or Nature hath assigned.
Though much I want, that most would have;
Yet still my mind forbids to crave.

No princely port, nor wealthy store,
No force to win a victory,
No wily wit to salve a sore,
No shape to win a loving eye:
To none of these, I yield as thrall.
For why? My mind despise[s] them all.

I see that plenty surfeits oft,
And hasty climbers soonest fall;
I see that such as are aloft,
Mishap doth threaten most of all:
These get with toil, and keep with fear.
Such cares my mind can never bear.

I press to bear no haughty sway,
I wish no more than may suffice.
I do no more than well I may.
Look what I want, my mind supplies!
Lo thus, I triumph! like a king:
My mind content with anything.

I laugh not at another's loss,
Nor grudge not at another's gain,
No worldly waves my mind can toss,
I brook that is another's bane,
I fear no foe, nor fawn on friend;
I loath not life, nor dread mine end.

My wealth is health, and perfect ease;
And conscience clear, my chief defence:
I never seek, by bribes to please,
Nor by desert, to give offence:
Thus do I live! thus will I die!
Would all did so, as well as I! [SIR EDWARD DYER.]



HERE FANCY fond, for Pleasure pleads,
And Reason keeps poor Hope in gaol:
There time it is to take my beads,
And pray that Beauty may prevail;
Or else Despair will win the field,
Where Reason, Hope and Pleasure yield.

My eyes presume to judge this case,
Whose judgement, Reason doth disdain;
But Beauty with her wanton face,
Stands to defend, the case is plain:
And at the bar of sweet delight,
She pleads "that Fancy must be right."

But Shame will not have Reason yield,
Though Grief do swear it shall be so;
As though it were a perfect shield,
To blush, and fear to tell my woe:
Where Silence force will, at the last,
To wish for wit, when hope is past.

So far hath fond Desire outrun
The bond which Reason set out first;
That where Delight the fray begun
I would now say, if that I durst,
That in her stead, ten thousand Woes
Have sprung in field where Pleasure grows.

O that I might declare the rest,
Of all the toys which Fancy turns;
Like towers of wind within my breast,
Where fire is hid that never burns:
Then should I try one of the twain,
Either to love, or to disdain.

But fine conceit dares not declare
The strange conflict of hope and fear:
Lest Reason should be left so bare,
That love durst whisper in mine ear;
And tell me "how my Fancy shall
Bring Reason to be Beauty's thrall."

I must therefore, with silence, build
The labyrinth of my delight;
Till love have tried in open field,
Which of the twain shall win the fight:
I fear me Reason must give place;
If Fancy fond, win Beauty's grace.

IF WOMEN could be fair and never fond,
Or that their beauty might continue still:
I would not marvel though they made men bond,
By service long, to purchase their goodwill:
But when I see how frail these creatures are,
I laugh that men forget themselves so far!

To mark what choice they make, and how they change;
How leaving best, the worst they chose out still;
And how like haggards wild, about they range,
Scorning after reason to follow will:
Who would not shake such bussards from the fist;
And let them fly, fair fools! which way they list?

Yet for our sport, we fawn and flatter both,
To pass the time, when nothing else can please;
And train them on to yield, by subtle oath,
The sweet content, that gives such humour ease:
And then we say, when we their follies try,
"To play with fools; O what a fool was I!" [EDWARD, Earl of OXFORD.]

AMBITIOUS love hath forced me to aspire
The beauties rare which do adorn thy face!
Thy modest life yet bridles my desire,
Whose severe law doth promise me no grace!
But what! May LOVE live under any law?
No! no! His power exceedeth man's conceit:
Of which the gods themselves do stand in awe;
For on his frown, a thousand torments wait.
Proceed then in this desperate enterprise, with good advise!
And follow LOVE thy guide that leads thee to thy wished paradise!
Thy climbing thoughts, this comfort take withal!
That if it be thy foul disgrace to slide,
Thy brave attempt shall yet excuse thy fall.

WHAT pleasure have great princes,
More dainty to their choice,
Than herdsmen wild? who careless,
In quiet life rejoice;
And fortune's fate not fearing,
Sing sweet in summer morning.

Their dealings plain and rightful,
Are void of all deceit;
They never know how spiteful,
It is to kneel and wait
On favourite presumptuous,
Whose pride is vain and sumptuous.

All day their flocks each tendeth;
At night, they take their rest;
More quiet than who sendeth
His ship into the East,
Where gold and pearl are plenty;
But getting, very dainty.

For lawyers and their pleading,
They 'steem it not a straw;
They think that honest meaning
Is of itself a law:
Whence conscience judgeth plainly,
They spend no money vainly.

O happy who thus liveth!
Not caring much for gold;
With clothing which sufficeth
To keep him from the cold.
Though poor and plain his diet;
Yet merry it is, and quiet.

AS I BEHELD, I saw a herdsman wild,
With his sheephook, a picture fine deface;
Which he sometime, his fancy too beguiled,
Had carved on bark of beech, in secret place:
And with despite of most afflictèd mind,
Through deep despair of heart, for love dismayed;
He pulled even from the tree, the carvèd rind,
And weeping sore, these woeful words he said.

"Ah PHILIDA! would God, thy picture fair,
I could as lightly blot out of my breast;
Then should I not thus rage with great despite,
And tear the thing, sometime I likèd best.
But all in vain. It booteth not, God wot!
What printed is in heart, on tree to blot."

ALTHOUGH the heathen poets did APOLLO famous praise,
As one who for his music sweet, no peer had in his days.

IN FIELDS abroad, where trumpets shrill do sound,
Where glaves and shields do give and take the knocks;
Where bodies dead do overspread the ground,
And friends to foes, are common butcher's blocks;
A gallant shot, well managing his piece,
In my conceit deserves a golden fleece.

Amid the seas, a gallant ship set out,
Wherein nor men nor yet munition lacks;
In greatest winds, that spareth not a clout,
But cuts the waves, in spite of weather's wracks;
Would force a swain, that comes of coward's kind,
To change himself, and be of noble mind.

Who makes his seat a stately stamping steed,
Whose neighs and plays are princely to behold;
Whose courage stout, whose eyes are fiery red,
Whose joints well knit, whose harness all of gold;
Doth well deserve to be no meaner thing,
Than Persian knight, whose horse made him a King.

By that bedside where sits a gallant Dame,
Who casteth off her brave and rich attire;
Whose petticoat sets forth as fair a frame
As mortal men or gods can well desire.
Who sits and sees her petticoat unlaced:
I say no more. The rest are all disgraced.

CONSTANT PENELOPE sends to thee, careless ULYSSES!
Write not again, but come, sweet Mate! thyself to revive me. [Greece.
Troy we do much envy, we desolate lost ladies of
Not PRIAMUS, nor yet all Troy, can us recompense make.
Oh, that he had, when he first took shipping to Lacedemon,
That adulter I mean, had been o'erwhelmed with waters!
Then had I not lien now all alone, thus quivering for cold;
Nor used this complaint, nor have thought the day to be so long.

FAREWELL, false LOVE! the oracle of lies,
A mortal foe, and enemy to rest;
An envious boy, from whom all cares arise;
A bastard vile, a beast with rage possest,
A way of error, a temple full of treason:
In all effects, contrary unto reason.

A poisoned serpent covered all with flowers,
Mother of sighs, and murderer of repose;
A sea of sorrows from whence are drawn such showers,
As moisture lend, to every grief that grows;
A school of guile, a net of deep deceit,
A gilded hook that holds a poisoned bait.

A fortress foiled, which Reason did defend,
A SIREN song, a fever of the mind,
A maze wherein affection finds no end,
A raging cloud that runs before the wind,
A substance like the shadow of the sun,
A goal of grief for which the wisest run.

A quenchless fire, a nurse of trembling fear,
A path that leads to peril and mishap,
A true retreat of sorrow and despair,
An idle boy that sleeps in Pleasure's lap,
A deep mistrust of that which certain seems,
A hope of that which Reason doubtful deems.

THE MATCH that's made for just and true respects,
With evenness, both of years and parentage;
Of force must bring forth many good effects.
Pari jugo dulcis tractus.

For where chaste love and liking sets the plant,
And concord waters with a firm goodwill,
Of no good thing there can be any want.
Pari jugo dulcis tractus.

Sound is the knot, that Chastity hath tied,
Sweet is the music, Unity doth make,
Sure is the store, that Plenty doth provide.
Pari jugo dulcis tractus.

Where Chasteness fails, there Concord will decay,
Where Concord fleets, there Plenty will decrease,
Where Plenty wants, there Love will wear away.
Pari jugo dulcis tractus.

I CHASTITY, restrain all strong desires!
I CONCORD, keep the course of sound consent!
I PLENTY, spare and spend, as cause requires!
Pari jugo dulcis tractus.

Make much of us, all ye that married be!
Speak well of us, all ye that mind to be!
The time may come, to want and wish all three.
Pari jugo dulcis tractus.

SONGS OF SADNESS AND PIETY.

PROSTRATE, O LORD! I lie,
Behold me, LORD! with pity.
Stop not Thine ears! against my cry,
My sad and mourning ditty,
Breathed from an inward soul,
From heart heart'ly contrite;
An offering sweet, a sacrifice
In Thy heavenly sight.

Observe not sins, O LORD!
For who may then abide it;
But let Thy mercy cancel them,
Thou hast not man denied it.
Man melting with remorse and thoughts
Thought past repenting.
O lighten, LORD! O hear our songs!
Our sins full sore lamenting.

The wonders of Thy works,
Above all reason reacheth;
And yet Thy mercy above all
This, us Thy Spirit teacheth!
Then let no sinner fall
In depth of foul despair;
Since never soul so foul there was,
But mercy made it fair.

ALL AS a sea, the world no other is,
Ourselves are Ships still tossèd to and fro.
And lo, each man, his love to that or this,
Is like a Storm that drives the ship to go;
That thus our life in doubt of shipwreck stands:
Our wills, the Rocks; our want of skill, the Sands.

Our passions be the Pirates still that spoil,
And overboard cast out our reason's Freight;
The Mariners that day and night do toil,
Be our conceits that do on pleasure wait:
Pleasure, Master, doth tyrannize the ship,
And giveth virtue secretly the nip.

The Compass is a mind to compass all,
Both pleasure, profit, place, and fame for nought:
The Winds that blow, men overweening call,
The Merchandise is wit full dearly bought,
Trial the Anchor cast upon experience,
For labour, life, and all ado the Recompense.

SUSANNA fair, sometime assaultèd was,
By two old men, desiring their delight;
Whose false intent they thought to bring to pass,
If not by tender love, by force and might.
To whom she said, "If I you suit deny,
You will me falsely accuse, and make me die.

And if I grant to that which you request,
My chastity shall then deflowerèd be:
Which is so dear to me that I detest
My life; if it berefted be from me.
And rather would I die, of mine accord,
Ten thousand times, than once offend the LORD!"

IF THAT a sinner's sighs be angels' food,
Or that repentant tears be angels' wine;
Accept, O LORD! in this most pensive mood
These hearty sighs and tears of mine:
That went with PETER forth most sinfully;
But not with PETER wept most bitterly.

If I had DAVID's crown to me betide,
Or all his purple robes that he did wear;
I would lay then such honour all aside,
And only seek a sackcloth weed to bear:
His palace would I leave, that I might show
And mourn in cell for such offence, my woe.

There should these hands beat on my pensive breast;
And sad to death, for sorrow rend my hair:
My voice to call on Thee, should never rest;
Whose grace I seek, Whose judgement I do fear.
Upon the ground, all grovelling on my face,
I would beseech Thy favour and good grace!

But since I have not means to make the show
Of my repentant mind, and yet I see
My sin, to greater heap than PETER's grow,
Whereby the danger more it is to me:
I put my trust in His most precious blood,
Whose life was paid to purchase all our good.

Thy mercy greater is than any sin!
Thy greatness none can ever comprehend!
Wherefore, O LORD! let me Thy mercy win,
Whose glorious name, no time can ever end:
Wherefore I say, "All praise belongs to Thee!"
Whom I beseech be merciful to me.

CARE for thy soul, as thing of greatest price!
Made to the end to taste of power divine;
Devoid of guilt, abhorring sin and vice,
Apt by GOD's grace to virtue to incline:
Care for it so, as by thy retchless train
It be not brought to taste eternal pain!

Care for thy corps [*body*], but chiefly for soul's sake!
Cut off excess! sustaining food is best.
To vanquish pride, but comely clothing take!
Seek after skill! deep ignorance detest!
Care so, I say, the flesh to feed and clothe,
That thou harm not thy soul and body both!

Care for the world, to do thy body right!
Rack not thy wit, to win by wicked ways!
Seek not t'oppress the weak by wrongful might!
To pay thy due, do banish all delays!
Care to dispend, according to thy store!
And in like sort, be mindful of the poor!

Care for thy soul, as for thy chiefest stay!
Care for thy body, for the soul's avail!
Care for the world, for body's help alway!
Care yet but so as virtue may prevail!
Care in such sort! that thou be sure of this,
Care keep thee not from heaven and heavenly bliss.

Lulla, la lulla, lulla lullaby,
My sweet little Baby! what meanest thou to cry?

BE STILL, my blessed Babe! though cause thou hast to mourn,
Whose blood most innocent to shed, the cruel King hath sworn;

And lo, alas, behold what slaughter he doth make,
Shedding the blood of infants all, sweet Saviour! for Thy sake!
A King is born, they say; which King, this King would kill.
Oh woe! and woeful heavy day! when wretches have their will.

Lulla, la lulla, lulla lullaby,
My sweet little Baby! what meanest thou to cry?

Three Kings, this King of Kings to see, are come from far;
To each unknown, with offerings great, by guiding of a star:
And shepherds heard the Song, which angels bright did sing,
Giving all glory unto GOD, for [the] coming of this King:
Which must be made away, King HEROD would him kill.
Oh woe! and woeful heavy day! when wretches have their will.

Lulla, la lulla, lulla lullaby,
My sweet little Baby! what meanest thou to cry?

Lo! lo! my little Babe! be still, lament no more!
From fury shalt thou step aside! Help have we still in store.
We heavenly warning have, some other soil to seek.
From death, must fly the Lord of Life, as lamb both mild and meek;
Thus must my Babe obey the King, that would him kill.
Oh woe! and woeful heavy day! when wretches have their will.

Lulla, la lulla, lulla lullaby,
My sweet little Baby! what meanest thou to cry?

But Thou shalt live and reign! as sybils have foresaid,
As all the prophets prophesy; whose mother yet a maid
And perfect virgin pure, with her breasts shall upbreed
Both GOD and man, that all hath made, the Son of heavenly seed:
Whom caitifs none can 'tray, whom tyrants none can kill.
Oh joy! and joyful happy day! when wretches want their will.

WHY DO I use my paper, ink, and pen,
And call my wits to counsel what to say?
Such memories were made for mortal men;
I speak of saints, whose names cannot decay!
An angel's trump were fitter for to sound
Their glorious death! if such on earth were found.

That store of such were once on earth pursued,
The histories of ancient times record;
Whose constancy, great tyrants' rage subdued;
Through patient death, professing CHRIST their LORD,
As his Apostles perfect witness bear,
With many more, that blessed martyrs were.

Whose patience rare, and most courageous mind,
With fame renowned, perpetual shall endure;
By whose examples we may rightly find
Of holy life and death, a pattern pure.
That we therefore their virtues may embrace;
Pray we to CHRIST, to guide us with His grace!

THE FUNERAL SONGS OF THAT HONOURABLE GENTLEMAN, SIR PHILIP SIDNEY, KNIGHT.



COME TO me grief, for ever!
Come to me tears, day and night!
Come to me plaint! Ah, helpless!
Just grief! heart's tears! plaint worthy!

Go from dread to die now!
Go from me care to live now!
Go from me joys all on earth!
SIDNEY! O SIDNEY is dead!

He whom the Court adorned,
He whom the country courtes'd,
He who made happy his friends,
He that did good to all men.

SIDNEY, the hope of land strange!
SIDNEY, the flower of England!
SIDNEY, the sprite heroic!
SIDNEY is dead! O dead! dead!

Dead! no, no, but renowned!
With the anointed oned!
Honour on earth at his feet,
Bliss everlasting his seat.

Come to me grief, for ever!
Come to me tears, day and night!
Come to me plaint! Ah, helpless!
Just grief! heart's tears! plaint worthy!

O THAT most rare breast! crystalline, sincere,
Through which, like gold, thy princely heart did shine.
O sprite heroic! O valiant worthy knight!
O SIDNEY! Prince of fame and men's good will;
For thee! both kings and princesses do mourn.
Thy noble tomb, three cities strange desired!
Foes to the cause thy prowess did defend,
Bewail the day that crost thy famous race!
The doleful debt due to thy hearse I pay,
Tears from the soul, that aye thy want shall moan.
And by my will, my life itself would yield;
If heathen blame ne might my faith distain.
O heavy time! that my days draw behind thee!
Thou dead, dost live! thy friend here living, dieth!

FRANCIS MERES, M.A.

Sketch of English Literature, Painting, and Music, up to September 1598.

It is to be noted, that as many of the English works referred to in the superlatively important *Sketch* existed, at the time, only in manuscript; and that a number of them did not come to the press for years, some for many years afterwards; and some not at all, and are now lost: MERES must have had exceptionally good means of acquaintance with the literary, dramatic, musical, and artistic world of London and of the Universities at this date.

The method in this literary *Sketch*, so Euphuistic in its style, is to compare with the ancients, (1) by a qualitative analysis of the Eight *best* Poets of the time, *pp.* 95–98; and (2) by a quantitative analysis of *all the eminent Poets of the day*, in Eight Classes, with no order of individual precedence, *pp.* 99–100; (3) concluding with some *miscellaneous* comparisons, *pp.* 101–103.

In respect to SHAKESPEARE's poetical career; this piece of contemporary criticism is a perfect rock of certainty, amidst many futile surmisings.

[*Paladis Tamia* [Entered Stationers' Hall, 7 September], 1598.]

A comparative Discourse of our English Poets [Painters and Musicians] with the Greek, Latin, and Italian Poets [Painters and Musicians].

AS GREECE had three poets of great antiquity, ORPHEUS, LINUS, and MUSÆUS; and Italy, other three ancient poets, LIVIUS ANDRONICUS, ENNIUS, and PLAUTUS: so hath England three ancient poets, CHAUCER, GOWER, and LYDGATE.

As HOMER is reputed the Prince of Greek poets; and PETRARCH of Italian poets: so CHAUCER is accounted the god of English poets.

As HOMER was the first that adorned the Greek tongue with true quantity: so [WILLIAM LANGLAND, the author of] *PIERS PLOWMAN* was the first that observed the true quantity of our verse without the curiosity of rhyme.

OVID writ a Chronicle from the beginning of the world to his own time; that is, to the reign of AUGUSTUS the Emperor: so hath HARDING the Chronicler (after his manner of old harsh rhyming) from ADAM to his time; that is, to the reign of King EDWARD IV.

As SOTADES Maronites, the Iambic poet, gave himself wholly to write impure and lascivious things: so SKELTON (I know not for what great worthiness, surnamed the Poet Laureate) applied his wit to scurrilities and ridiculous matters; such [as] among the Greeks were called *Pantomimi*, with us, buffoons.

As CONSALVO PEREZ, that excellent learned man, and secretary to King PHILIP [II.] of Spain, in translating the "Ulysses" [*Odyssey*] of HOMER out of Greek into Spanish, hath, by good judgement, avoided the fault of rhyming, although [he hath] not fully hit perfect and true versifying: so hath HENRY HOWARD, that true and noble Earl of SURREY, in translating the fourth book of VIRGIL'S *Æneas*: whom MICHAEL DRAYTON in his *England's Heroical Epistles* hath eternized for an *Epistle to his fair GERALDINE*.

As these Neoterics, JOVIANUS PONTANUS, POLITIANUS, MARULLUS TARCHANIOTA, the two STROZÆ the father and the son, PALINGENIUS, MANTUANUS, PHILELPHUS, QUINTIANUS STOA, and GERMANUS BRIXIUS have obtained renown, and good place among the ancient Latin poets: so also these Englishmen, being Latin poets; WALTER HADDON, NICHOLAS CARR, GABRIEL HARVEY, CHRISTOPHER OCKLAND, THOMAS NEWTON, with his *LELAND*, THOMAS WATSON, THOMAS CAMPION, [JOHN] BRUNSWERD, and WILLEY have attained [a] good report and honourable advancement in the Latin empire [of letters].



As the Greek tongue is made famous and eloquent by HOMER, HESIOD, EURIPIDES, ÆSCHYLUS, SOPHOCLES, PINDARUS, PHOCYLIDES, and ARISTOPHANES; and the Latin tongue by VIRGIL, OVID, HORACE, SILIUS ITALICUS, LUCANUS, LUCRETIUS, AUSONIUS, and CLAUDIANUS: so the English tongue is mightily enriched, and gorgeously invested in rare

ornaments and resplendent habiliments by Sir PHILIP SYDNEY, SPENSER, DANIEL, DRAYTON, WARNER, SHAKESPEARE, MARLOW, and CHAPMAN.

As XENOPHON, who did imitate so excellently as to give us *effigiem justi imperii*, "the portraiture of a just empire" under the name of *CYRUS*, (as CICERO saith of him) made therein an absolute heroical poem; and as HELIODORUS wrote in prose, his sugared invention of that picture of love in *THEAGINES and CARICLEA*; and yet both excellent admired poets: so Sir PHILIP SIDNEY writ his immortal poem, *The Countess of PEMBROKE's "Arcadia"* in prose; and yet our rarest poet.

As SEXTUS PROPERTIUS said, *Nescio quid magis nascitur Iliade*: so I say of SPENSER's *Fairy Queen*; I know not what more excellent or exquisite poem may be written.

As ACHILLES had the advantage of HECTOR, because it was his fortune to be extolled and renowned by the heavenly verse of HOMER: so SPENSER's *ELIZA, the Fairy Queen*, hath the advantage of all the Queens in the world, to be eternized by so divine a poet.

As THEOCRITUS is famoused for his *Idyllia* in Greek, and VIRGIL for his *Eclogues* in Latin: so SPENSER their imitator in his *Shepherds Calendar* is renowned for the like argument; and honoured for fine poetical invention, and most exquisite wit.

As PARTHENIUS Nicæus excellently sang the praises of *ARETE*: so DANIEL hath divinely sonnetted the matchless beauty of *DELIA*.

As every one mourneth, when he heareth of the lamentable plangors [*plaints*] of [the] Thracian ORPHEUS for his dearest *EURYDICE*: so every one passionateth, when he readeth the afflicted death of DANIEL's distressed *ROSAMOND*.

As LUCAN hath mournfully depainted the Civil Wars of POMPEY and CÆSAR: so hath DANIEL, the Civil Wars of York and Lancaster; and DRAYTON, the Civil Wars of EDWARD II. and the Barons.

As VIRGIL doth imitate CATULLUS in the like matter of *ARIADNE*, for his story of Queen *DIDO*: so MICHAEL DRAYTON doth imitate OVID in his *England's Heroical Epistles*.

As SOPHOCLES was called a Bee for the sweetness of his tongue: so in CHARLES FITZ-GEFFRY's *DRAKE*, DRAYTON is

termed "golden-mouthed," for the purity and preciousness of his style and phrase.

As ACCIUS, MARCUS ATILIUS, and MILITHUS were called *Tragaediographi*; because they writ tragedies: so we may truly term MICHAEL DRAYTON, *Tragaediographus*: for his passionate penning [*the poem of*] the downfalls of valiant ROBERT of NORMANDY, chaste MATILDA, and great GAVESTON.

As JOANNES HONTERUS, in Latin verse, wrote three books of Cosmography, with geographical tables; so MICHAEL DRAYTON is now in penning in English verse, a poem called *Poly-olbion* [which is] geographical and hydrographical of all the forests, woods, mountains, fountains, rivers, lakes, floods, baths [*spas*], and springs that be in England.

As AULUS PERSIUS FLACCUS is reported, among all writers to [have] been of an honest life and upright conversation: so MICHAEL DRAYTON, *quem toties honoris et amoris causa nomino*, among scholars, soldiers, poets, and all sorts of people, is held for a man of virtuous disposition, honest conversation, and well governed carriage: which is almost miraculous among good wits in these declining and corrupt times; when there is nothing but roguery in villainous man, and when cheating and craftiness are counted the cleanest wit and soundest wisdom.

As DECIUS AUSONIUS Gallus, *in libris Fastorum*, penned the occurrences of the world from the first creation of it to this time; that is, to the reign of the Emperor GRATIAN: so WARNER, in his absolute *Albion's England*, hath most admirably penned the history of his own country from NOAH to his time, that is, to the reign of Queen ELIZABETH. I have heard him termed of the best wits of both our Universities, our English HOMER.

As EURIPIDES is the most sententious among the Greek poets: so is WARNER among our English poets.

As the soul of EUPHORBUS was thought to live in PYTHAGORAS: so the sweet witty soul of OVID lives in mellifluous and honey-tongued SHAKESPEARE. Witness his *VENUS and ADONIS*; his *LUCRECE*; his sugared *Sonnets*, among his private friends; &c.

As PLAUTUS and SENECA are accounted the best for Comedy and Tragedy among the Latins: so SHAKESPEARE among the English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage.

For Comedy: witness his *Gentlemen of Verona*; his [*Comedy of*] *Errors*; his *Love's Labour's Lost*; his *Love's Labour's Won* [*? All's Well that Ends Well*] his *Midsummer Night's Dream*; and his *Merchant of Venice*.

For Tragedy: his *RICHARD II.*, *RICHARD III.*, *HENRY IV.*, *King JOHN*, *TITUS ANDRONICUS*, and his *ROMEO and JULIET*.

As EPIUS STOLO said that the Muses would speak with PLAUTUS's tongue, if they would speak Latin: so I say that the Muses would speak with SHAKESPEARE's fine filed phrase; if they would speak English.

As MUSÆUS, who wrote the love of HERO and LEANDER, had two excellent scholars, THAMYRAS and HERCULES; so hath he [*MUSÆUS*] in England, two excellent poets, imitators of him in the same argument and subject, CHRISTOPHER MARLOW and GEORGE CHAPMAN.

As OVID saith of his work,

Jamque opus exegi, quod nec JOVIS ira, nec ignis,
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas;

And as HORACE saith of his,

Exegi monumentum ære perennius
Regalique situ pyramidum altius,
Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
Possit diruere, aut innumerabilis
Annorum series, et fuga temporum:

So I say, severally, of Sir PHILIP SIDNEY's, SPENSER's DANIEL's, DRAYTON's, SHAKESPEARE's, and WARNER's works,

Non JOVIS ira: imbres: MARS: ferrum: flamma: senectus:
Hoc opus unda: lues: turbo: venena ruent.
Et quanquam ad pulcherrimum hoc opus evertendum, tres illi Dii conspirabunt, CHRONUS, VULCANUS, et PATER ipse gentis.
Non tamen annorum series, non flamma, nec ensis;
Æternum potuit hoc abolere Decus.

As Italy had DANTE, BOCCACE [*BOCCACIO*], PETRARCH, TASSO, CELIANO, and ARIOSTO: so England had MATTHEW ROYDON, THOMAS ATCHELOW, THOMAS WATSON, THOMAS KYD, ROBERT GREENE, and GEORGE PEELE.

As there are eight famous and chief languages; Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Italian, Spanish, and French; so there are eight notable several kinds of poets, [1] Heroic, [2] Lyric, [3] Tragic, [4] Comic, [5] Satiric, [6] Iambic, [7] Elegiac, and [8] Pastoral.

[1] As HOMER and VIRGIL among the Greeks and Latins are the chief Heroic poets: so SPENSER and WARNER be our chief heroical "makers."

[2] As PINDARUS, ANACREON, and CALLIMACHUS, among the Greeks; and HORACE and CATALLUS among the Latins are the best Lyric poets: so in this faculty, the best among our poets are SPENSER, who excelleth in all kinds; DANIEL, DRAYTON, SHAKESPEARE, BRETON.

[3] As these Tragic poets flourished in Greece: ÆSCHYLUS, EURIPIDES, SOPHOCLES, ALEXANDER Ætolus; ACHÆUS ERITHRIŒUS, ASTYDAMAS Atheniensis, APOLLODORUS Tarsensis, NICOMACHUS Phrygius, THESPIS Atticus, and TIMON APOLLONIATES; and these among the Latins, ACCIUS, MARCUS ATILIUS, POMPONUS SECUNDUS, and SENECA: so these are our best for Tragedy; The Lord BUCKHURST, Doctor LEG, of Cambridge, Doctor EDES, of Oxford, Master EDWARD FERRIS, the author[s] of the *Mirror for Magistrates*, MARLOW, PEELE, WATSON, KYD, SHAKESPEARE, DRAYTON, CHAPMAN, DECKER, and BENJAMIN JOHNSON.

As MARCUS ANNEUS LUCANUS writ two excellent tragedies; one called *MEDEA*, the other *De incendio Trojæ cum PRIAMI calamitate*: so Doctor LEG hath penned two famous tragedies; the one of *RICHARD III.*, the other of *The Destruction of Jerusalem*.

[4] The best poets for Comedy among the Greeks are these: MENANDER, ARISTOPHANES, EUPOLIS Atheniensis, ALEXIS Terius, NICOSTRATUS, AMIPSIAS Atheniensis, ANAXANDRIDES Rhodeus, ARISTONYMUS, ARCHIPPUS Atheniensis, and CALLIAS Atheniensis; and among the Latins, PLAUTUS, TERENCE, NÆVIUS, SEXTUS TURPILIUS, LICINIUS IMBREX, and VIRGILIUS Romanus: so the best for Comedy amongst us be EDWARD [VERE], Earl of OXFORD; Doctor GAGER, of Oxford; Master ROWLEY, once a rare scholar of learned Pembroke Hall in Cambridge; Master EDWARDES, one of Her Majesty's Chapel; eloquent and witty JOHN LILLY, LODGE, GASCOIGNE, GREENE, SHAKESPEARE, THOMAS NASH. THOMAS HEYWOOD,

ANTHONY MUNDAY, our best plotter; CHAPMAN, PORTER, WILSON, HATHWAY, and HENRY CHETTLE.

[5] As HORACE, LUCILIUS, JUVENAL, PERSIUS, and LUCULLUS are the best for Satire among the Latins: so with us, in the same faculty, these are chief [WILLIAM LANGLAND, the author of] *PIERS PLOWMAN*, [T.] LODGE, [JOSEPH] HALL of Emmanuel College in Cambridge [*afterwards Bishop of NORWICH*]; [JOHN MARSTON] the Author of *PYGMALION's Image, and certain Satires*; the Author of *Skialetheia*.

[6] Among the Greeks, I will name but two for Iambics, ARCHILOCHUS Parius and HIPPONAX Ephesius: so amongst us, I name but two Iambical poets; GABRIEL HARVEY and RICHARD STANYHURST, because I have seen no more in this kind.

[7] As these are famous among the Greeks for Elegies, MELANTHUS, MYMNERUS Colophonius, OLYMPIUS Mysius, PARTHENIUS Nicœus, PHILETAS Cous, THEOGENES Megarensis, and PIGRES Halicarnassœus; and these among the Latins, MÆCENAS, OVID, TIBULLUS, PROPERTIUS, C. VALGIUS, CASSIUS SEVERUS, and CLODIUS Sabinus: so these are the most passionate among us to bewail and bemoan the perplexities of love, HENRY HOWARD, Earl of SURREY, Sir THOMAS WYATT the Elder, Sir FRANCIS BRYAN, Sir PHILIP SIDNEY, Sir WALTER RALEIGH, Sir EDWARD DYER, SPENSER, DANIEL, DRAYTON, SHAKESPEARE, WHETSTONE, GASCOIGNE, SAMUEL PAGE sometime Fellow of Corpus Christi College in Oxford, CHURCHYARD, BRETON.

[8] As THEOCRITUS in Greek; VIRGIL and MANTUAN in Latin, SANNAZAR in Italian, and [THOMAS WATSON] the Author of *AMINTÆ Gaudia* and *WALSINGHAM's MELIBŒUS* are the best for Pastoral: so amongst us the best in this kind are Sir PHILIP SIDNEY, Master CHALLONER, SPENSER, STEPHEN GOSSON, ABRAHAM FRAUNCE, and BARNFIELD.

These and many other Epigrammatists, the Latin tongue hath; Q. CATULLUS, PORCIUS LICINIUS, QUINTUS CORNIFICIUS, MARTIAL, CNŒUS GETULICUS, and witty Sir THOMAS MORE: so in English we have these, HEYWOOD, DRANT, KENDAL, BASTARD, DAVIES.

As noble MÆCENAS, that sprang from the Etruscan Kings, not only graced poets by his bounty, but also by being a poet himself; and as JAMES VI., now King of Scotland, is not only a favourer of poets, but a poet; as my friend Master RICHARD BARNFELD hath in this distich passing well recorded,

> The King of Scots now living is a poet,
> As his *Lepanto* and his *Furies* show it:

so ELIZABETH, our dread Sovereign and gracious Queen, is not only a liberal Patron unto poets, but an excellent poet herself; whose learned, delicate and noble Muse surmounteth, be it in Ode, Elegy, Epigram; or in any other kind of poem, Heroic or Lyric.

OCTAVIA, sister unto AUGUSTUS the Emperor, was exceeding[ly] bountiful unto VIRGIL, who gave him for making twenty-six verses, £1,137, to wit, ten *sestertiæ* for every verse (which amounted to above £43 for every verse): so learned MARY, the honourable Countess of PEMBROKE [and] the noble sister of the immortal Sir PHILIP SIDNEY, is very liberal unto poets. Besides, she is a most delicate poet, of whom I may say, as ANTIPATER Sidonius writeth of SAPPHO:

> *Dulcia Mnemosyne demirans carmina Sapphus,*
> *Quæsivit decima Pieris unde foret.*

Among others, in times past, poets had these favourers; AUGUSTUS, MÆCENAS, SOPHOCLES, GERMANICUS; an Emperor, a Nobleman, a Senator, and a Captain: so of later times, poets have [had] these patrons; ROBERT, King of Sicily, the great King FRANCIS [I.] of France, King JAMES of Scotland, and Queen ELIZABETH of England.

As in former times, two great Cardinals, BEMBA and BIENA did countenance poets: so of late years, two great Preachers, have given them their right hands in fellowship; BEZA and MELANCTHON.

As the learned philosophers FRACASTORIUS and SCALIGER have highly prized them: so have the eloquent orators, PONTANUS and MURETUS very gloriously estimated them.

As GEORGIUS BUCHANANUS' *JEPTHÆ*, amongst all modern

tragedies, is able to abide the touch of ARISTOTLE's precepts and EURIPIDES's examples: so is Bishop WATSON's *ABSALOM*.

As TERENCE for his translations out of APOLLODORUS and MENANDER, and AQUILIUS for his translation out of MENANDER, and C. GERMANICUS AUGUSTUS for his out of ARATUS, and AUSONIUS for his translated *Epigrams* out of [the] Greek, and Doctor JOHNSON for his *Frog-fight* out of HOMER, and WATSON for his *ANTIGONE* out of SOPHOCLES, have got good commendations: so these versifiers for their learned translations, are of good note among us; PHAER for VIRGIL's *Æneid*, GOLDING for OVID's *Metamorphosis*, HARINGTON for his *ORLANDO Furioso*, the Translators of SENECA's *Tragedies*, BARNABE GOOGE for PALINGENIUS's [*Zodiac of Life*], TURBERVILLE for OVID's *Epistles* and MANTUAN, and CHAPMAN for his inchoate HOMER.

As the Latins have these Emblematists, ANDREAS ALCIATUS, REUSNERUS, and SAMBUCUS: so we have these, GEFFREY WHITNEY, ANDREW WILLET, and THOMAS COMBE.

As NONNUS PANAPOLYTA wrote the *Gospel* of Saint JOHN in Greek hexameters: so GERVASE MARKHAM hath written SOLOMON's *Canticles* in English verse.

As CORNELIUS PLINIUS writ the life of POMPONUS SECUNDUS: so young CHARLES FITZ-GEFFERY, that high towering falcon, hath most gloriously penned *The honourable Life and Death of worthy Sir FRANCIS DRAKE*.

As HESIOD wrote learnedly of husbandry in Greek: so TUSSER [hath] very wittily and experimentally written of it in English.

As ANTIPATER Sidonius was famous for extemporal verse in Greek, and OVID for his

Quicquid conabar dicere versus erat:

so was our TARLETON, of whom Doctor CASE, that learned physician, thus speaketh in the Seventh Book and 17th chapter of his *Politics*.

ARISTOTLES suum THEODORETUM laudavit quendam peritum Tragœdiarum actorem, CICERO suum ROSCIUM: nos Angli TARLETONUM, in cujus voce et vultu omnes jocosi affectus, in cujus cerebroso capite lepidæ facetiæ habitant.

And so is now our witty [THOMAS] WILSON, who, for

learning and extemporal wit in this faculty, is without compare or compeer; as to his great and eternal commendations, he manifested in his challenge at the *Swan*, on the Bank Side.

As ACHILLES tortured the dead body of HECTOR; and as ANTONIUS and his wife FULVIA tormented the lifeless corpse of CICERO; so GABRIEL HARVEY hath showed the same inhumanity to GREENE, that lies full low in his grave.

As EUPOLIS of Athens used great liberty in taxing the vices of men: so doth THOMAS NASH. Witness the brood of the HARVEYS!

As ACTÆON was worried of his own hounds: so is TOM NASH of his *Isle of Dogs*. Dogs were the death of EURIPIDES; but be not disconsolate, gallant young JUVENAL! LINUS, the son of APOLLO, died the same death. Yet GOD forbid that so brave a wit should so basely perish! Thine are but paper dogs, neither is thy banishment like OVID'S, eternally to converse with the barbarous *Getæ*. Therefore comfort thyself, sweet TOM! with CICERO'S glorious return to Rome; and with the counsel ÆNEAS gives to his seabeaten soldiers, *Lib* 1, *Æneid.*

Pluck up thine heart! and drive from thence both fear and care away!
To think on this, may pleasure be perhaps another day.
Durato, et temet rebus servato secundis.

As ANACREON died by the pot: so GEORGE PEELE, by the pox.

As ARCHESILAUS PRYTANŒUS perished by wine at a drunken feast, as HERMIPPUS testifieth in *DIOGENES*: so ROBERT GREENE died by a surfeit taken of pickled herrings and Rhenish wine; as witnesseth THOMAS NASH, who was at the fatal banquet.

As JODELLE, a French tragical poet, being an epicure and an atheist, made a pitiful end: so our tragical poet MARLOW, for his Epicurism and Atheism, had a tragical death; as you may read of this MARLOW more at large, in the *Theatre of GOD'S judgments*, in the 25th chapter, entreating of *Epicures and Atheists*.

As the poet LYCOPHRON was shot to death by a certain rival of his: so CHRISTOPHER MARLOW was stabbed to death by a baudy Servingman, a rival of his, in his lewd love.

PAINTERS.

APELLES painted a mare and a dog so lively [*lifelike*], that horses and dogs passing by would neigh and bark at them. He grew so famous for his excellent art, that great ALEXANDER came often to his shop to visit him, and commanded that none other should paint him. At his death, he left *VENUS* unfinished; neither was any [one] ever found, that durst perfect what he had begun.

ZEUXIS was so excellent in painting, that it was easier for any man to view his pictures than to imitate them; who, to make an excellent table [*picture*], had five Agrigentine virgins naked by him. He painted grapes so lively, that birds did fly to eat them.

PARRHASIUS painted a sheet [*curtain*] so artificially, that ZEUXIS took it for a sheet indeed; and commanded it to be taken away, to see the picture that he thought it had veiled.

As learned and skilful Greece had these excellently renowned for their limning; so England hath these: HILIARD, ISAAC OLIVER, and JOHN DE CREETES, very famous for their painting.

As Greece moreover had these painters, TIMANTES, PHIDIAS, POLIGNOTUS, PANEUS, BULARCHUS, EUMARUS, CIMON CLEONŒUS, PYTHIS, APPOLLODORUS Atheniensis, ARISTIDES Thebanus, NICOPHANES, PERSEUS, ANTIPHILUS, and NICEARCHUS: so in England, we have also these; WILLIAM and FRANCIS SEGAR, brethren; THOMAS and JOHN BETTES; LOCKEY, LYNE, PEAKE, PETER COLE, ARNOLDE, MARCUS, JACQUES DE BRAY, CORNELIUS, PETER GOLCHIS, HIERONIMO and PETER VAN DE VELDE.

As LYSIPPUS, PRAXITELES, and PYRGOTELES were excellent engravers: so we have these engravers; ROGERS, CHRISTOPHER SWITSER, and CURE.

MUSIC.

THE LOADSTONE draweth iron unto it, but the stone of Ethiopia called *Theamedes* driveth it away: so there is a kind of music that doth assuage and appease the affections, and a kind that doth kindle and provoke the passions.

As there is no law that hath sovereignty over love; so there is no heart that hath rule over music, but music subdues it.

As one day takes from us the credit of another: so one strain of music extincts [*extinguishes*] the pleasure of another.

As the heart ruleth over all the members: so music overcometh the heart.

As beauty is not beauty without virtue: so music is not music without art.

As all things love their likes: so the more curious ear, the delicatest music.

As too much speaking hurts, too much galling smarts; so too much music gluts and distempereth.

As PLATO and ARISTOTLE are accounted Princes in philosophy and logic; HIPPOCRATES and GALEN, in physic; PTOLOMY in astromony; EUCLID in geometry; and CICERO in eloquence: so BOËTIUS is esteemed a Prince and captain in music.

As Priests were famous among the Egyptians; Magi among the Chaldeans, and Gymnosophists among the Indians; so Musicians flourished among the Grecians: and therefore EPAMINONDAS was accounted more unlearned than THEMISTOCLES, because he had no skill in music.

As MERCURY, by his eloquence, reclaimed men from their barbarousness and cruelty: so ORPHEUS, by his music, subdued fierce beasts and wild birds.

As DEMOSTHENES, ISOCRATES, and CICERO, excelled in oratory: so ORPHEUS, AMPHION, and LINUS surpassed in music.

As Greece had these excellent musicians, ARION, DORCEUS, TIMOTHEUS Milesius, CHRYSOGONUS, TERPANDER, LESBIUS, SIMON Magnesius, PHILAMON, LINUS, STRATONICUS, ARISTONUS, CHIRON, ACHILLES, CLINIAS, EUMONIUS, DEMODOCHUS, and RUFFINUS: so England hath these, Master COOPER, Master FAIRFAX, Master TALLIS, Master TAVERNER, Master BLITHMAN, Master BYRD, Doctor TIE, Doctor DALLIS, Doctor BULL, Master THOMAS MUD, sometime Fellow of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, Master EDWARD JOHNSON, Master BLANKES, Master RANDALL, Master PHILIPS, Master DOWLAND, and Master MORLEY.

A Choice is to be had in Reading of Books.

AS THE Lord DE LA NOUE in the sixth Discourse of his *Politic and Military Discourses*, censureth the books of *AMADIS de Gaul*; which, he saith, are no less hurtful to youth than the works of MACHIAVELLI to age: so these books are accordingly to be censured of, whose names follow.

BEVIS of Hampton.
GUY of Warwick.
ARTHUR of the Round Table.
HUON of Bordeaux.
OLIVER of Castile.
The Four Sons of AYMON.
GARGANTUA.
GIRELEON.
The Honour of Chivalry.
PRIMALEON of Greece.
PALERMIN DE OLIVA.
The Seven Champions [of Christendom].
The Mirror of Knighthood.
BLANCHARDINE.
MERVIN.
OWLGLASS.
The Stories of PALLADIN and PALMENDOS.
The Black Knight.
The Maiden Knight.
The History of CÆLESTINA.
The Castle of Fame.
GALLIAN of France.
ORNATUS and ARTESIA.
&c.

Poets.

AS THAT ship is endangered where all lean to one side; but is in safety, one leaning one way and another another way: so the dissensions of Poets among themselves, doth make them, that they less infect their readers. And for this purpose, our Satirists [JOSEPH] HALL [*afterwards Bishop of NORWICH*], [JOHN MARSTON] the Author of *PYGMALION's Image and Certain Satires*, [JOHN] RANKINS, and such others, are very profitable.

BEN JONSON.

The Hue and Cry after CUPID.

[*Masque at Lord* HADDINGTON's *marriage* on Shrove Tuesday [8 Feb.] 1608.]

VENUS. IT IS no common cause, ye will conceive,
My lovely GRACES! makes your goddess [leave
Her state in heaven to night, to visit earth.
LOVE late is fled away! My eldest birth
CUPID, whom I did joy to call my son:
And, whom long absent, VENUS is undone.

Spy! if you can, his footsteps on this green.
For here, as I am told, he late hath been
With divers of his brethren, lending light
From their best flames, to gild a glorious night;
Which I not grudge at, being done for her,
Whose honours to mine own, I still prefer.
But he, not yet returning, I'm in fear,
Some gentle Grace or innocent Beauty here
Be taken with him! or he hath surprised
A second PSYCHE, and lives here disguised!
Find ye no track of his strayed feet?

1ST GRACE. Not I!
2ND GRACE. Nor I!
3RD GRACE. Nor I!

VENUS. Stay Nymphs! We then will try
A nearer way. Look all these ladies' eyes,
And see if there he not concealèd lies!
Or in their bosoms,'twixt their swelling breasts!
(The Wag affects to make himself such nests.)
Perchance he hath got some simple heart, to hide
His subtle shape in. I will have him Cryed,
And all his virtues told! That, when they know
What spright he is, she soon may let him go,
That guards him now! and think herself right
To be so timely rid of such a guest. [blest
Begin, soft GRACES! and proclaim reward
To her that brings him in! Speak, to be heard!

1ST GRACE. Beauties! Have you seen this toy
Called LOVE? A little boy,
Almost naked, wanton, blind,
Cruel now, and then as kind?
If he be amongst ye, say!
He is VENUS' runaway.

2ND GRACE. She that will but now discover
Where the wingèd Wag doth hover;
Shall, to-night, receive a kiss,
How, or where herself would wish!
But who brings him to his mother,
Shall have that kiss, and another!

3RD GRACE. H' hath of marks about him plenty.
You shall know him among twenty!
All his body is a fire;
And his breath a flame entire,
That being shot like lightning in,
Wounds the heart, but not the skin.

1ST GRACE. At his sight, the sun hath turned:
NEPTUNE in the waters burned:
Hell hath felt a greater heat:
JOVE himself forsook his seat.
From the centre to the sky
Are his trophies rearèd high.

2ND GRACE. Wings he hath, which though ye clip,
He will leap from lip to lip,
Over liver, lights, and heart;
But not stay in any part:
And, if chance his arrow misses,
He will shoot himself, in kisses.

3RD GRACE. He doth bear a golden bow
And a quiver, hanging low,
Full of arrows, that outbrave
DIAN'S shafts; where if he have
Any head more sharp than other,
With that first he strikes his mother.

1ST GRACE. Still the fairest are his fuel,
When his days are to be cruel.
Lovers' hearts are all his food,
And his baths, their warmest blood.
Nought but wounds, his hand doth season;
And he hates none like to REASON.

2ND GRACE. Trust him not! His words though sweet,
Seldom with his heart do meet!
All his practice is deceit!
Every gift it is a bait!
Not a kiss, but poison bears!
And most treason in his tears!

3RD GRACE. Idle minutes are his reign;
Then, the Straggler makes his gain:
By presenting maids with toys,
And would have ye think 'hem joys!
'Tis the ambition of the Elf,
T' have all childish, as himself.

1ST GRACE. If by these, ye please to know him,
Beauties! be not nice, but show him!

2ND GRACE. Though ye had a will to hide him;
Now, we hope, ye'll not abide him!

3RD GRACE. Since ye hear his falser play;
And that he is VENUS' runaway.

At this, from behind the trophies, CUPID *discovered himself, and came forth armed; attended by twelve boys most antiquely attired, that represented the sports and pretty lightnesses that accompany* LOVE, *under the titles of* JOCI *and* RISUS; *and are said to wait on* VENUS, *as she is Prefect of Marriage.*

Dean WILLIAM TURNER, Doctor of Physic.

Notes on Wines used in England.

[*A New Book of the Nature and properties of all Wines, &c.* 1568.]

To the Right Honourable
Sir WILLLIAM CECIL, Knight, Chief Secretary unto the Queen's Majesty; and Master of Her Highness's Court of Wards and Liveries &c., and sometime his co-student in the University of Cambridge:
WILLIAM TURNER wisheth all prosperity, both of body and soul, through JESUS CHRIST our Saviour.

SIR,



FTER that I perceived that my age, joined with continual sickness, would suffer me no more to be profitable to CHRIST's Church and common wealth by my voice, words, and going abroad: I thought it meet by such members and means as GOD hath left in me as yet unhurt and untouched, for that portion of living [*life*] that I have, to profit the Church of GOD as much as I could. And therefore, within these twelve months, I have translated one book out of Latin into

English; and have written one Homily against Gluttony and Drunkenness and other vices annexed thereto; and have set them abroad for the promoting and increasing the Kingdom of GOD.

I thought also, seeing that GOD hath also endued me with the knowledge of bodily physic; after that I had sought to promote the Kingdom of GOD, to communicate some part of my knowledge that GOD hath given unto me in natural knowledge unto my brethren that had need thereof.

But when as I perceived that there was so much use of Wine in all countries [*counties*] of England; and so many errors committed in the abusing of it, both of the most part of the laity, and also of some of the learned that profess natural knowledge, I thought I should do no small benefit unto the Church and common wealth of England, if that I should set out a book of the Nature of Wines; and confute the errors and ill opinions that all men have concerning the natures and properties of them.

And this book have I now ended, and dedicate unto your Honour, for a token of the good will that I bear unto you; desiring you also to be a Patron of it, against all such babbling and unlearned Sophisters as will speak against it; not being armed with learning, authority, and reason, but only with their old sophistry, which they learned in the time of ignorance and darkness. If these will be too busy in defending their errors, and will go about to defend them and confute the truth that I have taught in this book: if that I can have, by the help of GOD, granted unto me any truce between me and my disease, I intend to put you to small pain in the defending of my book; for I have been matched with as big men as these be, I thank GOD! and well have escaped without dishonour. But if my sickness will not suffer me to do it that I would otherwise do, then I must desire you and others of my friends to defend me, so far forth as I defend the truth.

The following few Notes are extracted from many quotations of the medical opinions of the Ancients, to show the kinds of Wine in use in England in 1568.

WINES may be numbered and divided either by the country and places that they grow in; or by their colours; or by their youth or age; or by their taste, smell, and property that they have; and some of the manner of making. Every one of these kinds may be divided again into certain other special sorts or under-kinds.

Some wine is called *Creticum* from *Creta*, which is named in English, Candy. Some is called *Grecium* from *Grecia*. Some Rhenish, because it groweth besides the Rhine. Some *Gallicum*, that is French Wine, because it groweth in France. And some *Rhœticum* because it groweth in *Rhœtia*. And so a great sort of other wines have their names of the countries or places where as they grow.

NOW SOME men that read this book, acknowledging themselves to be my scholars, would learn of me, because I teach Englishmen in this English book, what kinds of wines are of this sort?

I answer, that neither Sack, Malmsey, Muscadel, neither Clared [*Claret*], French nor Gascony wine—though they be most used here in England at this time—are such wines as GALEN speaketh of here; but Rhenish wine that is racket [*racked*] and clear, and Rochelle and Sebes and other small [*thin*] white wines that are clear from their grounds. Therefore to them that are disposed unto the headache, amongst all new wines, these above-named small wines are least hurtful, and may be taken with less jeopardy.

If any contend that French, Clared and Gascony wines, and other wines as strong as Gascony is, do as little hurt to the head as these wines do; I answer that the French, Clared and Gascony wines are not thin and subtle, but strong, thick, and hot.

BOTH French, Clared and Gascony Clared wines are of grosser and thicker substance, and hotter of complexion than white Rhenish wine and white French wines be of: therefore they breed the stone more than white Rhenish and white French wines do.

The Rhenish wine that is commonly drunken in gentlemen's houses and citizens' houses is commonly a year old at the least, before it be drunken: and therefore it is older than the common Clared wine, which dureth not commonly above one year; and if Rhenish wine be drunken within the year, it is commonly racked before it is drunken: therefore for two causes it hath fewer dregs and less terresity or gross earthliness than the Clared wine hath, and therefore breedeth the stone less than the Clared wine that is commonly drunk in gentlemen's houses doth.

HITHERTO DIOSCORIDES, whose words when he speaketh of the wholesomeness of wines against poisons, and the bitings and stingings of venemous beasts, must be understanded of Muscadine, Sack, Malmsey, and Bastard, and such hot wines: which, by reason of their heat, enter further into the body, and more speedily; and are better against cold poisons than colder wines be.

NOW, GOOD READER! seeing that Almighty GOD, our heavenly Father, hath given thee this noble creature of Wine, so many ways profitable for our bodies and minds, thank Him with all thy heart! not only for it, but also for that He hath sent learned physicians to tell thee how, in what measure, and in what time thou shouldest use them, and not use them; and for what complexions and ages they are good, and for what complexions and ages they are evil.

If thou take any harm in misusing this noble creature of GOD; blame not Him! but thine own self that hast abused it; contrary to His will, and to the learning of His officers and servants that taught thee the right use of it.

Honour be given to GOD for ever! Amen.

THOMAS LODGE, M.D.

LODGE served as a soldier with Captain CAVENDISH in his Voyage round the World, and wrote a romance called *A Margarite of America*, while in the Straits of Magellan.

[*ROSALYND.* 1590.]

ROSALYND'S Madrigal.



LOVE in my bosom like a bee,
doth suck his sweet;
Now with his wings he plays with me,
now with his feet.
Within mine eyes he makes his nest,
His bed amidst my tender breast,
My kisses are his daily feast;
And yet he robs me of my rest?
"Ah, wanton! will ye?"

And if I sleep, then percheth he,
with pretty flight,
And makes his pillow of my knee
the livelong night.
Strike I my lute, he tunes the string.
He music plays, if so I sing.
He lends me every lovely thing,
Yet cruel! he, my heart doth sting.
"Whist, wanton! still ye!

Else I with roses, every day
will whip you hence!
And bind you, when you want to play;
for your offence!
I'll shut my eyes to keep you in!
I'll make you fast it for your sin!
I'll count your power not worth a pin!"
Alas, what hereby shall I win,
If he gainsay me?

What if I beat the wanton boy
with many a rod?
He will repay me with annoy,
because a god.
"Then sit thou safely on my knee:
And let thy bower my bosom be!
Lurk in mine eyes! I like of thee.
O CUPID! so thou pity me!
Spare not, but play thee!"

N. H.

The worthy and famous Voyage of Master THOMAS CAVENDISH, *made round about the Globe of the Earth; in the space of two years, and less than two months.*

Begun in the year 1586.

[HAKLUYT'S *Voyages*. 1589.]



HE WORSHIPFUL and worthy gentleman, Master THOMAS CA[VE]NDISH of Suffolk, having in the year 1585 furnished out a ship, wherein he went, as Captain, with Sir RICHARD GRENVILLE to Virginia: in which course he passed by the Canaries, and so to the isles of Dominica, Hispaniola, Saint John de Porto Rico, the Lucaios [*Bahamas*], and Florida, in the West Indies. Thus fleshed, and somewhat hardened unto the sea, immediately after his coming home, he began to take in hand a Voyage into the South Sea, and consequently round about the Globe of the Earth: which he also performed with invincible courage, great good government, and incredible celerity; to the great admiration of all men of judgement.

Having therefore, at his own proper cost, new built from the keel, and furnished with all things necessary for two years' provision, a brave ship called the *Desire* of 140 tons, and a lesser of 60 tons, whose name was the *Content*; joining thereunto a bark of 40 tons named the *Hugh Gallant*, in

which small fleet were 125 men: the 10th day of June 1586, he departed from London, and came to Harwich; and sailed from thence the 29th of the same month. He arrived at Plymouth the 8th day of July, from whence he set sail the 21st thereof. Thus he proceeded on his voyage until the 25th day; at which time, one Master HOPE died, who had been wounded a little before he went to sea.

The 26th day, we met with four great Biscayen ships, on which we bestowed eighteen great shot, and shrewdly tare that ship which we in the Admiral [*flag ship*] assailed; but we left her and the others, lest we should loose the rest of our consorts, it being nine o'clock at night.

The 5th day of August, we fell in with the island of Fuerte Ventura [*one of the Canaries*], and sailed thence to Cape Blanco; and so to the coast of Guinea unto a harbour called Sierra Leone: where, having conference with the negroes, we fell at variance; so that three score of our men went on shore, and drave them from their town, sacked their houses and burnt their dwellings. On the 29th of the same month, we departed from them, where going five leagues from the place we came to an island called *Insula Verde* [? Sherboro Island], where we found plantains and other fruits, and fresh water; it being an island of the negroes' husbandry.

The 6th of September, we burnt here some 150 houses, because of their bad dealing with us and all Christians. In this place, we redeemed a Portuguese; whom by treason they had caught, and held in very miserable captivity. The 13th day, we went from thence; the 30th, we passed the equinoctial line.

Thus we sailed forth, until the 25th of October, at which time we came to the continent of Brazil; and coasting along until the end of that month, the 1st of November we anchored under an island called Saint Sebastian [*about* 25° *S. Lat.*]; where we rode twenty-three days between the main [sea] and it. There we stored ourselves with fresh water and fuel; and built a new pinnace of 10 tons. On the 9th day, died one ROBERT SMITH of the disease called *scorbuto*; which is an infection of the blood and the liver. The 23rd of November, we left this island.

On the 5th December, died one ROBERT TATES of the disease aforesaid. So coasting along till the 16th of this

month, we discovered an harbour which we named the Port of *Desire*, according to our ship's name; being almost as big as the harbour of Plymouth. In this place we had gulls, puets [*lapwings*], penguins, and seals in abundance, to all our comforts and great refreshing. This Port is somewhat on this side of Port St. Julian.

Sailing from this harbour towards the Straits [of Magellan], before we came to the entrance thereof, we espied certain poor starved Spaniards travelling overland towards the River of Plate, whereof we took one into our ship: of whom we understood that of both the two colonies planted in the Straits of Magellan by PEDRO SARMIENTO, there were but twenty-two men only left alive; all the rest being utterly perished for hunger, to the number of some three hundred persons.

On the 6th day of January [1587], we put into the Straits of Magellan; and on the 8th, we came to two islands named by Sir FRANCIS DRAKE, the one Bartholomew Island, because he came thither on that Saint's day; and the other, Penguin Island, upon which we powdered [*salted*] three tons of penguins for the victualling of our ship.

On the 9th day, we came unto a town of the Spaniards, erected in March 1584, called by them the "City of King Philip," but by us the "Town of Famine;" because we evidently saw the inhabitants, saving the aforesaid twenty-two, had all been most miserably starved. We took away with us six pieces of their ordnance, whereof three were brass and three were iron; and were glad to hasten from this place, for the most noisome stench and vile savour wherewith it was infected, through the contagion of the Spaniards' pined and dead carcasses.

Thus sailing through the Straits, the 20th day of January, in the midway, we espied savages of a reasonable stature, and went unto them, and conferred with them; but such was their brutishness and their treachery, that they would have betrayed us under the show of amity; but we espying their treason, gave the first onset, and every shot of us chose his man; and by that means slew some, and hurt more. The rest escaped. So having many flaws of southerly and south-westerly wind, we were kept within the Straits until the 23rd of February.

That same day, we passed out of the Straits into the sea called by MAGELLAN, *mare pacificum*, "the Peaceable or the Calm Sea." Thus we plied up along the coast of Chili by the island of La Mocha, which standeth in 38° S. Lat., until the 14th of March, when we rode under an island called Santa Maria. On which island, we landed eighty men armed, in the morning betimes; and there came unto us the country people, which intreated our General [T. CAVENDISH] very well, and presented him with many sorts of meats. For there we had at our commandment, Spanish wheat, potatoes, hogs, hens, dried dog fish, and divers other good things; to our contentment.

The 20th day, we departed thence, running along until the 28th; which day, being at sea, we felt an earthquake in 33° S. Lat. We put into a bay called the Bay of Quintera on the 30th of this month; where, the 1st of April, we had ten of our men slain, and two taken captive by the Spaniards: which great misfortune lighted on our men through their great recklessness, and want of circumspection; being suddenly surprised by the enemy, when they little thought of him. But on the 3rd day of the same month, the *Hugh* went forth to seaward, and found an island having a great store of pelicans and penguins upon it; whereof they brought good store unto us. And so furnishing ourselves here with fresh water, which we took in despite of them all: we left them, and their cruel harbour, and put out of the bay the 5th of April.

Thus ranging along, we hauled in with a port call Mormorano, where we found a canoe and an Indian in it; which was fishing and had caught a very large tuny, wherewith he presented us. In our conference with him, he showed us the town, which was base and rude. But their government and behaviour are very strange: for when any of them dieth, they bury all his goods and stuff with him, as hooks, nets, canoe, and other trifles.

So sailing along that shore, one of our ships called the *Content*, entered into a bay where a great deal of wine of Castile was buried in *botisios* in the sand; to the quantity of some 300 tuns, wherewith she laded herself; having lost our company. But they found us again at a town called Arica, where they gave us of their wine. In this harbour, we found

a great ship and four barks, which we took and kept until such time as we had taken out of them the best things for our own provision: then we burnt them all; saving one bark, which we kept, and named it the *George*, because we took her on St. George's Day [23 *April*].

The 25th day of April, we went from Arica, sailing to seaward all night; and in the morning, we espied a small bark. Manning our pinnace, we took her: wherein were three Spaniards, one Greek, and one Dutchman. Being examined, they confessed that they came from the Bay of Quintera (where we lost our foresaid twelve men), and that their intent was to go for Lima, to give advice to the Viceroy for to provide force to cut us off: but their pretence [*device*], through GOD's merciful providence, was prevented. One of these Spaniards was a reasonable pilot for those seas.

Thus we continued our course along the coast of Peru until the 4th day of May, upon which day our Spanish pilot led us into a bay called Pisco, where we would have gone on shore, but the sea was so grown [*rough*] that we could not. Yet on the southernmost side of the bay, there was a village called Paraca, where seven of our men went on land, and found figs, pomegranates, and pomegranate wine.

On the 6th of May, we went from Paraca; and in our course we descried to seaward two sails; and gave them chase, and took them. One was laden with meal and marmalade, the other with merchants' goods as sayes [*cloths*] of divers sorts and colours, Castile or white soap, a kind of pease called *garvansas*, Cordovan skins, *montego de porco* which is hog's grease clarified or refined, and molasses or syrup of sugar, beans, and one or two thousand hens alive. Hereupon we gat us into a bay called Cheripa, where we laded our ships with part of these commodities; and burnt the rest, ships and all: having put the men that were in them on land; and departed from thence the 10th of May.

Thus sailing forward, we hauled into a Bay called Payta, where we took a bark unrigged; and landed three score men and took the town; out of which we drave about three hundred persons which fled with bag and baggage; whom we pursued so fast, that they were forced to leave their lodgings behind them. In the end, we set their town on fire; because they sought not to redeem the same. And

because we found small store of treasure here, we came away the same night.

On the 2nd of June, we went to the island of Puna, where we trimmed our ships, and refreshed our men; though somewhat to our costs. For on the 2nd of June, our men thinking themselves to be sure and safe enough, four score or a hundred Spaniards with two hundred Indians (for there was a town of Indians in the island bigger than Gravesend) set upon fifteen or sixteen of our men, being half asleep and half awake; slew five or six, and took two or three of them, before any supply [*supports*] could come unto them: at the coming whereof, they all ran away like greyhounds.

Our men for revenge burnt their town, and spoiled their fields and gardens: but first we took the fruits of the island as goats, hogs, hens, figs, oranges, lemons, besides other wholesome herbs in great quantity.

So after we had trimmed our fleet, we came away. But for a farewell, we first set four of their ships on fire, whereof one was of 200 tons, the rest of a 100 a piece: being all upon the stocks a building. We also fired another of 400 tons, called the *Great Saint Luce*, riding before the town, to be mended: because they have never another so good a place to bring their ships aground as that is, on all the coast of Peru.

After that we had taken in fresh water, we went from thence the 11th day of June; and the 12th day we passed the equinoctial line, continuing our course northward all that month.

About the beginning of July, as we ranged along the back side of New Spain, near unto Guatemala, where there is an hill that burneth continually: we escried a new ship of 200 tons; wherein were two Spaniards, two Marseilleans, two Venetians, and one Fleming. In which ship was little or nothing, but her ballast. We took her sails, ropes, and firewood to serve our turns, set her on fire, and kept the men; of which number, we brought one, called MICHAEL SANCIUS, a pilot into England.

On the next day, we took another ship, the men being escaped with their boat on land; which, after we had taken certain victuals out of her, we also set on fire. This was the ship of *adviso*, to give warning of us, sent from Lima to the coast of New Spain.

The 28th of July, we came to the port of Aguatulco [*Acapulco*], in which we found a ship laden with cocoa, a fruit like almonds much esteemed in those parts: and taking the spoil thereof, we set the ship and town on fire for company. The people ran away at the sight of our little pinnace, our ships lying three leagues off at that time. There were some four score houses in this town, being a haven that belongeth to Mexico. In this place we had great store of pitch, which stood us in great stead for our ships; and some quantity of Wine of Castile, as they call it.

The 4th day of August, we departed from this place: and coming forth, we took a she tortoise which had about four hundred and odd eggs in her; which eggs we eat, and found them to be good meat.

The 13th of August, we fell in with a haven of New Spain called Puerto de Natividad, about 19° [N.] Lat.; where we had conference with four Indians. There we took the post of *adviso*, that ran by land on horse; whose horse we slew, and took him prisoner.

We burnt two ships of 200 tons the piece, which were in building in the harbour. And six leagues from thence, there was a little island or rock replenished with abundance of birds; whereof we got a good store, to our great refreshing: there were also innumerable sort of parrots as big as hens. In another haven hard by, called Puerto de Santo Jago, we dragged for pearls, and took some store.

The 3rd of September, we came away; having trimmed our pinnace, which was wonderful leaky with worms.

The 8th day of the same, we came into a bay called the Bay of Compostella, where our men went two leagues up into the country early in the morning; and took a Spaniard and his wife, a Ragusean and his wife, with an Indian and his wife; and brought them away unto our General: who set the women at liberty, and they redeemed their husbands with fruits as plantains, mamejas, pineapples, oranges and lemons; of all which there is great abundance; as the Spaniard said *tanto como terra*, "as plenty as there is of earth."

On the 12th of September, we came to an island, two leagues from thence, called Saint Andrew; where we had fowls and seals and *guanos*, of which we made very good

victuals: howbeit they would scarcely take the salt but for a night and a day only.

The 16th of the same month, we came into a bay called Mazatlan, where we had fruit and fish: but were in great danger of our enemies.

We traversed from thence unto the southernmost Cape of California [*Cape Saint Lucas*]; where beating up and down, we discovered a port called by the Spaniards *Agua Secura*, and found good store of fresh water.

We lay off and on this Cape until the 4th of November, on which day in the morning we espied the goodly ship coming from the Philippines called *Saint Anna the Great*, being of 700 tons. We chased her until noon; so fetching her up, we gave them fight to the loss of twelve or fourteen of their men, and the spoil and hurt of many more of them: whereupon at last they yielded unto us. In this conflict, we lost only two of our men.

So on the 6th of the said November, we went into the Port of Agua Secura; where we anchored, and put nine score prisoners on land: and ransacking the great ship, we laded our own *two* ships with forty tons of the chiefest merchandise, and burnt all the rest, as well ship as goods to the quantity of 600 tons of rich merchandise: because we were not able to bring it away. This was one of the richest vessels that ever sailed on the seas; and was able to have made many hundreds wealthy, if we had had means to have brought it home.

At length, having furnished ourselves with water and wood, and made us ready for the sea, we set sail the 20th of November; and came away. From Cape California, we shaped our course to the islands of the Ladrones; and by the providence of GOD we came unto them in two and forty days, the distance being 2,300 leagues.

The first island of the Ladrones, where we touched [1st or 2nd of January 1588] was Guam. The inhabitants are thievish and treacherous. They met us at sea three leagues off, in small canoes admirable to behold for their swiftness in sailing; with which people we had some traffic until the evening. So we left them, directing our course unto the islands of the Philippines until the 14th January, on which day we fell in with an island called Tadaia; and from thence,

we passed by the island of Luzon or Manilla, until we came to an island called Capul; where we had hens, hogs, potatoes, cocoas, and other fruits, by traffic with the Indians; making our abode there until the 24th of the aforesaid January.

Then proceeding on our voyage through the infinite number of islands towards those rich islands of the Moluccas; we passed by Mindanao, which is the last island that the Spaniards inhabit that way. So we ran between Celebes or Batachina, and Borneo until the 12th day of February.

And on the 28th and last of the same, we put through between the Straits of Java *major* and Java *minor* [*Sumatra i.e., the Straits of Sunda*] and anchored under the south-west part of Java *major*: where the inhabitants, being Gentiles [*heathen*], brought unto us hens, geese, hens' eggs, ducks' eggs, beeves [*oxens*], buffes [*buffalos*], melons, plantains, and a hundred sorts of fruit most strange and wonderful for greatness and goodness; even whole junks' full, being a kind of barks made like unto our barges. These people did intreat us wonderfully well, and came as duly to traffic with us in our ship as we do in our markets and shops; and brought from their King divers presents to our General, and carried divers rich gifts from our General to their King.

The King sent many of his kinsmen and chief courtiers a shipboard to entertain him [*i.e., Master* CAVENDISH], being men of very good behaviour. They sit cross legged. They would fain have had our General come to the King's chief town; because he was not well able to come down to our ship, being a man of great age, and as they reported very near 150 years old: but our General excused himself, and that with reason. He would have sent his son in his own stead; but that he was at war against another King in the island, their enemy. This old King's name was Rajah BOLAMBOAM.

The 16th of March, we set sail from Java *major* toward the Cape of Good Hope; and on the 11th day of May, we fell [*in*] with the land of Ethiopia near unto a place called False Cape, being thirty and odd leagues from the Cape of Good Hope.

On the 19th of May, we had sight of the Cape of Good

Hope, which is the promontory that all travellers desire to double.

The 7th of June, we fell [in] with the island of Saint Helena, and on the 8th day, we anchored under it: where we continued twelve days, finding it a place to our great contentment; for there we had goats, hogs, figs, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, and many wholesome herbs for the gathering. But he that will have of the cattle [*i.e., the goats and hogs*] must travel a mile and a half into the steepy mountain to kill them. We found a church, and thirty or forty houses built to lodge the Portuguese, in their coming from the East Indies. There was only one banished man there, which lived as a hermit: but he was dead before our arrival.[a]

[a] *JAN HUYGHEN VAN LINSCHOTEN who reached Saint Helena, on his return home from Goa in a Portuguese Carrack, the* Santa Cruz *of* 1,600 *tons, on the* 12*th May* 1589 *(eleven months after* CAVENDISH *had, by adopting the return Portuguese track from the Cape, discovered it to the English Nation), gives the following account of the Circumnavigator's voyage.*

About three months before our arrival at Saint Helena, there had been a ship, which the year before set out of Ormuz, with the goods and men that remained in the *San Salvador*; that had been saved by the Portuguese army, on the coast of Abex, and brought into Ormuz. That ship had wintered in the Mozambique, and had passed very soon by the Cape; and so sailed without any company into Portugal: having left some of her sick men in the island, as the manner is, which the next ships that came thither must take into them.

These gave us intelligence, that about four [*or rather eleven*] months before our arrival, there had been an English ship at the island of Saint Helena; which had sailed through the Straits of Magellan, and through the South Seas, and from thence to the isles of Philippines; and had passed through the Straits of Sunda that lieth beyond Malacca, between the islands of Sumatra and Java. In the which way, she had taken a ship of China, such as they call Junks, laden with silver and gold and all kinds of silks: and that she sent a letter with a small present to the Bishop of Malacca, telling him, "That she sent him that of friendship, meaning to come herself and visit him."

Out of that ship of China, they took a Portuguese pilot: and so passed the Cape of Good Hope, and came to the island of Saint Helena. Where they took in fresh water and other necessaries, and beat down the altar and the cross that stood in the church; and left behind them a kettle and a sword, which the Portuguese at our arrival found there. Yet could they not conceive, or think, what that might mean? Some thought it was left there for a sign to some other ships of his company: but every man may think what he will thereof.

[*The kettle and sword probably meant nothing at all; being simply left behind.*]

The 20th of June, we departed from the island of Saint Helena; shaping our course from thence for England.

The 4th of July, we passed the equinoctial line: which was the fourth time that we had traversed the same in this our journey.

The 24th of August, we had sight of two islands of the Azores, the one called Flores, the other Corvo; and directed our way from them for the Lizard until the 3rd of September: [where] at which time we espied a Flemish Hulk that came from Portugal, which told us the joyful news of our Fleet's good success against the huge army of the Spaniards [*the Spanish Armada*].

And on the 5th day, we met with a ship of Southampton, which had taken a Brazilian prize: whose Captain informed us at large of the truth of that which had passed. We took some refreshing of them: which was recompensed with treble courtesy.

And so entered into the Narrow Seas, where we had as terrible a night as ever men endured. For all our sails were blown quite away, but making as good shift as we could with certain old sails we had within board: on the next morning, being the 10th of September 1588, like wearied men, through the favour of the Almighty, we got into Plymouth; where the townsmen received us with all humanity.

In this voyage, we burnt twenty sails of Spanish ships, besides divers of their towns and villages.

A letter of Master THOMAS CA[VE]NDISH, to the Right Honourable [Lord HUNSDON] the Lord Chamberlain, one of Her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council; touching the success of his Voyage about the World.

[HAKLUYT's *Voyages*. 1589.]

RIGHT HONOURABLE.

AS YOUR favour heretofore hath been most greatly extended towards me; so I humbly desire a continuance thereof: and though there be no means in me to deserve the same; yet the uttermost of my services shall not be wanting, whensoever it shall please your Honour to dispose thereof.

I am humbly to desire your Honour to make known unto Her Majesty the desire I have had to do Her Majesty service in the performance. And as it hath pleased GOD to give her the victory over part of her enemies: so I trust, ere long, to see her overthrow them all.

For the places of their wealth, whereby they have maintained and made their wars, are now perfectly discovered: and if it please Her Majesty, with a very small power, she may take the spoil of them all.

It hath pleased the Almighty to suffer me to circumpass the whole Globe of the World; entering in at the Straits of Magellan, and returning by the Cape of Good Hope. In which voyage, I have either discovered or brought certain intelligence of all the rich places of the world that ever were known or discovered by any Christian.

I navigated along the coasts of Chili, Peru, and New Spain, where I made great spoils. I burnt and sunk nineteen ships, great and small. All the villages and towns that ever I landed at, I burnt and spoiled. And had I not been discovered upon the coast, I had taken great quantity of treasure.

The matter of most profit unto me was a great ship of the King's, which I took at California; which ship came from the Philippines, being one of the richest of merchandise that ever passed those seas, as the King's Register and the Merchants' Accounts did show: for it did amount in value to [*sum omitted*] in Mexico to be sold. Which goods, for that my ships were not able to contain the least part of them, I was enforced to set on fire.

From the Cape of California, being the uttermost part of all New Spain, I navigated to the islands of the Philippines, hard upon the coast of China: of which country I have brought such intelligence as hath not been heard of in these parts. The stateliness and riches of which country I fear to make report of; least I should not be credited. For if I had not known sufficiently the incomparable wealth of that country, I should have been as incredulous thereof as others will be, that have not had the like experience.

I sailed along the islands of the Moluccas; where among some of the heathen people, I was well intreated. Where our countrymen may have trade as freely as the Portuguese, if they will themselves.

From thence, I passed by the Cape of Good Hope: and found out, by the way homeward, the island of Saint Helena, where the Portuguese use to relieve [*refresh*] themselves. And from that island, GOD hath suffered me to return into England.

All which services, with myself, I humbly prostrate at Her Majesty's feet; desiring the Almighty long to continue her reign amongst us. For at this day, she is the most famous and victorious Prince that liveth in the world.

Thus humbly desiring pardon of your Honour, for my tediousness; I leave your Lordship to the tuition of the Almighty.

Plymouth, this 9th of September 1588.

Your Honour's most humble to command,

THOMAS CANDISH.

To the Right Honourable Sir FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, Principal Secretary to Her Majesty.

[*Harl. MS.* 286, *fol.* 161.]

THE SPECIAL regard which it pleaseth your Honour to respect me with, can by no means of mine be desired; neither can I express what comfort I receive by these your favours done unto me. My desire is to be thankful, but I have no means to manifest the same, but only in honouring and serving you above all others; which opinion I most humbly desire your Honour to hold of me.

Of late, I have not been very well; but at this present I thank GOD I am much better than I was: yet not in such perfect health, but that I mean to use the help of the physician; for whose coming unto me, I am most heartily bound unto your Honour.

I have had courtesy showed me by your officers for the custom [*import duty*] of my goods; which amounteth to £900 [=*almost* £5,000 *in present value*]. There be some things which I have kept from their sight, for special causes; which I mean to make known to your Honour at my coming to London. For I protest, before GOD, that I will not hide any

one thing from you; neither concerning the quantity of my goods, nor the secrets of the voyage: which, in many things, shall not be known but unto your Honour; for they be matters of great importance.

And thus giving you most humble thanks for your great favours done unto me, I humbly take my leave.

Plymouth, this 8th of October 1588.

Your Honour's most humbly to command,

THOMAS CAUNDYSSH.

Three Ballads, now lost, relating to this Voyage were entered for publication at Stationers' Hall at the following dates.

3 *NOVEMBER* 1588.

A ballad of Master CAVENDISH's Voyage, who by travel compassed the Globe of the World, arriving in England with abundance of treasure.

14 *NOVEMBER* 1588.

A new Ballad of the famous and honourable coming of Master CAVENDISH's ship, called the Desire, *before the Queen's Majesty at her Court at Greenwich, the 12th of November* 1588, *&c.*

3 *DECEMBER* 1588.

Captain ROBERTS's *Welcome of good will to Captain CAVENDISH.*

It is not expressly stated that this *Welcome* was a Ballad: but it would seem so from the title.

Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554–1640 A.D. II. 505–509, *Ed.* 1875.

Abraham Cowley.

The Wish.

[*The Mistress.* 1647.]

I.



Ell then! I now do plainly see
This busy world and I shall ne'er agree.
The very honey of all earthly joy
Does of all meats, the soonest cloy:
And they, methinks, deserve my pity;
Who for it, can endure the stings,
The crowd, and buz, and murmurings
Of this great hive, the City.

II.

Ah, yet, ere I descend to th'grave,
May I a small house, and large garden have!
And a few friends, and many books; both true,
Both wise, and both delightful too!
And since love ne'er will from me flee,
A mistress, moderately fair,
As good as guardian angels are,
Only beloved, and loving me!

III.

O fountains! when, in you, shall I
Myself, eased of unpeaceful thoughts, espy?
O fields! O woods! when? when shall I be made
The happy tenant of your shade?
Here's the spring-head of pleasure's flood!
Here's wealthy Nature's treasury,
Where all the riches lie! that She
Has coined and stampt for good.

IV.

Pride and Ambition here,
Only in far fetch'd metaphors appear;
Here, nought but winds can hurtful murmurs scatter;
And nought but echo flatter!
The gods, when they descended, hither
From heaven did always choose their way;
And therefore we may boldly say,
That 'tis the way to thither.

V.

How happy here, should I
And one dear She live; and embracing, die!
She who is all the world, and can exclude
In deserts, solitude!
I should have then this only fear:
Lest men, when they my pleasure see,
Should hither throng to live like me;
And so make a City here.

A Politic Plat for

the honour of the Prince, the great profit of the public State, relief of the poor, preservation of the rich, reformation of rogues and idle persons, and the wealth of thousands that know not how to live. Written for a *New Year's Gift* to England, and the inhabitants thereof; by *Robert Hitchcock*, late of Tavers-field in the County of Buckingham, Gentleman.

Imprinted at London, by John Kyngston.
1 *January,*
1580.

To the friendly Reader.

FORASMUCH *as the Almighty GOD hath blessed and enriched this noble Kingdom with the sweet dew of His heavenly goodness; and stored therein many hidden rich and pleasant treasures for our benefits, to reveal unto us when His good pleasure is: I think therefore, every man is rather born to profit his native soil and common weal in revealing the same secrets and hidden treasure to his country, if they be showed* [to] *him; than to seek after his own private gain and glory thereby. So I have taken upon me, good gentle Reader, to unfold some of the same hidden treasures to my country; which I suppose is manifested unto me. Albeit there be a great number that can more sweetly, and with pleasanter words and sugared style, than I, set out the matter to thee, if they knew it, in far better method and order; yet the zeal and duty I bear to my country, being partly fed with hope of thy good patience, gentle Reader, and partly emboldened with the forewarning that* Ecclesiastes c. ii. *giveth, which is,* That no man shall be condemned before his tale be told, and inquisition thereof made: *whereby righteous judgement may thereof follow lest he, as* SOLOMON *sayeth,* Procure to himself folly and shame, in giving sentence of a matter before he hear it:

These things, I say, have moved me to put forth my simple mind in writing to my country; and praying thee, of thy good courtesy, to peruse it, and to thoroughly weigh the depths thereof in the

balance of thy grave judgement: and if thou find the pith and carnel [kernel] *of my labour fruitful to thee and thy country, as I doubt nothing thereof but thou shalt; then may it be, that it hath pleased GOD to pour out His knowledge as well upon a soldier as upon a great clerk, for now and then wisdom may be shrouded under an unclean cloak. And I doubt not also, but the same reasons and duty that bound me these many years to travail in this action, to my great cost and charge, to find out the way and perfection thereof, shall also bind thee and move thee effectually to favour it; to further it in the Parliament House; and to defend my imperfection against a sort of* MOMUS *sect and* ZOILUS' *band, that can rather find fault with the man than with the matter, be it never so well, or any way put to their helping hands to amend the same (if it be not orderly). My care hath been to please my country, and the honest and grave sort thereof; which if this my travail shall do and content, I have cause to thank Almighty GOD for it, and think my time well spent.*

For in this little book, gentle Reader, thou shalt find (if the same be executed according to law) it importeth much matter, bringing great plenty and much wealth and benefit to all the inhabitants of this realm; it provideth for the poor in honest and decent manner, bringing them to a good and a godly vocation of life: with many other special benefits to this kingdom and commonwealth; which for tediousness' sake, lest I weary thee, I refer thee to the book itself, where they mayest at large see them with the eye, judge them by thy good discretion, wisdom and favour, and further them by thy good help and assistance at convenient time.

So fare thee heartily well,

ROBERT HITCHCOCKE.

The Epistle to England.

FOR ME, O noble and renowned England! to write to Thee, that hath bred and brought forth so many famous, honourable, wise, and learned men; who be not only most expert in all politic government, but also most happily furnished each way with all manner of knowledge, cunning, and wisdom, thoroughly seen in all the noble sciences and arts liberal: both Thou and they may think, and think truly, overmuch boldness and mere arrogancy in me, that neither am furnished of good letters, knowledge, histories, or other means to make a plausible way of that, or for that I wish should have good success at Thy hands, or of good opinion at theirs. Much more I am afraid lest Thou hold it outrage and presumption for me to dedicate unto Thee, and trouble Thee with the patronage and defence of this my device; a fruitless thing, as some may deem it, before it be thoroughly considered of them.

But since I am void of presumption, all manner of ways (GOD be my record), and am one of Thine own brood, fostered up with the fat of Thy loins; and take not upon me to discourse of vanities, but of the setting out of part of Thy flowing goodness that hath so embalmed this thy region with secret riches: though a world of eyes be poring in my face, I trust in Thy own cause and for Thine own sake, and [the] goodness of the matter itself, and for such reasons and arguments as I have set down, to find a great number of willing hearts, and well disposed minds—that with open mouth will confess the invention sound and good; and the means to bringing it to pass, both easy and profitable—to

further their native soil and the benefit thereof, with this my simple action I take in hand of displaying part of Thy riches.

And, therefore, the grave and wise men of this land, of their good grace and favour, I trust undoubtedly will accept, and take in good part, this my good will and long travail, and shroud and defend me and my book, under the wings of their wisdom, as under a sure anchor-hold, against the rash opinions of those that rather wilfully than wisely will imagine no politic provision can come from the sconse [*bulwark*] of a soldier that hath trailed the pike.

But as GOD raiseth instruments to set out His glory in divers ways, and by divers degrees; so let it not be grievous to Thee, O England! nor to the better sort of men, that one of Thine own, though not so finely as others, do set abroad part of Thy riches, wealth, and glory to enrich Thy own peculiar people withal; and hath opened the golden stream of Thy secret storehouse to the inhabitants of the same. But likewise, open Thou! by Thy divine providence the hearts of the wise, grave, and rich of this land that they will affect it, embrace it, put their helping hands to it, and willingly further it by all possible means they can, for the common profit of the inhabitants. Inasmuch as, by GOD's means, so great a benefit is offered with small care, little toil, and no cost; to make all this land blessed, the people thereof happy, strong, and invincible.

If I should particularly discourse the several commodities that flow from it, in particularity, and the number of all sorts of people within this land, that shall be maintained thereby; I should but weary you with a long tale, and keep you from the matter I desire you should know.

Therefore commending the goodness thereof to your wisdom, and me [*myself*] to your favourable exposition, I end.

Yours humbly, in all that I may, at commandment during life, for the honour of Prince and country,

ROBERT HITCHCOCKE.

¶ FRANCIS HITCHCOCK.

To the readers of this, his brother's book.



S THEY of all most praise deserve,
That first with pen did show;
To us the sacred Word of God,
Whereby His will we know:
So many thanks are due to those,
That beat their restless brain,
To profit all both old and young,
That in this land remain.
Amongst the rest that well deserve,
Account the Author one:
Who by his toil hath here offered
To all, excepting none,
A banquet great, that savoureth sweet,
To such as hungry be;
Withouten cost, for aye to last,
To people of each degree.
Shake now the tree! and taste the fruit!
Of this his *New Year's Gift*:
Till purse be full, and strings do brake
With gold and groats of thrift.
Prepare thee then a grateful heart,
And sound the trump of fame:
In recompense of his good will
That HITCHCOCK hath to name.
Thus loth to keep thee from thy meat,
Wherewith I wish thee fed:
I stay my pen, and so farewell!
The table now is spread.

Vale.



HITCHCOCK'S *New Year's Gift to England.*

THE GREAT care that the Queen's Majesty and her noble progenitors have taken to banish and root out of their dominions that loathsome monster Idleness (the mother and breeder of vagabonds) is most apparent by their wholesome laws and provisions, made from time to time; beginning at the worthy reign of King EDWARD III., King RICHARD II., and so descending to Her Majesty's most prudent and virtuous government: wherein as well public provisions hath been to help the common weal, as some sharp and severe punishment provided, if common policy would not serve. Yet, nevertheless, all these laws, so circumspectly made, could not, nor cannot banish that pestilent canker out of this common weal by any degree; but that the same increaseth daily more and more: to the great hurt and impoverishing of this realm.

For remedy whereof, Almighty GOD, by the most commodious situation of this Island, and His blessings, both of the land thereof, and of the sea wherewith it is environed, hath provided a most convenient mean[s]; both for labour for the idle, and for food, benefit, and riches for the inhabitants. Whereby, the lusty vagabonds and idle persons (the roots, buds, and seeds of idleness) shall at all hands and in all places be set on work, and labour willingly, and thereby prove good subjects, and profitable members of this common weal. This realm and the inhabitants bordering as well upon the sea as upon the land throughout the same, in short time to be marvellously enriched. Nine thousand mariners more than now pre-

sently there is, to serve in Her Majesty's ships at all times, if need be. The coins of gold and silver that issue plentifully out of this realm, to stay and abide within this land: for restraint whereof both Her Highness and her noble progenitors have made divers laws and statutes, but yet never could do the same. A ready means to cause foreign wares to be brought hither. Her Majesty's custom and subsidies greatly augmented. Her navigation [*shipping*] greatly increased. The towns bordering on the sea coasts, now in ruins and void of English inhabitants, to be peopled and inhabited by Her Majesty's own peculiar subjects; to the great strength of this realm, and terror of the enemy.

Read the preamble of the statute 33 *HENRY VIII. c.* 2.

Besides the help that shall be ministered to two hundred [and] twenty and five decayed towns [? *villages*] in England and Wales; with a stock [*capital*] of two hundred pounds to every decayed town to set the poor on work. And to eight principal Port towns within this land, appointed for sundry causes appertaining to this Plat eight thousand pounds; which is to every principal Port town one thousand pounds, to be a stock for ever. Besides four hundred fishing ships to continue for ever. And two good Ships of War, furnished warlike, to defend the fishing ships. All which things, GOD willing, may be performed within three years, without cost or charge to any man, as by this Plat shall appear. And also an infinite number of people, as well rich and poor, set to work by divers means and degrees; which things will relieve many a poor man, and save many a tall fellow from the gallows.

For performance whereof. First, there must be made four hundred fishing ships, after the manner of Flemish Busses, of the burden of three score and ten tons the ship, or more, but none under: which will cost two hundred pounds the ship, with the furniture; if it be ready furnished to the sea in all things necessary. Every ship requireth one skilful Master to govern it, twelve mariners or fishermen, and twelve of the strong lusty beggars or poor men taken up through this land.

Which in the whole, amounteth to the number of ten thousand persons, at the first manning of the ships. So that with a little experience, this realm hath clearly increased nine thousand mariners more than were in this land before.

These ships so made, furnished, and manned must be appointed to such roads and haven towns as border upon the sea

coasts compassing this realm round about; beginning at London, and so orderly proceeding, according to the Table hereunto annexed. And being thus placed, having with them to the seas for their victuals, sufficient bread, beer, butter, and cheese; with barrels (empty), caske, and salt; with order also not to return until they be fully ladened: shall go yearly a fishing and kill herrings upon the coasts of England and Ireland, presently and always as they kill them, to gill them, salt, pickle, and barrel them, after the Flemish manner, with "salt upon salt,"[a] which is the best kind of salt. And shall fish for herrings yearly during the time of herring fishery, which is fourteen or fifteen weeks. In which time, by GOD's grace, every ship will kill, at the least, fifty last of the best sort of herrings; amounting in the whole to twenty thousand last. Every last, being sold but for £10, which is 16s. 8d. the barrel, draweth to £200,000 yearly for the best herrings only. Perhaps they may laden their ships twice yearly with herrings; and then this sum is doubled in that time of herring fishing.

And to the end that the herrings shall be wholesome for the subject, stranger, or for whomsoever shall buy them, and that the good usage thereof may gain credit where they shall happen to be uttered, they shall account in making of their herrings upon the sea, so as sixteen barrels made there, make but twelve barrels at their home coming to their several ports; when they shall be new sorted, severed, couched, and truly and justly packed by such honest and substantial men as shall be sworn and purposely chosen for that intent, and they to have two pence of every barrel, according to the statute for that purpose provided: dividing the full herrings into two several sorts, marking the biggest and best herrings with this several mark B: the second, with the second mark M: also the shotten herrings [*empty herrings, that have cast*

[a] JOHN COLLINS in *Salt and Fishery &c.*, 1682, *p.* 13, thus describes *Salt upon Salt, or Salt made by refining of foreign Salt.*

The Dutch, above fifty years since (finding the ill quantities and effects of French salt, both as to fishery uses and for curing of flesh for long voyages; besides the discolouring of butter and cheese) prohibited the use thereof by law: and being at war with Spain, traded to Portugal, St. Tubas, and the Isle of May for salt, granulated or kernelled merely by the heat and vigour of the sun; and fell to the refining thereof at home by boiling it up with sea water, and thereby cleansing it of three ill qualities, to wit, dirt, sand, and bitterness.

their spawn] with this proper mark, S. To the end, no man may be abused. Every barrel containing two and thirty gallons, according to the statute made 22 *EDWARD IV. c. 2*, which twelve barrels make a last.

Out of which said number of 20,000 last of herrings, nine or ten thousand last, will be a sufficient rate or portion to satisfy this whole realm. The residue, being 10,000 or 11,000 last, drawing to £100,000, being ordered as aforesaid, will be of as great estimation in France, as the Flemish herrings be: and will be sold and uttered in divers parts of that region; as in Normandy, in Nantes, in Bordeaux, and in Rochelle. And the further south that the countries do lie, the better utterance for fish. For these herrings, return will be made of all such necessaries as we want in this realm, viz., wine and woods (for which is always paid ready gold), Salt, Canvas, *Vitere* [*glass*], Dowlais, and divers other things. The custom also for the Queen's Majesty, being paid upon every last of that [which] shall be transported and sold beyond the sea, cometh to £5,000, after the rate of poundage, for this number of herrings only.

The other part of this great blessing of GOD may aptly be taken and applied, viz., these 400 Busses or fishing ships, may take cod and ling and New[found]land fish: the advantage and profit whereof, this realm and subjects, of late years, for the most part, have lost, and suffered strangers (the Flemings and other nations) to take. Who, seeing our careless dealing, have not only taken this beneficial fishing from us, but very warily doth sell the same commodity unto us; and thereby carrieth out of this land both gold and silver and a marvellous quantity of double double beer, and other things: satisfying us with these fishes, which through our own sloth, we lose; which being taken by ourselves, as a special blessing of GOD appointed unto us, and so sold to them and others, it must needs follow that we should save a a great mass of gold within this land. And for that fish they now utter unto us, we should receive of them the commodities of the Low Countries, viz., Holland cloth, rape oil, hops, madder, all sorts of wire, and divers other merchandise; or else their ready gold and money, whereby this realm and subjects should be mightily enriched.

This great benefit is no less to be valued for the profit of this realm and subjects, than the benefit [only] of the herrings.

For every ship, being but of the burden of 70 tons, if GOD bless it with safe return from Newfoundland, will bring home to his port in August, 20,000 of the best and middle sort of wet [*fresh*] fish (at the least) called blank fish, and 10,000 dry fish; which being sold on the ship's return, as it may be, at Newhaven [*Hâvre*] in France but for forty shillings the hundred of wet fish (which is not four pence the fish), and twenty shillings the hundred of dry fish (which is not two pence the fish), amounteth to £500 at the least.

Likewise any other of the ships, but of the like burden, going a fishing to the Ward House [*near North Cape*], to Iceland, to the North seas of England and Scotland, or to Ireland, cometh home, at the same time, laden with 15,000 cod, and 10,000 ling: which being sold but for forty shillings the hundred, one with another, amounteth to £500.

And besides that, every ship will bring home to his port, four or five tun of oil made of the fish livers, worth to be sold for £12 the tun.

The way how this Plat shall be brought to pass and performed, without cost or charges to any man, is by borrowing of £80,000 for three years; which forty men in a shire will and may easily accomplish, if every man lend but £50, upon good assurance, after the rate of ten pounds yearly upon every £100 lent: which sums shall be repaid again within three years, at two payments.

In what sort this money shall be levied is set down in the first Table following.

The second Table doth declare to whom, and to what principal Port towns the money shall be delivered, how it shall be used, who shall give assurance for the same, and therewith provide the foresaid ships.

The third Table doth show to what haven towns these fishing ships shall be placed; and how the money shall be levied to make payment of the money borrowed, and to answer all charges.

And in the fourth Table is set down, how many decayed towns, in every shire, shall have a continual stock [*capital*] of £200 a piece, to set the poor on work for ever. Also how every man shall be pleased and liberally considered, that shall be appointed to the execution of this Plat. And how the payments of the money borrowed, with the interest money for the time of forbearance, shall be made and paid at two payments.

The order of borrowing £80,000 for three years, not charging above 40 persons in any one shire to lend £50 a man, of the Lords, Bishops, Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and other rich men spiritual and temporal, in these shires following: accounting London for a shire; all South Wales for a shire; and all North Wales for a shire. And for that it is for the common weal, the two Parliament Knights and two Justices of the Peace of every shire to name the parties in every their shires that shall lend the money; and appoint one sufficient man of good credit in every shire to collect the same money, and then to deliver it to the Chief Officers of every the eight principal Port towns in the next Table.

The Chief Officers of every of these eight principal Port towns hereunder written, shall give the seal of every Port town, for the assurance of every several sum borrowed; to be repaid within three years, at two payments. And with the said money to them delivered, shall provide fifty ships ready furnished to the sea, according to the true meaning hereof: and deliver them to the haven towns in the next Table, as they be there appointed, taking bonds of every the same haven towns or fishing towns within their charge, for the payment of £150 for every ship yearly, during three years; with which payment this Plat shall be performed, and every man well pleased, that shall take pains in the execution of the same Plat.

THE MONEY TO BE LEVIED.			THE PRINCIPAL PORTS.		
In London, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire	£10,000	which said sum, under assurance, must be delivered unto the Chief Officers	of LONDON, whose seal, as above written, must be given by the said Chief Officers for the repayment of the said sum to them delivered, which sum is	£10,000	wherewith the said Chief Officers must provide 50 fishing ships of 70 tons the ship, and place them
In Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire	£10,000	which said sum, under assurance, must be delivered unto the Chief Officers	of YARMOUTH, whose seal, as above written, must be given by the Chief Officers, for the repayment of the money to them delivered, which sum is	£10,000	wherewith the said Chief Officers must provide 50 fishing ships of 70 tons the ship, and place them
In Yorkshire, Richmondshire, Lincolnshire, Rutlandshire, Leicestershire	£10,000	which said sum, under assurance, must be delivered unto the Chief Officers	of HULL, whose seal, as above written, must be given in by the Chief Officers, for the repayment of the money to them delivered, which sum is	£10,000	wherewith the said Chief Officers must provide 50 fishing ships of 70 tons the ship, and place them
In Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, [The] Bishopric [of Durham], Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Warwickshire, Northamptonshire	£10,000	which said sum, under assurance, must be delivered unto the Chief Officers	of NEWCASTLE, whose seal, as above written, must be given in by the Chief Officers, for the repayment of the money to them delivered, which sum is	£10,000	wherewith the said Chief Officers must provide 50 fishing ships of 70 tons the ship, and place them

(*Concluded on*

These ships must be placed within the roads and fishing towns, all along the sea coasts, beginning at London, and compassing this land by sea, according to this Table. The Governors of every fishing town must provide one skilful Master, twelve fishermen or mariners, and twelve poor men to serve in every ship, with all needful things; and then set them to the sea to take fish, for the profit of their town and the common weal. At whose returns, the Governors aforesaid shall see that the fish of every ship be used, as is declared in the *ORDERS* of this Plat. Out of which, they shall pay for every ship yearly, during three years, £150 to the Chief Officers of that principal Port town, that placed the said ships to these roads following.

The Chief Officers of the said eight principal Port towns, at May Day next after their First Year's receipt, shall yearly pay and discharge all fees and wages, with other payments in the *ORDERS* more at large mentioned, both of the money borrowed with the interest money; and for making of two Ships of War, with their wages, as also to the said Port towns £8,000, to be a stock for ever. And to the end the poor people in all places may be speedily relieved; they shall, out of the First Year's receipt, pay to the Governors of five decayed towns in every shire following £1,000, to be a stock of £200 to every town for ever, to set the poor on work. SUM, £45,000 for 225 decayed towns, according to this Table.

ROADS.	SHIPS.	PAYMENTS.	PAYMENTS BY THE CHIEF OFFICERS.
at LONDON	5	Every town to pay for every ship yearly, during three years, £150 to the Chief Officers of LONDON. *SUM* £7,500	of LONDON, for fees £500; and to the decayed towns in Middlesex £1,000; in Essex £1,000; in Suffolk, £1,000; in Hertfordshire, £1,000; in Cambridgeshire, £1,000; in Huntingdonshire, £1,000; in Norfolk, £1,000. £7,500
Stepney parish	5		
Greenwich	5		
Woolwich	5		
Arithe [*Erith*]	5		
Gravesend	5		
Quinborough	5		
Rochester	5		
Lee	5		
Malden	5		
at Colchester	5	Every town to pay for every ship yearly, during three years, £150 to the Chief Officers of YARMOUTH. *SUM* £7,500	of YARMOUTH, for fees £500, and for wages to two Ships of War for the First Year £4,000, and for the making and furnishing of two Ships of War to the sea, warlike, £3,000. £7,500
Harwich	5		
Ipswich	5		
Dunwich	5		
YARMOUTH	5		
Orford	5		
Alborough	5		
Blakeney	5		
Dasyngham [*Dersingham*]	5		
Burnham	5		
at Wells	5	Every town to pay for every ship yearly, during three years, £150 to the Chief Officers of HULL. *SUM* £7,500	of HULL, for fees £500; to the decayed towns in Yorkshire, £1,000; in Richmondshire, £1,000; in Lincolnshire, £1,000; in Rutlandshire, £1,000; in Leicestershire, £1,000; in Northamptonshire £1,000; and in Warwickshire £1,000. £7,500
Lynn	5		
Saltfleet	5		
Wainfleet	5		
Boston	5		
Grimsby	5		
Barton	5		
HULL	5		
Beverley	5		
York	5		
at Bridlington	5	Every town to pay for every ship yearly, during these three years, £150 to the Chief Officers of NEWCASTLE *SUM* £7,500	of NEWCASTLE, for fees £500; to the decayed towns in Northumberland, £1,000; in Cumberland, £1,000; in Westmoreland, £1,000; in [the] Bishopric, £1,000; in Nottinghamshire, £1,000; in Derbyshire, £1,000; and in Lancashire, £1,000. £7,500
Whitby	5		
Scarborough	5		
Flamborough	5		
Hartlepool	5		
Durham *cum* Shields	5		
NEWCASTLE	5		
Tynemouth	5		
Holy Island	5		
Berwick	5		

next two pages.)

(*Continued from*

THE MONEY TO BE LEVIED.				THE PRINCIPAL PORTS.		
In Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, Worcestershire, The six shires in North Wales	£10,000	which said sum, under assurance, must be delivered unto the Chief Officers	of	WEST CHESTER [*Chester*] whose seal, as above written, must be given by the Chief Officers, for the repayment of the money to them delivered, which sum is	£10,000	wherewith the said Chief Officers must provide 50 fishing ships of 70 tons the ship, and place them
In Somersetshire, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire, Monmouthshire, The six shires in South Wales	£10,000	which said sum, under assurance, must be delivered unto the Chief Officers	of	BRISTOW [*Bristol*] whose seal, as above written, must be given in by the Chief Officers, for the repayment of the money to them delivered, which sum is	£10,000	wherewith the said Chief Officers must provide 50 fishing ships of 70 tons the ship, and place them
In Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Wiltshire, Oxfordshire	£10,000	which said sum, under assurance, must be delivered unto the Chief Officers	of	EXETER whose seal, as above written, must be given in by the Chief Officers, for the repayment of the money to them delivered, which sum is	£10,000	wherewith the said Chief Officers must provide 50 fishing ships of 70 tons the ship, and place them
In Hampshire, Berkshire, Surrey, Sussex, Kent	£10,000	which said sum, under assurance, must be delivered unto the Chief Officers	of	SOUTHAMPTON, whose seal, as above written, must be given in by the Chief Officers, for the repayment of the money to them delivered, which sum is	£10,000	wherewith the said Chief Officers must provide 50 fishing ships, of 70 tons the ship, and place them

SHIRES... 44. SUM COLLECTED...£80,000. PORTS...8. SHIPS TO BE MADE...400.

With the Second Year's receipt the Chief Officers of the said eight principal Port for the Second Year, which is .....
And also shall make payment of the one half of the money borrowed, which is
And for the Interest money of the whole sum borrowed for two years .....
SUM of the payments the Second Year .....

And the said Chief Officers, with the Third Year's receipt in like manner aforesaid, which is.....
And the wages of the two Ships of War for the same year, which is also .....
And likewise they shall pay the other half of the money borrowed, which is.....
And for the Interest of that Third Year .....
And also £1,000 to every one of the eight principal Port towns, to be a Stock
SUM of the Third Year's payments .....

two previous pages.)

Roads.	Ships.	Payments.		Payments by the Chief Officers.	
at Carlisle	5	Every town to pay for every ship yearly, during these three years, £150 to the Chief Officers of West Chester. *SUM*	£7,500 of	West Chester, for fees £500; to the decayed towns in Cheshire, £1,000; in North Wales, £2,000; in South Wales, £2,000; in Monmouthshire, £1,000; and in Herefordshire, £1,000.	£7,500
Workington	5				
Isle of Man	5				
Lyrpoole [*Liverpool*]	5				
West Chester	5				
Beaumaris	5				
Bangor	5				
Holyhead	5				
Carnarvon	5				
Punthelle [*Pwllheli*]	5				
at Gloucester	5	Every town to pay for every ship, during these three years, £150 to the Chief Officers of Bristowe. *SUM*	£7,500 of	Bristowe, for fees £500; and to the decayed towns in Somersetshire £1,000: in Shropshire, £1,000; in Staffordshire £1,000. And for the wages of two Ships of War for the Second Year's service, £4,000.	£7,500
Bristow	5				
Newport	5				
Bridgewater	5				
Chepstow	5				
Cardiff	5				
Pembroke	5				
Hartforde [?]	5				
Carmarthen	5				
Padstow	5				
at Foy [*Fowey*]	5	Every town to pay for every ship, during these three years, £150 to the Chief Officers of Exeter. *SUM*	£7,500 of	Exeter, for fees £500; and to the decayed towns in Cornwall, £1,000; in Devonshire, £1,000; in Wiltshire, £1,000; in Oxfordshire, £1,000; in Gloucestershire, £1,000; in Worcestershire, £1,000; and in Dorsetshire, £1,000.	£7,—
Truro	5				
Melbroke [nr Plymouth]	5				
Saltash	5				
Penryn	5				
Sawkom [*Salcombe*]	5				
Exeter	5				
Plymouth	5				
Dartmouth	5				
Poole	5				
at Lynn	5	Every town to pay for every ship during these three years, £150 to the Chief Officers of Southampton. *SUM*	£7,500 of	Southampton, for fees £500; [and] to the decayed towns in Hampshire £1,000; in Sussex, £1,000; in Kent, £1,000; in Surrey, £1,000; in Berkshire, £1,000; in Buckinghamshire, £1,000; and in Bedfordshire, £1,000. *SUM*	£7,500
Weymouth	5				
Newport [I. of W.]	5				
Southampton	5				
Portsmouth	5				
Chichester	5				
Rye	5				
Dover	5				
Faversham	5				
Sandwich	5				
Roads...80.		Sum Yearly...£60,000.		Sum paid by the Chief Officers, the First Year,	£60,000

towns shall discharge and pay all fees and wages, as beforesaid,

.....	£4,000
.....	£40,000
.....	£16,000
.....	£60,000

shall discharge and pay all fees and wages of the Third Year,

.....	£4,000
.....	£4,000
(All which in the *Orders* more at large doth appear.)	£40,000
.....	£4,000
for ever	£8,000
.....	£60,000

¶ ORDERS.

IN PRIMIS. Every one of these eight principal Port towns, London, Yarmouth, Hull, Newcastle, Chester, Bristol, Exeter, and Southampton, must have two honest and substantial men of credit, to be Chief and Principal Officers of every [of] these said ports; who shall, as Treasurers and Purveyors, jointly deal together in all causes to this Plat appertaining.

First, in receiving all sums of money that be appointed to every the said ports, laying it up safely with their town's treasure. And therewith to provide fifty fishing ships with all things needful for them, ready to the seas, with such careful consideration as [if] the money were their own. And that every ship be both strong and good, and not under the burden of three score and ten tons. And then for to appoint them to the roads and haven towns in the third Table of this Plat specified; that is to say, five ships to every fishing town. Taking order also that every of these ships may have one skilful Master to govern it, twelve mariners coast men or fishermen, and twelve poor men taken up to serve in every of them. And to take bonds of every town, whereunto the said five ships shall be delivered, for the payment of £150 out of every ship yearly, during three years. This being done, the said five ships shall be given to the fishing town for ever. With proviso, that if any ship or ships of the whole number miscarry or be lost by any kind of chance or degree: then all the rest [of the 400 Busses], viz., every ship of the number remaining, shall pay Ten Shillings towards the new making of every ship so wanting, to the Chief Officers where the ship is lacking: with which money they shall provide again one other new ship, furnished with all things, as aforesaid. Which law shall be kept inviolate amongst them for ever, upon pain [of] every ship that shall be found in fault at any time, to forfeit for every offence Five Pounds: and the same to be levied and received by the order of statute law; but the whole benefit to the same town or towns where the ship or ships be wanting.

And the same sixteen Chief Officers shall have allowed them for their fees yearly, during the said three years, £1,600,

that is to every Officer £100 yearly. Also in the end of the third year, there shall be given in recompense to every of the said eight principal Port towns £1,000 to be a stock, to remain in the same towns for ever, as hereafter shall be declared.

These Busses or fishing ships, thus placed in four score fishing towns, as five ships to every fishing town, shall be set forth to the seas by the Governors of every several fishing town to take fish, as the times and seasons of the year do serve.

First, in March, having victuals for five months with hooks, lines, and salt (provided by the said Governors and their assistants) they shall be set out to fish for cod and ling, where the said Governors by the consent of the town, liketh best; or else to Newfoundland for Newland fish [*Newfoundland cod*]: and, by the grace of GOD, in August at the furthest, they shall come home to their several ports; ladened with fish and train oil made of fish livers. Which fish shall forthwith be divided into three equal parts. The first part to the Master and fishermen for their pains. The second part to them that were at the charges of victuals, salt, lines, and hooks. The third part to be laid up under safe keeping, until time serve best to sell the same, or to be vented where most profit may be made.

Then again, with all speed, presently after the fish is divided, every ship being victualled for six weeks with nets, caske, and salt, they must be set out to fish for herrings, tarrying upon the seas, until they be fully ladened. Then they return again to their several ports, if GOD bless them with good luck and a safe return, ladened with fifty last of the best herrings. Every ship, if wind and weather serve, may return twice ladened with herrings, in that time of herring fishing. And always, as the ships with herrings do come to their several ports, the said Governors shall cause the said herrings to be divided into four equal parts. The first part, to the Master and the mariners for their pains. The second part, to them that provide the salt and victuals. The third part, to them that find the caske and nets. And the fourth part, to be laid up under safe keeping until it may be vented. Out of the which portion of herrings and of the other fish aforesaid shall be paid on the first day of April yearly (next after the First Year, that the ships of this Plat

begin to fish) £150 for every ship yearly during three years, by the Governors of every fishing town that so shall have regard of their returns and use of the goods, where the ships be placed. Which payment shall be paid to the Chief Officers of that principal Port that did place the said five ships to the same town.

And then after the three years be expired, the third part of great fish and the fourth part of herrings shall be and remain for ever to every fishing town where the fishing ships be at the day of the last payment. Out of which, the five ships shall yearly be repaired and maintained by every fishing town, for the profit of the same town and the benefit of the common weal.

When the herring fishing is past, then, with all convenient speed, the Governors aforesaid shall appoint some of their ships to take fish upon the coasts of England, Scotland, or Ireland: and send other some into France or elsewhere with cod, ling, herrings, and Newland fish, there to utter them, making return with such commodities as will be best uttered here, or else with salt and money. By which return it will be time to make ready for the fishing in March, as before. Thus the whole year is spent in fishing.

There must be an Auditor for receiving all accounts that shall appertain and depend upon the execution of this Plat: such as it shall please the Parliament House to nominate and appoint. Who shall receive of the sixteen Chief Officers aforesaid £800 yearly, during three years, viz., of the Chief Officers of every principal Port upon his quittance [of the accounts], £100 for his fee. Which said Auditor must ride from every principal Port to other, to see and to provide that all and every of the five decayed towns, within every shire in England and also twenty decayed towns in Wales have the stock of £200 truly paid to every one of them, according to this Plat, and that it be used accordingly, viz., that the Governor of every the decayed towns with the said stock of £200 shall diligently and carefully provide yearly such commodities to set the poor on work, as the nature of the country doth yield for most profit. And that the poor people that laboureth be paid weekly their wages: converting the benefit of their travail into the increase of the same stock. And that the said Auditor take knowledge how many there be at work

in every place by that means: and with what commodities the said poor people are set to work in every shire. And for that there shall be no partiality in naming of the decayed towns, the two Parliament Knights, with two Justices of [the] Peace in every their shire, to name and appoint the ancient decayed towns in every shire, for to have the said stock of £200, according to the fourth Table of this Plat. And being subscribed under their hands, to deliver it to the said Auditor in the First Year that the fishing ships aforesaid be set to the sea to fish.

There must also be a Comptroller joined in commission with the Chief Officers of every principal Port town, for the providing of all things needful at the best hand. Who must ride to every Port and fishing town, and to all other places where these ships be either made, bought, or placed; to see that all things may be justly performed, according to the true meaning of this Plat, and to be done with all expedition. Who may by this order, and without grief to this Plat, receive for his fee £800 yearly during three years, viz.: of the Chief Officers of every principal Port town, £100 upon his quittance, for his pains and charges, and for the charges of his servants and ministers that must be and remain in many several ports and places, to see to the due execution of the Plat in all points. Which said Comptroller, the author wisheth should be such a man as would bend his wits for the common weal, and could so well execute the same as for himself. For then he should be able to declare in all places what is to be done, and what should be done at every extremity to avoid any danger.

The Officers of every the said eight principal Port towns shall appoint one honest, virtuous, discreet, and learned man to preach GOD's Word; which Preachers shall travel continually, as the Apostles did, from place to place, preaching in all the fishing towns and decayed towns appointed to every several port: and every Preacher shall receive for his maintenance £100 yearly, during three years, of the Chief Officers of that same principal Port town, whereunto he is appointed.

And also that order may be had from the Queen's Majesty, that two of Her Grace's Ships of War, such as yearly be appointed to waft [*convoy*] the merchants, may continue upon

Her Majesty's seas from the first of March until the last of November yearly, for two years, for the defence of these fishing ships. And towards the charges of the same two Ships of War, the Chief Officers appointed for Yarmouth and Bristol, shall pay yearly, during two years, £4,000. Which ships if they cannot be had, then the said Auditor and Comptroller shall with that money provide two other Ships of War for the same cause. Also the said Auditor and Comptroller who ride all the whole circuit of this land for the performance of this Plat, shall make a declaration once a year to the Right Honourable Lords, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Admiral of England, and Lord Privy Seal of the whole state cause, and proceedings of this Plat. To be the end, that their Lordships may use their honourable considerations for, and in redress of things needful.

Provided always, that if the Chief Officers of any of the said eight principal Port towns do find just cause that there is some insufficiency either in any of the fishing towns where the five ships are placed; or else in the Governors of the same town such negligence that this fishing cannot prove profitable; or that it is not used according to the effect or true meaning of this Plat: then, upon just proof or information made to the Lords aforesaid, the same Officers of that principal Port, by consent of the Comptroller and Auditor, with others from the said Lords, may remove the same ships from any such fishing town and appoint them elsewhere within their several charge, where they may be both better placed, and for the common weal more profitable.

The same sixteen Chief Officers of the said eight principal Port towns for the time being, after their first year's receipt, which amounteth to £60,000, shall at May Day next following, deduct of the same receipt £4,000 for fees and wages due, and to be paid to themselves, to the Auditor, to the Comptroller, and to the eight Preachers, as before is appointed for that First Year. Likewise out of the same receipt, they shall pay £45,000 to the Governors of 225 decayed towns, viz., to every decayed town £200 to be a stock for ever to set the poor people on work, as it is appointeth in the fourth Table of this Plat. Also the Officers of Yarmouth, out of the said receipt, shall pay to two Ships of War £4,000 for their wages at the First Year. All payments paid for the First Year.

There remaineth of the said receipt £7,000, whereof the Officers of Bristol hath in their hands £4,000, as by their payments appeareth, which is for to pay the Second Year's wages to the two Ships of War for defending the fishermen the Second Year: the other £3,000 is in the hands of the Officers of Yarmouth aforesaid, as by their payments likewise appeareth, which shall be by them bestowed upon making of two Ships of War of the burden of 160 tons the ship, after the best and strongest manner, in warlike sort; and to furnish them with store of all needful things to the sea, as appertaineth to Ships of War; and also with ordnance, powder, shot, armour, weapons, and all other provision necessary. These several sums of money amounteth to £60,000: which is the First Year's receipt.

The Second Year's receipt of £60,000 being received by the said sixteen Chief Officers, of the aforesaid eight principal Ports: they shall deduct out of the same, £4,000 for fees and wages to content and pay themselves, the Auditor, the Comptroller, and the eight Preachers for the Second Year, in like manner as aforesaid. Also they shall pay to the lenders of the money, the one half of the money borrowed, which is £40,000, and the interest money of the whole sum borrowed for two years, which is £16,000. Which payments amount to £60,000. And that is the just receipt and payment of and for the Second Year.

The Third Year's receipt of £60,000 being received in like manner by the aforesaid Chief Officers of the said eight principal Ports: they shall deduct out of the same, £4,000 for fees and wages to be paid as aforesaid unto themselves, the Auditor, the Comptroller, and the eight Preachers for the same Third Year. And likewise £4,000 for wages to two Ships of War for the same Third Year, as by the Officers of every principal port town £500. Then they shall pay to the lenders of the money, the other half of the money borrowed, which is £40,000, and the interest money for that third and last year, which is £4,000. All which payments amount to £52,000.

This fishing Plat thus being performed, all payments paid, and every man that hath taken pains in the execution of the same very well pleased and contented, there doth remain £8,000 in the hands of the Chief Officers of the said principal Ports.

viz.: £1,000 with the Chief Officers of every principal Port, as appeareth by their receipts and payments, which shall be allowed unto the same eight principal Port towns amongst them, viz.: to every principal Port town £1,000, to be a stock for ever for the profit and benefit of the same town: and yearly to be used for profit to such fisher towns and fishermen, as upon good assurance will use any part thereof in the trade or craft of fishing.

And when this is done and brought to pass I will declare a device appertaining to this Plat, that shall, if it please GOD, be worth £10,000 yearly for ever, without cost or charges to any man, neither offending nor encroaching upon any person with the same device: which is to maintain the aforesaid Ships of War, warlike, yearly for ever, with wages, victuals, soldiers, and mariners, and all other kind of charges; and also to maintain all the aforesaid Officers and Preachers their yearly fees for ever.

Unto either of the same two Ships of War, there must be appointed one skilful and valiant Master, the Master's Mate, four Quarter-masters, a Purser, a Master Gunner, and 120 soldiers and mariners. The Master to have for wages, Four Shillings a day; every other Officer Two Shillings a day; and every soldier or mariner Twelve Pence the day for wages. The order for their diet of victuals all the whole year; and what money is to be allowed for the yearly reparations of the said two Ships of War; and how all this shall be maintained for ever: I have set down in writing. And after this Plat, with the great benefits growing universally to this realm, shall be thoroughly considered, drawn into perfect form, and put in execution by authority of Parliament (which is the power of the whole Commonalty of England), I will deliver the same where it shall be thought meet.

The times and places of the yearly fishing for Cod and Ling.

FIRST for cod: upon the coast of Lancashire; beginning at Easter, and continueth until Midsummer.

For Hake: in the deeps betwixt Wales and Ireland; from Whitsuntide until Saint James'tide.

For cod and ling: about Padstow, within the Land's End and the Severn, is good fishing from Christmas until Mid-Lent [*March*].

There is an excellent good fishing for cod about Ireland, where doth come yearly come to fish 300 or 400 sail of ships and barks out of Biscay, Galicia, and Portugal, about the south-west parts, near to Mackertymors country [? *Baltimore, see p.* 70]; and do continue April, May, June, and July.

Also for cod and ling: on the west and north-west of Ireland; beginning at Christmas, and continueth until March.

And there is one other excellent good fishing upon the north of Ireland.

Also for Newland fish, upon the banks of Newfoundland. The ships go forth from England and Ireland in March, and come home laden in August.

There is an excellent good fishing for them that will go further for cod and ling in the rivers of Backlasse [?]: continuing April, May, June, and July.

Also for cod and ling: upon the north coasts of England and upon the coasts of Scotland and the northern Isles of Scotland; continuing from Easter until Midsummer.

The like for cod: upon the east coast of Friesland, Norway, and Shetland; from Easter until Midsummer.

To fish for cod and ling in Iceland; the ships commonly must go forth in March, and return ladened in August.

The like manner and time is used for cod and ling from England to the Ward House [*near North Cape*]; where is excellent good fishing, April, May, and June.

The times and places for the yearly fishing for Herrings.

THE HERRINGS shoot out of the deeps on both sides of Scotland and England, and beginneth upon the Scots coast at Midsummer, and be not merchantable (but yet vendible) because they be so fat, by reason whereof they will grow reasty [*rancid*] if they be kept: and therefore they be presently [*immediately*] sold.

The second and best fishing beginneth at Bartholomewtide [24 *August*] at Scarborough, and so proceedeth along the coast, until they come to the Thames' mouth, continuing very

good until Hollentide [1 *November*]. All which time they be very good and merchantable, and will abide the salting very well.

The third fishing is from the Thames' mouth through the Narrow Seas: yet not certain, for after that time, they shoot suddenly through the same seas, upon any extreme weather, on both sides of Ireland. Which fishing doth continue until the feast of Saint Andrew [30 *November*].

Also upon the coast of Ireland is very good fishing from Michaelmas until Christmas. For there, is great plenty of herrings.

Also upon the north-west seas of England, over against Carlisle in Cumberland, about Workington, is good fishing for herrings, from Bartholomewtide until fourteen days after Michaelmas.

Also from Hollentide [1 *November*] till Christmas, upon the coast of Norway (that serves all the East [*Baltic*] Countries) called the Mull sand [?] where all strangers do fish, paying their custom, a youghendale [? *a thaler*] upon every last, to the King of Denmark. But sometimes the frosts be so great there, that the herrings will not take salt.

[*The Hunting of the Whale.*]

THERE is another exercise to breed profit, called the hunting of the whale, which continueth all the summer. The whale is [found] upon the coasts of Russia, towards Moscovy and Saint Nicholas [*Archangel*]. The killing of the whale is both pleasant and profitable, and without great charges, yielding great plenty of [train] oil, the tun whereof is worth £10. One of the ships may bring home to his port 50 tuns, the which is worth £500.

OBJECTIONS; and the ANSWERS of the Author.

¶ *First, What moves you to think that there will be found forty men in every Shire of England, that will lend £50 a man, for three years, in this covetous time, when every man is for himself?*



HIS realm of England and Wales is very populous, and the most part be the poorer sort of people, who daily do harken [*look*] when the world should amend with them. They are indifferent in what sort, so that their state were relieved; and so perhaps apt to assist rebellion, or to join with whomsoever dare invade this noble Island, if any such attempt should be made. Then are they meet guides to bring the soldiers or men of war to the rich men's wealth. For they can point with their finger, "There it is!" "Yonder it is!" "Here it is!" "And he hath it!" and, "She hath it that will do us much good!" and so procure martyrdom with murder to many wealthy persons, for their wealth. Therefore the wise and wealthy men of this land had need, by great discretion, to devise some speedy help therein; that this poorer sort of people may be set to some good arts, science, occupations, crafts, and labours, by which means they might be able to relieve themselves of their great need and want. And being brought to such vocation of life, having some good trade to live upon, there is no doubt but that they will prove good and profitable subjects; and be careful to see this common wealth flourish; and will spend their lives and blood to defend the same, and their little wealth, their liberties, their wives, and children. For having nothing, they are desperate; but having some little goods, they will die before they lose it. Wherefore if this matter be looked into with eyes of judgement, there is no doubt of borrowing the money upon the assurance and interest. For I do know in some Shires four men that will gladly lend so much money as the whole shire is appointed to lend. In Holland and Zealand the rich men make so sure account of their fishing, that they appoint their children's portions to be increased by that use.

¶ *I pray you, show me by what occasion or means this huge number of beggars and vagabonds do breed here in England; and why you appoint twelve of them to every ship? I think they may carry the ship away and become pirates.*



F YOU consider the poverty that is, and doth remain in the shire towns and market towns, within this realm of England and Wales; which towns being inhabited with great store of poor householders, who by their poverty are driven to bring up their youth idly, and if they live until they come to man's [e]state, then are they past all remedy to be brought to work. Therefore at such time as their parents fail them, they begin to shift, and acquaint themselves with some one like brought up, that hath made his shift with dicing, cosening, picking or cutting of purses: or else, if he be of courage, plain robbing by the wayside, which they count an honest shift for the time, and so come they daily to the gallows.

Hereby grows the great and huge number of beggars and vagabonds which, by no reasonable means or laws, could yet be brought to work, being thus idly brought up. Which perilous state and imminent danger that they now stand in, I thought it good to avoid by placing twelve of these poor people into every fishing ship; according to this Plat.

Who when they shall find and perceive that their diet for all the whole year is provided, and that two voyages every year will yield to every man for his pains £20 clear, and for ever to continue; by which honest trade they shall be able to live in estimation amongst men; whereas before they were hated, whipped, almost starved, poor and naked, imprisoned, and in danger daily to be marked with a burning iron for a rogue, and to be hanged for a vagabond. When they shall find these dangers to be avoided by their travail, and thereby an increase of wealth to ensue: they will be glad to continue this good and profitable vocation, and shun the other. Besides that it is well known that six mariners or seafaring men are able to rule and govern twelve land men that be not acquainted with the sea: and therefore [it is] to be doubted that this kind of people will prove pirates; they be so base-minded. For the heart, mind, and value of a man is such, and his spirit is so great, that he will travel all the kingdoms

of Princes to seek entertainment; rather than he will show his face to beg or crave relief of thousands of people, that be unworthy to unbuckle his shoes: and in his great want, will take with force and courage from them that hath, to serve his necessity; thinking it more happy to die speedily, than to live defamed and miserably. Of which sort of people, at the breaking up of wars, there are a great number of worthy and valiant soldiers, that have served in the wars with invincible minds: who, through want of living, either depart as aforesaid; or else, if they tarry in England, hanging is the end of the most part of them.

¶ *How may so many ships be provided, for want of timber, masts, cables, pitch, and iron? And where shall Masters and mariners be had; with other needful things, as salt, nets, and caske?*

TO THAT, I must put you in mind of Holland, Zealand, and Friesland, that of late years, have flourished with ships, mariners, and fishermen; and thereby proved of marvellous wealth. No country more [so]. And all the timber they used for their ships came from the dominions of other Princes. Their cables, masts, pitch and tar came from the countries under the King of Denmark; the sails for their ships, the thread for their nets came from Normandy and Brittany; their salt came from France, Portugal, and Spain; and their iron came from the countries of other Princes.

We need not doubt of these things. For there are ships presently to be bought (for the sums of money appointed for every ship) both here in this realm, and in Holland, France, and in other places. And if there were not, I could name the places in this realm where there is plenty of timber. If you do remember the great and wonderful woods of timber trees that are in Ireland, you will shake off that doubt. And for iron; that there is great plenty made within this land, I may call to witness the inhabitants of the Forest of Dean, the county of Sussex, with other places. And for all other needful things; the havens, ports, and realm of England lieth nearer to those countries where plenty is, than those of the Flemings do.

And for Masters; there are plenty of coast men, which will gladly serve that place, that be sufficient men. And for

mariners; there is great store of poor fishermen all along the coast of England and Wales, that will willingly serve in these fishing ships, and use the craft of fishing: their gain will be so great. And for salt; there is great plenty made at the Witchs [*Droitwich, Nantwich, Northwich*] in Cheshire, and in divers other places; besides many salt houses standing upon the coast of England, that make salt by seething of salt sea water. And besides there is the great store of salt that will be brought yearly into England by the merchants and others, to make "salt upon salt." Also for caske; there is a great store of oak, ash, and beech growing in many places of England; so that there can be no want of caske if there be use to use it; nor yet of any other thing aforesaid, if good consideration be had.

This Plat, being put into execution, will breed such store of mariners that whensoever the noble Navy of England shall be set to the seas for the safeguard of this land; there shall be no want of mariners to serve in the same: whereas now they be both scant and hard to be found. Look back into Holland! where practice is used; and see what store is there!

¶ *You appoint ten thousand last of herrings to be sold in France. How can that be, so long as the Flemings, the Frenchmen, and other nations do fish; who have already won the credit of their fish? They shall sell, when we cannot; then where shall the fish taken by us be uttered?*

THERE is no doubt but there will be ten thousand last of herrings to spare, this realm being served, if these four hundred fishing ships with these fishermen be appointed to the seas: for they will take their place to fish within the Queen's Majesty's seas; and so shall serve both England and France plentifully, and also better cheap than the Flemings are able to do. And the herrings, cod, and Newland fish, being used in such sort as the Flemings do, will be of as great estimation as theirs be, and may yearly be sold and uttered in France; as at Dieppe that serves and victuals all Picardy; at Newhaven [*Hâvre*] that serves all base [*lower*] Normandy; and at the town of Rouen, that serves all the high countries of France; for thither cometh yearly three hundred lighters, called *Gabers*, with wines, of ten or twelve hundred tuns a Gaber;

and their best return is fish and salt. And for the other parts of France, as Rochelle and Bourdeaux; also the merchants that travel into Spain, Portugal, Italy, Barbary, and Africa, carrying fish: the further south and south-west that the fish, well used, is carried; the dearer it is, and greatly desired. Wherefore let all men fish that will, of what country soever, for there is fish in plenty in these northern seas for them all, if there were a thousand sail of fishing ships more than there is; and the English nation shall and may weary them out for their travail and labour: where they fish is not far; their ports, harbours, and roads be at hand; their ships cost the fishermen nothing. Therefore the Englishmen shall better be able to sell good cheap [*cheaper*] than any other nation; by means whereof they shall sell when others cannot. And so the Flemings being put from uttering their herrings in France, shall be driven to leave their great ships; and to fish in smaller vessels near the shore to serve their own turns: as heretofore they have caused us to do, for fear of them and every tempest; triumphing at our folly, for not taking this great benefit and blessing of GOD poured into our laps.

¶ *How do you know that nine or ten thousand last of herrings will serve all England? And when wars shall happen between England and France, where shall we sell the rest of our herrings and other fish; the Flemings being provided for by their own people?*

BY ESTIMATION, five thousand last of herrings do serve London; out of which portion, all the shires about London are served. And by the like estimation, five thousand last more will serve all England.

And if wars should happen between France and England; then the Italians, Spaniards, Flemings, and other nations do bring into England all sorts of French commodities, as wines, woad, lockromes [*lockrams*, a kind of linen], and canvas of all sorts. These merchants will daily look for profit: and in time of wars nothing doth pass with less danger, sooner is vented and made ready money, than these herrings, cod, ling, and Newland fish. So there is no doubt of utterance for fish, either in wars or in peace.

Let experience of other countries serve for this wholly. And I think it good to let you understand how herrings were sold in France, *anno* 1577.

The best Flemish herrings were sold for £24 10s. the last. Yarmouth herrings (who, of late, do use and order their herrings as the Flemings do) were sold for £20 12s. the last. Irish herrings, for £18 the last. Coast herrings and Scotch herrings, for £11 the last.

These differences be in herrings, which being used as is set down in this Plat, will be in all places (within a little time) equal in goodness with the Flemish herrings.

¶ *In what order do the Flemings, the Frenchmen, and others fish for herrings, cod, and Newland fish?*



IRST behold this sea Plat or proportiture here set down showing how the same strangers do fish in their great ships upon the English coast: and how our English men, for fear of them and of every tempest, as aforesaid, do fish in small vessels near the shore.

[Here follows in the original work a large half geographical, and half emblematic map of the German Ocean, in which main sea are great ships marked "Flemish Busses," and by the English coast, smaller vessels marked "The English Fishermen."

On this map, is the following inscription.

Anno Domini. 1553. Serving the Emperor CHARLES V. in his wars [*also at Berwick, see p.* 215.]; looking into the state of Holland and Zealand, I saw that their wealth and great increase of mariners grew by fishing. For at that time, there went yearly out of these twelve towns, Dunkirk, Nieuport, Ostend, Sluys, Flushing, Middleburg, Camfere, Setikseas, [? *Zieriksee*] Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Delf Haven, and Brill, above 400 Busses or great ships to fish for herrings upon the East Coast of England. A similitude thereof, is here set down in this proportiture.]

The Flemings set out of Flanders, Holland, and Zealand yearly at Bartholowmewtide [24 *August*] four or five hundred Busses, to fish for herrings upon the East Coast of England;

where before they fish, they ask leave at Scarborough, as evermore they have done: with which honour (and no profit) this realm and subjects hath hitherto been vainly fed. And amongst them, this is the order. One man provides the ship, another the victuals and salt, the third the caske, the fourth the nets: and when the ships come home they divide the fish.

There goeth out of France commonly five hundred sail of ships yearly in March to Newfoundland, to fish for Newland fish, and come home again in August. Amongst many of them, this is the order. Ten or twelve mariners do confer with a money [*monied*] man, who furnisheth them with money to buy ships, victuals, salt, lines, and hooks, to be paid his money [back] at the ship's return, either in fish or money, with £35 upon the £100 in money lent.

Likewise here in England, in the West Country, the like order is used. The fishermen confer with the money [*monied*] man, who furnisheth them with money to provide victuals, salt, and all other needful things; to be paid £25 at the ship's return, upon the £100 in money lent. And for some of the same money, men do borrow money upon £10 in the £100, and put it forth in this order to the fishermen. And for to be assured of the money ventured, they will have it assured [*insured*]; giving £6 for the assuring of every £100 to him that abides the venture of the ship's return: as thus. A ship of Exeter is gone to the Ward House, to fish for cod and ling. The venture of the ship, salt, and victuals is £300. For £18 all is assured. So that if the ship never return, yet the money [*monied*] man gaineth *declaro* [clear] £48 [? £57], and his principal again.

So by these reasons there seemeth great good to be done by fishing when other men being at such charges do prove rich by using this trade. Shall not the English nation that thus shall fish (the greatest charges cut off) be more able to sell good cheap than any others may: and so weary them out, as aforesaid.

¶ *You say that much gold goeth forth of this land for wines and other French commodities: I pray you, to what value in the year doth the wines of France brought into England amount unto? And what several sorts of English wares be sold in France to buy the same?*



DO ESTEEM to come into England, every year, ten thousand tuns of Gascony and Rochelle wines, which at twenty crowns the tun, amounteth in English payment, to £60,000. The fleet that goeth from London to Bourdeaux, carrieth commonly victuals, ballast, and some cloth. For the money is always made over by exchange out of London, out of Flanders, and out of Spain. And the ships that go from other places of this realm, as from Bristol, Wales, Westchester, Newcastle, Hull, and elsewhere to the Vintage, carrieth (contrary to the law) leather, calves' skins, butter and tallow, with ready gold, as they may provide it all the whole year before.

At Rouen in France, which is the chiefest vent [*mart*], be sold our English wares, as Welsh and Manchester cottons, Northern Kerseys, Whites, lead, and tin: which money is commonly employed in Normandy and Brittany in all sorts of canvas with other small wares, and in lockromes, *viterie*, and dowlass [*coarse linen*], Pouldavis, Olyraunce [?], and Myndernex [?]; part[ly] for ready money, partly for commoditie[s]. And woad is commonly ladened at Bourdeaux and uttered there to our nation and others for money or cloth, or else not [sold at all]. These sorts of wares bought in France, besides the wine, amounts by estimation to six times as much as all the English wares that be sold for in France every year. And for a truth this trade of fishing is the best, and of lightest cost that can be found, to counteract the values of the French commodities. Experience doth show the same by the Flemings, who with their green [*undried*] fish, barrelled cod, and herrings, carry out of England for the same, yearly, both gold and silver and other commodities, and at the least ten thousand tuns of Double Double Beer, and hath also all kinds of French commodities continually, both in time of wars and peace, by their trade only of fishing. Thus the great sums of gold that are carried yearly out of this land to the Vintage, as appeareth by this* Plat following, will stay: and wines, nevertheless, and other French wares of all sorts will be had and obtained for herrings and fish.

* Another curious emblematical design occurs here: with *No wines from Bordeaux, but for gold*, and *I bring gold from England for Wines.*

¶ *When you put your fishing Plat into the Parliament house, what did you conceive by the speech of such burgesses as you conferred with of the same?*

IN THE eighteenth year of the Queen's Majesty's reign, five or six days before the Parliament house brake up [*i.e., March* 1576], I had the Burgesses of almost all the stately Port towns of England and Wales at dinner with me at Westminster: amongst whom the substance of my Plat was read, and of every man well liked; so that some were desirous to have a copy of the same, and said that "they would, of their own cost and charges, set so many ships to the sea as was to their towns appointed, without the assistance of any other." Of the like mind, were the Burgesses of Rye; and some said it were good to levy a subsidy of two shillings [in the pound] on land, and sixteen pence [in the pound on] goods, for the making of these fishing ships. Of which mind the Speaker, Master BELL, was; saying, "A Parliament hath been called for a less cause." Other some said, "It were good to give a subsidy for this purpose to ship these kind of people in this sort; for if they should never return, and so avoided [*got rid of*], the land were happy: for it is but the riddance of a number of idle and evil disposed people." But these men that so do think, will be of another mind within two years next after this Plat takes effect, as when they shall see, by this occasion only; such a number of carpenters and shipwrights set on work; such a number of coopers employed; such numbers of people making lines, ropes, and cables; dressers of hemp, spinners of thread, and makers of nets; so many salt houses set up to make salt, and "salt upon salt." And what a number of mariners are made of poor men; and what a number of poor men are set on work in those shires all along upon the sea coast in England and Wales in splitting of fish, washing of fish, packing of fish, salting of fish, carrying and recarrying of fish, and serving all the countries [*counties*] in England with fish. And to serve all those occupations aforesaid, there must depend an infinite number of servants, boys, and day labourers, for the use of things needful. And withal to remember how that about England and Wales, there is established in four score haven towns, five fishing ships to every town to continue for

ever, which will breed plenty of fish in every market; and that will make flesh [*butcher's meat*] good cheap. And that by the only help of GOD and these fishermen, there shall be established within England and Wales, to 225 decayed towns; a stock of £200 to every decayed town, which shall continue for ever to set the poor people on work. And to conclude, I do carry that mind, that within few years there will be of these fishing towns of such wealth, that they will cast ditches about their towns, and wall the same defensively against the enemy to guard them and their wealth in more safety. What Englishman is he, think you! that will not rejoice to see these things come to pass. And, for my part, I perceive nothing but good success is likely to come of this Plat.

To further the same, I gave a copy hereof to my Lord of LEICESTER six years past [1573], another copy to the Queen's Majesty four years past [1575]. Also to sundry of her Majesty's Privy Council, certain copies. And in the end [*March* 1576] of the last Parliament, holden in the said eighteenth year of her Majesty's reign, I gave twelve copies to Councillors of the law, and other men of great credit [*See Dr. DEE's notice on* 1 *August* 1576, *at p.* 65]; hoping that GOD would stir up some good man to set out this work, which the Author (being a soldier, trained up in the wars and not in the schools, with great charges and travail of mind, for his country's sake) hath devised and laid as a foundation for them that hath judgement to build upon.

Amongst whom, Master LEONARD DIGGES, a proper gentleman and a wise, had one copy, who, being a Burgess of the house, took occasion thereupon to desire licence to speak his mind concerning this Plat, saying that he spake for the common wealth of all England and for no private cause. He (by report) did so worthily frame his speech for the common weal of his country; that he hath gained thereby both fame and great good liking of all the hearers; and so concluded, desiring that this device might be read: which, for want of time, was deferred until their next assembly in Parliament.

FINIS.

Sir PHILIP SIDNEY.

Sonnets and Poetical Translations.

[*Arcadia* 3rd Ed. 1598: where they are stated to be, *Never before printed*, but several of them had appeared in the Second Edition of H. CONSTABLE'S *DIANA* in 1594: see *pp.* 225–262.]

In the story of SIDNEY'S life and love, these poems should be considered with those in the first Volume of the *English Garner.*

The Sonnets are mixed up with other verse.

SINCE shunning pain, I ease can never find;
Since bashful dread seeks where he knows me harmed;
Since will is won, and stoppèd ears are charmed;
Since force doth faint, and sight doth make me blind;
Since loosing long, the faster still I bind;
Since naked sense can conquer reason armed;
Since heart in chilling fear, with ice is warmed;
In fine, since strife of thought but mars the mind:
I yield, O LOVE! unto thy loathèd yoke.
Yet craving law of arms, whose rule doth teach;
That hardly used, whoever prison broke—
In justice quit—of honour makes no breach:
Whereas if I a grateful Guardian have;
Thou art my lord! and I, thy vowèd slave.

WHEN LOVE, puft up with rage of high disdain,
Resolved to make me pattern of his might;
Like foe, whose wits inclined to deadly spite,
Would often kill, to breed more feeling pain;
He would not, armed with beauty, only reign
On those affects, which easily yield to sight;
But virtue sets so high, that reason's light,
For all his strife, can only bondage gain.
So that I live to pay a mortal fee.
Dead palsy sick of all my chiefest parts:
Like those, whom dreams make ugly monsters see,
And can cry, "Help!" with nought but groans and starts.
Longing to have, having no wit to wish:
To starving minds, such is god CUPID's dish!

To the tune of Non credo gia che piu infelice amante.

THE FIRE to see my wrongs, for anger burneth;
The Air in rain, for my affliction weepeth;
The Sea to ebb, for grief, his flowing turneth;
The Earth with pity dull, the centre keepeth:
Fame is with wonder blazed;
Time runs away for sorrow;
Peace standeth still, amazed,
To see my night of evils, which hath no morrow.
Alas, a lovely She no pity taketh,
To know my miseries; but, chaste and cruel,
My fall her glory maketh:
Yet still her eyes give to my flames, their fuel.

Fire, burn me quite, till sense of burning leave me!
Air, let me draw no more thy breath in anguish!

Sea, drowned in thee, of tedious life bereave me!
Earth, take this earth, wherein my spirits languish!
Fame, say I was not born!
Time, haste my dying hour!
Place, see my grave uptorn!
Fire, air, sea, earth, fame, time, place show your power!
Alas, from all their help, I am exiled:
For hers am I, and death fears her displeasure.
Fie, death! thou art beguiled!
Though I be hers, she makes of me no treasure.

To the same tune.

THE Nightingale—as soon as April bringeth
Unto her rested sense, a perfect waking;
While late bare earth, proud of new clothing, springeth—
Sings out her woes, a thorn her song book making.
And mournfully bewailing,
Her throat in tunes expresseth
What grief her breast oppresseth
For THEREUS' force, on her chaste will prevailing.
O PHILOMELA fair! O take some gladness!
That here is juster cause of plaintful sadness.
Thine earth now springs! mine fadeth;
Thy thorn without! my thorn my heart invadeth.

Alas, she hath no other cause of anguish
But THEREUS' love; on her, by strong hand wroken;
Wherein she suffering, all her spirits languish,
Full woman-like, complains her will was broken.
But I—who, daily craving,
Cannot have to content me—
Have more cause to lament me:
Since wanting is more woe than too much having.

O PHILOMELA fair! O take some gladness!
That here is juster cause of plaintful sadness.
Thine earth now springs! mine fadeth:
Thy thorn without! my thorn my heart invadeth.

To the tune of Basciami vita mia.

"SLEEP, baby mine, DESIRE!" Nurse BEAUTY singeth.
"Thy cries, O baby! set mine head on aching."
The babe cries "Way! thy love doth keep me waking."

"Lully, lully, my babe! HOPE cradle bringeth;
Unto my children always good rest taking."
The babe cries "Way! thy love doth me keep waking."

"Since, baby mine! from me, thy watching springeth,
Sleep then a little! pap, CONTENT is making:"
The babe cries "Nay! for that abide I waking."

To the tune of the Spanish song Se tu señora no dueles de mi.

FAIR! O sweet! when I do look on thee,
In whom all joys so well agree;
Heart and soul do sing in me.
This you hear is not my tongue,
Which once said what I conceived;
For it was of use bereaved,
With a cruel answer stung.
No! though tongue to roof be cleaved,
Fearing lest he chastised be;
Heart and soul do sing in me.

O fair! O sweet! when I do look on thee,
In whom all joys so well agree;
Heart and soul do sing in me.
Just accord all music makes:
In thee just accord excelleth;
Where each part in such peace dwelleth,
One of other, beauty takes.
Since then truth to all minds telleth
That in thee, lives harmony:
Heart and soul do sing in me.

O fair! O sweet! when I do look on thee,
In whom all joys so well agree;
Heart and soul do sing in me.
They that heaven have known, do say
That whoso that grace obtaineth
To see what fair sight there reigneth,
Forcèd are to sing alway.
So then, since that heaven remaineth
In thy face, I plainly see:
Heart and soul do sing in me.

O fair! O sweet! when I do look on thee,
In whom all joys so well agree;
Heart and soul do sing in me.
Sweet! think not I am at ease,
For because my chief part singeth:
This song, from death's sorrow springeth;
As to swan in last disease.
For no dumbness, nor death bringeth
Stay to true love's melody:
Heart and soul do sing in me.

These four following Sonnets were made, when his Lady had pain in her face.

THE scourge of life, and death's extreme disgrace,
The smoke of hell, the monster callèd PAIN;
Long shamed to be accurst in every place,
By them who of his rude resort complain;
Like crafty wretch, by time and travail taught,
His ugly evil in others' good to hide;
Late harbours in her face, whom Nature wrought
As Treasure House where her best gifts do bide.
And so, by privilege of sacred seat—
A seat where beauty shines, and virtue reigns—
He hopes for some small praise, since she hath great;
Within her beams, wrapping his cruel stains.
Ah, saucy PAIN! Let not thy error last.
More loving eyes she draws, more hate thou hast!

WOE! woe to me! On me, return the smart!
My burning tongue hath bred my mistress pain.
For oft, in pain, to PAIN, my painful heart,
With her due praise, did of my state complain.
I praised her eyes, whom never chance doth move;
Her breath, which makes a sour answer sweet;
Her milken breasts, the nurse of childlike love;
Her legs, O legs! Her aye well stepping feet:
PAIN heard her praise, and full of inward fire
(First sealing up my heart, as prey of his)
He flies to her; and boldened with desire,
Her face, this Age's praise, the thief doth kiss!
O PAIN! I now recant the praise I gave.
And swear she is not worthy thee to have.

THOU PAIN! the only guest of loathed CONSTRAINT,
The child of CURSE, MAN'S WEAKNESS' foster-child,
Brother to WOE, and father of COMPLAINT:
Thou PAIN! thou hated PAIN! from heaven exiled.
How hold'st thou her, whose eyes constraint doth fear?
Whom curst, do bless; whose weakness, virtues arm;
Who, other's woes and plaints can chastely bear;
In whose sweet heaven, angels of high thoughts, swarm.
What courage strange, hath caught thy caitiff heart?
Fear'st not a face that oft whole hearts devours?
Or art thou from above bid play this part,
And so no help 'gainst envy of those powers?
If thus, alas, yet while those parts have woe,
So stay her tongue, that she no more say, "No!"

AND have I heard her say, "O cruel pain!"
And doth she know what mould her beauty bears?
Mourns she, in truth; and thinks that others feign?
Fears she to feel, and feels not other's fears?
Or doth she think all pain the mind forbears;
That heavy earth, not fiery spirits may plain?
That eyes weep worse than heart in bloody tears?
That sense feels more that what doth sense contain?
No! no! She is too wise! She knows her face
Hath not such pain, as it makes others have.
She knows the sickness of that perfect place
Hath yet such health, as it my life can save.
But this she thinks, "Our pain, high cause excuseth:
Where her who should rule pain; false pain abuseth."

Translated from HORACE, *which begins* Rectius vives.

YOU better sure shall live, not evermore
Trying high seas; nor while seas rage, you flee,
Pressing too much upon ill harboured shore.

The golden mean who loves, lives safely free
From filth of foresworn house; and quiet lives,
Released from Court, where envy needs must be.

The winds most oft the hugest pine tree grieves;
The stately towers come down with greater fall;
The highest hills, the bolt of thunder cleaves.

Evil haps do fill with hope; good haps appal
With fear of change, the courage well prepared:
Foul winters, as they come; away, they shall!

Though present times and past with evils be snared,
They shall not last: with cithern, silent Muse,
APOLLO wakes; and bow, hath sometimes spared.

In hard estate; with stout show, valour use!
The same man still, in whom wise doom prevails,
In too full wind, draw in thy swelling sails!

Out of CATULLUS.

NULLI se dicit mulier mea nubere malle,
Quam mihi non si se JUPITER ipse petat,
Dicit sed mulier CUPIDO quæ dicit amanti,
In vento aut rapida scribere oportet aqua.

"UNTO nobody," my woman saith, "she had rather a wife be
Than to myself; not though JOVE grew a suitor of hers."
These be her words, but a woman's words to a love that is eager,
In wind or water's stream do require to be writ.

QUI sceptra sævus duro imperio regit,
Timet timentes, metus in authorem redit.

FAIR! seek not to be feared. Most lovely! beloved by thy servants!
For true it is, "that they fear many; whom many fear."

LIKE as the dove, which, sealed up, doth fly;
Is neither free, nor yet to service bound:
But hopes to gain some help by mounting high,
Till want of force do force her fall to ground.
Right so my mind, caught by his guiding eye,
And thence cast off, where his sweet hurt he found,
Hath never leave to live, nor doom to die;
Nor held in evil, nor suffered to be sound.
But with his wings of fancies, up he goes
To high conceits, whose fruits are oft but small;
Till wounded, blind and wearied spirit lose
Both force to fly, and knowledge where to fall.
O happy dove, if she no bondage tried!
More happy I, might I in bondage 'bide!

Sonnet by [*Sir*] E[DWARD]. D[YER].

PROMETHEUS, when first from heaven high,
He brought down fire, ere then on earth not seen;
Fond of delight, a Satyr, standing by,
Gave it a kiss, as it like sweet had been.
Feeling forthwith the other burning power,
Wood with the smart, with shouts and shrieking shrill,
He sought his ease in river, field, and bower;
But, for the time, his grief went with him still.
So, silly I, with that unwonted sight,
In human shape an Angel from above
Feeding mine eyes, the impression there did light;
That since, I run and rest as pleaseth love.
The difference is, the Satyr's lips, my heart;
He, for a while; I evermore have smart.

[*Answering Sonnet by Sir* PHILIP SIDNEY.]

A SATYR once did run away for dread,
With sound of horn, which he himself did blow:
Fearing and feared, thus from himself he fled;
Deeming strange evil in that he did not know.
Such causeless fears, when coward minds do take;
It makes them fly that which they fain would have:
As this poor beast who did his rest forsake
Thinking not "Why!" but how himself to save.
Even thus might I, for doubts which I conceive
Of mine own words, my own good hap betray:
And thus might I, for fear of "May be," leave
The sweet pursuit of my desirèd prey.
Better like I thy Satyr, dearest DYER!
Who burnt his lips to kiss fair shining fire.

MY MISTRESS lowers, and saith I do not love!
I do protest, and seek with service due,
In humble mind, a constant faith to prove:
But for all this, I cannot her remove
From deep vain thought that I may not be true.

If oaths might serve, even by the Stygian lake,
Which poets say, the gods themselves do fear,
I never did my vowèd word forsake.
For why should I; whom free choice, slave doth make?
Else what in face, than in my fancy bear.

My Muse therefore—for only thou canst tell—
Tell me the cause of this my causeless woe?
Tell how ill thought disgraced my doing well?
Tell how my joys and hopes, thus foully fell
To so low ebb, that wonted were to flow?

O this it is! The knotted straw is found!
In tender hearts, small things engender hate.
A horse's worth laid waste the Trojan ground.
A three-foot stool, in Greece, made trumpets sound.
An ass's shade, ere now, hath bred debate.

If Greeks themselves were moved with so small cause
To twist those broils, which hardly would untwine:
Should ladies fair be tied to such hard laws,
As in their moods to take a lingering pause?
I would it not. Their metal is too fine.

"My hand doth not bear witness with my heart,"
She saith, "because I make no woful lays,
To paint my living death, and endless smart."
And so, for one that felt god CUPID's dart,
She thinks I lead and live too merry days.

Are poets then, the only lovers true?
Whose hearts are set on measuring a verse;
Who think themselves well blest, if they renew
Some good old dump, that CHAUCER's mistress knew;
And use you but for matters to rehearse.

Then, good APOLLO! do away thy bow!
Take harp! and sing in this our versing time!
And in my brain some sacred humour flow,
That all the earth my woes, sighs, tears may know.
And see you not, that I fall now to rhyme!

As for my mirth—how could I but be glad
Whilst that, me thought, I justly made my boast
That only I, the only mistress had.
But now, if e'er my face with joy be clad;
Think HANNIBAL did laugh, when Carthage lost!

Sweet Lady! As for those whose sullen cheer,
Compared to me, made me in lightness found;
Who Stoic-like in cloudy hue appear;
Who silence force, to make their words more dear;
Whose eyes seem chaste, because they look on ground:
Believe them not! For physic true doth find,
Choler adust is joyed in womankind.

IN WONTED walks, since wonted fancies change,
Some cause there is, which of strange cause doth rise;
For in each thing whereto my eye doth range,
Part of my pain, me seems, engravèd lies.
The rocks, which were of constant mind the mark,
In climbing steep, now hard refusal show;

And shading woods seem now my sun to dark;
And stately hills disdain to look so low.
The restful caves, now restless visions give;
In dales, I see each way a hard ascent;
Like late mown meads, late cut from joy I live;
Alas, sweet brooks do in my tears augment.
Rocks, woods, hills, caves, dales, meads, brooks answer me:
Infected minds infect each thing they see.

IF I COULD think how these my thoughts to leave;
Or thinking still my thoughts might have good end:
If rebel sense would reason's law receive;
Or reason foiled would not in vain contend:
Then might I think what thoughts were best to think;
Then might I wisely swim, or gladly sink.

If either you would change your cruel heart;
Or cruel still, time did your beauty stain;
If from my soul, this love would once depart;
Or for my love, some love I might obtain:
Then might I hope a change or ease of mind;
By your good help, or in myself to find.

But since my thoughts in thinking still are spent,
With reason's strife, by sense's overthrow;
You fairer still, and still more cruel bent;
I loving still a love, that loveth none:
I yield and strive; I kiss and curse the pain,
Thought, reason, sense, time, you and I maintain.

A Farewell.

OFT HAVE I mused, but now at length I find
Why those that die, men say, "they do depart."
"Depart!" A word so gentle, to my mind,
Weakly did seem to paint death's ugly dart.
But now the stars, with their strange course do bind
Me one to leave, with whom I leave my heart:
I hear a cry of spirits, faint and blind,
That parting thus, my chiefest part, I part.
Part of my life, the loathed part to me,
Lives to impart my weary clay some breath:
But that good part, wherein all comforts be,
Now dead, doth show departure is a death.
Yea, worse than death! Death parts both woe and joy.
From joy I part, still living in annoy.

FINDING those beams, which I must ever love,
To mar my mind; and with my hurt, to please:
I deemed it best some absence for to prove,
If further place might further me to ease.
My eyes thence drawn, where lived all their light,
Blinded, forthwith in dark despair did lie:
Like to the mole, with want of guiding sight,
Deep plunged in earth, deprivèd of the sky.
In absence blind, and wearied with that woe;
To greater woes, by presence, I return:
Even as the fly, which to the flame doth go;
Pleased with the light, that his small corse doth burn,
Fair choice I have, either to live or die;
A blindèd mole, or else a burnèd fly!

The Seven Wonders of England.

NEAR Wilton sweet, huge heaps of stones are found,
But so confused, that neither any eye
Can count them just; nor reason, reason try,
What force brought them to so unlikely ground?

To stranger weights, my mind's waste soil is bound.
Of Passion, hills; reaching to reason's sky;
From Fancy's earth, passing all numbers bound.
Passing all guess, whence into me should fly
So mazed a mass? or if in me it grows?
A simple soul should breed so mixèd woes.

The Bruertons have a lake, which when the sun
Approaching, warms—not else; dead logs up sends
From hideous depth: which tribute, when its ends;
Sore sign it is, the lord's last thread is spun.

My lake is Sense, whose still streams never run,
But when my sun her shining twins there bends;
Then from his depth with force, in her begun,
Long drowned Hopes to watery eyes it lends:
But when that fails, my dead hopes up to take;
Their master is fair warned, his will to make.

We have a fish, by strangers much admired,
Which caught, to cruel search yields his chief part:
(With gall cut out) closed up again by art,
Yet lives until his life be new required.

A stranger fish! myself, not yet expired,
Though rapt with Beauty's hook, I did impart
Myself unto th'anatomy desired:
Instead of gall, leaving to her, my heart.
Yet lived with Thoughts closed up; till that she will
By conquest's right, instead of searching, kill.

Peak hath a cave, whose narrow entries find
Large rooms within: where drops distil amain,
Till knit with cold, though there unknown remain,
Deck that poor place with alabaster lined.

Mine Eyes the strait, the roomy cave, my Mind;
Whose cloudy Thoughts let fall an inward rain
Of Sorrow's drops, till colder Reason bind
Their running fall into a constant vein
Of Truth, far more than alabaster pure!
Which, though despised, yet still doth Truth endure.

A field there is; where, if a stake be prest
Deep in the earth, what hath in earth receipt
Is changed to stone; in hardness, cold, and weight:
The wood above, doth soon consuming rest.

The earth, her Ears; the stake is my Request:
Of which how much may pierce to that sweet seat
To Honour turned, doth dwell in Honour's nest;
Keeping that form, though void of wonted heat:
But all the rest, which Fear durst not apply;
Failing themselves, with withered conscience, die.

Of ships, by shipwreck cast on Albion's coast,
Which rotting on the rocks, their death do die;
From wooden bones and blood of pitch doth fly
A bird, which gets more life than ship had lost.

My ship, Desire; with wind of Lust long tost,
Brake on fair cliffs of Constant Chastity:
Where plagued for rash attempt, gives up his ghost;
So deep in seas of Virtue's beauties lie.
But of this death, flies up a purest Love,
Which seeming less, yet nobler life doth move.

These wonders, England breeds. The last remains.
A lady, in despite of nature, chaste;
On whom all love, in whom no love is placed;
Where fairness yields to wisdom's shortest reins.

An humble pride, a scorn that favour stains;
A woman's mould, but like an angel graced;
An angel's mind, but in a woman cast;
A heaven on earth, or earth that heaven contains.
Now thus this wonder to myself I frame;
She is the cause, that all the rest I am.

To the tune of Wilhemus van Nassau, &c.

WHo hath his fancy pleased,
With fruits of happy sight;
Let here his eyes be raised,
On Nature's sweetest light.
A light, which doth dissever
And yet unite the eyes;
A light, which dying never,
Is cause the looker dies.

She never dies, but lasteth
In life of lover's heart:
He ever dies that wasteth
In love his chiefest part.
Thus is her life still guarded
In never dying faith,
Thus is his death rewarded,
Since she lives in his death.

Look then and die! The pleasure
Doth answer well the pain.
Small loss of mortal treasure,
Who may immortal gain.
Immortal be her graces,
Immortal is her mind:
They fit for heavenly places,
This heaven in it doth bind.

But eyes these beauties see not,
Nor sense that grace descries:
Yet eyes; deprivèd be not,
From sight of her fair eyes.
Which as of inward glory
They are the outward seal;
So may they live still sorry,
Which die not in that weal.

But who hath fancies pleased
With fruits of happy sight;
Let here his eyes be raised
On Nature's sweetest light!

The smokes of Melancholy.

WHO HATH ever felt the change of love,
And known those pangs that the loosers prove,
May paint my face, without seeing me;
And write the state how my fancies be:
The loathsome buds grown on Sorrow's Tree.

But who, by hearsay speaks, and hath not fully felt
What kind of fires they be in which those spirits melt,
Shall guess, and fail, what doth displease:
Feeling my pulse; miss my disease.

O no! O no! trial only shows
The bitter juice of forsaken woes;
Where former bliss, present evils do stain:
Nay, former bliss adds to present pain;
While remembrance doth both states contain.

Come learners then to me! the model of mishap!
Engulfèd in despair! slid down from fortune's lap!
And as you like my double lot,
Tread in my steps, or follow not!

For me, alas, I am full resolved
These bands, alas, shall not be dissolved;
Nor break my word, though reward come late;
Nor fail my faith in my failing fate;
Nor change in change, though change change my state.

But always one myself, with eagle-eyed truth to fly
Up to the sun; although the sun my wings do fry:
For if those flames burn my desire,
Yet shall I die in Phœnix's fire.





HEN, to my deadly pleasure;
When, to my lively torment,
Lady! mine eyes remained
Joined, alas, to your beams.

With violence of heav'nly
Beauty tied to virtue,
Reason abash'd retired;
Gladly my senses yielded.

Gladly my senses yielding,
Thus to betray my heart's fort;
Left me devoid of all life.

They to the beamy suns went;
Where by the death of all deaths:
Find to what harm they hastened.

Like to the silly Sylvan;
Burned by the light he best liked,
When with a fire he first met.

Yet, yet, a life to their death,
Lady! you have reservèd!
Lady, the life of all love!

For though my sense be from me
And I be dead, who want sense;
Yet do we both live in you!

Turned anew, by your means,
Unto the flower that aye turns,
As you, alas, my sun bends.

Thus do I fall to rise thus,
Thus do I die to live thus,
Changed to a change, I change not.

Thus may I not be from you!
Thus be my senses on you!
Thus what I think is of you!
Thus what I seek is in you!
All what I am, it is you!

To the tune of a Neapolitan Song, which beginneth No, no, no, no.

NO, NO, no, no, I cannot hate my foe,
Although with cruel fire,
First thrown on my desire,
She sacks my rendered sprite.
For so fair a flame embraces
All the places
Where that heat of all heats springeth,
That it bringeth
To my dying heart some pleasure:
Since his treasure
Burneth bright in fairest light. No, no, no, no.

No, no, no, no, I cannot hate my foe,
Although with cruel fire,
First blown on my desire,
She sacks my rendered sprite.
Since our lives be not immortal,
But to mortal
Fetters tied, do wait the hour
Of death's power,
They have no cause to be sorry
Who with glory
End the way, where all men stay. No, no, no, no.

No, no, no, no, I cannot hate my foe,
Although with cruel fire,
First thrown on my desire,
She sacks my rendered sprite.
No man doubts; whom beauty killeth,
Fair death feeleth;
And in whom fair death proceedeth,
Glory breedeth.

So that I, in her beams dying,
Glory trying;
Though in pain, cannot complain. No, no, no, no.

To the tune of a Neapolitan Villanelle.

ALL my sense thy sweetness gained;
Thy fair hair my heart enchained;
My poor reason thy words moved,
So that thee, like heaven, I loved.

Fa la la leridan, dan dan dan deridan;
Dan dan dan deridan deridan dei.
While to my mind, the outside stood
For messengers of inward good.

Now thy sweetness sour is deemed,
Thy hair, not worth a hair esteemed,
Reason hath thy words removed,
Finding that but words they proved.

Fa la la leridan, dan dan dan deridan;
Dan dan dan deridan deridan dei.
For no fair sign can credit win,
If that the substance fail within.

No more in thy sweetness, glory!
For thy knitting hair, be sorry!
Use thy words, but to bewail thee!
That no more thy beams avail thee.
Dan, dan, [*i.e., Fa la la leridan, &c.*]
Dan, dan.
Lay not thy colours more to view!
Without the picture be found true.

Woe to me! alas, she weepeth!
Fool in me! What folly creepeth!
Was I to blaspheme enraged,
Where my soul I have engaged?
Dan, dan,
Dan, dan.
And wretched! I must yield to this;
The fault I blame, her chasteness is.

Sweetness! sweetly pardon folly!
Tie me, hair! your captive wholly!
Words! O words of heavenly knowledge!
Know my words, their faults acknowledge.
Dan, dan,
Dan, dan.
And all my life, I will confess
The less I love, I live the less.

Translated out of Diana *of* MONTEMAYOR *in Spanish, where* SIRENO, *a shepherd, pulling out a little of his mistress* DIANA'S *hair, wrapt about with green silk; who had now utterly forsaken him: to the hair, he thus bewailed himself.*

WHAT changes here, O hair!
I see? since I saw you.
How ill fits you, this green to wear,
For hope the colour due.
Indeed I well did hope,
Though hope were mixed with fear,
No other shepherd should have scope
Once to approach this hair.

Ah, hair! how many days
My DIANA made me show,
With thousand pretty childish plays,
If I wore you or no?
Alas, how oft with tears,
O tears of guileful breast!
She seemèd full of jealous fears;
Whereat I did but jest.

Tell me, O hair of gold!
If I then faulty be,
That trust those killing eyes, I would,
Since they did warrant me.
Have you not seen her mood?
What streams of tears she spent!
Till that I swear my faith so stood,
As her words had it bent.

Who hath such beauty seen
In one that changeth so?
Or where one's love so constant been,
Who ever saw such woe?
Ah hair! are you not grieved?
To come from whence you be:
Seeing how once you saw I lived;
To see me, as you see?

On sandy bank, of late,
I saw this woman sit,
Where "Sooner die, than change my state,"
She, with her finger, writ.
Thus my belief was stayed.
"Behold love's mighty hand
On things," were by a woman said,
And written in the sand.

The same SIRENO *in* MONTEMAYOR *holding hi mistress's glass before her; looking upon her, while sh viewed herself; thus sang:*

OF THIS high grace, with bliss conjoined,
No further debt on me is laid;
Since that in selfsame metal coined
Sweet lady! you remain well paid.
For if my place give me great pleasure,
Having before me Nature's treasure;
In face and eyes unmatched being:
You have the same in my hands, seeing
What in your face, mine eyes do measure.

Nor think the match unev'nly made,
That of those beams in you do tarry!
The glass to you, but gives a shade;
To me, mine eyes the true shape carry.
For such a thought most highly prized,
Which ever hath love's yoke despised,
Better than one captived perceiveth.
Though he the lively form receiveth;
The other sees it but disguised.

RING out your bells! let mourning shows be spread,
For LOVE is dead.
All love is dead, infected
With the plague of deep disdain;
Worth as nought worth rejected,
And faith, fair scorn doth gain.
From so ungrateful fancy,
From such a female frenzy,
From them that use men thus,
Good Lord deliver us!

Weep! neighbours, weep! Do you not hear it said
That LOVE is dead.
His deathbed, peacock's Folly;
His winding sheet is Shame;
His will, False Seeming wholly;
His sole executor, BLAME.
From so ungrateful fancy,
From such a female frenzy,
From them that use men thus,
Good Lord deliver us!

Let *dirige* be sung, and trentals rightly read,
For LOVE is dead.
Sir WRONG his tomb ordaineth,
My mistress' marble heart;
Which epitaph containeth
"Her eyes were once his dart."
From so ungrateful fancy,
From such a female frenzy,
From them that use men thus,
Good Lord deliver us!

Alas, I lie. Rage hath this error bred.
LOVE is not dead.
LOVE is not dead, but sleepeth
In her unmatchèd mind:
Where she his counsel keepeth,
Till due deserts she find.
Therefore from so vile fancy,
To call such wit a frenzy:
Who love can temper thus,
Good Lord deliver us!

THOU blind man's mark! thou fool's self-chosen snare!
Fond fancy's scum! and dregs of scattered thought!
Band of all evils! cradle of causeless care!
Thou web of will! whose end is never wrought.
DESIRE! DESIRE! I have too dearly bought,
With price of mangled mind, thy worthless ware!
Too long! too long asleep thou hast me brought!
Who should my mind to higher things prepare;
But yet in vain, thou hast my ruin sought!
In vain, thou mad'st me to vain things aspire!
In vain, thou kindlest all thy smoky fire!
For virtue hath this better lesson taught.
Within myself, to seek my only hire:
Desiring nought, but how to kill DESIRE.

LEAVE me, O love! which reachest but to dust!
And thou, my mind! aspire to higher things!
Grow rich in that, which never taketh rust!
Whatever fades, but fading pleasure brings.
Draw in thy beams, and humble all thy might
To that sweet yoke, where lasting freedoms be!
Which breaks the clouds, and opens forth the light
That doth both shine, and give us sight to see.
O take fast hold! Let that light be thy guide!
In this small course which birth draws out to death:
And think how evil becometh him to slide,
Who seeketh heaven, and comes of heavenly breath!
Then farewell, world! Thy uttermost I see!
Eternal Love, maintain Thy love in me!

Splendidis longum valedico nugis.

Sir WALTER RALEIGH.

Opening of his History of the World.

[*History of the World.* 1614.]

GOD, WHOM the wisest acknowledge to be a Power ineffable, and Virtue infinite; a Light, by abundant clarity invisible; an Understanding, which itself can only comprehend; an Essence eternal and spiritual, of absolute pureness and simplicity; was and is pleased to make Himself known by the Work of the World. In the wonderful magnitude whereof (all which He embraceth, filleth, and sustaineth) we behold the Image of that Glory which cannot be measured; and withal, that one and yet universal Nature, which cannot be defined. In the glorious lights of heaven, we perceive a shadow of His Divine Countenance. In His merciful provision for all that live, His manifold goodness. And lastly, in creating and making existent the World Universal by the absolute art of His own word, His Power and Almightiness.

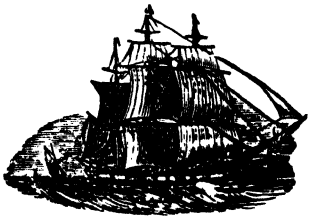
Which Power, Light, Virtue, Wisdom, and Goodness being all but attributes of one simple Essence, and one GOD; we, in all, admire, and in part discern, *per speculum creaturarum*: that is, in the disposition, order, and variety of Celestial and Terrestrial bodies. Terrestrial, in their strange and manifold diversities; Celestial, in their beauty and magnitude; which, in their continual and contrary motions, are neither repugnant, intermixed, nor confounded. By these potent effects, we approach to the knowledge of the omnipotent Cause; and by these motions, their Almighty Maker.

A Fight at Sea,

Famously fought by the *Dolphin* of London against Five of the Turks' Men of War and a Sattee, the 12 of January last 1616[-17]; being all vessels of great burden, and strongly manned.

Wherein is showed the noble worth and brave resolution of our English Nation.

Written and set forth by one of the same Voyage that was then present, and an Eye Witness to all the proceedings.



Printed at London for *Henry Gosson*, dwelling upon London Bridge. 1617.

A FIGHT AT SEA, famously fought by the *Dolphin* of London, against Five of the Turks' Men of War

THE MAGNANIMITY and worthy resolution of this our English Nation, from time to time, endureth the true touch and trials of the sea, in deep extremity; whereby other countries not only admire thereat, but tie to the same a deserved commendation. Amongst many other such like adventures, I am emboldened to commit to your censure the accidents of this our late voyage and return from *Zante* into England: which happened as here followeth.

Having at *Zante*, at the end of this last year, finished our business, and ladened our ship for England, being named the *Dolphin* of London, of the burden of 280 tons or thereabouts; having in the same, some nineteen pieces of ordnance and nine murderers [*carronades firing bullets or murdering-shot, to sweep the decks when men enter*]; manned with thirty-six men and two boys; the Master thereof, one Master NICHOLS, a man of much skill and proved experience: who, making for England; we came from *Zante* the 1st of January, 1617, the wind being north and by east.

When with a prosperous gale, by the 8th day we had sight of the island of Sardinia; the wind being then come westerly. The 9th, in the morning, we stood in for Callery [?*Cagliari*]: and at noon, the wind being southerly, we came close by the Towers; where, some two leagues off, we made the fight.

Which day, at night, the wind growing calm, we sailed towards the Cape. The 10th day, we had a very little wind or none at all, till it was two o'clock in the afternoon; which drave us some three leagues eastward from Cape Pola [? *Pula*].

Where we espied a fleet of ships upon the main of Sardinia, near unto a road called Callery, belonging to the King of Spain; being the 12th of January [1617]. On which day, in the morning's watch, we had sight of a sail making from the shore towards us; which drave into our minds some doubt and fear: and coming near unto us, we espied it to be a Sattee, which is a ship much like unto an Argosy, of a very great burden and bigness.

Which perceiving, we imagined some more ships not to be far off. Whereupon our Master sent one of our company up into the maintop: where he discovered five sail of ships, one after another, coming up before the wind, being then at west-south-west. Who, in a prospect glass [*telescope*], perceived them to be the Turks' Men of War. The first of them booming [*in full sail*] by himself before the wind; with his flag in the maintop, and all his sails gallantly spread abroad. After him, came the Admiral and Vice-Admiral; and after them, two more, the Rear-Admiral and his fellow. Being five in number, all well prepared for any desperate assault.

Whereupon, we immediately made ready our ordnance and small shot [*musketry*]; and with no little resolution prepared ourselves to withstand them. Which being done, we went to prayer; and so to dinner: where our Master gave us such noble encouragement, that our hearts ever thirsted to prove the success.

And being in readiness for the fight, our Master went upon the poop, and waved his sword three times; shaking it with such dauntless courage, as if he had already won the victory. This being done, we seconded him with like forwardness. Whereupon he caused his trumpets to sound; which gave us more encouragement than before.

Being within shot of them, our Master commanded his Gunner to make his level and to shoot: which he did, but missed them all. At which, the foremost of them bore up apace, for he had the wind of us; and returned as good as we sent. So betwixt us, for a great time, was a most fierce encounter; and having the advantage of us by reason of the wind, about eleven or twelve o'clock they laid us aboard with one of their ships, which was of 300 tons or thereabouts. She had in her thirty-five pieces of ordnance, and about 250 men: the Captain whereof was one WALSINGHAM, who seemed, by his name, to be an Englishman; and was Admiral of the fleet, for so it signified by the flag in his maintop.

Having, as I said, boarded our ship, he entered on the larboard quarter: where his men, some with sabels, which we call falchions, some with hatchets, and some with half-pikes, stayed some half hour or thereabouts, tearing up our nail boards [*deck planks*] upon the poop, and the trap hatch: but we having a murtherer in the round house [*Captain's cabin*] kept the larboard side clear: whilst our other men with the ordnance and muskets played upon their ships. Yet for all this, they paid our gallery with small shot, in such sort that we stood in danger to yield.

But, at last, we shot them quite through and through, and they us likewise: but they being afraid they should have been sunk by us, bore ahead of our ship; and as he passed along we gave them a broadside, that they were forced to lay by the lee, and to mend their leaks.

This fight continued two hours by our [hour] glass, and better; and so near the shore, that the dwellers thereupon saw all the beginning and ending, and what danger we stood in. For upon the shore, stood a little house, wherein was likewise turned a glass all the time during the fight; which measured the hours as they passed.

And this was WALSINGHAM's part.

Now for Captain KELLEY's ship, which came likewise up with his flag in the maintop, and another ship with his flag in the foretop: which ships were at least 300 tons a piece; and had in each of them twenty-five pieces of ordnance, and about 250 men.

So they laid us aboard, one on the starboard quarter, and the other on the larboard: where entering our ship thick

and threefold, with their scimitars, hatchets, half-pikes, and other weapons, put us in great danger both of the loss of our ship and our lives: for they performed much manhood, and many dangerous hazards.

Amongst which, there was one of their company that desperately went up into our maintop to fetch down our flag; which being spied by the Steward of our ship, he presently shot him with his musket that he fell headlong into the sea, leaving the flag behind him.

So these two ships fought us with great resolution, playing upon us with their ordnance and small shot for the space of an hour and a half; of whom we received some hurt, and likewise they of us. But when they saw they could not prevail, nor any way make us to yield; they bore up and passed from us, to lay their ships by the lee to stop their leaks: for we had grievously torn and battered them with our great ordnance.

This was the second attempt they made upon us. Now for the third.

There came two more of Captain KELLEY's ships, of 250 tons a piece, that in each of them had twenty-two pieces of ordnance; and at the least 200 men, as well provided as might be. Which was, as we thought, too great a number for us, being so few in our ship; but GOD, that was our friend, gave us such strength and success that they little prevailed against us.

For at their first coming up, notwithstanding all their multitude of men, we shot one of them quite through and through; and laid him likewise by the lee, as we had done the others before. But the other ship remaining, laid us aboard on the starboard side, and in that quarter they entered our ship with scimitars, falchions, half-pikes, and other weapons, running to and fro upon the deck, crying still, in the Turkish tongue, "Yield yourselves!" "Yield yourselves!" promising that we should be well used, and have part of our goods delivered back; with such like fair promises.

But we, giving no ear unto them, stood stiffly in our defence, choosing rather to die than to yield, as it is still the nature and condition of all Englishmen; and being thus resolved, some of our men plied our ordnance against them,

some played with the small shot, some with other weapons, as swords and half pikes and the like. In the midst of which skirmish, it so happened, by ill chance, that our ship was fired, and in great danger to be lost and cast away: had not the LORD, in His mercy, preserved us; and sent us means happily to quench it.

But now mark the accident! The fire being perceived by our enemies to burn outrageously, and thinking that our ship would have therewith been suddenly burned to the water: they left us to our fortunes, falling astern from us.

So we put to the shore under the little house, for some succour; where we let an anchor fall, thinking to ride there all night: but we saw another ship bear upon us; whereupon we were sore frighted, and so forced to let our anchor slip, and so set sail to get better succour, putting into the road between the two little houses; where we lay five days, mending the bruises and leaks of our ship.

The losses we received in the aforesaid fight were six men and one boy; and there were hurt eight men and one boy more: but the LORD doth know what damage we put them to; and what number we slew in their ships.

The Master of our ship being at the helm was shot twice betwixt the legs. The Surgeon dressing the wounds of one of our men, a ball of wild-fire fell into his basin; which he suddenly cast into the sea, otherwise it had greatly endangered us.

The Turks were aboard, and sound their trumpets; yet, notwithstanding, our men assaulted them so fiercely that they forced them off: and the Boatswain, seeing them fly, most undauntedly with a whistle blowed them to the skirmish, if so they durst.

The Captains of three of their ships were Englishmen; who took part with the Turks thus to rob and spoil upon the ocean. Their names were WALSINGHAM, KELLEY, and SAMPSON.

Upon the 13th of January, there came aboard certain Spaniards, in the morning betimes; who, seeing our dead men, went ashore with us, and showed us where we might bury them. But as we were busy in making their graves, and covering the bodies with earth; there came sailing by a Flemish ship of 240 tons, which had in it some £5,000 or

£6,000 [=£25,000 *in present value*], which had been chased by those Men of War that had fought with us before. All which money they brought in a long boat to the shore, and left in the ship only the men, which were sixteen sailors and two boys; that afterwards, within two days, brought the said ship into the road, not anything at all endangered, GOD be praised!

Upon the 15th of the same month, when we came from the burying of our men, and had rested ourselves in our ship some two or three hours; as GOD would have it, the wind began to blow a strong gale, and by little and little grew to a terrible tempest: through which, from Sunday night [? 19th] till Friday [? 24th] in the evening, we lay in such extremity of weather, as rain, wind, lightning and thunder, as we thought we should never have got clear from the road where we lay. During which storm, there died one of our men that had been hurt in the fight: whose body we cast overboard into the sea, without any other burial.

So when the wind and sea a little calmed, we set up sail and came forward: but with three days, after we buried three men more in the sea.

And the same afternoon [? 27th] we arrived in the road of Callery [*Cagliari*], and lay at anchor: where again searching our ship, we found it rent and torn in four several places; one in the gun room, another between the decks, the third in the skereridge [? *steerage*], and the fourth in the Master's roundhouse.

So in Callery, we mended our ship; and hired certain men there to help us to stop her leaks: and having all things most fitting for our voyage homewards; upon the 30th of January, we committed our fortunes again unto the sea. And so leaving Callery, we came forward, with a Frenchman who was bound to a place called Oristano, some thirty leagues from Callery; where, after two days, we left his company; being the 1st of February.

And after that, putting forward still towards England, we are now, by the will of GOD, most safely arrived; and our ship, after so many overpassed dangers, received into the Thames, near London: to the great joy and comfort of the owners thereof.

GOD be praised!

ABRAHAM COWLEY.

DAVID's serenade to MICHAL, the daughter of King SAUL.

[*Davideis.* A sacred poem of the Troubles of DAVID, Book III.? 1660.]

I.



WAKE, awake, my lyre!
And tell thy silent master's humble tale,
In sounds that may prevail;
Sounds that gentle thoughts inspire.
Though so exalted she,
And I so lowly be,
Tell her, such different notes make all thy harmony!

II.

Hark, how the strings awake!
And though the moving hand approach not near;
Themselves with awful fear,
A kind of numerous trembling make.
Now all thy forces try!
Now all thy charms apply!
Revenge upon her ear, the conquests of her eye!

III.

Weak lyre! Thy virtue sure
Is useless here. Since thou art only found
To cure, but not to wound;
And she to wound, but not to cure.
Too weak too, wilt thou prove,
My passion to remove;
Physic to other ills, thou'rt nourishment to love!

IV.

Sleep, sleep again, my lyre!
For thou can'st never tell my humble tale
In sounds that will prevail;
Nor gentle thoughts in her inspire.
All thy vain mirth lay by!
Bid thy strings silent lie!
Sleep, sleep again, my lyre! and let thy master die!

Captain ROBERT HITCHCOCK of Caversfield.

The English Army Rations in the time of Queen ELIZABETH.

[An Appendix to W. GARRARD's *The Art of War*. 1591.]

As we have seen, at *p.* 164, that Captain HITCHCOCK served under the Emperor CHARLES V. in 1553; he must have been an old and experienced Officer, when drawing up this Proportion. Berwick-upon-Tweed was the principal Fortress, the Portsmouth of England, down to the accession of JAMES I. HITCHCOCK tells us at *p.* 215, that he was also there in 1551, in command of 200 Pioneers.



OR THAT there hath somewhat been said touching Towns of War and fortifications, soldiers of judgement do know that a place besieged by the power of a mighty Prince, cannot long endure, without there be within the same, a sufficient number of men, munition, and victuals. When any of these three things lack, the enemy will soon have the place besieged. Therefore the said Captain HITCHCOCK, *who hath been the cause of printing this book,* Of War, *doth think it good, to join to the same work, this short Discourse, which declareth what Proportion of victuals will serve* 1,000 *soldiers in a garrison, where the victuals must be provided by Her Majesty's Victualler. As for example, we will make our Proportion for Berwick; wherein I will show*

how the Chief Victualler's and the Petty Victuallers' gains and profits shall rise; that men may look therein, whereby all doubts and questions that may grow for that service shall be avoided: and the garrison, at all times, well furnished with things necessary and needful for victualling of one thousand soldiers; and after that proportion, as the number shall fall out, more or less.

Within this General Proportion hereafter, I do declare first for bread and beer, the bakehouse and brewhouse; the grayners [granaries] *for store; the windmills, the horse mills, with their implements; the caske, and other necessary things; the charges of men, horses, and carriages to the same belonging; with their wages and allowance for their travail and service. How this Proportion is to be provided, used, delivered, and spent? in reading over this little work following, you shall find very short and plain.*

ROBERT HITCHCOCK.

[All the prices in the following General Proportion should be multiplied by 5 or 6, to give present value.]

A General Proportion and order of provision for a year of three hundred, three score and five days, to victual a Garrison of one thousand soldiers.

The Order for the Bakehouse.

THE SOLDIERS having one pound and a half of good wheaten bread for one penny, or one pound and a half of good white bread for one penny halfpenny; the Bakers to answer for every Quarter of wheat (being sweet, good, and merchantable, delivered at Berwick) at 20s. a quarter. Clear of all charges and waste, which happeneth afterwards by keeping the grayners [*granaries*]; or any other (except casualty of the enemy) after the delivery thereof.

Necessaries and implements, wood, wages of clerks, bakers millers, carters, labourers, or any other, for the bakehouses windmills, grayners, or carriage of provision, and for horse and carts for the same are to be found by this rate and [as]size of bread, without any other allowance to be demanded saving for waste, and charges of as much wheat as the use of baking shall be otherwise employed, than to be delivered in bread by them, who were charged with the receipt from the ships and keeping the grayners of the same.

The bakehouses, windmills, and grayners being furnished with implements and necessaries at the entrance into service and in good order of reparation, are so to be maintained and kept, in and by all things, except casualty of the enemy. And are to be delivered at the departure from service, in as good order and furniture of all things as they were first received.

And considering the charge to maintain the bakehouse with the appurtenances and allowance to the Petty Victualler of the Garrison, after 21 loaves of bread for 20. A Quarter of good wheat will make in good bread (by order of this book) 25s.; so have ye of every Quarter for charges 5s., and after four quarters the day, for the whole year £36

That is to say, for wood to bake a Quarter of meal in loaf bread 16d., and after four Quarters the day for a year. SUM ... . £97 6s. 8d.

And for this reparation of the bakehouse and the appurtenances yearly £50

Wages and victuals of two clerks, two millers, four bakers, and four labourers yearly £150

Maintenance of horse for carriage in this charge yearly, [is] ... ... £72 13s. 4d.

All these allowances are found in the [as]size of bread, besides the bran.

The whole Garrison, being as before 1,000 soldiers, will spend four Quarters of wheat a day; and for the whole year 1,460 Quarters. Although, by order, this number will serve, yet Provision to be at the least in wheat for bread 2,000 Quarters for the provision.

I account that good wheat may be bought, with ready money, by former bargains [*contracts*] for seven years together, for 13s. 4d. the Quarter in Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, and Lincolnshire. To account the charges of a Quarter, from the place where it was bought to Berwick, at 3s. 4d.: that is to say, where they send it down in keels [*barges*] to give for keeling [*barging*] of a Quarter 4d.; for freight of a Quarter to Berwick, 16d.; and for the Purveyor's charges for mats, or any other outlay of a Quarter 20d.

And in other meet places, where the freight is greater; the other charges are the less; so as [*that*] it may be done for the price.

I have made no mention of waste, which is to be borne by the over measure: being bought for ready money, by former bargains; except shipwreck and casualty of the enemy.

So I account wheat to be delivered at Berwick, clear of all charges and freight, at 16s. 8d. the Quarter, one time with another, as before.

And where the baker alloweth to deliver in bread for every quarter of good wheat, 20s. clear of all charges and waste, after the delivery thereof at Berwick: by this order of provision, the waste, freight, and all other charges allowed, except casualty of the enemy and shipwreck; there remaineth profit in every Quarter, 3s. 4d.

SUM ... ...£243 6s. 8d.

These may suffice for the order of the bakehouse for bread, and provision of corn for the same: saving there is to be considered to have in store, at all times, in wood 200 load, every three months to be renewed; to every mill, a pair of spare stones; and timber for reparation. All implements and necessaries to be double furnished for the said charge; and for the horses and carts of the same.

Certain notes for Wheat Meal and Bread.

A BUSHEL of good Wheat Meal, as it cometh from the mill, and weighing 56 lbs., will make in Household Bread 72 lbs.; so that it will take in liquor (beside that which is dried in [the] baking), being weighed within twenty-four hours after the baking, 16 lbs.: that is, for 7 lbs. of Meal, 9 lbs. of Bread.

Take 7 lbs. of bran out of a bushel of good Meal, weighing 56 lbs., and the 49 lbs. remaining will make in good Wheaten Bread 63 lbs.; and that paste will make in Ordinary Biscuit, being converted to that use, 42 lbs. And taking $3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. more of bran from the said Meal; the $45\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. remaining will make in White Bread 42 lbs., or in White Biscuits 28 lbs.

A bushel of wheat, weighing but 52 lbs. to the mill; if you will make it equal with good Meal, take out of the same 10 lbs. of bran; and the 42 lbs. remaining will make in Wheaten Bread 54 lbs., or in Ordinary Biscuit 36 lbs.; that is, of a Quarter of such wheat 202 lbs.[!] (8 lbs. taken out of the same for grinding), and it will make but $200\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. [!] Ordinary Biscuit; except you take out less bran, and make coarser bread than the ordinary use of the same.

The lighter wheat, the coarser, and more bran; and there is worse wheat than here is mentioned: the heavier wheat, the finer meal and less bran: and there is better also than is here declared.

Some wheat will weigh more than the above weight in a Quarter, 14 lbs., and some 28 lbs. So of light wheat the baker maketh coarse bread, and to small profit; and of good weighty wheat, fair bread, to the baker's honesty and profit.

Because diversity of measures should be avoided, there is considered for waste in provision[ing], the over measure: and for waste in the graynars, the mills to be a parcel of

the bakehouse, so that the baker to answer that waste as before.

Thus much is declared for wheat, and the bakers in their charge.

The order for the Brewhouse.

THE BREWER delivering Double Beer at thirty shillings the tun, the soldier to have a Wine Quart for a halfpenny: and delivering Strong Beer at forty-eight shillings the tun, the soldier to have a Wine Quart for three farthings. And the brewers to allow the Officers for every Quarter of malt 13s. 4d., and for every Quarter of wheat 20s. Clear of all charges and waste in the garners [*granaries*] after the delivery of the same at Berwick from aboard the ships, except casualty of the enemy.

Necessaries and implements, wood and coal, wages of clerks, brewers, millers, coopers, carters, and labourers for the brewhouse, the appurtenances and carriage of provision with horses and carts for the same, hops and beercorn, caske and hoops, or any other necessaries, are to be found by this rate and price of beer, without any other allowance: saving waste and charges of as much malt, wheat, beercorn, or caske, as shall be otherwise employed than with beer; to be delivered by those which were charged with the receipt and carriage from the ships, and keeping the garners of the same.

The brewhouses, horse mills, garners, and storehouses for this charge, being furnished with implements and necessaries, and in good order of reparation at the entrance into service; are so to be maintained and kept in and by all things, except casualty of the enemy: and to be delivered at the departure from service in as good order and furniture of all things, as they were received, without any other allowance than [16*d. the tun, see p.* 214.] for carriage of beer to the Petty Victuallers, as hath been, and is at Berwick accustomed.

If there should be demanded any greater price for malt, then must the beer be smaller [*weaker*], and the water, the brewer's friend for gain, to maintain his charge.

And for that I have considered the great charges of the appurtenances before declared, I have rated both kinds of

beer by the tun in proportion; and how allowance is found for the maintenance of the same.

Double Beer, in proportion by the Tun.

	£	s.	d.
TO EVERY tun in malt, 10 bushels; and half a bushel allowance for waste in the garners; at 13s. 4d. the Quarter	0	17	6
In wheat, 1 bushel	0	2	6
In oats, half a bushel	0	0	5
In hops, 7 lbs., at 20s. a hundred[weight]	0	1	3
Wood and coals, to every tun	0	1	8
Reparation of the houses; implements, necessaries, and waste of caske	0	2	2
Maintenance of men for the said charge, allowed of [*on*] every tun	0	3	4
Maintenance of horses to the mills, and carts for carriage of provision	0	1	2
So have ye the Tun of Double Beer at	£1	10	0

Strong Beer, in proportion by the Tun.

	£	s.	d.
TO EVERY tun in malt, two quarters; and three pecks allowance for waste in the garners;	1	8	0
In wheat, two bushels	0	5	0
In oats, one bushel	0	0	10
In hops, 7½ lbs	0	1	6
Wood and coal, to every ton	0	2	6
Reparations of the houses, implements, necessaries, and waste of casks	0	3	4
Maintenance of men for the said charge, allowed of every tun	0	5	0
Maintenance of horses to the mills, and carts for carriage of provision	0	1	10
So ye have the Tun of Strong Beer, as appeareth at	£2	8	0

The proportion for 600 common soldiers a year in Double Beer, after the order of this book, 456 tuns, in hogsheads.

The proportion for 400 of greater allowance a year in Strong Beer, after the order of this book, 304 tuns, in barrels. SUMMA, 760 tuns, in hogsheads and barrels.

	£	s.	d.
By these proportions of Beer, there is considered for wood and coal	76	0	10
Reparation of the appurtenances, and the waste of the caske	100	2	4½
For maintenance of two clerks, four brewers, one miller, two coopers, and four labourers... ...	152	1	8
Maintenance of horses to the mills, and carts for carriage of provision; besides the Yeast and Grains...	54	9	7½
So have ye for maintenance of the said charge found in the Rate and Price of Beer	382	14	6
And more by the Petty Victuallers, for carriage of beer, 16d. the tun; used of custom	50	13	10
SUMMA for maintenance of the brewhouses and the appurtenances, as appeareth	£433	8	4

And there appeareth also by the said Proportions, wheat, store of corn and hops, will serve the same, as followeth.

In Malt for Double Beer, at ten bushels to the tun, 570 Quarters 2½ bushels. Allowance for waste, 28½ Quarters.

In Malt for Strong Beer, at two Quarters to the tun, 608 qrs. 2½ bushels. Allowance for waste, 30 qrs. 3 bushels.

SUMMA in malt, 1,237½ quarters.

In Wheat to both proportions, as appeareth, 133 Quarters and half a bushel.

In Oats, 66 Quarters 4 bushels.

In Hops, 5,472 lbs.; besides the weight of the hop sacks.

And notwithstanding this Proportion of malt, wheat, and hops will serve the like garrison: yet, considering the place, the Provision to be yearly in malt 2,000 Quarters, in wheat for beer, 250 Quarters, in oats, 150 Quarters; and in good hops 8,000 lbs. in weight.

In Coal[s], as a continual store, every three months to be renewed ... ... 200 chaldron.

Spare stones to the horse mills.
Double furniture of necessaries for the brewhouses, horse mills, and garners.
Double furniture of necessaries for the horses and carts.
To have in store of good caske, serviceable for beer, besides that which is daily occupied ... ... 100 tun.
In good clapboard... ... ... two great hundred [? 240]
In wainscots 200
In spruce deals 200
In seasoned tun-staves 200
In hoops, as a continual store to be renewed, 30,000 or 40,000.
In good iron ... ... four tons.

Although some of these are of small value, yet are they not to be spared, nor easily to be had in time of service; and therefore to be considered.

All such provision, with Brewhouse, Bakehouse, and Graneries, I have seen in the palace at Berwick, the fifth year of King EDWARD VI. [1551]. I then having the charge of 200 Pioneers, in the fortifications there [*See Vol. III. p. 76.*]

For Provision.

COUNT good malt may be bought in Cambridgeshire, and such parts of Norfolk where the malt is very good, and in Lincolnshire; for seven years together, by former bargains, for ready money, at 6s. 8d. the Quarter.

As for wheat for this charge, [it] is to be had in all places; and oats also. Coarse wheat will serve for beer, so that the best be reserved for bread. And wheat that hath taken heat in the carriage, not being wet with salt water, will serve for this charge to be occupied [*employed*] with other that is good.

I rate the charges of provision, freight, waste, and all others, except casualty of the enemy, at 3s. 4d. the Quarter, as before in the charge of the Bakehouse: so that malt may be delivered at Berwick, clear of all charges, one time with another, at 10s. the Quarter.

There appeareth to be allowed by the brewer for every Quarter of malt, 13s. 4d.; and for every Quarter of wheat 20s., clear of all charges and waste, after the delivery thereof from

aboard the ships at Berwick, except casualty of the enemy, being employed for beer, delivered in service.

And by the order of provision, the freight, waste, and all other charges cleared, to be profit in every Quarter of malt and wheat employed as before, except casualty of the enemy and shipwreck, 3s. 4d. ... ... SUM ... £228 8s. 4d.

As I have declared great difference in the goodness of wheat, so is there in malt much more. For the common malt of Norfolk is not to be compared to good malt, by four Quarters in every twenty Quarters. And malt that is full of weevils, and wood-dried malt will make unsavoury drink to those that are used to drink beer or ale made with straw dried malt. Yet in time of great service [*exigency*] both Norfolk malt and wood-dried malt will serve with other good malt; and make good drink also to serve the time.

Thus for causes of service of Bread and Beer, I have sufficiently proved, in these few lines declared, and the charges of the same in all points considered. Adding thereunto, a Proportion for the rest of the victualling of such a Garrison.

Provision of Beef, by proportion.

THAT is to say, the whole Garrison, by this order, will spend in beef 12 cwt. a day for 100 days= 300 oxen containing 4 cwt. every ox.

And for the said service there, they may be bought in Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Lancashire, the Bishopric of Durham, and delivered at Berwick alive, clear of all charges, for £3 every ox, those that are good, fat, and so large that the carcases do weigh every quarter round, 15 stone, at 8 lbs. to the stone [120 *lbs.*], the one with the other.

Whereof to be allowed for the hide, offal, and tallow, 15s; and so of all other oxen, after the rate the fourth part the same did cost alive, either of small or great; having license to transport the hides over sea, to be sold to most advantage.

And rating allowance for looking to the pastures, for killing, dressing, and cutting out of every such ox, 23d. yet remaineth profit in the ox by this order, 6s. 8d. a piece.

SUM for the whole proportion ... ... £100.

Provision of Mutton, by proportion.

IN MUTTON also, for fifty days, 12 cwt. a day, rating the carcase of a sheep about 45 lbs., the one with the other; that is 30 sheep a day, in all 1,500 sheep.

Such sheep, being fat and good, are to be bought in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, and Derbyshire; and delivered at Berwick alive for 6s. 8d. a sheep; clear of all charges.

Whereof to be allowed 20d. for the skin, offal, and tallow: having licence to transport the fells [*skins*], to be sold, as before, to most advantage. And rating allowance for looking to the pastures, killing and dressing of every such sheep, 4d.; and yet remaineth profit in every of the like sheep 16d.

SUM for the whole proportion £100

Provision of Pork, by proportion.

IN PORK also, for thirty-two days, 15 cwt. a day, the which I rate at 15 hogs, and in all 480 hogs: whereof the two sides of every hog to weigh, besides the offal, 1 cwt.

Such hogs are to be bought in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Yorkshire, and delivered at Berwick alive, being good, clean, and fat, for 8s. 4d. a hog; clear of all charges.

Whereof to be allowed for the offal of every such hog, 12d. And rating allowance for looking to them, killing, scalding, and dressing of every hog, 8d., and yet remaineth profit in every such hog, 2s.

SUM for the whole proportion... ... ... £48

Notwithstanding this Proportion, yet the store of oxen to be 400; with 2,000 sheep; and 800 hogs, whereof 300 to be made into bacon, as parcel of a good store. And always to have at Berwick 100 oxen and 500 sheep; and the rest in good pasture within thirty or forty miles, ready to serve at all times: and the hogs also in convenient place for the same.

Provision of Fish, by proportion.



N STOCK FISH for 52 Wednesdays, two meals, and half service; for 52 Fridays, one meal, and whole service: 300 stockfishes a day. In all the whole, 26 lasts, 1,200, after five score the hundred to every last.

The same are to be delivered at Berwick, clear of all charges, for £13 6s. 8d. the last. And rating allowance for beating, and keeping the store of every last, 30s.; and yet remaineth profit in every last (by order of this book), as in a Proportion for the Twentieth part of the Garrison hereafter following may appear [*see p.* 223], £5 3s. 4d.

SUM for the whole Proportion... ... ... £133 3s. 4d.

In Shetland Ling, every ling to be rated at two stockfishes; for 26 Saturdays, thirteen days in Lent, and one day in Rogation week, half service, forty days; 150 a day, which maketh, after six score to the hundred, and 4 lings to the pay, 5,000 ling: which are to be delivered at Berwick, clear of all charges, for 50s. the 100; and rating allowance to the keepers of the store, of every 100, three shillings and four pence; and yet remains profit of every 100 (by order of this book), as in the Soldiers' Proportion at large appeareth, 16s. 8d.

SUM for the whole Proportion ... ... £41 13s. 4d.

In Shetland Cod, rated at a stockfish and a half, for 26 Saturdays, 12 days in Lent, and one day in Rogation week, half service, 39 days, 225 fishes a day; which maketh, after six score to the hundred: and 4 pay fishes, 7,315 fishes: which are to be delivered at Berwick, clear of all charges, for 30s. the hundred. And rating allowance to the keepers of the store, of every hundred, two shillings; and yet remaineth profit in every hundred, by this order, 8s.

SUM for the whole Proportion ... ... £29 4s. 1½d.

And where these Porportions of fish (by the order of this book), allowed to the soldiers, will serve: yet the yearly provision, with the remainder to be, in Stock Fish, 40 last; 7,500 Ling, and 10,000 Cod.

Provision of Butter and Cheese.

IN BUTTER, for 52 Wednesdays, half service, 300 lbs. a day; 52 Saturdays, 25 days in Lent, and two days in Rogation week, quarter service, 79 days, 150 lbs. a day, in all 27,350 lbs.; which maketh in barrels, after 52½ lbs. to every firkin, 130 barrels.

The same may be bought in Holderness, in Yorkshire and in Suffolk, once a year, for 40s. the barrel [=*about* 2¼d. *a lb.*]: and rating the charges of provision and carriage to the water at 20d. the barrel; for freight to Berwick, every barrel 20d.; and rating allowance to the keepers of the store of every barrel 20d.: and yet remaineth profit of every barrel, 25s.

SUM for the whole proportion ... ... £162 16s. 3d.

In Cheese, for 52 Saturdays, 25 days in Lent, and two days in Rogation week, quarter service, 300 lbs. a day; in all 23,700 lbs. and maketh in weys, considering the allowance of 16 lbs. [*in the Suffolk Wey of* 256 *lbs.*] to the Petty Victuallers for the soldiers, 98¾ weys: and rating allowance for waste, one wey in every load, that is for waste, 15 wey and two odd quarters and to go in allowance of waste with the rest, which I am sure is sufficient: so that the provision to be by this order 113 weys of cheese, with the waste.

The same may be bought in Suffolk, once a year, for 20s. the wey [=*about* 2*d. a lb.*], and rating the provision and carriage to the waterside of a wey 20d., for freight to Berwick of a wey 20d., and yet remains profit of this order of a wey (allowing other 20d. to the keepers of the store) 9s. 7¼d.

And in the whole... ... ... £54 5s.

Notwithstanding that the said Proportion of Butter and Cheese will serve, according to the order of this book: yet the yearly provision to be with the remains, in butter 200 barrels, and in cheese 200 weys. And to have in store of bay salt, upon consideration of service, if it should so happen to occupy the same, 100 weys.

By this General Proportion of provision, appeareth to be maintained sufficient number of men, and also the reparation of the houses, necessaries, and all other charges for the said service at Berwick, without the Queen's Highness's charge, and also for the provision and charges of freight and other [matters] before it come to Berwick.

And to stop the mouths of those who delight to find fault in that they understand not; here followeth how the allowance is found to maintain the same. That is to say:—

	£	s.	d.
For reparation of the bakehouses, brewhouses, windmills, horse mills, garners; with the appurtenances, and waste of caske in the said charge, by this proportion	150	2	4
Wood and coal to bake and brew the said proportion	174	7	6
For horses and carts for the mills and carrying of provision, with the allowance by the Petty Victuallers, for carrying of their beer, as is accustomed	172	16	9
For maintenance of twenty-five men for the bakehouses, brewhouses, windmills, horse mills, garners, and carrying of provisions in the said charge	302	1	8
For maintenance of men in charge of the beef, mutton, and pork...	69	16	0
[Do.] in the charge of stockfish, ling, and cod ...	54	12	11
[Do.] in charge of butter and cheese, as appeareth	20	5	0
SUM	£943	9	0

All these are found, beside the provision and freight before it come to Berwick, as by the same may appear.

And the better to maintain the Chief Officer of trust, the charges before rehearsed and other unknown charges, which happeneth oftentimes in service: as also that all his said ministers and servants be not any of the number allowed for soldiers: there is considered for profit:—

	£	s.	d.
In wheat for bread, as in the charge of the bakehouse appeareth	243	6	8
In malt and wheat for beer, as in the charge of the brewhouse appeareth	228	8	4
In beef, mutton, and pork	248	0	0
In stockfish, ling, and cod	204	4	1
In butter and cheese	217	1	3
SUM	£1,141	0	4

All these allowances are found, besides maintenance of the Petty Victuallers and their charge, as appeareth by Proportion hereafter following. And for the sum of £8,342 10s. the Officer's fee and the Soldiers' scores paid every six months, this service is to be done in every point of the same.

THE GARRISON, being one thousand soldiers, as aforesaid, whereof account six hundred common soldiers and four hundred more of greater pay, or such as make more account of themselves: and for [*in order*] that the soldiers shall not be troubled with dressing of their victuals; neither the Captain in delivering the Proportion appointed within the town of garrison: I do appoint twenty Petty Victuallers; and to every Petty Victualler, thirty common soldiers and twenty more of bigger pay, whose Proportion of victuals for a year shall hereafter appear.

The common soldier shall pay 2s. 8d. by the week, for his diet, lodging and washing; the soldier of bigger pay, at 4s. the week for his diet, lodging and washing, as hereafter followeth: wherein it doth also appear how the Petty Victuallers are considered for their charges and travail in the same, for a year of 365 days.

[Of 2s. 8d., each Common Soldier paid about 3½d. a day or 2s. a week for food; with 8d. a week for lodging and washing.
Similarly, of 4s., each Superior Soldier paid about 5¾d. a day, or 3s. 4d. a week for food; with 8d. a week for lodging and washing.]

The 30 common soldiers, to have every man a day, in wheaten bread, one pound and a half, rated at a penny: and the 20 of greater allowance, in white bread, every man a day one pound and a half, rated at three half-pence. And in in allowance to the Petty Victuallers, twenty-one loaves for twenty. These 50 soldiers' charge ... ... SUMMA...£91 5s.

The Petty Victuallers' Allowance found in the same, in vantage bread ... ... SUM...£4 11s. 3d.

The thirty common soldiers, to every man a Wine Pottle [*half a gallon = Three ordinary modern wine bottles*] of Double

Beer a day, rated at a penny. Their Proportion for a year, 22 tuns, 3 hogsh., 15 galls., delivered to the Petty Victuallers at 30s. the tun.

The twenty of greater allowance, every man a Wine Pottle of Strong Beer a day, rated at 1½d. Their Proportion for a year, 15 tuns, 1 barrel, 10 gallons; delivered to the Petty Victuallers at 48s. the tun.

These 50 soldiers' charge ... ... £91 5s.
The Petty Victuallers' sum ... ... £20 10s. 1½d.

The thirty common soldiers, in Beef, every man one pound a day, rated at 1½d. For 100 days, 3,000 lbs.; and the Petty Victuallers' allowance of every 100, twelve pounds. So is the proportion 3,000 lbs. in weight, at 12s. 6d. the hundred, in charge ... ... SUMMA...£18 15s.

The twenty [of] greater allowance, every man 1½ lbs. a day, rated as before, with like allowance. To the Petty Victuallers the proportion is 30 cwt., at 12s. 6d. the hundred.

SUMMA ... ... £18 15s.
The Petty Victuallers' Allowance in both... £4 os. 4d.

The thirty common soldiers, in Mutton, every man one pound a day, rated at two pence the lb. For 50 days, 1500 lbs. in weight; and the Petty Victuallers' allowance, of every hundredweight, twelve pounds. So is the Proportion 15 cwt., at 16s. 8d. the hundred in charge. SUMMA ...£12 10s.

The twenty of greater allowance, every man 1½ lbs. a day, rated as before, with like allowance to the Petty Victuallers. The Proportion is 1500 at 16s. 8d. the hundred in charge.

SUM ... ... £12 10s.
The Petty Victuallers' Allowance in both ... £2 13s. 8d.

The thirty common soldiers in Pork, every man 1¼ lbs. a day, rated at 1½d. For 32 days, 1200; and the Petty Victuallers, of every hundred, 12 lbs. The Proportion is 1200 weight, at 10s. the hundred. ... ... SUMMA...£6

The twenty [of] greater allowance, every man 1⅞ lbs. a day, rated as before after the rate, with the like Allowance to the Petty Victuallers. The proportion is 12 hundredweight, at 10s. the hundred in charge. ... ...SUM...£6

The Petty Victuallers' Allowance... ... ... £1 5s. 9d.

The thirty common soldiers in Stock Fish, to every four men one stockfish a day for 52 Wednesdays, two meals a day, half service; and the like allowance to every four men of one stockfish for a meal for 52 Fridays, whole service: in all $7\frac{1}{2}$ fishes a day, 104 days = 780 fishes, rated at 4d. the fish in charge. ... ...SUM...£13

The twenty of greater allowance to have, for the like days, to every four men one stockfish and a half a day; as well for the half as the whole service, every day $7\frac{1}{2}$ fishes = 780 fishes at 4d. the fish in charge. ... ... SUMMA...£13

The thirty common soldiers to have in Shetland Ling for 26 Saturdays, 13 days in Lent, and 1 day in Rogation week; in all forty days: to every eight men, one ling a day, half service; rated at 7d. the ling. SUM. 150: and the Allowance for pay fish to the Petty Victuallers of 5 ling.

SUM ... ... £4 7s. 6d.

The twenty of greater allowance for the like days, to every eight men, one ling and a half, rated as before, at 7d. the ling = 150, and to the Petty Victuallers, 5 ling. [SUM] £4 7s. 6d.

The Petty Victuallers' Allowance ... ... 5s. 10d.

The 30 common soldiers to have in Shetland Cod for 26 Saturdays, 12 days in Lent, and one day in Rogation week, to every eight men, $1\frac{1}{2}$ fish a day, half service, at 4d. the fish: and the Petty Victuallers in Allowance, as before in ling. The proportion $219\frac{3}{8}$ fishes. The Petty Victuallers' Allowance $7\frac{1}{4}$ fishes in charge for the same. ... SUMMA...£3 13s. $1\frac{1}{2}$d.

The twenty of greater allowance for the like days, to every eight men $2\frac{1}{4}$ fishes a day, for half service, with like allowance to the Petty Victuallers, as before at 4d. the fish. The proportion is $219\frac{3}{8}$ fishes. The Petty Victuallers' allowance $7\frac{1}{4}$ fishes, in charge for the same.

SUM ... ... £3 13s. $1\frac{1}{2}$d.

The Petty Victuallers' allowance ... ... 4s. 10d.

The thirty common soldiers to have in Butter, to every four men one pound a day, half service, for 52 Wednesdays, two meals a day; and to every eight men one pound a day, quarter service for 52 Saturdays, 25 days in Lent, and two days in Rogation week at 4d. the lb. = $686\frac{1}{4}$ lbs., and is in charge. ... ... SUMMA...£11 8s. 9d.

The twenty of greater allowance, for the like 52 Wednesdays, half service, to every four men 1½ lbs. a day; and to every eight men 1½ lbs. a day for 52 Saturdays, 25 days in Lent, and two days in Rogation week, quarter service: at 4d. the lb. = 686¼ lbs., and is in charge.

SUMMA ... ...£11 8s. 9d.

The thirty common soldiers, in Cheese, for 52 Saturdays, 25 days in Lent, and 2 days in Rogation week, to every four men one pound a day, quarter service; and allowance to the Petty Victuallers, 16 lbs. of a Wey, at 2d. the lb. SUM 592½ lbs. in charge. ... ... SUMMA...£4 18s. 9d.

The Petty Victuallers' allowance, 39½ lbs.

The twenty of greater allowance, for the like Saturdays, the like days in Lent and Rogation week; to every four men 1½ lbs. a day, quarter service: SUM 592½lbs. at 2d. the lb., in charge. ... ... SUM...£4 18s. 9d.

The Petty Victuallers' allowance 39½ lbs.

In money for both the parcels ... ... 13s. 2d.

SUM... ... ... £417 2s. 6d.

Every Petty Victuallers' allowance, that men may be well ordered. ... ... SUM...£119 11s. 3d.

The whole Garrison, at twenty Petty Victuallers a year in charge ... ...£8,342 10s.

The twenty Petty Victuallers' Allowance, besides that in the General Proportion found out of the same, SUM, £2,391 6s. 8d.

Some soldiers there are who are married and keep house; whose Proportion of victuals must be to them delivered accordingly; with the like Allowance as to the Petty Victuallers, in every thing.

To Captains and Gentlemen, with their ordinary servants, keeping house of themselves, no Proportion is delivered but with like Allowance.

FINIS.

DIANA,

OR,

The excellent conceitful Sonnets of *H. C.* Augmented with divers Quatorzains of honourable and learned personages.

DIVIDED INTO VIII. DECADES.

Vincitur a facibus, qui jacet ipse faces.



AT LONDON,
Printed by *Iames Roberts* for
Richard Smith.
1584. [*misprinted for* 1594.]

[This is the Second and enlarged Edition of this Collection of Sonnets by various Authors. The original work, containing only Twenty-three Sonnets, was entered at Stationers' Hall on the 22nd September, 1592, and published in that year. Of this First Edition, only one copy is now known to be in existence.]

THE PRINTER

[*i.e.* JAMES ROBERTS]

to the Reader.

OBSCURED wonders, Gentlemen! visited me in TURNUS's armour; and I, in regard of ÆNEAS's honour, have unclouded them unto the world. You are that universe! You, that ÆNEAS! If you find PALLAS's girdle, murder them! if not, environed with barbarism, save them! and eternity will praise you.

Vale.

Unto Her Majesty's sacred honourable Maids.

ETERNAL TWINS! that conquer Death and Time,
Perpetual advocates in heaven and earth!
Fair, chaste, immaculate, and all divine;
Glorious alone, before the first man's birth:
Your twofold CHARITES! celestial lights!
Bow your sun-rising eyes, planets of joy,
Upon these Orphan Poems! in whose rights
CONCEIT first claimed his birthright to enjoy.
If pitiful, you shun the Song of Death;
Or fear the stain of love's life-dropping blood;
O know then, you are pure; and purer faith
Shall still keep white the flower, the fruit, and bud.
LOVE moveth all things. You that love, shall move
All things in him, and he in you shall love.

RICHARD SMITH.

THE FIRST DECADE.

SONNET I.



RESOLVED to love, unworthy to obtain,
I do no favour crave; but, humble wise,
To thee my sighs in verse I sacrifice,
Only some pity, and no help to gain.
Hear then! and as my heart shall aye remain [eyes;
A patient object to thy lightning
A patient ear bring thou to thund'ring cries!
Fear not the crack! when I the blow sustain.
So as thine eye bred mine ambitious thought;
So shall thine ear make proud my voice for joy.
Lo, Dear! what wonders great by thee are wrought,
When I but little favours do enjoy.
The voice is made the ear for to rejoice:
And your ear giveth pleasure to my voice.

SONNET II.



BLAME not my heart for flying up too high!
Sith thou art cause that it this flight begun:
For earthly vapours drawn up by the sun,
Comets begin, and night suns in the sky.
Mine humble heart, so with thy heavenly Eye
Drawn up aloft, all low desires doth shun:
Raise then me up! as thou my heart hast done,
So during night, in heaven remain may I.
I say again, Blame not my high desire!
Sith of us both the cause thereof depends:
In thee doth shine, in me doth burn a fire;
Fire draws up other, and itself ascends.
Thine eye a fire, and so draws up my love;
My love a fire, and so ascends above.

SONNET III.

FLY LOW, dear love! thy sun dost thou not see?
Take heed! do not so near his rays aspire!
Lest (for thy pride, inflamed with wreakful ire)
It burn thy wings, as it hath burnèd me.
Thou, haply, sayst, "Thy wings immortal be,
And so cannot consumèd be with fire:
The one is Hope, the other is Desire;
And that the heavens bestowed them both on thee."
A Muse's words made thee with Hope to fly;
An Angel's face Desire hath begot;
Thyself engendered by a goddess' eye:
Yet for all this, immortal thou art not!
Of heavenly eye though thou begotten art:
Yet art thou born but of a mortal heart!

SONNET IV.

A FRIEND of mine, pitying my hopeless love,
Hoping, by killing hope, my love to stay:
"Let not," quoth he, "thy hope, thy heart betray!
Impossible it is her heart to move."
But sith resolvèd love cannot remove,
As long as thy divine perfections stay:
Thy godhead then, he sought to take away.
Dear! seek revenge, and him a liar prove!
Gods only do impossibilities.
"Impossible," saith he, "thy grace to gain."
Show then the power of thy divinities
By granting me thy favour to obtain!
So shall thy foe give to himself the lie;
A goddess thou shalt prove; and happy I!

SONNET V.

THINE eye, the glass where I behold my heart.
Mine eye, the window through the which thine eye
May see my heart; and there thyself espy
In bloody colours, how thou painted art!
Thine eye, the pyle is of a murdering dart:
Mine eye, the sight thou tak'st thy level by
To hit my heart, and never shoots awry.
Mine eye thus helps thine eye to work my smart.
Thine eye, a fire is both in heat and light;
Mine eye, of tears a river doth become.
O that the water of mine eye had might
To quench the flames that from thine eye doth come!
Or that the fires kindled by thine eye,
The flowing streams of mine eyes could make dry!

SONNET VI.

MINE Eye with all the deadly sins is fraught.
1. First *proud*, sith it presumed to look so high.
A watchman being made, stood gazing by;
2. And *idle*, took no heed till I was caught.
3. And *envious*, bears envy that by thought,
Should in his absence, be to her so nigh.
To kill my heart, mine eye let in her eye;
4. And so consent gave to a *murder* wrought.
5. And *covetous*, it never would remove
From her fair hair. Gold so doth please his sight!
6. *Unchaste*, a baud between my heart and love.
7. A *glutton* eye, with tears drunk every night.
These sins procurèd have a goddess' ire:
Wherefore my heart is damned in love's sweet fire.

SONNET VII.

FALSELY doth Envy of your praises blame
My tongue, my pen, my heart of flattery:
Because I said, "There was no sun but thee!"
It called my tongue "the partial trump of Fame."
And saith my pen hath flatterèd thy name,
Because my pen did to my tongue agree;
And that my heart must needs a flatterer be,
Which taught both tongue and pen to say the same.
No, no, I flatter not when thee I call
The sun, sith that the sun was never such:
But when the sun, thee I compared withal;
Doubtless the sun I flatterèd too much.
Witness mine eyes, I say the truth in this!
They have seen thee, and know that so it is.

SONNET VIII.

MUCH Sorrow in itself my love doth move,
More my Despair to love a hopeless bliss;
My Folly most, to love whom sure to miss;
O help me, but this last grief to remove!
All pains, if you command, it joy shall prove;
And wisdom to seek joy. Then say but this,
"Because my pleasure in thy torment is;
I do command thee, without hope to love!"
So when this thought my sorrow shall augment,
That my own folly did procure my pain,
Then shall I say, to give myself content,
"Obedience only made me love in vain.
It was your will, and not my want of wit;
I have the pain, bear you the blame of it!"

SONNET IX.

MY LADY'S presence makes the Roses red,
Because to see her lips they blush for shame.
The Lily's leaves, for envy, pale became;
And her white hands in them this envy bred.
The Marigold the leaves abroad doth spread;
Because the sun's and her power is the same.
The Violet of purple colour came,
Dyed in the blood she made my heart to shed.
In brief. All flowers from her their virtue take;
From her sweet breath, their sweet smells do proceed;
The living heat which her eyebeams doth make
Warmeth the ground, and quickeneth the seed.
The rain, wherewith she watereth the flowers,
Falls from mine eyes, which she dissolves in showers.

SONNET X.

[See *p.* 264, and Vol. i. *p.* 467.]

HERALDS at arms do three perfections quote,
To wit, most fair, most rich, most glittering;
So, when those three concur within one thing,
Needs must that thing, of honour, be a note.
Lately, I did behold a rich fair coat,
Which wished Fortune to mine eyes did bring.
A Lordly coat, yet worthy of a King,
In which one might all these perfections note.
A field of lilies, roses "proper" bare;
Two stars "in chief"; the "crest" was waves of gold.
How glittering 'twas, might by the stars appear;
The lilies made it fair for to behold.
And RICH it was, as by the gold appeareth:
But happy he that in his arms it weareth!

THE SECOND DECADE.

SONNET I.



F TRUE love might true love's reward obtain,
Dumb wonder only might speak of my joy;
But too much worth hath made thee too much coy,
And told me, long ago, I sighed in vain.
Not then vain hope of undeservèd gain
Hath made me paint in verses mine annoy;
But for thy pleasure, that thou might'st enjoy
Thy beauty's praise, in glasses of my pain.
See then, thyself! (though me thou wilt not hear)
By looking on my verse. For pain in verse,
Love doth in pain, beauty in love appear.
So, if thou wouldst my verses' meaning see,
Expound them thus, when I my love rehearse,
"None loves like he!" that is, "None fair like me!"

SONNET II.



T MAY be, LOVE my death doth not pretend,
Although he shoots at me: but thinks it fit
Thus to bewitch thee for thy benefit!
Causing thy will to my wish to condescend.
For witches, which some murder do intend,
Do make a picture, and do shoot at it;
And in that part where they the picture hit,
The party's self doth languish to his end.
So LOVE, too weak by force thy heart to taint,
Within my heart thy heavenly shape doth paint;
Suffering therein his arrows to abide,
Only to th'end he might, by witches' art,
Within my heart, pierce through thy picture's side;
And through thy picture's side, might wound my heart.

SONNET III.



HE SUN, his journey ending in the west,
Taketh his lodging up in THETIS' bed;
Though from our eyes his beams be banished,
Yet with his light the Antipodes be blest.
Now when the sun-time brings my sun to rest,
(Which me too oft of rest hath hinderèd)
And whiter skin with white sheet coverèd,
And softer cheek doth on soft pillow rest,
Then I (O sun of suns! and light of lights!)
Wish me with those Antipodes to be,
Which see and feel thy beams and heat by nights.
Well, though the night both cold and darksome is,
Yet half the day's delight the night grants me.
I feel my sun's heat, though his light I miss.

SONNET IV.



ADY! in beauty and in favour rare,
Of favour, not of due, I favour crave.
Nature to thee beauty and favour gave;
Fair then thou art, and favour thou may'st spare!
Nor when on me bestowed your favours are,
Less favour in your face you shall not have:
If favour then a wounded soul may save;
Of murder's guilt, dear Lady, then beware!
My loss of life a million fold were less,
Than the least loss should unto you befall:
Yet grant this gift! which gift when I possess,
Both I have life, and you no loss at all.
For by your favour only I do live;
And favour you may well both keep and give.

SONNET V.

MY REASON absent, did mine Eyes require
To watch and ward, and such foes to descry
As they should ne'er my heart approaching spy:
But traitor Eyes, my heart's death did conspire
(Corrupted with HOPE's gifts); let in DESIRE
To burn my heart: and sought no remedy,
Though store of water were in either Eye,
Which well employed, might well have quenched the fire.
REASON returned; LOVE and FORTUNE made
Judges, to judge mine Eyes to punishment.
FORTUNE, sith they, by sight my heart betrayed;
From wishèd sight, adjudged them banishment!
LOVE, sith by fire murdered my heart was found;
Adjudged them in tears for to be drowned!

SONNET VI.

WONDER it is, and pity is't, that she
In whom all beauty's treasure we may find,
That may enrich the body and the mind;
Towards the poor, should use no charity.
My love has gone a begging unto thee!
And if that Beauty had not been more kind
That Pity, long ere this, he had been pined:
But Beauty is content his food to be.
O pity have! when such poor orphans beg.
LOVE (naked boy!) hath nothing on his back;
And though he wanteth neither arm nor leg,
Yet maimed he is, sith he his sight doth lack.
And yet (though blind) he beauty can behold,
And yet (though naked) he feels more heat than cold.

SONNET VII.

PITY refusing my poor Love to feed,
A beggar starved for want of help, he lies;
And at your mouth (the door of Beauty) cries,
That thence some alms of sweet grants might proceed!
But as he waiteth for some almes deed,
A cherry tree before the door he spies.
"O Dear!" quoth he, "two cherries may suffice,
Two only may save life, in this my need!"
But beggars, Can they nought but cherries eat?
Pardon my Love! He is a goddess' son,
And never feedeth but on dainty meat;
Else need he not to pine, as he hath done.
For only the sweet fruit of this sweet tree,
Can give food to my Love, and life to me.

SONNET VIII.

THE fowler hides, as closely as he may,
The net, where caught the silly bird should be;
Lest he the threatening poison should but see,
And so for fear be forced to fly away.
My Lady so, the while she doth assay
In curled knots fast to entangle me;
Put on her veil, to th'end I should not flee
The golden net, wherein I am a prey.
Alas, most Sweet! what need is of a net
To catch a bird, that is already ta'en?
Sith with your hand alone, you may it get;
For it desires to fly into the same.
What needs such art, my thoughts then to entrap;
When, of themselves, they fly into your lap?

SONNET IX.

SWEET hand! the sweet but cruel bow thou art!
From whence at me five ivory arrows fly;
So with five wounds at once I wounded lie,
Bearing my breast the print of every dart.
Saint FRANCIS had the like; yet felt no smart,
Where I in living torments never die.
His wounds were in his hands and feet; where I
All these five helpless wounds feel in my heart.
Now, as Saint FRANCIS, if a Saint am I,
The bow that shot these shafts a relic is.
I mean the hand, which is the reason why
So many for devotion thee would kiss:
And some thy glove kiss, as a thing divine;
This arrows' quiver, and this relic's shrine.

SONNET X.

FAIR Sun! if you would have me praise your light,
When night approacheth, wherefore do you fly?
Time is so short, beauties so many be,
As I have need to see them day and night;
That by continual view, my verses might
Tell all the beams of your divinity:
Which praise to you, and joy should be to me;
You living by my verse, I by your sight!
I by your sight, and not you by my verse,
Need mortal skill immortal praise rehearse?
No, no, though eyes were blind, and verse were dumb,
Your beauty should be seen, and your fame known.
For by the wind which from my sighs do come,
Your praises round about the world are blown.

THE THIRD DECADE.

SONNET I.



NCIVIL Sickness! hast thou no regard!
But dost presume my Dearest to molest!
And without leave, dar'st enter in that breast,
Whereto sweet Love approach yet never dared?
Spare thou her health! which my life hath not spared.
Too bitter such revenge of my unrest.
Although with wrongs, my thought she hath opprest;
My wrongs seek not revenge, they crave reward.
Cease Sickness! Cease in her then to remain!
And come, and welcome! Harbour thou in me!
Whom love long since hath taught to suffer pain.
So she which hath so oft my pain increased
(O God, that I might so revengèd be),
By my poor pain, might have her pain released.

[*The next Seven Sonnets, II. to VIII., are by Sir* PHILIP SIDNEY, *and will be found at pp.* 174–5, 169–170, *and* 180.]



HE SCOURGE of life, and death's extreme disgrace,



OE! WOE to me! On me, return the smart!



HOU PAIN! the only guest of loathed CONSTRAINT,



ND HAVE I heard her say, "O cruel pain!"



INCE shunning pain, I ease can never find;



HEN LOVE, puft up with rage of his disdain,



N WONTED walks, since wonted fancies change;

SONNET IX.

WOE TO mine eyes! the organs of mine ill;
Hate to my heart! for not concealing joy;
A double curse upon my tongue be still!
Whose babbling lost what else I might enjoy.
When first mine eyes did with thy beauty toy,
They to my heart thy wondrous virtues told;
Who, fearing lest thy beams should him destroy,
Whate'er he knew, did to my tongue unfold.
My tell-tale tongue, in talking over bold,
What they in private council did declare,
To thee! in plain and public terms unrolled:
And so by that, made thee more coyer far.
What in thy praise he spoke, that didst thou trust!
And yet my sorrows, thou dost hold unjust!

SONNET X.

OF AN Athenian young man have I read,
Who on blind FORTUNE's picture doated so;
That when he could not buy it to his bed,
On it he gazing, died for very woe.
My Fortune's picture art thou, flinty Dame!
That settest golden apples to my sight;
But wilt, by no means, let me taste the same!
To drown in sight of land, is double spite.
Of Fortune, as thou learn'dst to be unkind;
So learn to be unconstant to disdain!
The wittiest women are to sport inclined.
Honour is Pride, and Pride is nought but Pain.
Let others boast of choosing for the best;
'Tis substances, not names must make us blest.

THE FOURTH DECADE.

SONNET I.

NEEDS MUST I leave, and yet needs must I love!
In vain my wit doth tell in verse my woe:
Despair in me, disdain in thee, doth show
How by my wit I do my folly prove.
All this; my heart from love can never move.
Love is not in my heart. No, Lady! No,
My heart is love itself. Till I forego
My heart, I never can my love remove.
How can I then leave love? I do intend
Not to crave grace, but yet to wish it still;
Not to praise thee, but Beauty to commend:
And so, by Beauty's praise, praise thee I will!
For as my heart is Love, love not in me:
So Beauty thou, beauty is not in thee!

SONNET II.

SWEET SOVEREIGN! since so many minds remain
Obedient subjects at thy beauty's call!
So many hearts bound in thy hairs as thrall!
So many eyes die with one look's disdain!
Go, seek the honour that doth thee pertain!
That the Fifth Monarchy may thee befall.
Thou hast such means to conquer men withal,
As all the world must yield, or else be slain.
To fight, thou needst no weapons but thine eyes!
Thine hair hath gold enough to pay thy men!
And for their food, thy beauty will suffice!
For men and armour, Lady, care have none!
For one will sooner yield unto thee then
When he shall meet thee naked all alone.

SONNET III.



HEN YOUR perfections to my thoughts appear,
They say among themselves, " O happy we,
Which ever shall so rare an object see!"
But happy heart, if thoughts less happy were!
For their delights have cost my heart full dear,
In whom of love a thousand causes be;
And each cause breeds a thousand loves in me;
And each love more than thousand hearts can bear.
How can my heart so many loves then hold;
Which yet, by heaps, increase from day to day?
But like a ship that's o'ercharged with gold,
Must either sink, or hurl the gold away.
But hurl not love! Thou canst not, feeble heart!
In thine own blood, thou therefore drownèd art!

SONNET IV.



OOLS BE they, that inveigh 'gainst MAHOMET;
Who's but a moral of love's monarchy.
By a dull adamant, as straw by jet,
He in an iron chest was drawn on high.
In midst of Mecca's temple roof, some say,
He now hangs, without touch or stay at all.
That MAHOMET is She, to whom I pray;
May ne'er man pray so ineffectual!
Mine eyes, love's strange exhaling adamants,
Un'wares, to my heart's temple's height have wrought
The iron Idol that compassion wants;
Who my oft tears and travails sets at nought.
Iron hath been transformed to gold by art
Her face, limbs, flesh and all, gold; save her heart.

SONNET V.

READY TO seek out death in my disgrace,
My Mistress 'gan to smooth her gathered brows;
Whereby I am reprievèd for a space.
O Hope and Fear! who half your torments knows?
It is some mercy in a black-mouthed Judge
To haste his prisoner's end, if he must die.
Dear! if all other favour you shall grudge,
Do speedy execution with your eye!
With one sole look, you leave in me no soul.
Count it a loss to lose a faithful slave!
Would God, that I might hear my last bell toll,
So in your bosom I might dig my grave.
Doubtful delay is worse than any fever.
Or help me soon! or cast me off for ever!

SONNET VI.

EACH DAY, new proofs of new despair I find,
That is, new deaths. No marvel then, though I
Make exile my last help; to th'end mine eye
Should not behold the death to me assigned.
Not that from death, absence might save my mind;
But that it might take death more patiently:
Like him, the which by Judge condemned to die,
To suffer with more ease, his eyes doth blind.
Your lips, in scarlet clad, my Judges be,
Pronouncing sentence of eternal "No!"
DESPAIR, the hangman that tormenteth me;
The death I suffer is the life I have.
For only life doth make me die in woe,
And only death I, for my pardon crave.

SONNET VII.

THE RICHEST relic Rome did ever view
Was CÆSAR's tomb; on which, with cunning hand,
JOVE's triple honours, the three fair Graces, stand;
Telling his virtues, in their virtues true.
This Rome admired: but, dearest Dear! in you
Dwelleth the wonder of the happiest land
And all the world to NEPTUNE's furthest strand.
For what Rome shap'd hath living life in you!
Thy naked beauty, bounteously displayed,
Enricheth monarchies of hearts with love!
Thine eyes to hear complaints are open laid!
Thine eyes' kind looks requite all pains I prove!
That of my death, I dare not thee accuse;
But pride in me, that baser chance refuse.

SONNET VIII.

"WHY THUS unjustly," say, my cruel fate!
"Dost thou adjudge my luckless eyes and heart;
The one to live exiled from that sweet smart,
Where th'other pines, imprisoned without date?"
My luckless eyes must never more debate
Of those bright beams, that eased my love apart:
And yet my heart, bound to them with love's dart,
Must there dwell ever, to bemoan my state.
O had mine eyes been suffered there to rest!
Often they had my heart's unquiet eased:
Or had my heart with banishment been blest!
Mine eye with beauty never had been pleased.
But since these cross effects hath fortune wrought;
Dwell, heart, with her! Eyes, view her in my thought!

[*Sonnet IX. is by Sir PHILIP SIDNEY, and will be found at p.* 182.]



FT HAVE I mused, but now at length I find

SONNET X.



OPE, like the hyæna, coming to be old,
Alters his shape; is turned into Despair.
Pity my hoary hopes! Maid of Clear Mould!
Think not that frowns can ever make thee fair!
What harm is it to kiss, to laugh, to play?
Beauty's no blossom, if it be not used.
Sweet dalliance keeps the wrinkles long away:
Repentance follows them that have refused.
To bring you to the knowledge of your good
I seek, I sue. O try, and then believe!
Each image can be chaste that's carved of wood.
You show you live, when men you do relieve.
Iron with wearing shines. Rust wasteth treasure.
On earth, but love there is no other pleasure.



THE FIFTH DECADE.

SONNET I.

AY ME, poor wretch! my prayer is turned to sin.
I say, "I love!" My Mistress says, "'Tis lust!"
Thus most we lose, where most we seek to win.
Wit will make wicked what is ne'er so just.
And yet I can supplant her false surmise.
Lust is a fire that, for an hour or twain,
Giveth a scorching blaze, and then he dies:
Love, a continual furnace doth maintain.
A furnace! Well, this a furnace may be called;
For it burns inward, yields a smothering flame,
Sighs which, like boiled lead's smoking vapour, scald.
I sigh apace, at echo of Sighs' name.
Long have I served. No short blaze is my love.
Hid joys there are, that maids scorn till they prove.

SONNET II.

I DO NOT now complain of my disgrace,
O Cruel Fair One! Fair with cruel crost:
Nor of the hour, season, time, nor place;
Nor of my foil, for any freedom lost;
Nor of my courage, by misfortune daunted;
Nor of my wit, by overweening struck;
Nor of my sense, by any sound enchanted;
Nor of the force of fiery pointed hook;
Nor of the steel that sticks within my wound;
Nor of my thoughts, by worser thoughts defaced;
Nor of the life, I labour to confound:
But I complain, that being thus disgraced,
Fired, feared, frantic, fettered, shot through, slain;
My death is such, as I may not complain.

SONNET III.

IF EVER Sorrow spoke from soul that loves,
As speaks a spirit in a man possest;
In me, her spirit speaks. My soul it moves,
Whose sigh-swoll'n words breed whirlwinds in my breast:
Or like the echo of a passing bell,
Which sounding on the water, seems to howl;
So rings my heart a fearful heavy knell,
And keeps all night in consort with the owl.
My cheeks with a thin ice of tears are clad,
Mine eyes like morning stars are bleared and red:
What resteth then, but I be raging mad,
To see that She, my cares' chief conduit-head,
When all streams else help quench my burning heart,
Shuts up her springs; and will no grace impart.

SONNET IV.

YOU SECRET vales! you solitary fields!
You shores forsaken! and you sounding rocks!
If ever groaning heart hath made you yield,
Or words half spoke that sense in prison locks;
Then, 'mongst night shadows, whisper out my death!
That when myself hath sealed my lips from speaking,
Each tell-tale echo with a weeping breath,
May both record my truth and true love's breaking.
You pretty flowers! that smile for summer's sake,
Pull in your heads! before my wat'ry eyes
Do turn the meadows to a standing lake,
By whose untimely floods, your glory dies!
For lo, mine heart, resolved to moistening air,
Feedeth mine eyes, which double tear for tear.

SONNET V.

HIS SHADOW to NARCISSUS well presented;
How fair he was, by such attractive love!
So if thou would'st thyself thy beauty prove,
Vulgar breath-mirrors might have well contented,
And to their prayers eternally consented,
Oaths, vows and sighs, if they belief might move:
But more thou forc'st, making my pen approve
Thy praise to all, least any had dissented.
When this hath wrought, thou which before wert known
But unto some, of all art now required;
And thine eyes' wonders wronged; because not shown
The world, with daily orisons desired.
Thy chaste fair gifts, with learning's breath is blown.
And thus my pen hath made thy sweets admired.

SONNET VI.

I AM NO model figure, or sign of CARE;
But his eternal heart's-consuming essence:
In whom grief's commentaries written are,
Drawing gross passion into pure quintessence.
Not thine eye's fire; but fire of thine eye's disdain,
Fed by neglect of my continual grieving,
Attracts the true life's spirit of my pain;
And gives it thee; which gives me no relieving.
Within thine arms, sad elegies I sing.
Unto thine eyes, a true heart love-torn lay I.
Thou smell'st from me, the savours sorrows bring.
My tears to taste my truth, to touch display I.
Lo thus, each sense, dear Fair One! I importune:
But being CARE, thou flyest me as ILL FORTUNE!

SONNET VII.

BUT being CARE, thou flyest me as ILL FORTUNE!
CARE the consuming canker of the mind!
The discord that disorders sweet hearts' tune!
Th'abortive bastard of a coward mind!
The lightfoot lackey that runs post by death,
Bearing the letters which contain our end!
The busy advocate that sells his breath,
Denouncing worst to him, is most his friend!
O Dear! this care no interest holds in me:
But holy CARE, the Guardiant of thy fair,
Thine honour's Champion, and thy virtue's Fee;
The zeal which thee from barbarous times shall bear.
This CARE am I. This care my life hath taken.
Dear to my soul! then, leave me not forsaken!

SONNET VIII.

DEAR to my soul! then, leave me not forsaken!
Fly not! My heart within thy bosom sleepeth!
Even from myself and sense I have betaken
Me unto thee (for whom my spirit weepeth).
And on the shore of that salt teary sea,
Couched in a bed of unseen seeming pleasure,
Where, in imaginary thoughts, thy fair self lay—
But being wak'd, robbed of my life's best treasure,
I call the heavens, air, earth, and seas to hear
My love! my truth! and black disdained estate!
Beating the rocks with bellowings of despair;
Which still with plaints, my words reverberate.
Sighing, "Alas, what shall become of me?"
Whilst ECHO cries, "What shall become of me?"

SONNET IX.

WHILST ECHO cries, "What shall become of me?"
And desolate, my desolations pity:
Thou in thy beauty's carrack sitt'st, to see
My tragic downfall, and my funeral ditty.
No timbrel, but my heart thou play'st upon,
Whose strings are stretched unto the highest key.
The diapason, love. Love is the unison;
In love, my life and labours waste away.
Only regardless, to the world thou leav'st me,
Whilst slain HOPES, turning from the feast of sorrow,
Unto DESPAIR, their King, which ne'er deceives me,
Captives my heart, (whose black night hates the morrow)
And he, in truth of my distressed cry,
Plants me a weeping star within mine eye.

SONNET X.

PROMETHEUS for stealing living fire
From heaven's king, was judged eternal death;
In self-same flame, with unrelenting ire,
Bound fast to Caucasus' low foot beneath.
So I, for stealing living beauty's fire
Into my verse, that it may always live;
And change his forms to shapes of my desire:
Thou beauty's Queen! self sentence like dost give!
Bound to thy feet, in chains of love I lie;
For to thine eyes, I never dare aspire:
And in thy beauty's brightness do I fry,
As poor PROMETHEUS in the scalding fire.
Which tears maintain, as oil the lamp revives;
Only my succour in thy favour lies.

THE SIXTH DECADE.

SONNET I.



ONE SUN unto my life's day gives true light.
One moon dissolves my stormy night of woes.
One star my fate and happy fortune shows.
One saint I serve, one shrine with vows I dight.
One sun transfix'd, hath burnt my heart outright.
One moon opposed, my love in darkness throws.
One star hath bid my thoughts my wrongs disclose.
Saints scorn poor swains, shrines do my vows no right.
Yet if my love be found a holy fire,
Pure, unstained, without idolatry;
And she, nathless, in hate of my desire,
Lives to repose her in my misery.
My sun! my moon! my star! my saint! my shrine!
Mine be the torment, but the guilt be thine!

SONNET II.



O LIVE in hell, and heaven to behold;
To welcome life, and die a living death;
To sweat with heat, and yet be freezing cold;
To grasp at stars, and lie the earth beneath;
To tread a maze that never shall have end;
To burn in sighs, and starve in daily tears;
To climb a hill, and never to descend;
Giants to kill, and quake at childish fears;
To pine for food, and watch th'Hesperian tree:
To thirst for drink, and nectar still to draw;
To live accurs'd, whom men hold blest to be;
And weep those wrongs which never creature saw:
If this be love, if love in these be founded,
My heart is love, for these in it are grounded.

SONNET III.



CARVER, having loved too long in vain,
Hewed out the portraiture of VENUS' son
In marble rock, upon the which did rain
Small drizzling drops, that from a fount did run:
Imagining the drops would either wear
His fury out, or quench his living flame;
But when he saw it bootless did appear,
He swore the water did augment the same.
So I, that seek in verse to carve thee out,
Hoping thy beauty will my flame allay,
Viewing my verse and poems all throughout,
Find my will rather to my love obey.
That, with the Carver, I my work do blame,
Finding it still th'augmenter of my flame.

SONNET IV.



STRONOMERS the heavens do divide
Into eight Houses, where the god remains;
All which in thy perfections do abide!
For in thy feet, the Queen of Silence reigns;
About thy waist, JOVE's Messenger doth dwell,
Inchanting me, as I thereat admire;
And on thy dugs, the Queen of Love doth tell,
Her godhead's power in scrolls of my desire;
Thy beauty is the world's eternal Sun;
Thy favours force a coward's heart to dare,
And in thy hairs, JOVE and his riches won;
Thy frowns hold SATURN; thine eyes the Fixèd Stars.
Pardon me then, Divine! to love thee well;
Since thou art heaven: and I, in heaven would dwell.

SONNET V.

WEARY of love, my THOUGHTS of Love complained,
Till REASON told them, there was no such power;
And bade me view fair beauty's richest flower,
To see if there a naked boy remained.
Dear! to thine eyes, eyes that my soul hath pained,
THOUGHTS turned them back, in that unhappy hour,
To see if Love kept there his royal bower:
For if not there, then no place him contained.
There was he not, nor boy, nor golden bow;
Yet as thou turned thy chaste fair eye aside,
A flame of fire did from thine eyelids go,
Which burnt my heart, through my sore wounded side:
Then with a sigh, REASON made THOUGHTS to cry,
"There is no god of love, save that thine eye!"

SONNET VI.

FORGIVE me, Dear! for thundering on thy name;
Sure 'tis thyself that shows my love distrest.
For fire exhaled, in freezing clouds possest,
Warring for way, makes all the heavens exclaim.
Thy beauty so, the brightest living flame,
Wrapt in my cloudy heart, by winter prest,
Scorning to dwell within so base a nest,
Thunders in me thy everlasting flame.
O that my heart might still contain that fire!
Or that the fire would always light my heart!
Then should'st thou not disdain my true desire,
Or think I wronged thee, to reveal to my smart:
For as the fire through freezing clouds doth break;
So, not myself, but thou in me would'st speak.

SONNET VII.

MY HEART, mine Eye accuseth of his death.
Saying, "His wanton sight bred his unrest:"
Mine Eye affirms, "My Heart's unconstant faith
Hath been his bane, and all his joys represt."
My Heart avows, "Mine Eye let in the fire,
Which burns him with an everliving light."
Mine Eye replies, "My greedy Heart's desire
Let in those floods, which drown him day and night."
Thus wars my Heart, which Reason doth maintain,
And calls my Eye to combat if he dare.
The whilst, my Soul, impatient of disdain,
Wrings from his bondage unto death more near;
Save that my love, still holdeth him in hand,
"A kingdom thus divided, cannot stand!"

SONNET VIII.

UNHAPPY day! unhappy month and season!
When first proud love, my joys away adjourning,
Poured into mine eye (to her eye turning)
A deadly juice, unto my green thoughts geason.
Prisoner I am unto the eye I gaze on:
Eternally my love's flame is in burning:
A mortal shaft still wounds me in my mourning:
Thus prisoned, burnt, and slain; the spirit, soul, and reason;
What tides me then, since these pains which annoy me,
In my despair, are evermore increasing?
The more I love, less is my pain's releasing;
That cursèd be the fortune which destroys me,
The hour, the month, the season, and the cause;
When love first made me thrall to lovers' laws.

SONNET IX.

LOVE have I followed all too long, nought gaining;
And sighed I have in vain to sweet what smarteth,
But from his bow a fiery arrow parteth;
Thinking that I should him resist, not plaining.
But cowardly my heart submiss remaining,
Yields to receive what shaft thy fair eye darteth!
Well do I see, thine eye my bale imparteth;
And that save death, no hope I am detaining.
For what is he can alter fortune's sliding?
One in his bed consumes his life away,
Other in wars, another in the sea:
The like effects in me have their abiding;
For heavens avowed my fortune should be such,
That I should die by loving far too much.

SONNET X.

MY GOD, my God, how much I love my goddess!
Whose virtues rare, unto the heavens arise.
My God, my God, how much I love her eyes!
One shining bright, the other full of hardness.
My God, my God, how much I love her wisdom!
Whose works may ravish heaven's richest "maker."
Of whose eyes' joys, if I might be partaker;
Then to my soul, a holy rest would come.
My God, how much I love to hear her speak!
Whose hands I kiss, and ravished oft rekisseth;
When she stands wotless, whom so much she blesseth.
Say then, What mind this honest love would break;
Since her perfections pure, withouten blot,
Makes her beloved of them, she knoweth not?

THE SEVENTH DECADE.

SONNET I.

THE FIRST Created held a joyous bower,
A flowering field, the world's sole wonderment,
Hight Paradise; from whence a woman's power
Enticed him fall to endless banishment.
This on the banks of Euphrates did stand,
Till the first Mover, by His wondrous might,
Planted it in thine eyes! thy face! thy hands!
From whence the world receives his fairest light.
Thy cheeks contains choice flowers; thy eyes, two suns;
Thy hands, the fruit that no life blood can stain;
And in thy breath, that heavenly music wons;
Which, when thou speak'st, angels their voices strain.
As from the first, thy Sex exilèd me!
So to this next, let me be called by thee!

SONNET II.

FAIR GRACE of Graces! Muse of Muses all!
Thou Paradise! thou only heaven I know!
What influence hath bred my hateful woe,
That I from thee and them, am forced to fall?
Thou fallen from me, from thee I never shall,
Although my fortunes thou hast brought so low;
Yet shall my faith and service with thee go!
For live I do, on heaven and thee to call.
Banish'd all grace, no Graces with me dwell;
Compelled to muse, my Muses from me fly;
Excluded heaven, what can remain but hell?
Exiled from Paradise, in hate I lie,
Cursing my stars: albeit I find it true,
I lost all these, when I lost love and you.

SONNET III.

WHAT viewed I, Dear! when I, thine eyes beheld?
Love in his glory? No, him THYRSIS saw,
And stood the boy! whilst he, his darts did draw;
Whose painted pride to baser swains he telled.
Saw I two suns? That sight is seen but seld.
Yet can their brood that teach the holy law
Gaze on their beams, and dread them not a straw;
Where princely looks are by their eyes repelled.
What saw I then? Doubtless it was, AMEN!
Armed with strong thunder and a lightning's flame;
Who, bridegroom like, with power was riding then,
Meaning that none should see him when he came.
Yet did I gaze; and thereby caught the wound
Which burns my heart, and keeps my body sound.

SONNET IV.

WHEN tedious much, and over weary long,
Cruel disdain, reflecting from her brow,
Hath been the cause that I endured such wrong;
And rest thus discontent and weary now.
Yet when posterity, in time to come,
Shall find th'uncancelled tenour of her vow;
And her disdain be then confest of some,
How much unkind and long, I find it now.
O yet even then (though then, will be too late
To comfort me; dead, many a day, ere then),
They shall confess—I did not force her heart:
And time shall make it known to other men—
That ne'er had her disdain made me despair,
Had she not been so excellently fair.

SONNET V.

HAD SHE not been so excellently fair,
My Muse had never mourned in lines of woe:
But I did too too inestimable weigh her,
And that's the cause I now lament me so.
Yet not for her contempt do I complain me
(Complaints may ease the mind, but that is all);
Therefore though she too constantly disdain me,
I can but sigh and grieve, and so I shall.
Yet grieve I not, because I must grieve ever;
And yet, alas, waste tears away in vain.
I am resolved truly to persèver,
Though she persisteth in her old disdain.
But that which grieves me most, is that I see
Those which most fair, the most unkindest be.

SONNET VI.

THUS LONG imposed to everlasting plaining
(Divinely constant to the worthiest Fair),
And moved by eternally disdaining,
Aye to persèver in unkind despair:
Because now, Silence, wearily confined
In tedious dying, and a dumb restraint,
Breaks forth in tears from mine unable mind
To ease her passion by a poor complaint:
O do not therefore to thyself suggest!
That I can grieve, to have immured so long
Upon the matter of mine own unrest:
Such grief is not the tenour of my song,
That 'bide so zealously so bad a wrong.
My grief is this. Unless I speak and plain me,
Thou will persèver ever to disdain me.

?, but before 1594.]

SONNET VII.

THOU wilt persèver ever to disdain me;
And I shall then die; when thou will repent it:
O do not therefore from complaint restrain me!
And take my life from me, to me that lent it.
For whilst these accents, weepingly exprest
In humble lines, of reverentest zeal,
Have issue to complaint from mine unrest;
They but thy beauty's wonder shall reveal.
And though the grieved Muse of some other lover,
(Whose less devotions knew but woes like mine)
Would rather seek occasion to discover
How little pitiful, and how much unkind;
They other (not so worthy) beauties find.
O, I not so; but seek, with humble prayer,
Means how to move th'unmercifullest Fair.

SONNET VIII.

AS DRAWS the golden Meteor of the day
Exhaled matter, from the ground to heaven;
And by his secret nature, there to stay
The thing fast held, and yet of hold bereaven;
So by th'attractive excellence and might,
Born to the power of thy transparent eyes,
Drawn from myself, ravished with thy delight,
Whose dumb conceits divinely Sirenise,
Lo, in suspense of fear and hope upholden,
Diversely poised with passions that pain me:
No resolution dares my thoughts embolden,
Since 'tis not I, but thou that dost sustain me.
O if there's none but thou can work my woe;
Wilt thou be still unkind, and kill me so?

SONNET IX.

WILT thou be still unkind, and kill me so?
Whose humbled vows, with sorrowful appeal,
Do still persist; and did, so long ago,
Intreat for pity, with so pure a zeal?
Suffice the world shall, for the world can say
How much thy power hath power, and what it can;
Never was victor-hand yet moved to slay
The rendered captive, or the yielding man.
Then, O, why should thy woman-thought impose
Death and disdain on him, that yields his breath;
To free his soul from discontent and woes,
And humble sacrifice to a certain death?
O since the world knows, what the power can do:
What were't for thee, to save and love me too?

SONNET X.

MEET not mine, by others' discontent.
For none compares with me in true devotion;
Yet though my tears and sighs to her be spent,
Her cruel heart disdains what they do motion.
Yet though persisting in eternal hate,
To aggravate the cause of my complaining,
Her fury ne'er confineth with a date:
I will not cease to love, for her disdaining.
Such puny thoughts of unresolvèd ground,
Whose inaudacity dares but base conceit,
In me and my love never shall be found:
Those coward thoughts, unworthy minds await.
But those that love well, have not yet begun;
Persèver ever, and have never done!

THE EIGHTH DECADE.

SONNET I.



ERSEVER ever, and have never done!
You weeping accent of my weary song!
O do not you eternal passions shun;
But be you true, and everlasting long!
Say that she doth requite you with disdain;
Yet fortified with hope, endure your fortune!
Though cruel now, she will be kind again;
Such haps as those, such love's as yours importune!
Though she protests the faithfullest severity
Inexecrable beauty is inflicting;
Kindness, in time, will pity your sincerity!
Though now it be your fortune's interdicting.
For some can say, whose loves have known like passion,
"Women are kind by kind, and coy for fashion."

SONNET II.



IVE period to my matter of complaining,
Fair Wonder of our time's admiring eye!
And entertain no more thy long disdaining,
Or give me leave, at last, that I may die!
For who can live, perpetually secluded
From death to life, that loathes her discontent?
Less by some hope seducingly deluded,
Such thoughts aspire to fortunate event;
But I, that now have drawn mal-pleasant breath,
Under the burden of thy cruel hate;
O, I must long, and linger after death;
And yet I dare not give my life her date:
For if I die, and thou repent t'have slain me;
'Twill grieve me more, than if thou didst disdain me.

SONNET III.

THWILL grieve me more than if thou didst disdain me,
That I should die; and thou, because I die so:
And yet to die, it should not know to pain me,
If cruel Beauty were content to bid so.
Death, to my life; life, to my long despair
Prolonged by her; given to my love and days:
Are means to tell how truly she is fair,
And I can die to testify her praise.
Yet not to die, though Fairness me despiseth,
Is cause why in complaint I thus persèver;
Though Death me and my love imparadiseth,
By interdicting me from her for ever.
I do not grieve that I am forced to die,
But die, to think upon the reason, "Why?"

SONNET IV.

MY TEARS are true: though Others be divine,
And sing of wars, and Troy's new rising frame;
Meeting heroic feet in every line,
That tread high measures in the Scene of Fame,
And I (though disaccustoming my Muse,
And sing but low songs, in an humble vein)
May one day raise my style, as others use;
And turn *Elizon* to a higher strain.
When reintombing from oblivious ages,
In better stanzas her surviving wonder:
I may opposed against the monster-rages
That part desert and excellence asunder:
That she, though coy, may yet survive to see,
Her beauty's wonder lives again in me.

SONNET V.

SOMETIMES in verse I praised, sometimes in verse I sigh't.
No more shall pen with love and beauty mell;
But to my heart alone, my heart shall tell
How unseen flames do burn it day and night.
Lest flames give light, light bring my love to sight,
And my love prove my folly to excel.
Wherefore my love burns like the fire of hell;
Wherein is fire, and yet there is no light.
For if one never loved like me; then why
Skill-less blames he the thing he doth not know?
And he that so hath loved, should favour show;
For he hath been a fool as well as I.
Thus shall henceforth more pain, more folly have:
And folly past, may justly pardon crave.

A calculation upon the birth of an Honourable Lady's Daughter; born in the year 1588, *and on a Friday.*

[This *Honourable Lady* is believed to be Lady PENELOPE RICH, Sir P. SIDNEY's *STELLA*. See *p.* 233, and Vol. I. *p.* 467.]



AIR by inheritance! whom born we see
Both in the Wondrous Year, and on the day
Wherein the fairest Planet beareth sway;
The heavens to thee, this fortune doth decree!
Thou of a world of hearts in time shall be
A Monarch great; and with one beauty's ray
So many hosts of hearts, thy face shall slay;
As all the rest, for love, shall yield to thee!
But even as ALEXANDER, when he knew
His father's conquests, wept; lest he should leave
No kingdom unto him for to subdue:
So shall thy mother, thee of praise bereave!
So many hearts already she hath slain;
As few behind to conquer shall remain.

FINIS.

DANIEL DEFOE.

The Education of Women.

[*An Essay upon Projects.* Written about 1692, but first printed in 1697.]



HAVE OFTEN thought of it as one of the most barbarous customs in the world, considering us as a civilized and a Christian country, that we deny the advantages of learning to women. We reproach the sex every day with folly and impertinence; while I am confident, had they the advantages of education equal to us, they would be guilty of less than ourselves.

One would wonder, indeed, how it should happen that women are conversible at all; since they are only beholden to natural parts, for all their knowledge. Their youth is spent to teach them to stitch and sew, or make baubles. They are taught to read, indeed, and perhaps to write their names, or so; and that is the height of a woman's education. And I would but ask any who slight the sex for their understanding, what is a man (a gentleman, I mean) good for, that is taught no more? I need not give instances, or examine the character of a gentleman, with a good estate, of a good family, and with tolerable parts; and examine what figure he makes for want of education.

The soul is placed in the body like a rough diamond; and must be polished, or the lustre of it will never appear. And 'tis manifest, that as the rational soul distinguishes us from brutes; so education carries on the distinction, and makes some less brutish than others. This is too evident to need any demonstration. But why then should women be denied the benefit of instruction? If knowledge and understanding had been useless additions to the sex, GOD Almighty would never have given them capacities; for he made nothing

needless. Besides, I would ask such, What they can see in ignorance, that they should think it a necessary ornament to a woman? or how much worse is a wise woman than a fool? or what has the woman done to forfeit the privilege of being taught? Does she plague us with her pride and impertinence? Why did we not let her learn, that she might have had more wit? Shall we upbraid women with folly, when 'tis only the error of this inhuman custom, that hindered them from being made wiser?

The capacities of women are supposed to be greater, and their senses quicker than those of the men; and what they might be capable of being bred to, is plain from some instances of female wit, which this age is not without. Which upbraids us with Injustice, and looks as if we denied women the advantages of education, for fear they should *vie* with the men in their improvements.

THEY SHOULD be taught all sorts of breeding suitable both to their genius and quality. And in particular, Music and Dancing; which it would be cruelty to bar the sex of, because they are their darlings. But besides this, they should be taught languages, as particularly French and Italian: and I would venture the injury of giving a woman more tongues than one. They should, as a particular study, be taught all the graces of speech, and all the necessary air of conversation; which our common education is so defective in, that I need not expose it. They should be brought to read books, and especially history; and so to read as to make them understand the world, and be able to know and judge of things when they hear of them.

To such whose genius would lead them to it, I would deny no sort of learning; but the chief thing, in general, is to cultivate the understandings of the sex, that they may be capable of all sorts of conversation; that their parts and judgements being improved, they may be as profitable in their conversation as they are pleasant.

Women, in my observation, have little or no difference in them, but as they are or are not distinguished by education. Tempers, indeed, may in some degree influence them, but the main distinguishing part is their Breeding.

The whole sex are generally quick and sharp. I believe,

I may be allowed to say, generally so: for you rarely see them lumpish and heavy, when they are children; as boys will often be. If a woman be well bred, and taught the proper management of her natural wit; she proves generally very sensible and retentive.

And, without partiality, a woman of sense and manners is the finest and most delicate part of GOD's Creation, the glory of Her Maker, and the great instance of His singular regard to man, His darling creature: to whom He gave the best gift either GOD could bestow or man receive. And 'tis the sordidest piece of folly and ingratitude in the world, to withhold from the sex the due lustre which the advantages of education gives to the natural beauty of their minds.

A woman well bred and well taught, furnished with the additional accomplishments of knowledge and behaviour, is a creature *without comparison*. Her society is the emblem of sublimer enjoyments, her person is angelic, and her conversation heavenly. She is all softness and sweetness, peace, love, wit, and delight. She is every way suitable to the sublimest wish: and the man that has such a one to his portion, has nothing to do but to rejoice in her, and be thankful.

On the other hand, Suppose her to be the *very same* woman, and rob her of the benefit of education, and it follows—

If her temper be good, want of education makes her soft and easy.

Her wit, for want of teaching, makes her impertinent and talkative.

Her knowledge, for want of judgement and experience, makes her fanciful and whimsical.

If her temper be bad, want of breeding makes her worse; and she grows haughty, insolent, and loud.

If she be passionate, want of manners makes her a termagant and a scold, *which is much at one with Lunatic.*

If she be proud, want of discretion (which still is breeding) makes her conceited, fantastic, and ridiculous.

And from these she degenerates to be turbulent, clamorous, noisy, nasty, the devil!

THE GREAT distinguishing difference, which is seen in the world between men and women, is in their education; and this is manifested by comparing it with the difference between one man or woman, and another.

And herein it is that I take upon me to make such a bold assertion, That all the world are mistaken in their practice about women. For I cannot think that GOD Almighty ever made them so delicate, so glorious creatures; and furnished them with such charms, so agreeable and so delightful to mankind; with souls capable of the same accomplishments with men: and all, to be only Stewards of our Houses, Cooks, and Slaves.

Not that I am for exalting the female government in the least: but, in short, *I would have men take women for companions, and educate them to be fit for it.* A woman of sense and breeding will scorn as much to encroach upon the prerogative of man, as a man of sense will scorn to oppress the weakness of the woman. But if the women's souls were refined and improved by teaching, that word would be lost. To say, the *weakness* of the sex, as to judgement, would be nonsense; for ignorance and folly would be no more to be found among women than men.

I remember a passage, which I heard from a very fine woman. She had wit and capacity enough, extraordinary [beauty of] shape and face, and a great fortune: but had been cloistered up all her time; and for fear of being stolen, had not had the liberty of being taught the common necessary knowledge of women's affairs. And when she came to converse in the world, her natural wit made her so sensible of the want of education, that she gave this short reflection on herself: "I am ashamed to talk with my very maids," says she, "for I don't know when they do right or wrong. I had more need go to school, than be married."

I need not enlarge on the loss the defect of education is to the sex; nor argue the benefit of the contrary practice. 'Tis a thing will be more easily granted than remedied. This chapter is but an Essay at the thing: and I refer the Practice to those Happy Days (if ever they shall be) when men shall be wise enough to mend it.

ABRAHAM COWLEY.

Sitting and drinking in the chair made out of the relics of Sir FRANCIS DRAKE'S ship.

[*Verses lately written upon several occasions &c.* 1663.]

ODE.

I.

CHEER up, my mates! The wind does fairly blow.
Clap on more sail, and never spare!
Farewell all lands, for now we are
In the wide sea of drink, and merrily we go.
Bless me! 'tis hot! Another bowl of wine,
And we shall cut the burning line.
Hey, boys! she scuds away! and by my head I know
We round the world are sailing now.
What dull men are those that tarry at home;
When abroad they might wantonly roam,
And gain experience; and spy too,
Such countries and such wonders as I do.
But prithee, good pilot! take heed what you do;
And fail not to touch at Peru!
With gold there, our vessel we'll store;
And never, and never be poor;
No, never be poor any more.

II.

What do I mean? What thoughts do me misguide?
As well, upon a staff, may witches ride
  Their fancied journeys in the air;
As I sail round the ocean in this chair!
  'Tis true! But yet this chair, which here you see,
For all its quiet now, and gravity,
Has wandered, and has travelled more
Than ever beast, or fish, or bird, or tree before.
In every air, and every sea 't has been;
'T has compassed all the earth, and all the heavens 't has seen.
Let not the Pope's itself, with this, compare!
This is the only Universal Chair!

III.

The pious wanderer's fleet, saved from the flame
(Which still the relics did of Troy pursue,
    And took them for its due),
A squadron of immortal nymphs became:
Still with their arms they row about the seas,
And still make new and greater voyages.
Nor has the first poetic ship of Greece,
(Though now, a star, she so triumphant show;
And guide her sailing successors below,
Bright as her ancient freight, the shining fleece)
Yet to this day, a quiet harbour found:
The tide of heaven still carries her around.
Only DRAKE's sacred vessel, which before
    Had done, and had seen more;
    Than those have done or seen,
Ev'n since they goddesses, and this a star has been;
As her reward for all her labour past,

Is made the seat of rest at last.
Let the case now quite altered be:
And as thou went'st abroad the world to see;
Let the world now come to see thee!

IV.

The world will do 't. For Curiosity
Does no less than Devotion, pilgrims make.
And I myself, who now love quiet too,
As much almost as any chair can do;
Would yet a journey take,
An old wheel of that chariot to see,
Which PHÆTON so rashly brake;
Yet what could that say more, than these remains of DRAKE?
Great relic! Thou too, in this port of ease,
Hast still one way of making voyages!
The Breath of Fame, like an auspicious gale,
(The great Trade Wind which ne'er does fail)
Shall drive thee round the world! and thou shalt run
As long around it as the sun!
The Straits of Time too narrow are for thee;
Launch forth into an undiscovered sea!
And steer the endless course of vast Eternity!
Take for thy Sail, this verse! and for thy Pilot, me!

[JAMES WRIGHT.]

The second generation of English professional Actors, 1625–1670 A.D.

[*Historia Histrionica.* 1699.]

So far as it goes, this is one of the most authentic accounts in existence, of the English Stage in the later years of BEN JONSON, and during the Commonwealth.

Lovewit.

Truman.

Lovewit. HONEST old Cavalier! well met! 'faith I am glad to see thee!

Truman. Have a care, what you call me! Old is a word of disgrace among the ladies. To be honest is to be poor and foolish, as some think: and Cavalier is a word as much out of fashion as any of them.

Lovewit. The more's the pity. But what said the *Fortune Teller*, in BEN JOHNSON's *Masque of Gypsies*, to the then Lord Privy Seal,

Honest and old!
In those the good part of a fortune is told!

Truman. BEN JOHNSON! How dare you name BEN JOHNSON in these times? when we have such a crowd of poets in a quite different genius: the least of which thinks himself as well able to correct BEN JOHNSON as he could a country schoolmistress that taught to spell.

Lovewit. We have indeed poets of a different genius. So are the plays. But in my opinion there are all of them, some few excepted, as much inferior to those of former times; as the actors now in being, generally speaking, are, compared to HART, MOHUN, BURT, LACY, CLUN, and SHATTEREL; for I can reach no further backward.

Truman. I can. And I dare assure you—if my fancy and memory are not partial, for men of my age are apt to be over indulgent to the thoughts of their youthful days—I say, the actors that I have seen, before the [Civil] Wars, LOWIN, TAYLOR, POLLARD, and some others, were almost as far beyond HART and his company; as those were, beyond these now in being.

Lovewit. I am willing to believe it, but cannot readily; because I have been told that those whom I mentioned, were bred up under the others [*i.e., actors*] of your acquaintance; and followed their manner of action: which is now lost. So far, that when the question has been asked, "Why these players do not receive the *Silent Woman* and some other of JOHNSON's plays, once of highest esteem?" They have answered truly, "Because there are none now living, who can rightly humour those parts: for all who [were] related to the 'Blackfriars' (where they were acted in perfection) are now dead, and almost forgotten."

Truman. 'Tis very true! HART and CLUN were bred up boys at the "Blackfriars," and acted women's parts. HART was ROBINSON's boy or apprentice. He acted the *Duchess* in the tragedy of the *Cardinal*; which was the first part that gave him reputation. CARTWRIGHT and WINTERSHAL belonged to the "Private House" in Salisbury Court. BURT was a boy, first under SHANK at the "Blackfriars," then under BEESTON at the "Cockpit": and MOHUN and SHATTEREL were in the same condition with him, at the last place. There BURT used to play the principal women's parts, in particular *CLARIANA* in *Love's cruelty*: and, at the same time, MOHUN acted *BELLAMENTE*, which part he retained after the Restoration.

Lovewit. That I have seen, and can well remember. I wish they had printed in the last Age (for so I call the times before the Rebellion) the actors' names over against the parts they acted; as they have done since the Restoration: and thus one might have guessed at the Action of the men, by the parts which we now read in the old plays.

Truman. It was not the custom and usage of those days, as it hath been since. Yet some few old plays there are, that have the names set against the parts: as *The Duchess of MALFY; the Picture; the Roman Actor; the Deserving*

Favourite; the Wild Goose Chase, at the "Blackfriars"; *the Wedding; the Renegado; the Fair Maid of the West; HANNIBAL and SCIPIO; King JOHN and MATILDA*, at the "Cockpit"; and *Holland's leaguer*, at "Salisbury Court."

Lovewit. These are but few indeed: but, pray, Sir, what master-parts can you remember the old "Blackfriars" men to act, in JOHNSON'S, SHAKESPEARE'S, and FLETCHER'S plays?

Truman. What I can at present recollect I'll tell you. SHAKESPEARE (who, as I have heard, was a much better Poet than Player), BURBAGE, HEMMINGS, and others of the older sort, were dead before I knew the Town. But, in my time, before the Wars; LOWIN used to act, with mighty applause, *FALSTAFF*; *MOROSE*; *VULPONE*; and *MAMMON* in the *Alchemist*; *MELANCIUS* in the *Maid's tragedy*. And at the same time, *AMYNTOR* was played by STEPHEN HAMMERTON: who was, at first, a most noted and beautiful Woman-Actor; but afterwards he acted, with equal grace and applause, a young lover's part.

TAYLOR acted *HAMLET* incomparably well; *JAGO* [*i.e.*, *IAGO* in *OTHELLO*]; *TRUEWIT*, in the *Silent Woman*; and *FACE*, in the *Alchemist*.

SWANSTON used to play *OTHELLO*.

POLLARD and ROBINSON were Comedians. So was SHANK; who used to act *Sir ROGER* in the *Scornful Lady*. These were of the "Blackfriars."

Those of principal note at the "Cockpit" were PERKINS, MICHAEL BOWYER, SUMNER, WILLIAM ALLEN, and BIRD, eminent Actors: and ROBINS a Comedian.

Of the other Companies, I took little notice.

Lovewit. Were there so many companies?

Truman. Before the Wars, there were in being, all these Play Houses at the same time.

The "Blackfriars," and "Globe" on the Bankside. A winter, and [a] summer house belonging to the same Company; called "The King's Servants."

The "Cockpit" or "Phœnix" in Drury Lane; called "The Queen's Servants."

The Private House in Salisbury Court; called "The Prince's Servants."

The "Fortune," near White Cross Street: and the "Red Bull" at the upper end of St. John's Street. The two last were mostly frequented by citizens, and the meaner sort of people.

All these Companies got money, and lived in reputation: especially those of the "Blackfriars," who were men of grave and sober behaviour.

Lovewit. Which I much admire [*wonder*] at. That the Town, [being] much less than at present, could then maintain Five Companies; and yet now Two can hardly subsist.

Truman. Do not wonder, but consider! That though the Town was then, perhaps, not much more than half so populous as now; yet then the prices [of admission] were small (there being no scenes), and better order kept among the company that came: which made very good people think a play an innocent diversion for an idle hour or two; the plays being then, for the most part, more instructive and moral. Whereas of late, the Playhouses are so extremely with vizard-masks [*spectators wearing masks*] and their trade, occasioning continual quarrels and abuses; that many of the more civilized [*refined*] part of the Town are uneasy in the company, and shun the theatre as they would a house of scandal.

It is an argument of the worth of the Plays and Actors of the last Age, and easily inferred that they were much beyond ours in this, to consider that they could support themselves merely from their own merit, the weight of the matter, and goodness of the action; without scenes and machines. Whereas the present plays, with all their show, can hardly draw an audience, unless there be the additional invitation of a Signior FIDELI, a Monsieur L'ABBE, or some such foreign regale expressed in the bottom of the *Bill*.

Lovewit. To waive this digression, I have read of one EDWARD ALLEYN, a man so famed for excellent action that among BEN JOHNSON's *Epigrams*, I find one directed to him, full of encomium, and concluding thus—

Wear this renown! 'Tis just, that who did give
So many poets life, by one should live.

Was he one of the "Blackfriars"?

Truman. Never, as I have heard; for he was dead before

my time. He was Master of a Company of his own; for whom he built the "Fortune" playhouse from the ground: a large round brick building. This is he that grew so rich, that he purchased a great estate in Surrey, and elsewhere; and, having no issue, he built and largely endowed Dulwich College in the year 1619, for a Master, a Warden, four Fellows, twelve aged poor people, and twelve poor boys, &c. A noble charity!

Lovewit. What kind of Playhouses had they before the Wars?

Truman. The "Blackfriars," "Cockpit," and "Salisbury Court" were called Private Houses; and were very small to what we see now. The "Cockpit" was standing since the Restoration; and RHODES's Company acted there for some time.

Lovewit. I have seen that.

Truman. Then you have seen the other two, in effect; for they were all three built almost exactly alike, for form and bigness. Here they had "Pits" for the gentry, and acted by candlelight.

The "Globe," "Fortune," and "Bull" were large houses, and lay partly open to the weather: and there they always acted by daylight.

Lovewit. But prithee, TRUMAN; what became of these players when the Stage was put down, and the Rebellion raised [*i.e., in the time of the Commonwealth*].

Truman. Most of them (except LOWIN, TAYLOR, and POLLARD, who were superannuated) went into the King's army; and like good men and true, served their old master, though in a different, yet more honourable capacity.

ROBINSON was killed at the taking of a place (I think Basing House) by HARRISON, he that was after hanged at Charing Cross: who refused him quarter, and shot him in the head when he had laid down his arms; abusing Scripture at the same time, in saying "Cursed is he that doeth the work of the LORD negligently!"

MOHUN was a Captain; and, after the Wars were ended here, served in Flanders, where he received pay as a Major.

HART was a Lieutenant of horse under Sir THOMAS DALLISON, in Prince RUPERT's Regiment. BURT was Cornet in the same troop; and SHATTEREL, Quarter Master.

ALLEN of the "Cockpit" was a Major, and Quarter Master General at Oxford.

I have not heard of one of these players of any note that sided with the other party, but only SWANSTON; and he professed himself a Presbyterian, took up the trade of a jeweller, and lived in Aldermanbury, within the territory of Father CALAMY. The rest either lost, or exposed their lives for their King.

When the Wars were over, and the Royalists totally subdued: most of them who were left alive gathered to London; and for a subsistence, endeavoured to revive their old trade privately. They made up one Company out of all the scattered members of several; and in the winter before the King's murder, [*i.e.*] 1648, they ventured to act some plays, with as much caution and privacy as could be, at the "Cockpit." They continued undisturbed for three or four days: but at last, as they were presenting the tragedy of the *Bloody Brother*—in which LOWIN acted *AUBREY*; TAYLOR, *ROLLO*; POLLARD, the *Cook*; BURT, *LA TORCHE*; and, I think, HART, *OTTO*—a party of foot-soldiers beset the house, surprised them about the middle of the play, and carried them away, in their habits [*dresses*] not admitting them to shift [*themselves*], to Hatton House, then a prison: where having detained them some time, they plundered them of their clothes, and let them loose again.

Afterwards, in OLIVER's time, they used to act privately three or four miles or more out of town, now here, now there; sometimes in noblemen's houses, in particular Holland House at Kensington: where the nobility and gentry who met, but in no great numbers, used to make a sum for them; each giving a broad piece or the like. And ALEXANDER GOFFE, the Woman Actor at "Blackfriars," who had made himself known to persons of Quality, used to be the jackal, and give notice of time and place.

At Christmas and Bartholomew Fair, they used to bribe the Officer who commanded the guard at White Hall; and were thereupon connived at to act for a few days, at the "Red Bull": but were sometimes, notwithstanding, disturbed by soldiers.

Some picked up a little money by publishing copies of plays never before printed, but kept in manuscript. For

instance, in the year 1652, BEAUMONT and FLETCHER's *Wild Goose Chase* was printed in folio, *for the public use of all the ingenious*, as the title page says: *and private benefit of JOHN LOWIN and JOSEPH TAYLOR, Servants to his late Majesty*: and by them dedicated *To the honoured Few Lovers of Dramatic Poesy*[b]; wherein they modestly intimate their wants. And that with sufficient cause: for whatever they were before the Wars; they were after reduced to a necessitous condition.

LOWIN, in his latter days, kept an inn, *The Three Pigeons* at Brentford, where he died very old: for he was an Actor of eminent note in the reign of King JAMES I., and his poverty was as great as his age. TAYLOR died at Richmond, and was there buried. POLLARD, who lived single, and had a competent estate, retired to some relations he had in the country; and there ended his life. PERKINS and SUMNER of the "Cockpit," kept house together at Clerkenwell, and were there buried.

These all died some years before the Restoration. What followed after, I need not tell you! You can easily remember!

Lovewit. Yes. Presently after the Restoration, the "King's Players" acted publicly at the "Red Bull" for some time; and then removed to a new built Playhouse in Vere Street, by Clare Market. There they continued for a year or two; and then removed to the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, where they first made use of scenes [*scenery*]: which had been a little before introduced upon the public stage by Sir WILLIAM D'AVENANT at the Duke's old Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields; but afterwards very much improved, with the addition of curious machines, by Mr. BETTERTON at the

[a] *The Wild Goose Chase.* A Comedy, as it hath been acted with singular applause at the "Blackfriars"; being the noble, last, and only remains of those incomparable Dramatists, FRANCIS BEAUMONT and JOHN FLETCHER, gentlemen. Retrieved for the public delight of all the Ingenious; and private benefit of JOHN LOWIN and JOSEPH TAYLOR Servants to his late Majesty; by a Person of Honour.

[b] *In this Dedication is mentioned the following singular fact respecting FLETCHER.* The Play was of so general a received acceptance, that, he himself a spectator, we have known him unconcerned, and to have wished it to be none of his: he, as well as the thronged theatre (in despite of his innate modesty), applauding this rare issue of his brain.

new Theatre in Dorset Garden—to the great expense, and continual charge of the players. This much impaired their profit over what it was before. For I have been informed by one of them, that for several years after the Restoration, every whole Sharer in Mr. HART's Company, got £1,000 *per annum*.

About the same time, that Scenes first entered upon the Stage at London, women were taught to act their own parts. Since when, we have seen, at both houses, several excellent actresses, justly famed as well for beauty as perfect good action. And some plays, in particular *The Parson's Wedding*, have been presented all by women; as formerly all by men.

Thus it continued for about twenty years, when Mr. HART and some of the old men began to grow weary; and were minded to leave off. Then the two Companies thought fit to unite: but of late, you see, they have thought it not less fit to divide again; though both Companies keep the same name of "His Majesty's Servants."

All this while, the Playhouse music improved yearly, and is now arrived to greater perfection than ever I knew it.

Yet for these advantages, the reputation of the Stage and people's affection to it are much decayed.

Truman. SINCE the Reformation, in QUEEN ELIZABETH's time, plays were frequently acted by Choristers and Singing Boys; and several of our old Comedies have printed in the title-page, *Acted by the Children of Paul's* (not the School, but the Church); others, *By the Children of Her Majesty's Chapel*. In particular, *CYNTHIA's Revels*, and the *Poetaster* were played by them; who were, at that time, famous for good action.

Among BEN JOHNSON's *Epigrams*, you may find *An epitaph on S[AL] P[AVY], one of the Children of Queen ELIZABETH's Chapel*; part of which runs thus:

Years he counted scarce Thirteen
When Fates turned cruel,
Yet three filled zodiacs he had been
The Stage's jewel.

And did act (what now we moan)
Old Man so duly,
As, sooth, the PARCÆ thought him one,
He played so truly!

Some of the Chapel Boys, when they grew men, became Actors at the "Blackfriars." Such were NATHANIEL FIELD and JOHN UNDERWOOD.

Lovewit. BUT CAN you inform me, TRUMAN! when public theatres were first erected for this purpose in London.

Truman. Not certainly: but I presume about the beginning of Queen ELIZABETH's reign. For STOW, in his *Survey of London*, which book was first printed in the year 1598, says:

Of late years in place of these stage-plays (*i.e.*, those of religious matters) *have been used Comedies, Tragedies, Interludes, and Histories, both true and feigned: for the acting whereof, certain public places as the "Theatre," the "Curtain," &c., have been erected.*

And [J. HOWES] the Continuator of STOW's *Annals*, *p.* 1004, says:

That in sixty years before the publication of that book (which was *Anno Domini* 1629) *no less than seventeen public Stages or common Playhouses had been built in and about London.* In which number he reckons five Inns or common Holsteries to have been, in his time, turned into Playhouses; one Cockpit; St. Paul's Singing School; one in the Blackfriars; one in the Whitefriars; and one, in former time, at Newington Butts; and adds, *before the space of sixty years past*, I never knew, heard or read of any such Theatres, set Stages, or Playhouses, as have been purposely built within man's memory.

Lovewit. After all, I have been told that stage plays are inconsistent with the laws of this kingdom; and Players made Rogues by statute.

Truman. He that told you so, strained a point of truth. I never met with any law wholly to suppress them. Some-

times, indeed, they have been prohibited for a season: as in times of Lent, general mourning, or public calamities; or upon other occasions when the Government saw fit. Thus by *Proclamation*, 7th of April [1559], 1 *Eliz.*, plays and interludes were forbidden till Allhallowtide [1 November] next following. *HOLINSHED*, *p.* 1184.

Some statutes have been made for their regulation or reformation, not general suppression. By the statute 39 *Eliz. c.* 4, which was made *for the suppression of Rogues, Vagabonds, and sturdy Beggars*, it is enacted, *s.* 2:

That all persons that be, or utter themselves to be Proctors; Procurers; Patent gatherers or Collectors for Coals, Prisons, or Hospitals; or Fencers; Bearwards; common Players of Interludes, and Minstrels wandering abroad (other than Players of Interludes belonging to any Baron of this realm or any other honourable Personage of greater degree, to be authorised to play under the hand and seal of arms of such Baron or Personage); all Jugglers, Tinkers, Pedlers, and Petty Chapmen wandering abroad; &c., able in body, using loitering, and refusing to work for such reasonable wages as is commonly given, &c. These shall be adjudged and deemed Rogues, Vagabonds, and sturdy Beggars; and punished as such.

Lovewit. But this privilege of authorising or licensing is taken away by the statute 1 *Jac. I. c.* 7 *s.* 1; and therefore all of them (as Mr. [JEREMY] COLLIER says, *p.* 242) are expressly brought under the foresaid penalty, without distinction.

Truman. If he means all Players without distinction, it is a great mistake. For the force of the Queen's statute extends only to "*wandering* Players," and not to such as are the "King's" or "Queen's Servants," established in settled Houses by Royal Authority.

On such, the ill character of vagrant players or (as they are now called) Strollers, can cast no more aspersion than the "wandering Proctors," in the same statute mentioned, on those of Doctor's Commons.

By a statute made 3 *Jac. I. c.* 21, it was enacted *That if any person shall in any Stage play, Interlude, Show, Maygame, or Pageantry jestingly or profanely speak or use the holy name of GOD, JESUS CHRIST, the HOLY GHOST, or of the TRINITY, he shall forfeit for every such offence* £10.

The statute of 1 *Car. I. c.* 1 enacts *That no meetings, assemblies, or concourse of people shall be out of their own parishes on the Lord's Day, for any sports or pastimes whatsoever; nor any bearbaiting, bullbaiting, interludes, common plays, or other unlawful exercises and pastimes used by any person or persons within their own parishes.*

These are all the statutes that I can think of relating to the Stage and Players. But nothing to suppress them totally, till the two *Ordinances* of the Long Parliament; one of the 22nd of October 1647, the other of the 11th of February 1647[-8]. By which all Stage Plays and Interludes are absolutely forbidden; the stages, seats, galleries, &c., to be pulled down. All players, though calling themselves the "King's" or "Queen's Servants," if convicted of acting within two months before such conviction, to be punished as Rogues, according to law. The money received by them, to go to the poor of the parish; and every spectator to pay five shillings to the use of the poor.

Also Cockfighting was prohibited by one of OLIVER's *Acts*, of 31st March 1654: but I suppose nobody pretends these things to be laws [!].

I could say more on this subject, but I must break off here, and leave you, LOVEWIT. My occasions require it.

Lovewit. Farewell, old Cavalier!

Truman. 'Tis properly said! We are almost all of us now, gone and forgotten.

FINIS.

ANDREW MARVELL, M.P.

Bermudas.

[*Miscellanies*, 1681.]



HERE the remote Bermudas ride
In th'ocean's bosom unespied;
From a small boat, that rowed along,
The listening winds received this song.

"What should we do, but sing His praise!
That led us through the watery maze
Unto an isle so long unknown,
And yet far kinder than our own.
Where He, the huge sea monsters wracks,
That lift the deep upon their backs;
He lands us on a grassy stage,
Safe from the storms' and prelates' rage.
He gave us this eternal spring,
Which here enamels everything;
And sends the fowls to us in care,
On daily visits through the air.
He hangs in shades, the orange bright,
Like golden lamps in a green night;
And does in the pomegranates 'close,
Jewels more rich than Ormuz shows.
He makes the figs, our mouths to meet,
And throws the melons at our feet;

But 'apples, plants of such a price!
No tree could ever bear them twice.
With cedars chosen by His hand
From Lebanon, He stores the land:
And makes the hollow seas, that roar,
Proclaim the ambergris on shore.
He cast (of which we rather boast)
The Gospel's Pearl upon our coast:
And in these rocks, for us did frame
A temple, where to sound His name.
O let our voice His praise exalt,
Till it arrive at heaven's vault!
Which thence (perhaps) rebounding, may
Echo beyond the Mexic Bay."

Thus sung they in the English boat,
A holy and a cheerful note;
And all the way, to guide their chime,
With falling oars they kept the time.

Captain JOHN SMITH.

The present state of New England.

[*i.e.*, in 1624].

[*General History of Virginia.* 1626]

It may be useful to give in full, the Account of SMITH, which is abridged by PRINCE, at *p.* 465; as it is the best description that has come down to us, of that voluntary Asssociation of Puritan sympathisers in England, who, at first, backed up the Pilgrim Fathers, and then threw them over; and who are referred to by PRINCE (at and from *p.* 437), as the Adventurers, in contradistinction to the Planters of New Plymouth.



T New Plymouth there are about one hundred and eight persons; some cattle and goats, but many swine and poultry; thirty-two dwelling houses, whereof seven were burnt the last winter: and the value of £500 [= *about £2,000 in present valuc*] in other goods. The town is impaled about half a mile in compass. In the town, upon a high mount, they have a fort, well built with wood, loam, and stone; where is planted their ordnance, also a fair watchtower, partly framed, for the sentinel. The place it seems is healthful: for in these last three years, notwithstanding their great want of most necessaries: there hath not one died of the First Planters. They have a Salt Work, and with that salt, preserve the fish they take; and, this year, have freighted a ship of 180 tons. The governor is one Master WILLIAM BRADFORD; their Captain, MILES STANDISH, a bred soldier in Holland; the chief men for "Assistance" are ISAAC ALLERTON and divers others, as occasion serveth. Their Preachers are Master WILLIAM BREWSTER, and Master JOHN LYFORD.

The most of them live together as one family or household; yet every man followeth his trade and profession, both by sea and land; and all for a General Stock, out of which they have all their maintenance, until there be a Divident [*a Sharing*]

betwixt the Planters and the Adventurers. Those Planters are not servants to the Adventurers here, and have only counsels of directions from them, but no injunctions or commands: and all the Masters of families are Partners in land or whatsoever, setting their labours against the Stock till certain years be expired for the Division. They have young men and boys for their apprentices and servants; and some of them special families, as ship's carpenters, salt makers, fish masters; yet as servants, upon great wages.

The Adventurers which raised the Stock to begin and supply this Plantation, were about seventy; some gentlemen, some merchants, some handicraftsmen; some adventuring great sums, some small; as their estates and affection served.

The General Stock already employed [*i.e., by Planters and Adventurers together*] is about £7,000 [*about* £28,000 *now*]; by reason of which Charge and many crosses, many of them would adventure no more: but others that know so great a design cannot be effected without charge, loss, and crosses, are resolved to go forward with it to their powers; who deserve no small commendations and encouragement.

These [Adventurers] dwell mostly about London. They are not a Corporation; but knit together by a voluntary combination in a Society without constraint or penalty; aiming to do good, and to plant religion. They have a President and Treasurer, every year newly chosen by the most voices; who order the affairs of their Courts and Meetings: and, with the assent of the most of them, undertake all ordinary businesses; but, in more weighty affairs, the assent of the whole company is required.

There hath been a fishing, this year, upon the coast, about fifty English ships: and by Cape Ann, there is a Plantation a beginning by the Dorchester men; which they hold of New Plymouth, who have also, by them, set up a Fishing Work. Some talk there is of some other Plantations. All whose good proceedings, the eternal GOD protect and preserve!

A Chronological History OF *NEW ENGLAND* In the Form of ANNALS:

BEING

A summary and exact Account of the most material Transactions and Occurrences relating to this Country, in the order of time wherein they happened; from the Discovery by Captain GOSNOLD in 1602, to the Arrival of Governor BELCHER in 1730.

WITH AN

INTRODUCTION

CONTAINING

A brief Epitome of the most remarkable Transactions and Events abroad, from the Creation: including the connected Line of Time, the succession of Patriarchs, and Sovereigns of the most famous Kingdoms and Empires, the gradual discoveries of America, and the progress of the Reformation to the Discovery of New England.

By THOMAS PRINCE, M.A.

VOL. I.

Deut. XXXII. 7.—*Remember the days of old! Consider the years of many generations!*
Job VIII. 8.—*For enquire, I pray thee, of the former age! and prepare thyself to the search of their fathers!*

BOSTON, N. E.
Printed by KNEELAND & GREEN for S. GERRISH.
MDCCXXXVI.

IS THERE, in all our printed Literature, a more omniscient work on its special subject, than PRINCE's Survey of the Separatist and Puritan Exodus under our first two STUART Kings? The supreme thought, and the principal gift of a long and intensely active life: these *Annals* (*p.* 553) are one of the chief literary monuments of Colonial New England. What a range of authors, from HERERA's *Historia General del Mundo*, to BAYLIE's *Dissuasive from the Errors of the Times*, did he lay under contribution!

While for his General or English story, he is content to rest on the best secondary authorities within his reach, as PURCHAS, HOWES, FULLER, STRPYE, &c., including the popular inaccuracies to be found in them: for the Story of the New Plymouth and Massachusetts Colonies, he accepts little else but the original, often autographic Eye Witness accounts of Actors in, or Spectators of those Settlements. And thus it is, that for this external branch of our STUART history, with much of the social life of Puritanism, this Work is of paramount authority: and there is no other book in existence, that can at all supply its place.

What freaks of fortune happen to books; in that such a Work as this, a Record of the emigrational side of English life at that time, as exact as *EUCLID* and as interesting as *ROBINSON CRUSOE*, has not appeared in countless editions!

It was maimed at its birth. Though nearly twenty years elapsed between the First and the Second Volumes; though several Numbers were fully prepared for the press, *p.* 592; and though, judging from the fragment of it, to 5 *August*, 1633, that we possess, the Second Volume, designed to reach to June 1640, could have been published for some 6*s.* or 7*s.*: yet, in all colonial New England, there could not be found either a public or a publisher that could face the risk of such a small edition of a book, at that price! And strangely enough, the now aged Author himself, apparently rather than venture on its cost, most unfortunately allowed a portion of his labours to perish. It has *never*, till now, been printed in the mother country: and but *one* edition has appeared, since the author's death, in his native country; the verbatim and annotated one of 1826, at Boston, U.S.A. under the anonymous editorship of S. G. DRAKE, Esq., of that city.

A re-issue of fifty copies only, at Five Dollars each, of this edition, was made at the same place, in 1852; Mr. DRAKE now acknowledging the editorship on the title-page.

With the exception of the reprint of the Second Volume, in 1826, in the Seventh Volume of the Second Series of the *Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections*; this is apparently all that has hitherto been done to perpetuate the usefulness of a Work, which, for its precise truthfulness, is eminently fitted to be *the* Primer, for the Anglo-Saxon race, of the Story of the Pilgrim Fathers, and their Puritan neighbours of the Massachusetts.

E. A. 1879.

NOTE. The few notes, in the following pages of this Volume, by the present Editor, are distinguished by, E. A. 1879.

To his Excellency

JONATHAN BELCHER, Esq.,

Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England, &c.

To the Honourable

SPENCER PHIPPS, Esq.,

Lieutenant Governor,

AND

To the Honourable

His Majesty's Council, and House of Representatives of [the] said Province.

THE PROVINCE, *under your united care, being the Principal of the New England Governments, containing especially the two First Colonies, of Plymouth and the Massachusetts, from whence the others chiefly derived; and having the greatest share in the following Work: to*

whom, could a son of the Province more properly offer this fruit of his labours, than to Your Excellency and Honours? Especially when he beholds you as mostly, if not wholly, descendants from the worthy Fathers of these Plantations, whom Yourselves and posterity cannot but have in everlasting honour: not only for their eminent self-denial and piety, wherein they set examples for future ages to admire and imitate; but also for their great concern that the same Vital and Pure Christianity, and Liberty, both civil and ecclesiastical, might be continued to their successors; for which, they left their own and their fathers' houses in the most pleasant places then on earth, with many of their dearest relatives, and came over the ocean into this then hideous wilderness. The peaceful fruits of whose extraordinary cares, labours, hardships, wisdom, courage, patience, blood, and death; we, under the Divine protection, and the justice of the best of kings, enjoy.

It is to these, we firstly owe our pleasant houses, our fruitful fields, our growing towns and Churches, our wholesome laws, our precious privileges, our Grammar Schools and Colleges, our pious and learned Ministers and Magistrates, our good Government and order, the public restraints of vices, the general knowledge of our common people, the strict observation of the Christian Sabbath: with those remains of public modesty, sobriety, social virtues, and religion; for which, this country is distinguished among the British colonies, and in which we are as happy as any on earth.

In the midst of our great advantages, You will doubtless take a noble and useful pleasure in reviewing the names and actions of your predecessors, that You may imitate their virtues; as also in surveying the gradual steps that led to our present situation: together with the Train of Providences appearing for us, sometimes indeed afflicting, and then delivering; but preserving us through all our dangers, disappointing the designs of enemies, maintaining our invaluable liberties, and causing us to grow and prosper—that the

Sovereign Power who has formed, preserved, and blessed this People, may receive His due and grateful adorations.

It is the orderly succession *of these transactions and events, as they* precisely *fell out in time (too much neglected by our historians); that, for some years past, I have taken the greatest pains to search and find, even vastly more than in composing: and which, through a world of difficulty and much expense, I here present You: not in the specious form of a proper History, which admits of artificial ornaments and descriptions to raise the imagination and affections of the reader; but of a closer and more naked Register, comprising* only *Facts, in a Chronological Epitome, to enlighten the understanding, somewhat like the Form of* USHER's Annals, *which a competent historian may easily fill up and beautify.*

Nor is the design of this Dedication, as is usual with others, to implore Your patronage of the Work in general at all adventures, or to palliate or excuse the faults or mistakes therein; but rather humbly to appeal to Your collective and superior knowledge, that it may more thoroughly be examined, every mistake of fact discovered, and the remainder only justified.

It would be too high a presumption in me, as well as too intruding on your more important cares, to supplicate a public examination or correction of this composure [composition]. *But if it were as worthy as the Reverend and learned Mr.* HUBBARD's Narrative of the Indian War, *for the perusing and approving* [*of*] *which, three honourable Magistrates were deputed by the Governor and Council of the Massachusetts Colony, in* 1677 (*one of whom was a Major General, and the other two were afterwards Governors*): *upon rectifying every error, such a Public Approbation would consign it, as a True Report of Facts, to the regard and credit both of the present and of future generations.*

I should now conclude, were it not for an observation of too great and public moment to be here omitted, which is as follows:—

That when the Founders of these Colonies came over, it was a time of general tyranny both in Church and State, through[out] *their mother island, under which the British Kingdoms loudly groaned; as the united voice declared both of their Lords and Commons in several Parliaments, both of England and of Scotland, the only national representatives and the most proper witnesses of the national oppressions: a thousand times more credible than any particular writers. From which, those Kingdoms could never obtain a legal and established deliverance till the glorious Revolution in* 1688; *nor could apprehend it to be sufficiently secured till the happy Accession of King* GEORGE *I. to the British throne in* 1714. *A Prince, who was a grandson by the Princess* SOPHIA, *of that most excellent King and Queen of* BOHEMIA, *whom the Puritans admired and loved; whom they grieved to see so much neglected in their bitter sufferings, by the Court of England; and whom those who came over hither represented to their posterity in the most amiable character. Of which I can myself, bear witness. For though born in a remoter corner of this land* [New England], *yet while in the arms of a knowing and careful mother, a granddaughter of the first race of settlers; next to the Scripture History, she gave me such a view of the Reformation, and of the sufferings and virtues of those renowned Princes; as raised my joy with others, when the first hopeful prospect opened, of their Protestant descendants in the Illustrious House of* HANOVER *being advanced to the British Throne; and carried us into unbounded transports, when our eyes beheld it.*

Upon this occasion, His Excellency will forgive me if, for the

honour of his Country as well as for his own, we boast of One among us; who, inspired with zeal for the succession of that Illustrious House, even in the joys of youth, twice brake away, viz., in 1704 *and* 1708, *and passed a double Ocean, that he might with rapture see, and in his Country's name express the ardour of their vows to that most important Family; in which, under heaven, all the welfare of three mighty Nations, and even of all the Protestant States and kingdoms in the world, as well as the liberty, religion, and felicity of these Colonies and Provinces were involved. A celebrated instance, peculiar to himself alone, that I presume no other American can pretend to; and, for the fatigue and pains, I suppose no other subject of the whole British Empire: which redounds to the glory of the land that bred him, that parted with him and received him with applause; and the happy consequence whereof, at the head of his Country, he now enjoys.*

May that blessed Family remain on the throne! and prosper as long as the sun endures! May they spread their branches to every state and kingdom roundabout! and therewith extend the British happiness! May these Plantations flourish, under their benign influence, to the end of time!

May your Excellency enjoy their smiles, till the last hour of life! and thereby, with the Divine grace and blessing, long lengthen our tranquility, and advance our welfare!

May your Honours, now taking your turn to rise and shine in the exalted places of your wise and pious Predecessors, follow their bright examples! preserve the dear Deposita *resigned to your faithful trust! and transmit them safely to your successors! In all your counsels, may you look to future as well as present generations! whom you may see depending on your care and wisdom, as we, unborn, depended on the care and wisdom of those before us! and may you ever keep in view the principal and noble*

ends of these Religious Settlements! So will you be, with our dear Forefathers, an eternal excellence, and the joy and praise of perpetual generations.

Your Excellency's and Honours'

Most obedient humble servant,

THOMAS PRINCE.

Boston, Nov. 24th, 1736.

THE PREFACE
relating the rise, design, and progress of this Composure.

NEXT to the Sacred History, and that of the Reformation, I was from my early youth instructed in the History of this Country [*i.e.*, *New England*]. And the first book of this kind put into my hand was the *New England Memorial* composed by Mr. Secretary MORTON, being the history of Plimouth Colony from the beginning to 1668.[1] Governor THOMAS DUDLEY's *Letter to the Countess of LINCOLN*[2] informed me of the beginning of the Massachusetts Colony. Mr. WILLIAM HUBBARD's and Mr. INCREASE MATHER's narratives[3] of the Indian Wars in 1637, 1675, and 1676; with Mr. COTTON MATHER's History of the

---

[1] NATHANIEL MORTON. *New England's Memorial: or, A brief Relation of the most Memorable and Remarkable Passages of the Providence of God, manifested to the Planters of New England in America. With special Reference to the first Colony thereof, called New Plimouth.* Cambridge, New England, 1669. 4to. E. A. 1879.

[2] THOMAS DUDLEY. *Letter to the Countess of LINCOLN, of March* 28, 1631 [see *p.* 580]. Boston, 1696. 8vo. E. A. 1879.

[3] WILLIAM HUBBARD. *A Narrative of the troubles with the Indians in New England from the first planting thereof in the year* 1607, *to this present year* 1677. *To which is added a Discourse about the Warre with the Pequods in the year* 1637. Boston, New England, 1677. 4to. E. A. 1879.

INCREASE MATHER. *A Brief History of the War with the Indians in New England. (From June* 24, 1675, *when the first Englishman was murdered by the Indians, to August* 12, 1676, *when Philip, alias Metacomet, the principal Author and Beginner of the War, was slain.) Wherein the Grounds, Beginning, and Progress of the Warr is summarily expressed, etc.* Boston, New England, 1676. 4to. E. A. 1879.

Indian Wars from 1688 to 1698,[1] gave me a sufficient view of those calamitous times. Mr. MATTHEW MAYHEW'S account of the Vineyard Indians;[2] Mr. INCREASE MATHER'S Record of Remarkable Providences;[3] Mr. COTTON MATHER'S Lives of Mr. COTTON, NORTON, WILSON, DAVENPORT, HOOKER,[4] MITCHEL,[5] ELIOT,[6] and Sir WILLIAM PHIPPS,[7] increased my knowledge: and much more was it advanced upon the coming out of the last-mentioned author's *Ecclesiastical History of New England*,[8] in folio in 1702.

Yet still I longed to see all these things disposed in the order of Time wherein they happened, together with the rise and progress of the several Towns, Churches, Counties, Colonies and Provinces through this country.

---

[1] COTTON MATHER. Decennium Luctuosum. *An History of Remarkable Occurrences, In the Long War, which New England hath had with the Indian Salvages, From the year* 1688, *to the year* 1698. *Faithfully Composed and Improved.* Boston, New England, 1699. 8vo. E. A. 1879.

∴ In connection with this work may here be quoted a continuation of it not here referred to by PRINCE; COTTON MATHER. Duodecennium Luctuosum. *The History of a Long War with Indian Salvages, And their Directors and Abettors. From the Year,* 1702, *to the Year,* 1714, *etc.* Boston, New England, 1714. 8vo. E. A. 1879.

[2] EXPERIENCE MAYHEW. Discourse *at* Boston, *Nov.* 23, 1718. *With a brief account of the State of the Indians at Martha's Vineyard, and the small islands adjacent, from* 1694 *to* 1720. Boston, 1720. 8vo. E. A. 1879.

[3] INCREASE MATHER. *An Essay for the recording of Illustrious Providences . . . especially in New England.* Boston, 1684. 8vo. E. A. 1879.

[4] COTTON MATHER. JOHANNES in Eremo. *Memoirs Relating to the Lives of the Ever-Memorable Mr. JOHN COTTON, Mr. JOHN NORTON, Mr. JOHN WILSON, Mr. JOHN DAVENPORT, and Mr. THOMAS HOOKER.* Boston, New England, 1695. 8vo. E. A. 1879.

[5] COTTON MATHER. Ecclesiastes. *The Life of the Reverend and Excellent JONATHAN MITCHEL; A Pastor of the Church, and A Glory of the College, in Cambridge.* Boston, New England, 1697. 8vo. E. A. 1879.

[6] COTTON MATHER. *The Triumphs of the Reformed Religion in America. The Life of the Renowned JOHN ELIOT, a Person justly famous in the Church of GOD.* Boston, New England, 1702. E. A. 1879.

[7] [COTTON MATHER]. Pietas in Patriam. *The Life of his Excellency Sir WILLIAM PHIPPS, late Captain General, and Governour in Chief of the Province of the Massachuset Bay, New England . . . Written by one intimately acquainted with him. London,* 1697. 8vo. E. A. 1879.

[8] COTTON MATHER. *Magnalia CHRISTI Americana; or, the Ecclesiastical History of New England, from its First Planting in the Year* 1620, *unto the Year of our Lord,* 1698. *In Seven Books.* London, 1702. Folio. E. A. 1879.

Upon my entering into the College [*i.e.*, *Harvard College*], I chanced, in my leisure hours, to read Mr. CHAMBERLAIN'S Account of the Cottonian Library, which excited in me a zeal of laying hold on every book, pamphlet, and paper, both in print and manuscript, which are either written by persons who lived here [*i.e.*, *in New England*], or that have any tendency to enlighten our history.

When I went to England, I met with a great variety of books and pamphlets, too many here to name, relating to this country, wrote in ancient times, and which I could not meet with on this side of the Atlantic.

Among others, in *A History of New England, from* 1628 *to* 1651, printed, in quarto, London, 1654, I found many particulars of the beginning of our several Churches, Towns and Colonies, which appear in no other writer. The running title of the book is *Wonder-Working Providence &c.*, and in the genuine Title-page no author is named. Some of the books were faced with a false Title-page, wherein the work is wrongly assigned to Sir F[ERDINANDO] GORGES: but the true author was Master JOHNSON of Woburn in New England, as the late Judge SEWALL assured me, as of a thing familiarly known among the Fathers of the Massachusetts Colony.[1]

In my foreign travels, I found the want of a regular History of this country everywhere complained of, and was often moved to undertake it; though I could not think myself equal to a work so noble as the subject merits. The extraordinary talents which LE MOINE and others require in an historian were enough to deter me: and yet I had a secret thought that, upon returning to my native country, in case I should fall into a state of leisure, and no other engaged [thereon]; I would attempt *A Brief Account of Facts*, at least, in the form of *Annals*.

---

[1] [EDWARD JOHNSON.] *A History of New England. From the English planting in the year* 1628, *untill the yeere* 1652. London, 1654. 4to.

∴ Also known by its headline of *Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Saviour, in New England.* E. A. 1879.

But, returning home in 1717, Providence was pleased soon to settle me in such a public place and circumstance, as I could expect no leisure for such a work; and gave it over. I could propose no other than to go on with my collections, and provide materials for some other hand. Which [materials] I have been at no small expense to gather: having amassed above a thousand books, pamphlets, and papers of this kind in print; and a great number of papers in manuscript, so many indeed that I have never yet had leisure enough to read them. For I should want at least as long a time as DIO, who says he had been not only Ten years in collecting for his History, but also Twelve years more in compiling it: and yet by his book of *Dreams and Prodigies* presented to SEVERUS, one would think he had sufficient leisure.

In 1720, came out Mr. NEAL'S *History of New England*; which I was glad to see, and pleased both with his spirit, style, and method. I could wish nothing more than that he had all the helps this country affords. And though he has fallen into many mistakes of facts which are commonly known among us—some of which he seems to derive from Mr. OLDMIXON'S account of New England in his *British Empire in America*—which mistakes are no doubt the reason why Mr. NEAL'S *History* is not more generally read among us: yet considering the materials this worthy writer was confined to, and that he was never here; it seems to me scarce possible that any under his disadvantages should form a better. In comparing him with the authors from whence he draws, I am surprised to see the pains he has taken to put the materials into such a regular order: and to me, it seems as if many parts of his work cannot be mended.

Upon the account of those mistakes, as also many deficiencies which our written records only are able to supply; I have often been urged here to undertake our History; but as often declined for the reasons aforesaid.

However being still solicited, and no other attempting; at length, in 1728, I determined to draw up *A short Account of*

the most remarkable Transactions and Events, in the form of a mere Chronology; which I apprehended would give a summary and regular view of the rise and progress of our affairs, be a certain guide to future historians, make their performance easier to them, or assist Mr. NEAL in correcting his Second Edition: which I supposed would not take above six or eight sheets [*i.e.*, 96 to 128 *pages*]; intending to write no more than a line or two upon every article.

The design was this:

A summary and exact Account of the most material occurrences relating to these Parts of the World from their first discovery, in the order of time in which they happened. Wherein, besides the most Remarkable Providences, such as appearances of comets and eclipses; earthquakes; tempests; inundations; droughts; scarcities; fires; epidemical sicknesses; memorable accidents and deliverances; deaths of men of figure, with their age and places where they lived and died; as also of the most aged, with the number of their offspring: there will be brief Hints of our Historical Transactions, as the rise and changes of Governments; the elections of Chief Magistrates; the grants and settlements of Towns and Precincts, their Indian and English names; the formation of Churches and Counties; the ordinations and removals of Ministers; building Houses for Public Worship, Forts, and Great Bridges; erecting Grammar Schools and Colleges; extraordinary public Fasts and Thanksgivings; propagation of the Gospel; remarkable laws and executions; as also wars, assaults, expeditions, battles, peace, &c.

The different dates assigned to various occurrences will be carefully compared and corrected; and the very Years, Months, and Days, if possible, ascertained.

Together with an Introduction containing a Brief Account of the most remarkable persons, transactions, and events abroad.

1. *From the Creation to the birth of* CHRIST, *according to the Computation of the best chronologers.*

2. *From thence, to the discovery of the New World by* CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.
3. *From thence, to the discovery of New England by Captain* GOSNOLD.

The Ministers throughout this Country were desired to make their careful inquiries, and send in their accurate accounts as soon as possible; that such Material Passages might be preserved from oblivion, and so desirable a Collection might be hastened to the public view.

Upon my publishing this Design, I first engaged on the *Introduction*: but quickly found, as CHAMBERS in his *Cyclopædia* observes, "Chronology to be vastly more difficult than one can imagine, who has not applied himself to the study;" and as ALSTED in his *Thesaurus* says, "That his other labours were but as play to this." In my Prefaces to the several Periods, and the following Notes; I observe the writers with whom I agree and differ, as also some of the greatest difficulties. And as I would not take the least iota upon trust, if possible; I examined the Original Authors I could meet with: and some of the articles were so perplexed, as it cost me a fortnight's thought and labour, before I could be fully satisfied. The mere tables and calculations I was forced to make, would compose a folio. To find out not only the Year and Month, but even the Day of every article, I was obliged to search a great number of writers: and the knowing reader will see that so many precise points of time are no where to be found, but by such a Collection as I have, for this intent, perused.

[*Some particulars are here left out. They describe the method pursued in the earlier portion of the Introduction* (*Periods I–VI. and VII. s.* 1.) *coming down to* COLUMBUS's *discovery of America* (*see pp.* 309, 311): *which is omitted as not being pertinent to the real scope of a work of* Annals of New England. E.A. 1879.]

In the *Introduction*, I also observed this rule, "That the nearer I drew to the later ages, wherein we grow more concerned; the larger I have made my Periods." And in the process of this work, was gradually led on; and persuaded to exceed my first design; which was, to have made the Five, later Periods, near[ly] as short as the Two former.

By that time I finished the *Introduction*, I found so great a number of historical manuscripts, both old and new, containing all sorts of records, both public and private; religious, civil, and military; that our printed Histories are but a small part in comparison with them: and made me still more ready to yield to the solicitations of others, to enlarge my design, and give the public an abridgment of them. For I considered that as several ancient records of Towns and Churches have been unhappily burnt, and some lost otherwise; if I did not *now*, in this way, preserve the Substance of these Historical Memoirs, it would be daily in danger of perishing beyond recovery.

The Manuscripts, I have opportunity to search are these: In Folio:

1. Governor BRADFORD's *History of Plymouth People and Colony from* 1602 *to the end of* 1646. In 270 pages. With some Account, at the end, of the increase of those who came over with him, from 1620 to 1650. And all in his own handwriting.
2. The ancient Church of Plymouth *Records*, begun by Mr. Secretary MORTON.
3. A copy of the *Grand Charter* of New England, granted by King JAMES, on November 3, 1620. In 86 pages.
4. The ancient *Records* of the Massachusetts Colony [*p.* 480].
5. The ancient *Records* of the County of Suffolk [*in New England*]: in the first Volume whereof are several letters from the Massachusetts Company, at London, to Mr. ENDICOT; before they came over [*p.* 491].
6. The ancient *Records* of the Town of Charlestown

[*in New England*]: in the first Volume whereof is a particular history of the first coming and settling of the English there, and in the neighbouring places [*p.* 483].

7. The ancient *Records* of the Town of Boston [*in New England*]; as also of the First, Second, Third, and several other later Churches there [*p.* 545].
8. The ancient *Records* of the First Church of Roxbury written by the famous and Reverend Master ELIOT, and his successive colleagues, the Reverends Masters DANFORTH and WALTER. In a separate part of the book are recorded hints of various ancient transactions and events in other towns and colonies [*p.* 617].
9. An ancient *Record* of the First New England Synod, viz. at Cambridge, in 1637.
10. *Plymouth Colony Laws*, from 1626 to 1660 inclusively.
11. The ancient *Records* of the Honourable Artillery Company.
12. The Reverend Mr. WILLIAM HUBBARD's *General History of New England*, from the discovery to 1680. In 338 pages. And though not in his own handwriting; yet having several corrections made thereby [*i.e., by him*].

In Quarto:

1. A Book of *Patents* of several parts of New England.
2. An original *Record* of the Reverend Master PETER HOBART, of Hingham; relating hints of matters, both in his own and some neighbouring Churches also.
3. Major MASON's ancient *Account of the Pequot War* in 1634-5-6-7.
4. Major General GOOKIN's *History of the New England Indians*, to 1674 inclusively.
5. An original *Journal*, in Latin, composed by the late Reverend Mr. BRIMSMEAD, of Marlborough [*in New England*], from 1665 to 1695 inclusively.
6. *An Account of Memorable Things in New England*, from 1674 to 1687 inclusively, written by the late

Reverend Doctor INCREASE MATHER. In his own hand.

7. An original *Journal* of the late Captain LAWRENCE HAMMOND, of Charlestown and Boston, from 1677 to 1694 inclusively.
8. An original *Journal* of a very intelligent person deceased, who desired not to be named; relating remarkable matters from 1689 to 1711 inclusively.

In Octavo:

1. A *Register* of Governor BRADFORD's, in his own hand [*usually known as his Pocket book, now lost*], recording some of the first deaths, marriages, and punishments at Plymouth [*pp.* 400, 405].
   With three other miscellaneous Volumes of his.
2. A little ancient *Table Book* of his son, Major WILLIAM BRADFORD, afterwards Deputy Governor of Plymouth Colony; written with his own hand, from 1649 to 1670.
3. Captain ROGER CLAP's Account of the ancient affairs of the Massachusetts Colony.
4. An original *Register* wrote by the Reverend Master JOHN LATHROP, recording the first affairs both of Scituate and Barnstable; of which towns he was, successively, the first Minister.
5. Two original books of Deputy Governor WILLOUGHBY, and Captain HAMMOND, giving historical hints from 1651 to 1678 inclusively.
6. *Interleaved Almanacks* of the late Honourable JOHN HULL and Judge SEWALL of Boston, Esquires, of the Reverend Mr. SHEPARD, last of Charlestown, of the late Reverend Mr. JOSEPH GERRISH of Wenham, and of several others; from 1646 to 1720: wherein the facts were wrote at the time they happened; though the notes in several, being wrote in divers sorts of shorthand to which I was an utter stranger, put me to no small pains to find out their Alphabets and other Characters.

In loose papers:

1. Extracts from the *Public Records* of the Colonies of Plymouth, Connecticut, and Rhode Island.
2. A great number of ancient *Letters and other papers*; which I have collected from several libraries, and particular persons.
3. Near 200 *chronological Letters* sent me, collected from the *Records* of several Towns and Churches, throughout this country; as also from *private Registers*, *gravestones*, and the *information* of *aged* and *intelligent* persons.

The reader will easily conceive how large and difficult a field now lay before me, when all these Manuscripts were to be perused, examined, and compared, both with *themselves* and with those Accounts *already published*: their varieties and contradictions solved; their mistakes discovered; the chronological order of all their passages found out; one regular Abridgment taken from them; what several wanted to be supplied from others; and the most material and proper passages, words, and phrases selected from them all, and placed together in a natural order, so as to enlighten each other.

For in my tracing several Authors on this occasion, I soon saw cause to come into the same sentiment and resolution with the Reverend Mr. STRYPE in his Preface to the First Volume of his *Annals of the Reformation*, which I shall mention in his own words: "I have chosen commonly to set down things in the very words of the Records and Originals, and of the Authors themselves, rather than in my own; without framing and dressing them into more modern language: whereby the sense is sure to remain entire as the writers meant it. Whereas by affecting too curiously to change and model words and sentences; I have observed the sense itself to be often marred and disguised."

Yet more scrupulous than Mr. STRYPE, on this account.

For instead of *commonly*, I have *so universally* observed this rule, that where I have inserted sentences or words of my own for illustration, I have either enclosed them in crotchets [] *(i.e., square brackets)*, or added them at the *end* of paragraphs *without* any author cited after them. And I know not that I have ever changed any words or phrases, unless they were very uncouth or obsolete: and then I have taken special care to answer them with others of the same exact importance. Only in some very few instances, I have used a softer term for a severer.

In the History of our own Times, we may freely use our own expressions: but in all Accounts of Events *before*; every Writer must take from Others, whether he mentions his originals or not. And though it be more laborious, yet it seems not only more ingenuous to cite them; but also carries more authority, and gives the inquisitive reader greater satisfaction. But those who have no regard to those authorities may in the reading omit them; unless where they think the passage of too great moment.

And here I must observe, that Mr. MORTON's History, from the beginning of the Plymouth People to the end of 1646, being chiefly Governor BRADFORD's manuscript abbreviated: from thence it comes to pass, that in many articles and paragraphs which I cite from Governor BRADFORD, both Mr. MORTON and I happen to use the same words and sentences. Not that I deduce them from Mr. MORTON; but because they are the original words and sentences in Governor BRADFORD.

Some may think me rather too critical; others, that I relate some circumstances too minute; and others, that I need not have interrupted the reading, with so many notes in the margin.

As for the first, I think a Writer of Facts cannot be too critical. It is Exactness I aim at: and would not have the least mistake, if possible, pass to the world. If I have unhappily fallen into any, it is through inadvertency only:

and I shall be obliged to those who will be so kind as to send me their corrections.

As to the second, those things which are too minute with some, are not so with others. Those minute things are observed with pleasure by the people who live in the places where they were transacted; which are inconsiderable to those who never saw them. And there is none who attentively reads a History, either ancient or modern; but, in a great many cases, wishes the writer had mentioned some minuter circumstances, that were then commonly known, and thought too needless or small to be noted. Besides, smaller matters are of greater moment among a *smaller* people, and more affect them; which are less important and affecting as the people grow more numerous. And I have therefore thought it a proper rule in History to mention smaller things in the Infancy of these Plantations; which I shall gradually omit, as they grow a greater people.

But as to the third, I wish I had placed many of the notes in the body of the page; and propose to do so in the rest of the work.

As for impartiality, I know it is usual for the writers of History to assert it, some in their prefaces, others in the front of their works; some in the strongest terms, who have been notoriously guilty of the contrary: and I am apt to think that many are partial who are insensible of it.

For myself, I own I am on the side of pure Christianity, as also of Civil and Religious Liberty; and this for the low as well as high, for the laity as well as the clergy. I am for leaving every one to the freedom of worshiping according to the light of his conscience; and for extending charity to every one who receives the Gospel as the rule of his faith and life. I am on the side of meekness, patience, gentleness, and innocence. And I hope my inclination to these great principles will not bias me to a mis-recital of

Facts; but rather to state them, as I really find them, for the public benefit.

Nor will the nature or design of this Work, which is rather a Register or Collection of Matters, *as described by others*, so much admit of partiality as a proper History; where the Writer allows himself the freedom of using his own expressions.

In citing FULLER, for the births, ages, and characters of persons; I sometimes mean his *ABEL redivivus*, but otherwise his *Church History of England*.

And whereas I observe some mistakes in Mr. HUBBARD's *History of New England*, the Reader may consider; that as we have only a copy of that valuable work, the substance whereof I propose to give the public: some of those mistakes may be owing to the transcriber only; and some that learned and ingenious Author fell into, for want of Governor BRADFORD's *History*, and some other materials; which I happened to be favoured with.

In short, I cite my Vouchers to every Passage; and I have done my utmost, first to find out the *Truth*; and then to relate it, in the clearest order. I have laboured after accuracy, and yet I dare not say that I am without mistake; nor do I desire the Reader to conceal any he may possibly find. But on the contrary, I offer this work to the public view; that it may be perused with the most critical eye, that every error may be discovered, and the correction published in the following volume; which I hope will not be long composing: having passed through the much greater difficulties in this First, and abstracted many of my materials towards the Second.

A LIST of the SUBSCRIBERS.

[*Omitted in the present Text.* E. A., 1879.]

[*The following note is of interest.* E. A., 1879.]

OUR Subscription being begun in 1628, and several of the Subscribers being since deceased, who are marked with an * : this may notify the relatives of such deceased persons, that if they incline to take up the books subscribed for; they may do it; provided they come or send for them, in a short time.

And seeing some gentlemen's names in the list happen to be printed without their proper additions; and fearing it may be so, with others: we crave pardon for such omissions.

THE
NEW ENGLAND
CHRONOLOGY.

The Introduction.

PERIODS.

I. THE SCRIPTURE PATRIARCHS.
II. THE JUDGES OF ISRAEL.
III. THE KINGS OF JUDAH.
IV. THE BABYLONIAN, PERSIAN, GRECIAN, AND EGYPTIAN MONARCHS.
V. THE ROMAN EMPERORS.
VI. THE MONARCHS OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE.
VII. THE MONARCHS OF ENGLAND.
1. From EGBERT the First King of England, to the First Discovery of the New World by CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.
2. From thence, to the Discovery of New England, and death of Queen ELIZABETH [*pp.* 312-342.]

Omitted in the present Text.



[This Sectional Title does not occur in the original Edition. E. A. 1879.]



THE INTRODUCTION.

AS AN Introduction to the *New England Chronology*, it may be grateful to many readers to see the Age of the World when this part of the Earth came to be known to the others; and the Line of Time, with the succession of the principal persons, events, and transactions which had been running on from the Creation, to the settlement of this country by a Colony from England. And this I shall briefly show under the following articles, which seem to me the most clear and natural Heads or successive Periods of Chronology, especially for an English reader.

I. *The Scripture Patriarchs.*
II. *The Judges of Israel.*
III. *The Kings of Judah.*
IV. *The Babylonian, Persian, Grecian, and Egyptian Monarchs.*
V. *The Roman Emperors.*
VI. *The Monarchs of the Eastern Empire.*
VII. *The Monarchs of England.*
1. From EGBERT, *the first king of England to the First discovery of the New World by* CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.
2. *From thence, to the Discovery of New England, and death of Queen* ELIZABETH.

∴ All these Eight Divisions, but the last, occupying 75 pages in the original Work, are omitted in the present Text. E. A. 1879.



INTRODUCTION.

PERIOD VII. Sect. II.

To the Discovery of New England, and death of Queen Elizabeth.

THE united Continents of Asia, Africa, and Europe have been the only Stage of History; from the Creation, to the year of Christ 1492. We now turn our eyes to the West, and see a NEW WORLD appearing in the Atlantic Ocean, to the great surprise and entertainment of the other.

Christopher Columbus or Colonus, a Genoese, is the first Discoverer. Being a skilful geographer and navigator, and of a very curious mind; he becomes possessed with a strong persuasion, that in order to balance the terraqueous Globe, and proportion the seas and lands to each other; there must needs be formed a mighty Continent on the other side, which boldness, art, and resolution would soon discover.

He first proposes his undertaking to the Genoese; and then to John, King of Portugal: but being denied, he applies to Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain; who, after five years' urging, are, at last, prevailed to furnish him with three ships and ninety men[a] for his great enterprise;

[a] Herera says 90 men, but Galvanus says 120.

which, through the growing opposition of his fearful mariners, he at length accomplishes; to his own immortal fame, and the infinite advantage of innumerable others.

And as we are now bound for the Western World, I shall chiefly fill our final Section with the principal and gradual Discoveries and Plantations there, till we first discover the North-Eastern part we now call New England: with the most material hints of the Rise and Progress of the Reformed Religion; which, at length, produced its present settlement.

N.B. We still begin with the famous Julian Year, viz., with January 1; which I think the whole Christian world observes, except the South part of Britain.*

1492.

FRIDAY, *August* 3.[a] COLUMBUS sails from Palos, in Spain; calls at the Canaries.[b,c] Thursday, *September* 6, sails thence westward; *September* 14, first observes the Variation of the Compass. At ten in the evening between *October* 11 and 12, he descries a light. At two, next morning, RODERICK TRIANA first discovers land,[c,d] being Guanahani,[b,c] one of the islands of the New World, called *Lucayos*[c]; where COLUMBUS goes ashore, and calls it San Salvador,[b,c] being about 25° N. Lat.[b] Saturday, *October* 27, discovers Cuba.

[a] HARRIS, and the *Atlas Geographus* mistake, in saying *August* 2.
[b] GALVANUS. [c] HERERA. [e] PERIER.
[d] GALVANUS says, "They discover land on *October* 10": and perhaps HERERA might mistake from the seamen's method; who set down at noon *October* 11 all the events of the twenty-four hours preceding, and give them the date of *October* 11.

* It was sixteen years after (but before the appearance of PRINCE's Second Volume), that the reckoning of the year from 25 *March*, was changed, in England, to from 1 *January*, [1752]; under the same *Act* of Parliament (24 *Geo. II. c.* 23) which also adopted the *New Style*. E. A. 1879.

December 6, arrives at Bohio, which he calls Hispaniola[a]; where he builds a fort, and leaves thirty-eight men,[b] or thirty-nine.[a]

1493.

Wednesday, *January* 16, he sails from Hispaniola; Saturday, *February* 18, arrives at St. Mary's, one of the Azores; Monday, *March* 4, at the river of Lisbon; and Friday, *March* 15, at Palos.[a]

BARTHOLOMEW DIAZ sails from Portugal, first passes the Cape of Good Hope, and sails to the ancient Ethiopia.[c]

Wednesday, *September* 25.[d] COLUMBUS sails from Cadiz in Spain; Lord's Day, *November* 3, discovers one of the Caribbees, which he calls Dominica; next day, sails northward to another, which he calls Mariagalante; next day to another, which he calls Guadaloupe; *November* 10, discovers another, which he calls Montserrat; then another which he calls Antigua,[a] and fifty more to the north-westward[e]; with Boriquen, now called Porto Rico[a,b]; Friday, 22, arrives at Hispaniola.[a]

1494.

Thursday, *April* 24, he sails for Cuba; *April* 29, descries it; sails along the southern shore; and spies Jamaica; Monday, *May* 24, arrives there; returns to Cuba and Hispaniola.[a]

1496.

March 10. COLUMBUS sails for Spain; and *June* 11, arrives at Cadiz.[a]

This spring. JOHN CABOTA, a Venetian, sails with two ships from England, steers westward, discovers the shore of the New World in 45° N. Lat.; sails along the coast northward to 60°, and then southward to 38°, some say to Cape Florida in 25°; and returns to England.[b,f]

---

[a] HERERA. [b] GALVANUS. [c] PERIER.
[d] GALVANUS mistakes in saying *October* 25. [e] *Atlas Geographus.*
[f] SMITH says, "that JOHN carries his son SEBASTIAN with him; who afterwards proceeds in these discoveries;" whence STOW, PURCHAS HARRIS, the *Atlas* and others erroneously ascribe them all to SEBASTIAN only. PURCHAS says, "SEBASTIAN, in RAMUSIO, places his first voyage in 1496;" though the map under his picture in the Privy Gallery, with CAMDEN, in 1497; and so, SMITH. But STOW, in 1498; unless the voyage he mentions be another.

1497.

Thursday, *February* 16. MELANCTHON born at Bretten, in the Palatinate.[a]

June 20. VASCO DE GAMA sails from Lisbon southward; passes the Cape of Good Hope; first sails to the East Indies: and returning by the same Cape, arrives at Lisbon in *September* 1499.[b]

1498.

Wednesday, *May* 30.[c] COLUMBUS sails from San Lucar, in Spain; *July* 31, discovers an island,[d] which he calls Trinidado,[b,d] in 9° N. Lat.[b]; Wednesday, *August* 1, he first discovers the CONTINENT;[d] sails along the main coast westward [b,d]; discovers Margarita,[d] and many other Islands,[b,d] for two hundred leagues to Cape Vela[b]; crosses over to Hispaniola[b,d]; where being seized, and sent home in chains by a new Spanish Governor, he arrives at Cadiz, *November* 25, 1500.[d]

1499.

May 20. ALONSO OJEDA sails from St. Mary's, in Spain, with JOHN COSA as Pilot, and AMERICUS VESPUTIUS, a Florentine, as Merchant [*supercargo*]; steers westward; in twenty-seven days discovers land two hundred leagues East of Trindidado, about 5° N. Lat.; sails along the coast westward to Cape Vela; thence arrives at Hispaniola, *September* 5; thence sails to Porto Rico; and thence to Spain.[d]

November 13.[b] VINCENT YANNEZ PINSON sails from Palos, in Spain; for the southern part of the New World, and passes the equinoctial [*equator*].[b,d]

1500.

February 26,[d] he discovers Cape Augustine[b,d] in 8° S. Lat.[b]; thence sailing along north-westerly, discovers the river Amazon, and the coast and rivers of Brazil to Trinidad [b,d]; thence, at the end of *September*,[d] or *September* 28,[b] he arrives in Spain.[b,d]

Monday, *March* 9.[d] PEDRO ALVAREZ CABRAL sails from Lisbon, for the East Indies [b,d]; steers so far westward that on *April* 24,[d] he happens to descry Brazil; and enters a river there, which he calls Porto Seguro,[b,d] in 17° S. Lat.; whence,

[a] CALVISIUS. [b] GALVANUS. [d] HERERA.
[c] GALVANUS seems to mistake, in placing this Third Voyage of COLUMBUS in 1497.

he crosses over to the Cape of Good Hope, and pursues his voyage.[a]

GASPAR COTERIAL, by license of the King of Portugal, sails from Tercera,[a] discovers the north-eastern coast of the New World, in 50° N. Lat.,[a,b] from him called Corterialis; and returns home to Lisbon.[a]

1501.

January 6. RODERICK BASTIDAS sails from Cadiz to Cape Vela; discovers one hundred[b] or two hundred leagues[a] westward, all along the coast at Santa Martha, Carthagena, the Gulf of Darien, and as far as the port afterwards called Nombre de Dios; then sails to Hispaniola.[b,c]

Soon after, ALONSO OJEDA sets out on his second voyage, and AMERICUS VESPUTIUS with him; sail to the same place after BASTIDAS, and so to Hispaniola.[b,d]

Lord's Day, *November* 14. Prince ARTHUR of England, *æt.* 15[e] or 16,[f] marries, at London, to KATHARINE, *æt.* 18, daughter to FERDINAND, King of Spain.[e,f] One great occasion of the Reformation in England; as we shall see hereafter.

1502.

March 12,[g] beginning of *April*,[e] *April* 2,[h] Prince ARTHUR dies.

May 9.[b,i] COLUMBUS sails from Cadiz to Hispaniola; thence, to the Continent; discovers the Bay of Honduras. Lord's Day, *August* 14, lands[b]; thence sails along the main shore easterly two hundred leagues[a] to Cape Gracias a Dios, Veragua, Porto Bello, and the Gulf of Darien.[a,b]

This year. SEBASTIAN CABOT brings to King HENRY VII., three men taken in the Newfoundland islands.[e]

1503.

January 6. COLUMBUS enters the river Yebra in Veragua, where he first begins as settlement; but soon breaks up, and sails to Cuba, Jamaica, and Hispaniola.[b]

---

[a] GALVANUS. [b] HERERA. [e] STOW. [f] HOLINSHED.

[c] GALVANUS places BASTIDAS's Voyage after OJEDA's; and both in 1502.

[d] Neither HAKLUYT, PURCHAS, HARRIS, nor PERIER, mention any voyages of AMERICUS. The *Atlas Geographus* gives us two from GRYNÆUS; the first in 1497, and the second in 1500: but HERERA says, they were proved to be mere impositions of AMERICUS; and he only went twice with OJEDA.

[g] GLOVER and MILLES. [h] SPEED. [i] PERIER.

August 8.[a] MARGARET, eldest daughter of HENRY VII., marries, at Edinburgh, JAMES IV., King of Scotland.[a,b]

1504.

September 12. COLUMBUS sails from Hispaniola, arrives at San Lucar; and going to Seville, finds Queen ISABELLA dead.[c] She died *November* 26, this year.[d]

1506.

May 20.[c,e,f] COLUMBUS dies[c,g] at Valladolid in Spain; his body is carried over, and buried in the Cathedral of Saint Domingo in Hispaniola[c]; and his son JAMES succeeds as heir.[c,g,h]

King FERDINAND orders two bishops for Hispaniola; and establishes the tithes there, for the support of the clergy.[c]

1507.

AMERICUS VESPUTIUS goes from Lisbon to Seville, and King FERDINAND appoints him to draw sea charts, with the title of Chief Pilot: whence the New World afterwards unjustly takes the name of America.[c]

1508.

JOHN DIAZ SOLIS and VINCENT YANNEZ PINSON sail from Seville to Cape Augustine; discover the coast of Brazil southward[c] to 35° S. Lat., where they find the great river Paranaguazu, which they call Rio de la Plata or "River of Silver"[g]; go on to 40° S. Lat.; and return to Spain.[c,i]

1509.

April 21,[j] or rather 22. King HENRY VII. dies.[a,b,k] Lived fifty-two years.[b,j]

And his only surviving son, HENRY VIII. *æt.* 18,[a,b,j] reigns thirty-seven years, nine months, and six days.

June 3,[a,b] he marries his brother ARTHUR's widow, by Pope JULIUS's dispensation.[a,b,j]

July 10. CALVIN born at Noyon in France.[l]

November 10. ALONSO OJEDA sails from Hispaniola, and JAMES NICUESSA follows him, to settle the Continent. They

[a] STOW. [b] HOLINSHED. [c] HERERA. [d] CALVISIUS. [g] GALVANUS.
[f] GALVANUS says in *May* 1506; and HERERA on Ascension Day, *May* 20, this year; but *May* 20, this year, is Ascension Day Eve. [h] PERIER
[e] *Atlas Geographus.* [i] GALVANUS sets this Voyage in 1512.
[j] POLYDORE VERGIL. [k] SPEED. [l] BEZA *in Vita.*

land, and meet at Carthagena, but are beaten off; and OJEDA begins a settlement at Saint Sebastian, on the east side of the Gulf of Darien.[a] NICUESSA begins another at Nombre de Dios on the west side.[a,b] But are both soon broken up, through the opposition of the natives.[a,c]

1510.

JOHN DE ESQUIBEL sails from Hispaniola, and begins a settlement at Jamaica.[a]

JOHN PONCE begins to settle Porto Rico.[a,d]

FERNANDEZ DE ENCISO and BASCO NUNNEZ begin to settle St. Mary's at Darien.[a]

1511.

JAMES VELASQUEZ begins to settle Cuba.[a]

1512 [*i.e.*, **1513**].

Thursday, *March* 3 (*i.e.*, 1512–13). JOHN PONCE sails from Porto Rico, northwards; *April* 2, discovers the Continent, in 30° 8′ N. Lat.; calls it Florida; goes ashore, takes possession; sails along the coast southerly; Lord's Day, *May* 8, doubles the Cape; thence, sailing southerly, discovers the Bahamas; and returns to Porto Rico.[a]

1513.

BASCO,[a] or VASCO,[b] NUNNEZ hearing a rumour of the South Sea; *September* 1, sets out from Darien[b,e]; *September* 25,[a,b] from the top of a high mountain,[a] first discovers that mighty Ocean.[a,b] *September* 29, comes to it,[b] embarks upon it; and returns.[a,b]

1515.

GASPAR MORALES marches from Darien across the land to the South Sea; discovers the Pearl Islands in the Bay of St. Michael, in 5° N. Lat.[b]

JOHN ARIAS begins to people Panama on the South Sea, and discovers two hundred and fifty leagues on the coast to 8° 30′ N. Lat.[b]

GONSALES FERDINANDUS OVIEDUS discovers the islands of the Bermudas.[f]

The Complutensian [*Polyglot*] *Bible* published[g] at Antwerp[h]

---

[a] HERERA. [b] GALVANUS. [e] PERIER. [f] PURCHAS. [g] CALVISIUS.
[c] GALVANUS places these Attempts under 1508; and it is likely this was the year when they set sail from Spain; and so HERERA seems to make it. [d] *Atlas Geographus.* [h] *CROWŒI Elenchus.*

[*or rather at Alcala in Spain*] ; which proves a principal instrument of the Reformation.

1516.

January 23. FERDINAND King of Spain dies; and his daughter's son, CHARLES of Austria, reigns.[a,b]

February 11,[c] or 18.[d] King HENRY's daughter MARY born.[e]

Sir SEBASTIAN CABOT and Sir THOMAS PERT sail from England to the New World; and coast the Continent, the second time, to Brazil.[f]

February 8.[a] FRANCIS FERNANDEZ CORDOVA sails from Cuba, and discovers the Province of Yucatan,[a,g] in 20° N. Lat.,[g] and the Bay of Campechey.[a]

1517.

The beginning of the Reformation.

October 31.[b] LUTHER, an Augustine friar,[h] sets up Ninety-five *Theses* against the Pope's Indulgences, on the church door[b] of Wittemberg, in Saxony[h]; and begins the Reformation in Germany.

1518.

April 8.[a] JOHN DE GRISALVA sails from Cuba to Yucatan, and discovers the southern coast of the Bay of Mexico,[a,g] with the head of the bay to Saint John de Ulloa; and first calls the country, New Spain.[a]

FRANCIS GARAY sails from Jamaica to Cape Florida, in 25° N. Lat.,[i] discovers five hundred leagues westward on the northern coast of the great Bay of Mexico to the river Panuco in 23° N. Lat.,[g] at the bottom of the bay.

1519.

January 12. MAXIMILIAN, Emperor of Germany, dies; and *June* 28, CHARLES, King of Spain, chosen Emperor.[h]

Beginning of the year, ZWINGLIUS comes to Zurich, soon

---

[a] HERERA. [b] CALVISIUS. [c] STOW. [d] HOLINSHED. [f] PURCHAS.
[e] Both STOW and HOLINSHED place it in the 7th year of HENRY VIII.; which must be *February* 1515-16; but 1518 in the margin of HOLINSHED is wrongly printed. [g] GALVANUS. [h] SLEIDAN.
[i] HERERA says, he only sends JAMES DE COMARGO.

preaches against the Pope's indulgences; and begins the Reformation in Switzerland.[a]

In *February*[b] FERNANDO CORTES sails from Cuba to Yucatan, and then to St. John de Ulloa; whence FRANCIS DE MONTEJO and RODERICK ALVAREZ sail northward, and discover the coast to the river Panuco. *April* 22, CORTES lands, and begins a town, which he calls Vera Cruz[c]; at the end of *August,* sets out for Mexico[b]; *November* 8, enters that great city, then containing sixty thousand houses.[c]

August 10. FERDINAND DE MAGELLANES,[b,c] a Portuguese,[c,d] sails from Seville to find out a South West Passage to the East Indies, and go round the earth[b,c]; *December* 13, descries Brazil, and enters the River Janeiro in 23° 45′ S. Lat.; sails along the coast southward, and *October* 21, 1520, discovers the Cape at the northern entrance of the famous Straits which bear his name[e]: *November* 7, enters them; and *November* 27, opens the great Southern Ocean,[c] which he calls "the Pacific"[d]; sails north-westerly three thousand leagues; *March* 31, 1521, discovers the Philippine Islands, in one of which, namely, Zebu, he is slain in a fight with the natives, *April* 27. Upon which, his ship sails to Borneo; where the men choose JOHN SEBASTIAN DEL CANO as their Captain. *November* 8, he arrives at the Moluccas. In the beginning of 1522, sails thence, to the Cape of Good Hope; and *September* 6, arrives at St. Lucar[c] with but a dozen men[d]: being the First that ever encompassed the Earth.[b,c]

1520.

December 20. LUTHER burns the *Canon Law,* publicly, at Wittemberg.[a]

1521.

The Augustine friars at Wittemberg leave off the Mass, and are the first to do so.[a]

Tuesday, *August* 13. CORTES takes the city of Mexico, and puts an end to that great Indian Empire.[c,f]

King HENRY VIII. writes against LUTHER,[g] for which *February* 2, 1521–22, the King receives a Bull from the Pope;

---

[a] SLEIDAN. [b] GALVANUS. [c] HERERA. [d] PURCHAS.
[e] He calls this Cape, "The Virgins," because "discovered on St. Ursula's Day" (HERERA); and MOLL mistakes, in calling it the "Virgin Mary's." [f] GAGE. [g] STOW.

wherein he and his successors, for ever, are declared *Defenders of the Christian Faith.*[a]

1523.

January 29. The Senate of Zurich reject the traditions of men, and declare the Gospel shall be taught according to the *Old* and *New Testament.*[b]

July 1, JOHN and HENRY, two Augustine friars, burnt at Brussels for professing the *Holy Scriptures* to be the only rule of faith &c.[b]

N.B. *The Reformation coming on, and crowding us with more important matters; I shall only recite the Voyages to the North Eastern parts of the New World.*

1524.

JOHN VERRAZANO, a Florentine, sent from France by King FRANCIS I., coasts along the North Eastern part of the New World, from 28° to 50° N. Lat.[c] He is the first that sails from France thither.

1525.

STEPHEN GOMEZ sails from the Groyne [*Corunna*] to Cuba and Florida; and thence northward to Cape Razo [*Race*] in 46° N. Lat., in search of a North West Passage to the East Indies; and returns to the Groyne in ten months.[d,e] The first Spaniard who sailed on these coasts.[f]

April 13. The Magistrates at Zurich abolish the Mass and all the Popish ceremonies in their dominions.[b]

ALBERT, the Thirty-third Master of the Teutonic Order made Duke of Prussia, and embraces the Reformed religion.[b]

By King HENRY's leave, and the Pope's Confirmation,[a] Cardinal WOLSEY suppresses forty Monasteries in England, for the building of his Colleges in Oxford and Ipswich.[g]

1526.

About *August,* PATRICK HAMILTON, Abbot of Ferne in Scotland, returns from Germany, where he had been a scholar to LUTHER. He is burnt for the Reformed religion[a] at St.

---

[a] HOLINSHED. [b] SLEIDAN. [c] PURCHAS. [d] HERERA.
[e] GALVANUS. [g] STOW.
[f] HERERA represents this Voyage as beginning northward, and ending at Florida; and so to Cuba, &c.

Andrews on *February* 28 following.[a,b] He is the first Martyr for it in Scotland.

1527.

March 8. GUSTAVUS ERICSON, King of Sweden, calls the States together, and begins the Reformation there.[c]

Cardinal WOLSEY infuses scruples into King HENRY's mind about his marriage with his brother's widow.[d,e]

FRANCIS COLB and BERTHOLD HOLLER having preached the Gospel at Berne; *December* 17, the City appoints a Public Assembly and Disputation there, and the Scriptures to be the only rule, and to have the sole authority in all the debates.[f]

1528.

January 7. The great Assembly and Disputation begins at Berne, and holds to *January* 26; wherein ZWINGLIUS, ŒCOLAMPADIUS, CAPITO, BUCER, &c., defend the Reformed religion; and thereupon Popery is abolished in Berne and Constance, and in their dominions.[f]

In *March.* PAMFILO DE NARVAEZ sails from Cuba, with four hundred men, for the conquest of Florida; *April* 12, arrives there,[g] marches to Apelachen; thence coming down to the sea, and coasting westward, is lost with many more, in a storm about mid-*November*; which defeats the enterprise.[h,i]

1529.

February 9. Piles of images burnt before the Cathedral at Bâle; and *February* 12, Popery abolished there.[f]

February 20. Mass abolished at Strasburg.[f]

The Diet of the Empire at Spires makes a Decree against the Reformation; *April* 19, the Elector of Saxony, GEORGE Marquis of BRANDENBURG, EARNEST and FRANCIS Dukes of LAUNENBURG, the Landgrave of HESSE, and Count of ANHALT, publicly read their PROTEST against it; several cities joining with them: whence they take the famous name of PROTESTANTS.[f]

October 19. King HENRY takes the Great Seal from Cardinal WOLSEY.[e,g]

November 3. The Parliament of England meets,[d,e] and

[a] FOX. [c] CALVISIUS. [d] HOLINSHED. [e] STOW. [f] SLEIDAN.
[b] BUCHANAN therefore places this in 1527. [g] HERERA. [h] PURCHAS.
[i] He seems to be lost about the mouth of the great river Mississippi (see PURCHAS). [g] HOLINSHED mistakes, in placing this on *November* 17.

complains of the clergy's non-residence, pluralities, and exactions on the people: but the Bishops oppose, and hinder many of the regulations.[a]

1530.

At the beginning of the year.[a] WILLIAM TYNDALE publishes his translation of the *New Testament*, in English; beyond the sea: which King HENRY prohibits, and orders the Bishops to make a new one.[a,b]

June 20. The famous Diet of the Empire at Augsburg begins: and *June* 25, the Protestant Confession of Faith, drawn up by MELANCTHON, since called the *Augsburg Confession*, read in the Diet.[c]

September 19. King HENRY, by Proclamation, forbids his subjects to purchase anything from Rome.[a,b]

Tuesday, *November* 29. Cardinal WOLSEY dies. The Clergy of England being guilty of a *præmunire* for maintaining the Cardinal's Legatine power: they, in Convocation, agree to pay the King £100,000 for pardon; make their submission to him, and own him Supreme Head of the Church of England,[a,b] which they never confessed before.[a] And

Here POLYDORE VERGIL ends his History.[d]

December 22. Divers Protestant Princes, and deputies of Cities in Germany, meet at Smalcald, and enter into a Defensive League.[c]

1531.

August 19. THOMAS BILNEY burnt at Norwich,[a] for preaching the Reformed religion.[e,f]

October 11. ZWINGLIUS slain, *æt.* 44, in a battle between the Zurichers and their neighbouring enemies.[c,g]

1532.

January 15.[h] The Parliament of England meets; complains of the cruelties of the Bishops; and Enacts, They shall pay no more money to the Pope[a,b]; they having paid, in the last forty-two years, £60,000[b] or £160,000.[a,i]

---

[a] HOLINSHED. [b] STOW. [c] SLEIDAN. [d] POLYDORE VERGIL.
[f] N.B. There were many others burnt for the same religion in other parts of the Kingdom, both before and afterwards: for which we must refer to FOX's *Martyrology*. [e] FOX. [g] CALVISIUS. [h] KEEBLE.
[i] The *Act*, printed in BURNET, says, eight score thousand pounds: so that STOW is mistaken.

July. King HENRY suppresses the Priory of Christ Church, London.[a]

August 23. WILLIAM WARHAM, Archbishop of CANTERBURY, dies; and THOMAS CRANMER succeeds.[a]

September. FAREL and SAUNIER, from preaching in Piedmont, come to Geneva; and begin to preach the Reformed religion in private houses.[b]

November 14. King HENRY privately marries ANNE BOLEYN[c,d]; but STOW says *January* 25, 1532-3.[a]

November. CALVIN obliged to fly from Paris to Bâle, for the Reformed religion.[e]

1533.

February 4.[f] The Parliament of England meets. Enacts That none shall appeal to Rome; and that KATHARINE shall be no more called Queen, but Princess Dowager of Prince ARTHUR.[a,c]

March 28. Liberty of Private Opinion; and *June* 26, Liberty of Private Worship allowed at Geneva.[b]

Lord's Day, *September* 7. The Princess ELIZABETH born to King HENRY.[a,c]

1534.

January 15. The Parliament of England meets. Enacts, That no *Canons* shall be made or put in execution by the Convocation of the Clergy which shall be repugnant to the customs, laws, or statutes of the Realm, or to the King's prerogative; nor without his assent. That none be presented to the Pope or See of Rome for the office of any Archbishop or Bishop in the King's dominions; or send thither for anything requisite for an Archbishop or Bishop. And that no Dispensations shall be sued for, nor impositions paid to the Pope.[f]

March 1. FAREL, the first Protestant who preaches publicly at Geneva.[b]

April. JAMES CARTIER sails from St. Malo in France; in *May*, arrives at Newfoundland[g]; falls with 48° 30′ N. Lat.,

---

[a] STOW. [b] SPON. [c] HOLINSHED. [d] GLOVER and MILLES.
[e] BEZA. [f] KEEBLE. [g] PURCHAS.

discovers the great Bay of St. Lawrence; sails to 51° N. Lat. in hopes to pass to China; but is disappointed; and returns.[a]

July 22. JOHN FRITH, and ANDREW HEWET a young man, burnt in Smithfield, London, for not owning the bodily presence of CHRIST in the Sacrament.[b,c]

August 15. IGNATIUS LOYOLA (born in Spain in 1491) now, with nine others, at Paris, begins the Society of Jesuits.[d,e]

November 3.[f] The Parliament of England meets. Enacts the King's supremacy, and abolishes the Pope's authority through the Realm.[b,c]

November. A persecution of Protestants rages in France, and many burnt.[g]

1535.

JAMES CARTIER sails again from France: discovers the river Canada; sails up three hundred leagues[a] to the great and swift Fall; builds a fort,[h] calls the land, New France; winters there; and, next year, goes home.[a]

August 27. The Roman Catholic religion abolished in Geneva.[i]

October.[b,c] King HENRY sends THOMAS CROMWELL,[c] Doctor LEE, and others, to visit the Priories, Abbeys, and Nunneries; who set all at liberty under twenty-four years of age, with those who are willing to go out; and shut up the rest.[b,c]

The Senate of Augsburg receives the Reformation.

1536.

February 4. The Parliament of England meets; and gives the King all Religious Houses of the value of £200 and under, with all their lands and goods.[b,c,j]

May 1. The Parliament of Ireland meets at Dublin, and passes laws for the King and his successors to be Supreme Head of the Church of Ireland; abolishing the Pope's authority, suppressing abbeys, and making it *præmunire* to pursue any process from the See of Rome.[k,l]

---

[a] GALVANUS. [b] HOLINSHED. [c] STOW. [d] RICCIOLIUS.
[e] DUPIN. [f] KEEBLE says, February 3, 1534-5. [g] SLEIDAN.
[h] PURCHAS. [i] SPON.

[j] N.B. The number of Houses is 376. Value of their lands, yearly, above £32,000; movable goods, above £100,000. Persons put out of them, above 10,000 (HOLINSHED and STOW).

[k] HOLINSHED's *History of Ireland.*

[l] HOLINSHED is right, in placing this in 28 *Hen. VIII.*; but wrong in setting 1539 in the margin.

May 19. Queen ANNE beheaded with a sword; and the next day, King HENRY marries JANE SEYMOUR.

June. King HENRY abrogates a number of holy days, especially in harvest time.[a]

July 10. CROMWELL made a Lord; and *July* 18, made Knight and Vicar-General, under the King, over the Spirituality[b]; and sits divers times as Head over the Bishops, in Convocation.[a,c]

July 11,[d] or rather 12.[e] ERASMUS dies at Bâle.

August 1. CALVIN publishes his *Institutions* at Bâle,[f] then goes to FAREL and VIRET at Geneva, and carries on the Reformation there.[g]

September. Cromwell orders the Parsons and Curates to teach the *Lord's Prayer, Ave, Creed,* and *Ten Commandments* in English.[a,c]

October 7. WILLIAM TYNDALE burnt at Villevord, near Brussels, for the Reformation.[a,h]

1537.

August 12. CHRISTIAN, King of Denmark crowned; calls the States together; deposes the Bishops; and reforms the Kingdom.[d]

October 12. Prince EDWARD born to King HENRY.[a,c]

1538.

Lord's Day, *February* 24. The famous Rood or Image of Borley in Kent, made of divers wires to move the lips and eyes, showed at St. Paul's, London, by the Preacher; and broken to pieces.[c]

May 23. A Rood in London, with its tabernacle, pulled down, and broken to pieces.[c]

Divers Abbeys suppressed to the King's use.[c]

September. CROMWELL takes away all the noted Images, to which pilgrimages and offerings had been made; with the shrines of counterfeit saints, as THOMAS À BECKET, &c.[i];

[a] HOLINSHED. [c] STOW. [d] CALVISIUS. [e] BUXHORNIUS. [g] BEZA.
[b] *i.e.,* over all Ecclesiastical and Religious affairs and persons.
[f] So the date of the *Dedication.*
[h] BALE and FOX call him, "The Apostle of the English."
[i] STOW says, Those images were brought up from divers parts of England and Wales to London; and burnt at Chelsea. That he suppressed the Abbey at Canterbury, with BECKET's shrine, and commanded his bones to be burnt (STOW).

suppresses all the Orders of Friars and Nuns, with their cloisters and houses[a,b]; and orders all the Bishops and Curates through the realm to see, that in every church, the *Bible*, of the largest volume [*size*] printed in English, be so placed that all may read it.[b]

November. JOHN LAMBERT burnt in Smithfield, for not owning the bodily presence of CHRIST in the Sacrament.[a,b]

1539.

April 28. The Parliament of England meets.[a,b] Grants all Religious Houses to the King for ever[b]: and Enacts the *Six Articles*, which sets up an Inquisition in the kingdom, and brings many honest people to death.[a]

May 12,[c] or 18.[d] FERDINAND DE SOTO, with nine hundred men besides seamen, sails from Cuba, to conquer Florida.

May 30,[d] or 31,[c] arrives at the Bay of Spiritu Santo; travels northwards four hundred and fifty leagues from the sea; there meets with a great river, a quarter of a mile across, and nineteen fathoms deep,[c] on whose bank he dies; and is buried in it, *May* 21, 1542,[d] *æt.* 42.[c] Upon which, his successor ALVERADO builds seven brigantines[c,d]; *June* 29, 1543, embarks, and sails down the river in seventeen days, four hundred leagues[e]; and in two days more,[c] *viz.*, *July* 18, goes out to sea[d]; sails westerly along the coast[c,d]; and *September* 10, arrives at Panuco.[d]

1540.

April 18.[f] The Parliament of England meets. Dissolves the Order of the Knights of Rhodes or St. John's in England[a,b] and Ireland[b]; and gives their houses and estates to the King.[b]

July 19. CROMWELL attainted in Parliament for heresy and treason, without being heard; and *July* 28, beheaded.[a,b]

July 30. ROBERT BARNES, D.D., THOMAS GARRARD, B.D., and WILLIAM JEROME, B.D., burnt at Smithfield, for the Reformed religion.[a,b]

---

[a] HOLINSHED. [b] STOW. [c] HERERA. [d] PURCHAS.

[e] Here "they guessed the river to be fifteen leagues wide, found it opening with two mouths into the sea, and judged it eight hundred leagues to the head" (HERERA). By which I think it is plain that it is the great Missisippi River (see JOUTEL).

[f] KEEBLE says, the Parliament meets *April* 12.

September 27. The Pope establishes the Order of Jesuits, and *May* 14, 1543, makes IGNATIUS LOYOLA, their General.[a]

1541.

June 13. The Parliament of Ireland meets at Dublin. Enacts that the King and his successors to be entituled, "Kings of Ireland"[b]; whereas they had been only called "Lords of Ireland," before.[b,c]

1542.

January 23. King HENRY first proclaimed at London "King of Ireland."[d]

February 15. The Parliament of Ireland meets at Limerick, and makes an Act for the suppression of Kilmainam and other Religious Houses.[b]

The French King sends FRANCIS LA ROCHE, Lord of ROBEWELL, his Lieutenant, with three ships and two hundred men, women, and children to Canada; where he builds a fort; winters; and returns.[e]

December 7. MARY born to King JAMES V. of Scotland. *December* 14, he dies, *æt.* 31[f]; and she succeeds. But the Earl of ARRAN is made Regent,[g,h] who professes the Reformed religion, causes Friar GUILLIAM to preach against images and other fruitless ceremonies, and gives liberty for the *Bible* to be had in English, and published universally through Scotland.[g]

1544.

June. The *Litany* set forth in English, and ordered to be read in every parish church in England.[i]

1545.

November 23,[d] or 24.[i] The Parliament of England meets. And commits to the King, all Colleges, Chantries, and Hospitals; to order as he thinks expedient.[d,i]

December 13. The Council of Trent begins.[a,j,k]

---

[a] DUPIN. [b] HOLINSHED, *History of Ireland.* [d] HOLINSHED.
[e] PURCHAS.
[c] HOLINSHED, in his *History of Ireland*, mistakes in placing this session of Parliament in 1542; but right in saying 33 *HENRY VIII.*
[f] He was the son of King JAMES IV. of Scotland, by MARGARET, eldest daughter to King HENRY VII. of England. HOLINSHED mistakes, in telling us that he dies, *æt.* 33, and yet tells us he was born *April* 11, 1512.
[g] HOLINSHED's *History of Scotland.* [h] BUCHANAN. [i] STOW.
[j] CALVISIUS. [k] RICCIOLIUS.

1546.

Beginning of *January*. The Elector Palatine embraces the Reformation; and *January* 10, instead of Mass, has Divine Service said at Heidelberg in the vulgar tongue.[a]

February 18. LUTHER dies at Einsleben, *æt.* 63.[a]

March 1.[b] GEORGE WISHART burnt at St. Andrews in Scotland, for preaching the Reformed religion,[b,c] which he had learnt in the Schools of Germany.[c,d]

1547.

January 28. King HENRY dies,[e,f] *æt.* 56:

And his only son, EDWARD VI., *æt.* 10, reigns six years, five months, and eight days.[e]

February 1. Sir EDWARD SEYMOUR, Earl of HERTFORD chosen,[e,f] and Proclaimed[e] Lord Protector; and *February* 17, made Duke of SOMERSET.[e,f]

March.[f] The Protector forbids processions; orders the *Gospel* and *Epistle* to be read in English[f]; and sends Commissioners through the Realm to remove images out churches; and with them Preachers[e,f] to dissuade the people from their beads and such like ceremonies.[f]

September. The King's Council causes the *Book of Homilies*, and "*Paraphrase* of ERASMUS" to be set forth; and had in churches.[e]

November 4. The Parliament meets at Westminster; repeals the Statute of the *Six Articles*[e,f]; enacts the Sacrament to be given in both kinds[f,h]; and grants the King all Chantries, Free Chapels and Brotherhoods.[e,f]

November 16,[e] or 17.[f] The Rood and other images pulled down in Paul's, London; and soon after, in all other churches in England.[e,f]

The end of *November*. PETER MARTYR, a Florentine, (who had for five years, with great applause, taught at Strasburg) goes into England, at the invitation of CRANMER, in the King's name; and is made Professor of Divinity in Oxford.[a]

[a] SLEIDAN. [b] FOX. [c] HOLINSHED'S *History of Scotland*.
[d] BUCHANAN, turning the name into Greek, calls him SOPHOCARDIUS.
[e] HOLINSHED. [f] STOW. [g] RICCIOLIUS. [h] KEEBLE.

1548.

March. The King sends forth a Proclamation for administering the Sacraments in both kinds, to all who should be willing, from Easter forward: whereupon, at Easter, begins the *Communion* and *Confession* in English.[a,b]

November 4. The Parliament of England meets; wherein the mass is wholly abolished; and a *Book* for uniformity of *Divine Service* is established.[c,d]

1549.

April 6. A Proclamation to put down the mass, through the realm.[a]

April 10. The Cloister, Chapel and Charnel House at Paul's, London, begin to be pulled down.[a]

1550.

June 11. The High Altar in Paul's Church, London, pulled down, and a table set in the room; and soon after, the like in all the churches in London.[a]

1551.

February 27. BUCER dies at Cambridge.[e]

September 1. The French King's Ambassador enters the Council of Trent, and delivers a Protestation, that his Master owns them not for a General or Public Council; and that neither he nor his people would be obliged to submit thereto.[e]

1552.

January 22. The Duke of SOMERSET beheaded.[a,c]

January 23. The Parliament of England meets; wherein the *Book of Common Prayer*, newly corrected and amended, is established.[c]

July 31. The famous *Pacification* at Passau concluded between the Emperor and the Protestant Princes of Germany: wherein it is agreed that none shall be molested for religion; and that Protestants be admitted into the Imperial Chamber.[e]

November 1. The new *Service Book* begins to be used at Paul's, and through the whole city of London: and all copes, vestments, hoods, and crosses, therein forbidden, are laid aside;

---

[a] STOW. [c] HOLINSHED. [d] KEEBLE. [e] SLEIDAN.

[b] Easter this year is Lord's Day, *April* 1; and HOLINSHED places this a year before: but from the *Act of Parliament* in November last, STOW seems to be right.

as by Act of Parliament ordered. After which, the Upper Choir of Paul's Church is broken down; and the Communion Table set in the Lower Choir.[a]

1553.

April and *May*. Commissioners sent for all the parish copes and vestments, gold and silver candlesticks, censors, &c., in all the churches through the Kingdom.[a]

July 6. King EDWARD dies,[a,b] *æt.* 16; having, by will, appointed for his successor.

JANE GREY, granddaughter to MARY, youngest daughter of HENRY VII.[a,b]; who on *July* 9,[b] or 10,[a] is proclaimed Queen at London. But JULY 19,

MARY I., eldest daughter of HENRY VIII., is there proclaimed Queen; prevails. *August* 3, enters the city[a,b]; and reigns five years, four months, and eleven days.[b,c]

August 27. The Latin *Service* begins to be sung at Paul's.[a]

October 5. The Parliament of England meets at Westminster; which enacts the *Church Service* to be said in Latin, as in the last year of HENRY VIII.[a]

December 20. The *Church Service* begins to be said in Latin throughout the Kingdom, according to the Act of Parliament.

1554.

February 12. Queen JANE beheaded,[a,b] within the Tower.[b]

July 20. PHILIP, son to the Emperor, lands at Southampton to marry MARY the Queen[b,d,e]; *July* 25, he marries her at Winchester,[a,b,d] the Emperor's Ambassador presenting him with a Resignation [to him] of the Kingdoms of Naples and Jerusalem.[b,f]

Wednesday, *November* 21. Cardinal POLE, from Rome, lands at Dover; *November* 28,[b] comes into Parliament, and exhorts them to return to the Church; and re-submit to the Pope's authority. Next day, the whole Parliament draw up a *Supplication* to the King and Queen, to intercede with the Cardinal to restore them to the bosom of the Church; and obedience to the See of Rome. Next day, present it[a,b]; upon

[a] STOW. [b] HOLINSHED. [d] SLEIDAN. [e] SPEED. [f] FOX.
[c] *i.e.* accounting from the death of EDWARD VI.

which the Parliament, being on their knees,[a] he, by a power from the Pope, absolves them: and they all go to Chapel; and sing with great joy, for this reconciliation.[a,b]

1555.

February 4. JOHN ROGERS burnt in Smithfield[a,b]; *February* 8, LAWRENCE SAUNDERS, at Coventry; *February* 9, Bishop HOOPER, at Gloucester, and Dr. TAYLOR at Hadley[c]; and *July* 1, JOHN BRADFORD, in Smithfield.[a,b] All for the Reformed religion.[c,d]

September 25. The Diet of Augsburg decree that both those of the Augustine Confession and the Roman Catholics shall enjoy their religion freely.[e]

October 16. Bishop RIDLEY and Bishop LATIMER burnt at Oxford, for the Reformation.[a,b]

October 25. The Emperor resigns the Kingdom of Spain to his son PHILIP II.[f]

Cardinal POLE appoints Doctor STORY and others to visit every church in London and Middlesex and repair the rood-lofts and images.[b]

December 18. JOHN PHILPOT burnt in Smithfield, for the Reformed religion,[c] *æt.* 44.[a]

1556.

Saturday, *March* 21. Archbishop CRANMER burnt at Oxford for the same[a,b]; and the next day, Cardinal POLE is consecrated Archbishop of CANTERBURY.[a]

CHARLES, Marquis of Baden, embraces the Augustine Confession, and begins to reform his churches.[e]

July 31. IGNATIUS LOYOLA, Founder of the Jesuits, dies[g,h,i] at Rome, *æt.* 65; having spread his Order through the world, and set up an hundred colleges in divers parts of Christendom.[h]

November 21. JOHN FECKENHAM installed Abbot of Westminster, and fourteen monks receive the habits with him.[b]

December 3. The Protestant nobility in Scotland begin to sign an Association to promote the Reformed religion.[j]

---

[a] HOLINSHED. [b] STOW. [c] FOX. [e] SLEIDAN.
[d] Bishop HOOPER and Master ROGERS were the heads of the Nonconformists in England. (FULLER.)
[f] CALVISIUS. PERIER. [h] RICCIOLIUS. [i] DUPIN.
[j] CALDERWOOD.

1558.

February 24. CHARLES V. resigns the Imperial dignity[a]; *March* 18, his brother FERDINAND chosen Emperor; and *September* 21, CHARLES V. dies.[a,b]

April[c] 20.[d] WALTER MILLE condemned at St. Andrews in Scotland for the Reformed religion; and burnt[c,d] two days after, *æt.* 82.[e,f]

April 24. The Queen of Scots married, in Paris, to FRANCIS, the Dauphin of France.[g]

November 17. Queen MARY of England dies in the morning, *æt.* 43; Cardinal POLE in the evening.[h,i]

And her younger sister, Queen ELIZABETH, reigns forty-four years, four months, and seven days.

December 3. Sets forth a Proclamation in London that the *Gospels* and *Epistles* for the day, shall begin to be read in Mass time in English in the churches, on Lord's Day, *January* 1 [1559]; which is accordingly observed in most parish churches in the city.[h,i]

1559.

January 25. The Parliament of England meets; Restores to the Crown the Supreme Government of the State Ecclesiastical; and orders the *Book of Common Prayer* to be used in English; and as in the time of King EDWARD VI.[h,i]

March 2. A Council of the Prelates and Clergy of Scotland meets at Edinburgh, when the Temporality demand to have Divine Service in the Scottish tongue, with other reformations; which the Bishops refuse: and occasion great troubles in the Kingdom.[h]

May 2. JOHN KNOX arrives at Leith from Geneva, and goes to a Convention of Protestants at Perth[j]; *May* 10[h], *May*

[a] RICCIOLIUS. [b] CALVISIUS. [c] BUCHANAN. [d] FOX. [e] PETRIE.
[f] He is the last martyr for the Protestant religion in Scotland (FOX); and his death, the death of Popery there (PETRIE). For upon this, the Protestants throughout the kingdom unite in their defence against their enemies (BUCHANAN, PETRIE). [g] HOLINSHED *History of Scotland.*
[h] HOLINSHED. [i] STOW. [j] CALDERWOOD.

II,[a] they pull down the images and altars there, and in the neighbouring places[b]; *June* 4, Earl of ARGYLE and Lord JAMES STUART, the Queen's natural brother, do the like at St. Andrews; *June* 26, at Stirling; and then at Edinburgh[a]; and other Lords at Glasgow. Upon which a Civil War arises, and Queen ELIZABETH helps the Protestants.[b]

Lord's Day, *May* 14. Divine Service begins in English in the churches of England, according to the *Common Prayer Book* in King EDWARD's time.[d,g]

June 28. The Protestant Ministers of France hold their First Synod, at St. Germains[e]; when they agree on their *Confession of Faith,* drawn up by CALVIN.[f]

July 10. HENRY II., King of France, dies; and his son FRANCIS II., *æt.* 17, who had married the Queen of Scots, succeeds.[a,b]

In *July.* There are thirteen or fourteen Bishops, with many other clergy, deprived in England; for refusing the oath of the Queen's supremacy.[d,g,h]

Saturday, *August* 12. By order of Doctor GRINDAL newly-elect Bishop of LONDON, the high altar of Paul's Church, with the Rood and images of Mary and John taken down[d]: and *August* 23-25, Roods and other images in churches, with copes, vestments, altar-cloths, books, rood-lofts, &c., burnt in London.[d,g]

December 17. Doctor PARKER consecrated Archbishop of CANTERBURY, by three deprived Bishops: and they, consecrate the rest.[i]

This year. Three learned Preachers and thirty more burnt in Spain for being Protestants; and had not the Inquisition put a stop to these Reformers, the Protestant religion had run through Spain like wild-fire: people of all degrees being wonderfully disposed there, at this time, to embrace it.[j]

1560.

April 19. MELANCTHON dies[k] at Wittemberg,[l] *æt.* 64.[l]

---

[a] PETRIE. [b] HOLINSHED *History of Scotland.* [c] CALDERWOOD. [d] HOLINSHED. [e] BOHUN's Continuation of SLEIDAN. [g] STOW. [f] QUICK's *Synodicon.* [i] FULLER. [j] BURNET.
[h] FULLER says, There was but One of all the Bishops, viz., of LANDAFF; who conformed to the Queen's commands. [k] CALVISIUS.
[l] FULLER mistakes, in saying *æt.* 63.

The English begin the trade of fishing at Newfoundland.[a]

July 7,[b] or 8.[c,d] Peace concluded in Scotland, and

August 13. A Parliament meets at Edinburgh; *August* 17, agrees on a Protestant *Confession of Faith*[c,e]: and *August* 24, makes two Acts for abolishing the Mass, and the Pope's authority in the Kingdom.[c,e,f]

December 5. FRANCIS II., King of France, dies,[d,g] *æt.* 17; and his brother CHARLES IX. succeeds,[g] *æt.* 10.[h]

December 20. The first National Assembly of the Reformed Church of Scotland meets, at Edinburgh.[c,e]

1561.

January 17. The first *Book of Discipline* allowed by the Council of Scotland[e]; subscribed by a great part of the Nobility.[c]

May 21. The Parliament of Scotland meets, and makes an Act for demolishing all the monasteries.[d]

August 20,[c,i] or 21.[d] The Queen of Scots arrives at Leith from France.[c,d,i]

1562.

January 17. An Assembly of Delegates from all the Parliaments of France meets at St. Germain; wherein is passed the famous Edict allowing Liberty of Conscience to Protestants, and of Worship without the cities; and of Synods in presence of a Magistrate.[j]

CHATILLON, Admiral of France, sends JOHN RIBAULT to Florida; arrives at Cape Francis in 30° N. Lat.; *May* 1 enters a river, which he therefore calls the river May; discovers eight others; one of which he calls Port Royal; sails up the same many leagues, builds a fort, calls it Charles; and leave there a colony; which soon mutinies, kills their Captain, ALBERT, for his severity, and breaks up.[k]

There are, this year, accounted 2,150 assemblies [*congregations*] of Protestants, in France.[j]

---

[a] King JAMES's [I.] *Patent of Newfoundland*, in PURCHAS.
[b] STOW. [c] CALDERWOOD. [d] BUCHANAN. [e] PETRIE.
[f] HOLINSHED, in his *History of Scotland*, mistakes, in first placing these Acts in the Parliament of *December* 15, 1567; when they were only renewed and further ratified. (See CALDERWOOD and PETRIE.)
[g] CALVISIUS. [h] DUPIN. [i] HOLINSHED's *History of Scotland*.
[j] BOHUN's Continuation of SLEIDAN. [k] PURCHAS.

1563.

January 12. The Convocation of the English Clergy meets: January 31, they finish the *Thirty-nine Articles*. Of the Lower House, Forty-three, present, are for throwing out the Ceremonies, and Thirty-five for keeping them. However, these, with the help of proxies, carried it by ONE Vote above the others.[a] [*See pp.* 520–524.]

The Bishops now beginning to urge the Clergy to subscribe to the Liturgy and Ceremonies, as well as the Articles; COVERDALE, FOX, HUMPHREY, SAMPSON, WHITTINGHAM, and others refuse to subscribe.[a,b,c]

And this begins the era of Nonconformity in England.

December 4. The Council of Trent dissolves.[d]

1564.

CHATILLON sends RENÉ LAUDONIERE to Florida. In *April*, sets sail with three ships; *June* 22, arrives ten leagues above Cape Francis; and then in the river May; builds a fort thereon; and in honour of his King, CHARLES IX., calls it, Carolina.[e]

May 27. CALVIN dies at Geneva, aged 54 years, 10 months, and 17 days.[f]

1565.

July. HENRY STUART, Lord DARNLEY, made by the Queen of Scots, Duke of ALBANY[g,h]; *July* 29, she marries him; and the next day, they are proclaimed King and Queen.[i,j]

End of *August*, RIBAULT arrives from France at Florida again, with seven sail: but *September* 4, PEDRO MELENDES, with six great Spanish ships, comes into the river; massa-

[a] STRYPE's *Annals*. [b] FULLER. [d] CALVISIUS. [e] PURCHAS.

[c] COVERDALE had been Bishop in the reign of EDWARD VI., and helped to consecrate Archbishop PARKER; FOX was the famous Martyrologist; Doctor HUMPHREY was the Regius Professor of Divinity, and President of Magdalen College, Oxford; Dr. SAMPSON was Dean of Christ Church, Oxford; and Master WHITTINGHAM, Dean of Durham.

[f] BEZA. [g] HOLINSHED's *History of Scotland*.

[h] BUCHANAN and CAMDEN say, Duke of ROTHSAY. [i] BUCHANAN.

[j] HOLINSHED, in his *History of Scotland*, says, she proclaimed him King on Saturday, *July* 28, at even; and the next morning, marries him: but this seems unlikely.

cres RIBAULT and all his company; possesses the country; builds three forts, and puts 1,200 soldiers in them; LAUDONIERE escaping to France.[a]

1566.

Captain SAVALET, of Gascony, in France, begins to fish at L'Acadie [*Canada*]; and goes every year, making forty-two voyages, to 1607.[a]

June 19. JAMES born to the Queen of Scotland.[b,c,d]

1567.

February 10. His father killed by Earl BOTHWELL[b,d]; whom the Queen soon after marries.[c,d]

July 24,[b] or 25.[c,e] The Queen of Scots resigns the crown to her son, and makes the Earl of MURRAY, Regent[b]; and *July* 29, her said son, JAMES VI., is crowned.[c,d,f,g]

Captain DOMINIQUE DE GOURGES, with three ships, sails from France to Florida. *April* 1568, arrives in the river May; slays most of the Spaniards; takes their forts, razes them; and in *June*, arrives at Rochelle.[a]

∴ *And thus the French attempts on Florida end.*[h]

1568.

May 16,[d] or 17.[i] The Queen of Scots comes into England; and is soon secured.[d,i]

1570.

T. CARTWRIGHT, [Lady] Margaret's Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, begins to oppose the Hierarchy; and is deprived.[j,k]

1571.

The Parliament of England begins; and makes an Act to deprive all clergymen who subscribe not to the *Thirty-nine Articles*.[l] Upon which, many clergymen are deprived.[j,m] [*See Note*[i] *on p.* 352.]

[a] PURCHAS. [b] HOLINSHED'S *History of Scotland*. [c] BUCHANAN.
[d] *July* 24, the resignation signed; *July* 25, entered on record in the Council Book (BURNET). [d] STOW. [f] CALDERWOOD. [i] CAMDEN.
[g] HOLINSHED, in his *History of Scotland*, mistakes in placing the Coronation on *July* 19. [j] STRYPE'S *Annals*. [l] KEEBLE.
[h] N.B. The Attempts of SOTO and NARVAZ were on the west side of Cape Florida, in the country since called the Missisippi; but the French Attempts on the east side, in the country since called Carolina.
[k] The Hierarchy is the lordly government of the Church by Archbishops, Diocesan Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, &c. [m] FULLER.

1572.

August 24, and few days after, 70,000 Protestants massacred in Paris, and other parts of France.[a]

November 20.[b] The First Presbyterian Church in England set up at Wandsworth, near London; when they choose eleven Elders.[c]

1574.

May 30. CHARLES IX., of France, dies; and his brother, HENRY III., reigns.[d,e]

1575.

May 17. Archbishop PARKER dies[e,f]; and *February* 15 [1576], EDMUND GRINDAL elected Archbishop of CANTERBURY.[e]

1576.

June 15. Captain FROBISHER sails from Blackwall[e]; *June* 18, from Harwich,[g] to find a North West Passage to the East Indies; *July* 20, discovers a Cape, which he calls Queen Elizabeth's Foreland, and then the Straits which bare his name[e]; *August* 9, enters a bay in 63° N. Lat.[g]; sails sixty leagues; lands, takes a savage[e]: but the ice obliges him to return; and arrives in England, *September* 24.[g,h]

1577.

December 13. Captain FRANCIS DRAKE sails from Plymouth round the world, and returns to Plymouth, *November* 3, 1580.[e,g,i]

1579.

January 23. The Seven Dutch Provinces unite, at Utrecht.[j]

Sir HUMPHREY GILBERT obtains a *Patent* of Queen ELIZABETH for places not possessed by a Christian Prince; provided he takes possession within six years.[k]

1581.

January 16. The Parliament of England meets. And Enacts a fine of £20 [= *about* £150 *in present value*] a month on every one that comes not to Common Prayer[l]; and in *July*, sundry are fined.[e]

---

[a] CALVISIUS. [b] NEAL's *History of the Puritans*. [c] FULLER.
[d] PETRIE. [e] STOW. [f] HOLINSHED. [g] CAMDEN.
[h] STOW seems to mistake in placing his arrival in England in *August*.
[i] PURCHAS. [j] PETIT. [k] HARRIS. [l] KEEBLE.

1582.

October 5. The New Style begins; which calls it the 15th.[a,b]

ROBERT BROWN publishes a book on *Reformation*[c]; wherein he writes against the *Common Prayer*,[d] and condemns the Church of England as no Church.[e]

1583.

June 4. ELIAS THACKER; and *June* 6, JOHN COPING put to death at Bury, in Suffolk; for spreading BROWN's book against the *Common Prayer*.[d]

June 11. Sir HUMPHREY GILBERT sails from Plymouth for Newfoundland; *August* 1, arrives at the Bay of Conception; *August* 3, at the harbour of St. John's[f]; *August* 5, takes possession; *August* 20, sails for the southern parts; *August* 29, loses a ship on the shoals of Sablonne; *August* 31, turns homeward: at, after midnight, *September* 6, he sinks in a great storm; and *September* 22, the other ship arrives at Falmouth.[g]

July 6. Archbishop GRINDAL dies; and *September* 23, JOHN WHITGIFT made Archbishop of CANTERBURY[d]: who zealously presses Subscription to the *Articles* and *Common Prayer*; which occasions incredible distractions in the Church.[e] [*See Note*[i] *on p.* 352.]

1584.

March 25. Sir WALTER RALEIGH obtains a *Patent* of Queen ELIZABETH for foreign parts not possessed by any Christian Prince.[h]

April 27. He sends PHILIP AMIDAS and ARTHUR BARLOW, in two barks[h,i] from the Thames; *July* 2, descry the coast of Florida; sail forty leagues for a harbour; enter one, seven leagues west of Roanoak[i]; *July* 10, take possession for Queen ELIZABETH; and from her, call the country Virginia.[h,j] End of *July*, they come to Roanoak; and mid-*September*, arrive in England.[i]

---

[a] RICCIOLIUS. [b] STRAUCHIUS. [c] NEAL. [d] STOW. [e] CAMDEN.
[f] He finds there Twenty Portuguese and Spanish fishing vessels, and Sixteen of other nations. (HARRIS.) [g] HARRIS. [h] PURCHAS.
[j] This country is since called North Carolina; and the land North eastward succeeds in the name Virginia. [i] Captain JOHN SMITH.

1585.

April 9. Sir WALTER sends Sir RICHARD GRENVILLE,[a,b] from Plymouth; *June* 20, falls in with Florida; *June* 26, anchors at Wococon[a]; leaves the First Colony, of above a hundred people, under Master RALPH LANE, at Roanoak[a,b]; *July* 25, Sir RICHARD sails, discovering the coast north-eastward, to the Chesepians[a]; and *September* 18, arrives at Plymouth.[b]

Captain JOHN DAVIS sails from England to find a North West Passage to the East Indies; sails up 66° N. Lat. in the Straits that bare his name; the next year, to 80°; and afterwards to 83°.[c,d]

1586.

January 1. Sir FRANCIS DRAKE arrives at Hispaniola[c,e]; takes St. Domingo; sails to the Continent, and takes Carthagena; sails to Florida[c,e,f]; *May* 29, takes St. John's Fort at St. Augustine[g]; *June* 9, arrives within six leagues of the English at Roanoak; and *June* 18, sails, with this First Colony, for England.[e]

A fortnight after, arrives Sir RICHARD GRENVILLE, and not finding the First, he leaves there a Second Colony of fifteen[a] or fifty[b] men; and returns to England.[a,b]

1587.

February 8. The Queen of Scots beheaded in England.[c,f]

Sir WALTER sends another Company to Virginia under Master JOHN WHITE, Governor, with a *Charter* and twelve Assistants; *July* 22, arrives at Hatarask, finds the Second Colony at Roanoak destroyed[a]; and lands 115 for a Third Plantation.[b]

August 13, MANTEO, the first savage baptized;

August 18, the first English child born of Mistress DARE, and named VIRGINIA[b]; and *August* 27, the Governor sails home for supplies.[a]

---

[d] These Straits running up nearly due North, and so near the Pole, and having different coloured peoples on the several sides, seem to be the Dividing Sea between Greenland and America. [f] STOW.

[e] CATES's account of this voyage, printed in 1589.

[g] Both CAMDEN and PURCHAS mistake St. Anthony's for St. John's; and also in saying that he took St. Helena. See CATES's account, who was in the voyage. [a] PURCHAS. [b] Captain JOHN SMITH. [c] CAMDEN.

1588.

July. The Spanish Armada destroyed in the Channel of England.[a,b]

1589.

July 22. King HENRY III. of France stabbed[c] by a Jacobine friar[d]; dies the next day[c]; and HENRY IV. succeeds.[c,d]

1590.

March 20. Governor WHITE sails from Plymouth[e]; *August* 15, arrives at Hatarask; but finding not a man of the Third Colony, returns.[e,f]

Thus the Third Colony of Old Virginia is broken up, and though Sir WALTER sends Five times to seek them,[f] yet never one of them has been found to this day [1622].[e]

1593.

April 6. HENRY BARROW, gentleman, and JOHN GREENWOOD, Clerk, put to death at Tyburn, for publishing certain books against the Hierarchy.[g]

May 29.[g] Master JOHN PENRY put to death at St. Thomas Watering [in London][h] for a manuscript found in his study against the Hierarchy and persecution.[g]

1598.

The French King grants the Marquis DE LA ROCHE a Commission to conquer Canada and other countries not possessed by any Christian prince[i]; and in *April*, gives the famous *Edict of Nantes* to the Protestants.[j]

September 3. PHILIP II., King of Spain, dies,[h,i] *æt.* 72[h]; and his son PHILIP III. succeeds.[h,i]

1599.

April 25. OLIVER CROMWELL born at Huntingdon: afterwards Lord Protector.[k]

1600.

November 19. Born to King JAMES VI. of Scotland; Prince CHARLES, afterwards King CHARLES I.[l]

---

[a] CAMDEN. [b] STOW. [c] CALVISIUS. [d] PETRIE. [f] PURCHAS.
[e] Captain JOHN SMITH. [g] NEAL. [h] HOWES. [i] PERIER.
[j] QUICK's *Synodicon*. [k] His *Life*, by J. S.
[l] POINTER, SALMON, HUBNER, and ANDERSON.

1602.

March 26. Captain BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD sails from Falmouth to the north part of Virginia, with thirty-two persons; twelve of whom are to begin a Plantation. *May* 10, discovers land in 43° N. Lat.; sails along the shore, to *May* 15, when he sees a headland in 42°; and catching great store of codfish, names it Cape Cod; and goes ashore. *May* 16, sails round the Cape; discovers an island in 41° 15′; *May* 22, lands, and calls it Martha's Vineyard; *May* 24, comes to another, next it, which he names Dover Cliff; and then to another, which he calls Elizabeth Island. *May* 31, lands on the main, and returns to Elizabeth Island. *June* 1, determines on a settlement here, and begins a fort. *June* 13, the men who were to stay, recant; and resolve for England. *June* 17. They all set sail; and Friday, *July* 23, arrive at Exmouth.[a]

1603.

March 24. Queen ELIZABETH dies, *æt.* 70.[b,c] And

JAMES VI. of Scotland, proclaimed King of England,[c]
and
begins the British Monarchy.

The end of the Introduction.

[a] PURCHAS. [b] CAMDEN. [c] HOWES.

THE

NEW ENGLAND

CHRONOLOGY.

PART I.

FROM

The beginning of the British Monarchy, in the accession of King JAMES, the first Monarch of Great Britain, March 24, 1602–3.

TO

The beginning of the New English Colonies in the Settlement of the First at Plymouth, December 31, 1620.

Being a brief Account of matters relating to those newly discovered Countries, while settled only by the aboriginal natives: reciting the several Voyages from England thither; with the most material Affairs, especially of Great Britain, that led the way to their settlement by English inhabitants.

WHAT an insight is afforded us in these *Annals*, of the way in which our all wise GOD designs the affairs of this world to go on : and how the Christian Communism of the Pilgrim Fathers, imitated from the infant Christian Church at Jerusalem, could never be permanent. As long as they were individually poor, especially in face of the horrible tyranny from which they fled; this Communism sufficed, though the individual output was necessarily stinted and scanty : but once freedom and property came to each, the inexorable laws of Political Economy working upon that reasonable Self-Interest which the blessed Creator has implanted in us as the pivot of human action, came into irresistible effect; and the explosive power of money in the dissolution of Communities founded upon false bases, became at once apparent.

Among the interesting things of PRINCE's Second Volume, there is, perhaps, nothing more instructive than the account at *p.* 635, of the way in which the power of wealth burst asunder, in 1632, that close spiritual Community and Organisation of the Pilgrim Church, which had lasted unshaken during thirty years of poverty and surpassing troubles.

Other instances of the natural advantage in appealing to individual self-interest, will be found at *pp.* 452, 477, 478, 648.

What a true manhood is there, in this Story ! and how it is, cheek by jowl, with the most consummate rascality ! What a demonstration is it of the power of a Divine faith ! How it verifies Lord BACON's contemporary statement, in his Essay on *Atheism* ; *Man, when he resteth and assureth himself upon Divine protection and favour, gathereth a force and faith* [confidence] ; *which Human Nature, in itself, could not obtain.*

It is manifest, that the enormous difficulties of the Pilgrim Fathers never *could* have been surmounted, but for their enjoyment of such an Assurance; their strong ecclesiastical " Discipline "; their united, untiring Effort ; their wonderful physical endurance ; their justice and moderation : while their Divine piety, benevolence, unselfishness, and forgivingness make us to love them with an entire heart.

Now we must leave the Reader with the *Annals* themselves; to watch the conflicts with the Indians ; the forming by Covenant into a " Church state; " the fishing ; the trafficing for beaver, &c. ; the solemn Imposition of Hands ; the slow starvation, for months together, of an entire community (to each Colony, in succession, *pp.* 453, 646) ; the daring voyages of Captain STANDISH and others in open boats in terrible weather to get corn for the famishing people ; the solemn Days of Thanksgiving and Fasting ; the making of Wampumpeag, *p.* 481 ; the captures by the Turks, and the fights with the Dunkirkers ; the wonderful destruction of the rogues of the story, and the gradual prosperity of those who do well ; &c., &c. And yet, through it all, the quiet rest and peace in the full enjoyment of that Form of Worship, which they thought to be the truest and most appropriate : with the knowledge that, over the sea, BUCKINGHAM, LAUD, STRATFORD, and the Bishops were active instruments, in the King's hands, to the goading of the mother country to the verge of frenzy ; and were rapidly hurrying three kingdoms into a great Civil War. E. A. 1879.



THE *NEW ENGLAND* CHRONOLOGY.

PART I.

HAVING passed through the Seven great Periods of time, from the Creation to the beginning of the British Empire: with the discovery of that Indian shore which is soon to be the theatre of our Chronology: a new face of things appears, both to the Western parts of Europe, and the Eastern of America.

For though one hundred and ten years have elapsed since the New World became known to the Old; yet neither the French, Dutch, nor English, nor any but the Spaniards, have made any effectual settlement in these new found regions: and as the gold and silver mines had drawn the Spaniards to the southern and western quarters; I cannot find, at this point of time, so much as one European family in all the vast extent of coast from Florida to Greenland.

The reason of which I take to be,

That the next year after COLUMBUS's discovery, the Pope

was pleased to give the Crown of Spain the sole title to all the lands lying above one hundred leagues west of the meridian of the Azores. The *Bull* was signed at Rome, *May* 4th, 1493[a]: and such was then the ignorance that reigned in Europe, as scarcely any thought, but that he had a right to give them.

Within thirty years indeed, the Reformation coming on, began to open the eyes of many: yet both England, Scotland, Ireland, France, and the Netherlands were so fully engaged, for nearly four score years, with their own internal broils about religion; as well as mutual wars on this and other accounts: that they had neither power nor leisure to attend to foreign settlements.

But in 1598, France was quieted with the Edict of Nantes, in *April*: and by a peace, in *May*, with PHILIP II., King of Spain and Portugal.

Just before Queen ELIZABETH died, the disturbances in Ireland were quelled: and she expires in peace with all Princes and States in Europe; except PHILIP, King of Spain, and Archduke ALBERT, Sovereign of the Spanish Netherlands.

And King JAMES, as King of Scotland, being then in amity with all the world; upon his accession to the English Throne, the Two British Crowns become united on him: and, as King of England, he soon leaves the Dutch to defend themselves; and concludes a peace with King PHILIP and Archduke ALBERT.

So that all the Western Powers of Europe are in tranquility; except the war continued between the Dutch on the one side, and the King of Spain with the Archduke on the other.

The French and English being thus at liberty, begin to look more seriously now than ever, to the new found World. First, they send to fish and trade; then to settle: the French to Canada and Acadia: the English to South and North Virginia, Newfoundland, and Bermudas.

---

[a] See the *Bull*, in PURCHAS, and HARRIS.

For the English, at this time, extend Virginia from Florida to the Bay of Fundy; and divide it into North and South: and the North is that, to which we are now to attend; though it seems not to take the name of New England, till 1614.

Divers attempts are made to settle this rough and northern country. First, by the French, who would fain account it part of Canada; and then by the English: and both from merely secular views. But such a Train of Crosses accompany these designs of both the nations, that they seem to give it over as not worth the planting: till a Pious People of England, (not there allowed to worship their Maker, according to His institutions ONLY; without the mixture of human ceremonies) are spirited to attempt the settlement; that here, they might enjoy a Worship purely Scriptural, and leave the same to their posterity. And they succeeding; open the way for the following Colonies.

In this FIRST PART, I shall therefore recount, as well the most Material Events in Great Britain, wherewith they were chiefly affected before their leaving it; as the several Voyages and Attempts to Settle these long neglected shores, till their Arrival in 1620: keeping a particular eye on those remarkable Steps of Providence that led to this happy enterprise; and not omitting the Primary Settlements of the neighbouring countries.

In the English History (besides a number of ancient pamphlets printed within this Period; and which I found in an old broken up library in England), I chiefly follow HOWES,[a] and FULLER.

In the Voyages and Attempts of Settlement, I chiefly make use of PURCHAS, SMITH, and GORGES, who lived in the times they wrote of; and the two last, personally interested in those affairs. HARRIS omitting many valuable accounts of

[a] *i.e.*, both HOWE's Continuation of STOW, in folio, printed 1631: as also HOWE's *Abridgment*, in octavo, printed 1618; wherein are several Remarkables not mentioned in the folio.

these parts of the world preserved in PURCHAS; and PURCHAS being more of an original, I prefer the latter.

In the passages relating to the Plymouth Planters, I chiefly use their Governor BRADFORD's manuscript *History of that Church and Colony*, in folio; who was with them from their beginning to the end of his Narrative: which is now before me, and was never published.

And in reciting from them; for the greater satisfaction, I keep so closely to the *words* of my authors, as I have done in the last great Section [VII.] of the *Introduction*; that the reader may conceive them as speaking, in their several articles.

As for the rise of these Plymouth Planters, Governor BRADFORD informs us in the following terms:

That several religious people, near the joining borders of Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire, finding their pious Ministers urged with Subscription[a] *or silenced; and the people greatly vexed with the Commissary Courts, Apparitors, and Pursuivants: which they bare, sundry years, with much patience; till they were occasioned, by the continuance and increase of these troubles and other means, to see further into these things, by the light of the Word of GOD—How that not only the ceremonies were unlawful; but also the worldly and tyrannous power of the Prelates: who would, contrary to the freedom of the gospel, load the consciences of men; and, by their* compulsive *power, make a profane mixture of things and persons in Divine Worship. That their Offices, Courts, and* Canons *were unlawful: being such as have no warrant in the Word of God; but the same that were used in Popery, and still retained.*

Upon which, this People shake off this yoke of Antichristian bondage[b]*; and, as the LORD's free People, join themselves by*

[a] *i.e.* Subscription to the *Book of Common Prayer*, Ceremonies, and ALL the *Articles*. (FULLER.) [See *p.* 352.]

[b] These are Governor BRADFORD's words, as are all the rest in this citation. And he seems to call this *Antichristian bondage*; as he judged the inventions of men in Worship, *imposed* on the conscience, to be a *bondage* brought into the Church by the Papal policy and power; against the superior law of CHRIST, the genius of His plain religion, and Christian liberty.

Covenant *into a* Church state; *to walk in all His ways, made known or to be made known to them, according to their best endeavours: whatever it cost them.*

Governor BRADFORD's *History* takes no notice of the *year* of this Federal Incorporation; but Mr. Secretary MORTON, in his *Memorial*, places it in 1602. And I suppose, he had the account, either from some other writings of Governor BRADFORD, or the *Journals* of Governor WINSLOW, or from oral conference with them, or others of the first Planters: with some of whom he was contemporary; and from whence, he tells us, he received his intelligence.

And these are the Christian People who were the Founders of Plymouth Church and Colony, who seem to be some of the first in England that were brave enough to improve the liberty wherewith the Divine Author of our religion has made us free: and observe His Institutions as their *only rule* in Church Order, Discipline, and Worship: for which, they dearly suffered, and left their native country; and who laid the first foundation of the New England Settlements. But we shall hear no more of them till 1606; when, under all their sufferings, they grow into Two Congregations.

And that the Reader may have some ideas of the Puritans, so often mentioned in the histories of those times; and from whom this People derive: I shall only relate the definition which Doctor FULKE, a famous Church of England writer, has given us of them, *They are called Puritans*, says he, *who would have the Church thoroughly reformed*, that is, purged from all those inventions which have been brought into it, since the Age of the Apostles; and reduced entirely to the Scripture purity.

But I begin with the Voyages of others. And though the first I mention, seems to commence a few days before Queen ELIZABETH died: yet the Reader will quickly see the ship leaves not the shore of Britain, till above a fortnight after.

N.B. 1. I still keep to the Julian Year: and where foreign Authors use the New Style, I reduce it to the Old.

2. E. stands for East, W. for West, N. for North, S. for South, N.E. for North-East, &c.
3. *b.* and *e.* added to the Months, signify their beginning or ending.

[*All abbreviations are expanded in the present Text.*]

4. That the reader may more distinctly see the Chronological Articles of the Plymouth Planters, their lines begin with [inverted] commas.

[*In the present Text, these are put in Italic type; except for the central period of these* Annals, *from July* 1620 (*p.* 398) *to the end of* 1628 (*p.* 485)*; which being almost exclusively occupied with the affairs of Plymouth Colony, need no such distinction in type.*]

1603.

March 20. THE BRISTOL men, by leave of Sir WALTER RALEIGH, send Captain MARTIN PRING, with a small ship of 50 tons, 30 men and boys; and WILLIAM BROWN, with a bark of 26 tons, 13 men and a boy; who then sail from King's Road[a] for the further discovery of North Virginia. *April* 10. They sail from Milford Haven. In *June*, they fall in with the main coast and a multitude of islands in 43° 30′ N. Lat.; land upon them; coast along the shore, bare into Cape Cod Bay, sail round the Cape; anchor on the south side, in 41° 25′, where they land in another bay and excellent harbour; make a *barricado*, and stay seven weeks. *July* 8, the bark goes homeward, laden with sassafras; and arrives safe. August 8 or 9, the ship set sails, and arrives at King's Road again, *October* 2.[b]

March 31. King JAMES proclaimed at Edinburgh; King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland.[c]

April 3, Lord's Day. He declares in the Great Church, at Edinburgh; that as GOD has promoted him to a greater power; he must endeavour to establish religion, and take

[a] I suppose King's Road is near Bristol, in England.
[b] PURCHAS. [c] CALDERWOOD.

away corruption in both the countries: and that he had so settled both the Church and Kingdom in the State, which he intended not to alter any ways.[a,b]

April 5. King JAMES sets out from Edinburgh[a,c]; Saturday, *May* 7, enters London.[c,d] In his way to London,[e] 746 Ministers of the Church of England, out of twenty-five of the forty Counties in England and the twelve in Wales, present him a Petition, desiring reformation of certain ceremonies and abuses of the Church,[f] called the *Millenary Petition*.[g]

May 10. BARTHOLOMEW GILBERT, in a bark of 50 tons, sails from Plymouth, to seek for the Third Colony left in South Virginia. *June* 16, arrives at St. Lucia; 17, at Dominica; 19, at Nevis. Thence sails for South Virginia: but, Friday, *July* 29, landing near Chesepioc [*Chesapeake*] Bay, the captain and four more are slain by the Indians. The rest set sail, and arrive at Ratcliffe, near London, in the end of September.[h]

June 4. A Grace passes in the University of Cambridge, that whosoever shall publicly oppose (either in word, or writing, or any other way) in the said University, either the Doctrine or Discipline of the Church of England or any part thereof, shall, *ipso facto*, be excluded from having any degree; and deprived of every one they have taken.[e]

June 1–8. Arrive Ambassadors from Holland, France, Spain, Archduke ALBERT, &c.[c,i]

July. Sir WALTER RALEIGH and others apprehended, and committed to the Tower.[c,i]

July 25, Monday. King JAMES, with his Queen, crowned at Westminster.[c,d]

September 21. Sir WALTER RALEIGH and others indicted of High Treason.[c]

November 10, Thursday. Sir WALTER RALEIGH and five

---

[a] CALDERWOOD. [b] PETRIE. [c] HOWES. [d] SPEED.

[e] The Vice-Chancellor, &c., of Oxford, in their *Answer*, printed there, in quarto, 1603; who say, the *Petition* was exhibited in *April*.

[f] *Abridgment of the Book which the Ministers of the Lincoln diocese presented to the King, on December* 1, 1604, and printed, in quarto, 1605: wherein there is a list of the number of the said Petitioners in each of the said twenty-five counties; viz., 30 in London, 57 in Essex, 71 in Suffolk, &c.

[g] FULLER. [h] PURCHAS. [i] Sir RICHARD BAKER.

others removed from the Tower towards Winchester; *November* 12,[a] committed to Winchester Castle[b]; *November* 17, arraigned, and declared guilty[b,c]; and *December* 15, returned to the Tower of London.[b]

December 22. From *December* 23, last year, to this day, died of the Plague in London 30,578; and of all diseases 38,244.[b,e] [*See p.* 492]. But the year following, London is clear of the infection; and all the Shires in England grievously visited.[b]

December 27. The famous Master CARTWRIGHT dies, in England, at the age of sixty.[b] And FULLER says, "He was most pious, an excellent scholar, pure Latinist, accurate Grecian, exact Hebrician."

1604.

January 14, Saturday. THE CONFERENCE in the Privy Chamber at Hampton Court begins; between King JAMES and the Bishops' party only: wherein he tells them, that however he had lived among Puritans; yet, since he was ten years old, he ever disliked their opinions: and as CHRIST said, "Though He lived among them, He was not of them."[g,h]

January 16, Monday. The Second Conference between the King, and both the Bishops and Puritan parties together; wherein the Agents for the "Millenary Plaintiffs" are Doctor REYNOLDS, Doctor SPARKES, Master KNEWSTUBS, and Master CHADERTON: and though they are willing to conform, and subscribe, *according to law*;[i] the King declares, "I will have

[a] Sir RICHARD BAKER inaccurately places this on *November* 4, when only the Lords GREY and COBHAM were removed. [b] HOWES.
[c] SPEED. [d] CALDERWOOD. [e] Sir RICHARD BAKER. [f] FULLER.
[g] WILLIAM BARLOW, D.D., Dean of Chester, his *Sum of the Conference*, printed, in quarto, London, 1604.
[h] And yet he had twice sworn and subscribed their *Confession of Faith*, viz., in 1581 and 1590: and in their General Assembly of *August* 1590, "solemnly praised GOD that he was born to be King of such a Church, the purest in the world; and that the *Service* of the English Church was an ill-said *Mass* in English." (CALDERWOOD, PETRIE.)
[i] I should have observed, under 1570, That the *Act of Parliament* required Subscription to all the *Articles of Religion*, which ONLY concern the *Confession of the true Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments* (KEEBLE): and under 1583, That Archbishop WHITGIFT extending the Subscription to ALL the *Articles*, WITHOUT EXCEPTION; occasioned all the troubles the Puritans endured.

One Doctrine, and One Discipline; One religion in Substance, and in Ceremony."

Tells the Lords and Bishops again, He had lived among such sort of men as the Puritans, ever since he was ten years old; but might say of himself, as CHRIST, "Though I lived among them, I was never of them; nor did anything make me more to detest their courses, than that they disallowed of all things which had been used in Popery."[a] Swares, "By his soul! he believed ECCLESIASTICUS was a Bishop." Says, "That a Scottish Presbytery as well agrees with Monarchy, as GOD and the Devil." At his going away, says to some, "If this be all they have to say, I shall make them conform! or I will harry them out of the land, or do worse!" And one of the Lords said, "He was fully persuaded His Majesty spake by the instinct of the Spirit of GOD."[b]

January 18, Wednesday. The Third and last day's Conference, First, between the King and Bishop's party only.

Wherein the King defends the High Commission; with Subscription to *all* the *Articles* and *Common Prayer Book*; as also the Oath *ex Officio*. And though one of the Lords[c] pleaded, That the proceedings of the High Commission Court were like the Spanish Inquisition, wherein men are urged to subscribe more than the law required; and That by the Oath *ex Officio*, they were inforced to accuse themselves: That they were examined on twenty or twenty-four *Articles* upon the sudden, without deliberation; and for the most part against themselves. Yet the King approves and vindicates them all, and says, "If any, after things are well ordered, will not be quiet and show his obedience; the Church were better without him, and he were worthy to be hanged!" The Lords and the rest stood amazed at His Majesty's wise discourse. Archbishop WHITGIFT said, "Undoubtedly His Majesty spake by the special assistance of GOD's SPIRIT." Doctor

[a] By this it appears, he mistook or misrepresented the Puritans: for their *main dispute* was only against *Human Inventions*; and their being used in Popery, was an additional reason to put them away.

[b] WILLIAM BARLOW, D.D., Dean of Chester, his *Sum of the Conference*, printed, in quarto, London, 1604.

[c] Most of the Lords of His Majesty's [Privy] Council were present in all these Conferences (BARLOW).

BANCROFT, Bishop of LONDON, upon his knee, protested "His heart melted with joy, and made haste to acknowledge to Almighty GOD His singular mercy received at His hands in giving such a King, as since CHRIST His time, the like, he thought, hath not been." Whereto the Lords, with one voice, did yield a very affectionate acclamation.

Secondly. Then Doctor REYNOLDS and his associates were called in; and though they intreated that the cross in baptism, and surplice, might not be urged upon some honest, godly, and painful Ministers: yet His Majesty willed that the Bishop should set a time; and if they would not yield, whosoever they were, to remove them. "Either let them conform! and that shortly; or they shall hear of it!"[a,b]

January 31. King JAMES issues a Writ for a Convocation of the Province of Canterbury to meet before Archbishop WHITGIFT, as President, at St. Paul's, London, on *March* 20.[c]

February 29, Wednesday. Archbishop WHITGIFT dies, *æt.* 73[d,e]; and Dr. BARLOW says, That not many days before he was stricken; he most earnestly desired that he might not live to see the Parliament, which is to meet on *March* 19.

March 5. King JAMES issues a Proclamation, that the same Religion with *Common Prayer* and *Episcopal Jurisdiction* shall fully and Only be publicly exercised, in all respects, as in the reign of Queen ELIZABETH; without hope of toleration of any other.[d,f]

March 9. The Archbishop being dead, King JAMES issues a second Writ for the Convocation to appear before Doctor BANCROFT, Bishop of LONDON, as President.[c]

March 19. King JAMES's First Parliament meets at Westminster[d,g]: when he declares the Puritans to be a sect unable to be suffered in any well governed common wealth; acknowledges the Roman Church to be our Mother Church, although defiled with some infirmities and corruptions; pro-

---

[a] BARLOW. [d] HOWES. [g] KEEBLE.

[b] I recite these passages to show the King's and Bishop's disposition towards the Puritans; and what little favour these could now expect from the others. [c] *Book of Canons*, printed, in quarto, London, 1616.

[e] HOLLANDI *Heroologia Anglica.*

[f] Both HOWE's *Abridgment* and Sir RICHARD BAKER wrongly place this, in the following year.

fesses he would be content to meet *her* in the mid-way: and that since his coming, he has been so far from increasing the burdens of the Papists; that he had, as much as either time, occasion, or law could permit, lightened them, &c.[a]

March 20. Convocation meets at St. Paul's, London, before Bishop BANCROFT, President.[b]

April 12, and *June* 25. King JAMES issues his Letters Patent to empower the Convocation to agree on such *Ecclesiastical Canons* as they should think fit. They accordingly draw up a *Book of* 141 *Canons*, and desire the King's assent to them: which he grants, confirming the said *Canons*, and commanding the same to be observed, both in the Provinces of Canterbury and York.[b]

July 6. King JAMES issues a Proclamation, wherein he orders the Puritan Ministers, either to conform[c] before the last of *November*[d]; or dispose of themselves and families some other way; as being men unfit, for their obstinacy and contempt, to occupy such places.[c]

August 18. *Articles of Peace and Commerce* concluded at London, with the King of Spain and Archduke ALBERT.[e]

August 19, Lord's Day. King JAMES swares to the said *Articles*; and afternoon, Peace proclaimed.[f]

September 10. Ostend surrendered by the Dutch to the Spaniards, having been besieged from *June* 25, 1601. During the siege, there died in the city 72,900 persons: and many more [than that,] of the Spanish besiegers without it.[g]

October 24. King JAMES proclaimed King of Great Britain.[f]

December 10. Doctor BANCROFT, Bishop of LONDON, translated into the Archbishopric of Canterbury[f]; who drives on Conformity very fiercely through all his Province.[h]

December 18. Archbishop BANCROFT writes a letter to the Bishops of his Province, wherein he calls the Puritan Ministers "disobedient," "obstinate," &c.; requires that

[a] King JAMES's *Speech*, printed, in quarto, London, 1604.
[b] *Book of Canons*, printed, in quarto, London, 1616.
[c] Archbishop BANCROFT in his *Letter to the Bishops of his Province, December* 18, 1604.
[d] A tract entituled, *Certain demands &c.*, printed, in quarto, 1605.
[e] *Articles of Peace &c.*, printed, in quarto, London, 1605.
[f] HOWES. [g] CALVISIUS. [h] FULLER.

none be admitted to Ecclesiastical functions without subscription to the *Canons* [of this year]: and to deprive those who are in the Church, unless they will both conform and also subscribe to the *Canons.*[a]

1605.

March 31, Lord's Day. CAPTAIN GEORGE WEYMOUTH, with twenty-nine persons, sails from the Downs,[b] being employed by the Earl of SOUTHAMPTON and Lord ARUNDEL (of Wardour) for the discovery of a North West Passage to the East Indies. But falling short of his course,[c] Tuesday, *May* 14, descries land in 41° 30′ N., in the midst of dangerous rocks and shoals. Upon which, he puts to sea, the wind blowing south-south-west and west-south-west many days. Friday, *May* 17, descries land again; the next day finds it an island; anchors on the north side, lands and calls it "George's Island"; whence he sees the main land, and many other islands. Lord's Day, *May* 19, weighs, and sails to another island three leagues nearer the main; goes into an excellent harbour, which he calls "Pentecost Harbour"; and the next day, goes ashore in the shallop. Thursday, *May* 30, sails in a shallop up a great river; and the next day returned.[d] Tuesday, *June* 11, goes up the river in his ship, twenty-six miles; says, it is half a mile wide for forty miles into the country. Thursday, *June* 13, sails his shallop or pinnace, twenty miles in the western branch of the river, and sets up a cross. Friday, *June* 14, the ship goes down the river. Upon a rock, in the midst of the harbour, he finds the Latitude, 43° 20′, and the variation 11° 15′ W. Lord's Day, *June* 16, sets sail; and Thursday, *July* 18, arrives at Dartmouth.[b,e]

[a] Archbishop BANCROFT, in his *Letter to the Bishops of his Province,* dated *December* 18, 1604.

[b] PURCHAS.

[c] Sir FERDINANDO GORGES, Governor of the Island and Fort of Plymouth in England, in his *Narration &c.*

[d] This seems to be Sagadehock; and Sir F. GORGES doubtless mistakes, in calling it Pemaquid river.

[e] Sir. F. GORGES says, Captain WEYMOUTH brought thence five natives; and, happening to put into Plymouth, Sir FERDINANDO, then Governor there, received three of them, viz., MANIDA, SHETWARROES [*see p.* 362], and TISQUANTUM; and kept them full three years.

April 8. Master JOHN STOW, being eighty years old, a laborious writer of the English *Annals* for forty-seven years, is buried. HOWES continues them.[a]

July 2, Tuesday. The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland meeting at Aberdeen, the King's Commissioner presents them with a letter from the Lords of the [Privy] Council, requiring them to dissolve without appointing another Assembly. However, according to custom, they appoint another to meet on *September* 24; and then dissolve. For which, the [Privy] Council sends Master JOHN FORBES, the Moderator, and thirteen other ministers, to several prisons.[b,c]

October 13, Lord's Day. BEZA dies at Geneva,[d,e] *æt.* eighty-six years, three months, and nine days.[e,f]

November 1. The names being taken of the Puritan Ministers deprived; under Admonition; and denied admittance for not subscribing; amount to above 270: and yet of eight Bishoprics no account is given.[g] Some had preached in the Church ten, some twenty, some thirty years, some more. And till now, in some churches, the ceremonies had been disused for ten years, in others for twenty, and others thirty, in others more.[h]

November 5, Tuesday. At three this morning, the Gunpowder Treason plot discovered; to have been executed, this day, by the Papists, by blowing up the Parliament, who were to meet this day, with thirty-six barrels of gunpowder laid under the House[a,i,j]; and when the Blast was made, it was to be charged to the Puritans.[k]

November 9, Saturday. King JAMES comes to the Parlia-

---

[a] HOWES. [b] CALDERWOOD. [c] PETRIE. [d] *Continuatio* CALVISII.
[f] PETAVIUS mistakes in saying *October* 25, and ALSTED in placing his death in 1600. [e] MELCHIOR ADAMUS. [i] SPEED.
[g] Dr. LAYTON says, that from *June* 25, 1604, to November 5, 1605; there were four hundred Ministers ejected, silenced, or suspended, by virtue of these *Canons*.
[h] A quarto tract, intituled, *Certain reasons why the Preachers who refuse to Subscribe, should not be removed or inhibited to preach*, printed in those times.
[j] *Discourse of the Treason*, quarto, printed by the King's Printer, at London, 1605. CALVISIUS wrongly places the Gunpowder Treason in 1606.
[k] BENJAMIN HUBBARD's *Sermo Secularis* printed, in 4to, at London, 1648.

ment, and makes a speech,[a] wherein he cautions them against judging rashly of the Roman Catholics in general: says that many among them may remain good and faithful subjects; but detesting and thinking the cruelty of Puritans worthy of fire, that will admit no salvation to any Papist.[b]

1606.

January 10. ALTHOUGH it was commonly thought the deliverance from the Popish Powder Plot, would have moved the King to desist from troubling Ministers in England for nonconforming to the ceremonies; and Ministers in Scotland for standing to their confirmed liberty: yet this day, by the King's command, the Moderator and five other of the imprisoned Ministers in Scotland, are arraigned of treason, at Linlithgow, for declining the jurisdiction of the [Privy] Council in Ecclesiastical Matters: and after a deal of tampering, flattering, threatening, &c., the major part of the Court brings them in, *Guilty*. Upon which, they are ordered into closer ward, and none allowed access to them.[c d] And *February* 5, a Proclamation, at Edinburgh, that none speak against the proceedings of the King, Council, or Court, in trying and punishing them: or against any other proceedings of the King, Council, or State, past, present, or to come, upon pain of Death.[c]

Sir JOHN POPHAM, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, prevails on many Lords and others, to petition King JAMES for the settling of two Plantations on the main coasts of America. Upon which [e]

April 10. King JAMES, by *Patent*, divides Virginia into two Colonies. The Southern, called the First Colony, between 34° and 41° N., he grants to the London Company. The Northern, called the Second Colony, between 38° and 45° N., he grants to the Plymouth Company. Forbidding both, to plant within a hundred miles of each other: and giving each Colony, a Council of Thirteen to rule, coin, &c.[f]

[a] HOWES. [c] CALDERWOOD. [d] PETRIE. [f] PURCHAS.
[b] King JAMES's *Speech*, printed, in quarto, at London, 1605.
[e] Sir FERDINANDO GORGES, Governor of the Inland and Fort of Plymouth in England, in his *Narration &c.*

Kings. Great Britain, JAMES I.; *France*, HENRY IV.; *Spain*, PHILIP III.

May 21. King JAMES writes to Masters JAMES and ANDREW MELVIN and six other principal Presbyterian Ministers in Scotland, to come to him before *September* 15, to treat with them for the peace of the Church there: this being the pretence; but the event proves that the policy is to detain and confine them, that, during their absence, Episcopacy may be advanced in Scotland.[a]

Beginning of *July*. The Parliament of Scotland meets at Perth, which against the Protestation of the Commissioners of the Presbyteries through the Kingdom, restores the State of Bishops to their ancient dignities, prerogatives, tithes, rents, thirds, &c.: contrary to the Constitution and Doctrine of the Church of Scotland preached these forty years; and contrary to the *Confession of Faith* sworn and subscribed in 1581 and 1590 by the King and his household, &c.[a]

July. Sir EDWARD COKE made Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, in England.[b]

August 12, Tuesday. Lord Chief Justice POPHAM, Sir F. GORGES, and some others of the Plymouth Company, send Captain HENRY CHALLONS,[c] a brave gentleman,[d] from Plymouth, in a ship of 55 tons, twenty-nine Englishmen, with MANNIDO and ASSECOMOIT, two of the five savages brought last year from a goodly river thrice discovered by him in North Virginia, in 43° 20′ N., to make a further discovery on those coasts; and, if occasion offers, to leave as many men as he could spare in the country. But sailing to Madeira, St. Lucia, Porto Rico, and thence towards North Virginia; on *November* 10, he is taken[c] by the Spanish Fleet[e] of eight ships,[c] coming from the Havanna[e]; who carry him into Spain.[c,e]

Shortly after Captain CHALLONS's departure from Plymouth, the Lord Chief Justice sends another ship from Bristol,[e] under THOMAS HANAM Commander, and MARTIN PRINN Master, with more supplies, to second Captain CHALLONS'.

---

[a] CALDERWOOD. [b] HOWES.
[c] PURCHAS. [e] Sir FERDINANDO GEORGES.
[d] President and Council's *Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England*, printed, in quarto, London, 1622.

But not finding Captain CHALLONS there; they return to England.[a,b]

End of *August.* The eight Scotch Ministers which the King had written to, being arrived in London, are there detained, without any reason but the King's pleasure: and *September* 30, are by His Majesty obliged to hear Dr. KING preach a most virulent invective against Presbyteries, crying to the King, "Down! down with them!"[c]

Beginning of *October.* The King orders the six condemned Ministers in Scotland to be banished his dominions all their days; and the other eight imprisoned there, to be confined in several places remote from their former dwellings.[c]

The Purely Reformed Church in the north of England, by reason of the distance of their habitations, are obliged to assemble in two several places, and become two distinct Churches. In one, besides several of note, is Master JOHN SMITH, a man of able gifts and a good Preacher; who is chosen their Pastor. But these, afterwards, going over into the Low Countries, and falling into errors; there, for the most part, bury themselves and their names:

But the other Church (the subject of our Chronology), *besides several worthy men, as Master RICHARD CLIFTON, a grave and reverend Preacher; and the famous Master JOHN ROBINSON, who is afterwards their Pastor for many years, till GOD takes him away by death; as also Master WILLIAM BREWSTER, a reverend man, who afterwards is chosen Elder, and lives with them till old age.*[d]

December 20, Saturday. The London Company sends forth Captain CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT, with a ship of 100 tons, another of 40 tons, and a pinnace of 20 tons; for South Virginia: who then sail from London, but first to the West India Islands.[e]

---

[a] President and Council's *Relation &c.* 1622.

[b] Sir F. GORGES says, the said PRINN makes a perfect discovery of all those rivers and harbours; and brings the most exact account of that coast that ever came to my hand since.

[c] CALDERWOOD. [e] PURCHAS.

[d] Governor BRADFORD's *History*, in manuscript.

1607.

March 3. ONE of the Scotch Ministers in London is allowed to return, on account of his wife's dangerous illness: provided he would neither go to Synods nor Presbyteries.

April 26, Lord's Day. The King's Council send Master A. MELVIN to the Tower, where they keep him above four years; for writing a Latin Epigram upon the altar in the King's Chapel: and *May* 6, the other six Scotch Ministers at London ordered to be confined in several places in the two Kingdoms [*p.* 397], for no other pretence than that they had not given the King satisfaction in the questions he proposed to them, about his own arbitrary power in Church matters.[a]

April 26. Captain NEWPORT descries South Virginia; enters Chesapeake Bay, and lands. *April* 29. He names the southern point, Cape Henry. *May* 13. They choose Master EDWARD WINGFIELD, President for one year. *May* 14. Land all their men, and begin a Colony at a place they call, James Town. Monday, *June* 22, Captain NEWPORT sails for England, leaving the President and a hundred and four persons.

August 22. Dies in this Southern Colony, Captain BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD, the first Mover of this Colony, and one of the Council. *September* 11. President WINGFIELD displaced by his Council, and JOHN RATCLIFF chosen President.[b]

May 21, Thursday. Doctor JOHN REYNOLDS, King's Professor of Divinity in Oxford, dies, there,[c,d] *æt.* 58. He had been Dean of Lincoln; but exchanged it for the Presidency of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.[d] FULLER says, "He was acquainted with all arts and sciences; most excellent in all useful tongues; had read over all writers, profane [*i.e.*, *secular*], ecclesiastical, Divine; Councils, Fathers, Histories of the Church; his memory miraculous; his judgement mature; his piety most eminent; modest, courteous, affable.[d] And the Chief of the Puritans at the Hampton Court Conference."[e]

May 31. The Plymouth Adventurers send forth Captain GEORGE POPHAM as President, and Captain RAWLEY GILBERT

[a] CALDERWOOD. [b] PURCHAS. [c] HOWES. [d] FULLER.
[e] Doctor BARLOW, *Sum of the Conference &c.*, 1604.

Admiral,[a] with two ships,[b] two natives, *viz.*, SKETWARROES and DEHAMDA,[c] and a hundred landsmen[b]: who then sail from Plymouth, for North Virginia.

August 11. They fall in with Monahigan[d]; and settle[a] on a westerly peninsula[e] at the mouth of Sagadehock, nine or ten leagues to the southward,[a] [which, I suppose, is since called Small Point]; and build a fortification, which they name "St. George's Fort."[e]

August 24. Master THOMAS BRIGHTMAN, Rector of Haunes in Bedfordshire, dies, about the 51st year of his age.[f] FULLER says, "He wrote a learned Comment, in most pure Latin, on the *Canticles* and *Revelations*. He always carried a Greek *Testament* with him; and read it out [*through*] every fortnight. His life was most angelical. A great opposer of ceremonies, his daily discourse against Episcopal Government, and was never known to be moved with anger."[f]

THOMAS LAD, a Merchant of Yarmouth, having been long imprisoned by the High Commission, could not be bailed; because, having formerly answered on oath twice, before the Bishop's Chancellor at Norwich to certain *Articles* about a conventicle: he refused to answer on a new oath, without sight of his former Answers. And RICHARD MANSEL, a Preacher, being charged to have been partaker in a Petition exhibited to the House of Commons; and refusing the oath *ex officio* to answer to certain *Articles* propounded to him; was long imprisoned by the Commissioners at Lambeth, and could not be bailed. Both prisoners are now brought to the bar, upon the writ of the *Habeas Corpus*, where Master NICHOLAS FULLER, an honest man and an eminent lawyer, pleaded that they ought to be discharged, by an argument to prove that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners have no legal power to put the oath *ex officio*, nor imprison, nor fine any of His Majesty's subjects.

For which, Archbishop BANCROFT gets this learned Counsel into prison, and prosecutes him there to death.[f,g] [See *p.* 367.]

[a] Captain JOHN SMITH. [c] Sir F. GORGES.
[b] President and Council's *Relation &c.*, 1622.
[d] Sir F. GORGES says, three ships; and that they arrive at their place of rendezvous on *August* 8. [e] PURCHAS's *Pilgrimage*.
[g] Though Dr. FULLER mentions not the year of this prosecution: yet by the *Preface* to the Lawyer's *Argument*, printed in quarto, this year, in Holland; it appears he was now in prison. [f] FULLER.

Kings. Great Britain, JAMES I.; *France,* HENRY IV.; *Spain,* PHILIP III.

This fall, Master[s CLIFTON's and] ROBINSON's Church in the north of England, being extremely harrassed; some cast into prison, some beset in their houses, some forced to leave their farms and families: they begin to fly over to Holland,[a] *with their Reverend Pastor, Master CLIFTON,*[b] *for Purity of Worship and Liberty of Conscience.*[a]

Near winter. Captain NEWPORT arrives at South Virginia, with fresh supplies, and stays fourteen weeks. And this winter, James Town catching fire, is burnt; but soon repaired.[c]

December 15. The two English ships sail from Sagadehock,[d] with all their company, except forty-five, for England.[e]

1608.

THIS winter, extreme cold, both in Europe and North America[c,d]: and in the midst thereof,[f] the store house, most of the provisions[d] and lodgings at Sagadehock are burnt; which exceedingly distresses the people. And this winter, old Captain POPHAM, their President, dies in this North Plantation, the only one of the Company that dies there; and Captain RAWLEY GILBERT succeeds as President.[f]

Upon the ships' arrival in England from Sagadehock; Lord Chief POPHAM orders the Council of Plymouth to send them back with supplies.[d]

The Spring approaching, Captain NEWPORT sails from South Virginia for England; and Captain NELSON arrives at James Town. These two ships bring nearly a hundred men, and a hundred and twenty persons.[c]

February 25. Master MURRAY, Minister at Leith in Scotland, having been committed to the Castle of Edinburgh for opposing the rise of Bishops; is, this day, brought before the King's Council there, and dismissed. For which the King sends them a sharp rebuke, and a warrant to the Captain of the Guard to commit him again. So without any new citation, not convicted of any offence, upon the King's private direction only; he is committed to the Castle again, and there detained a year. And then the King orders the Council

[a] Governor BRADFORD's manuscript *History.*
[b] Church of Plymouth *Records.* [c] PURCHAS. [d] Sir F. GORGES.
[e] Captain JOHN SMITH. [f] President and Council's *Relation &c.,* 1622

to send him to a remote part of the kingdom, and there confine, and forbid him to preach.[a]

This spring, more of Master ROBINSON's Church, through great difficulties from their pursuers, get over to Holland. And afterwards, the rest with Master ROBINSON and Master BREWSTER; who are of the last, having tarried to help the weakest over before them. They settle at Amsterdam, and stay there a year: where Master SMITH and his Church had gotten before them.[b]

This Spring, by the Lord Chief Justice POPHAM's order,[c] two ships are furnished with fresh supplies for North Virginia[d]; and as they are waiting for a wind, they hear of his death.[e] However they sail, and arrive at Sagadehock,[c] not long after the death of President POPHAM.[d]

Soon after these ships sailed from England, Sir JOHN GILBERT dies, and leaves his younger brother RAWLEY[f] GILBERT his heir.[c] Sir FRANCIS POPHAM, son to the Lord Chief Justice, with some of the Adventurers, send a new supply[g]: and this ship also arrives at Sagadehock in some small time after the other.[d]

By these ships, the Plantation being informed first, of the death of Lord Chief Justice POPHAM, and then of that of Sir JOHN GILBERT[d]; and Captain GILBERT, the President, being obliged to go home, and take care of the estate his brother left him: the whole Colony breaks up, and returns with him[c] this year to England. And thus this Plantation begins and ends in one year.[d] They brand the country as over cold and not habitable by our Nation; and the Adventurers give over their design.[c]

After this, Sir FRANCIS POPHAM sends Captain WILLIAMS,[d] divers times, to this coast for trade and fishing only[g]; and Sir F. GORGES also sends VINES with a ship to fish, trade, and discover, for some years together; and hires men to stay the winter, wherein the plague raged among the Indians[c] [*which I suppose is the winter of* 1616–17.]

---

[a] CALDERWOOD. [b] Governor BRADFORD's manuscript *History*.
[c] Sir F. GORGES. [d] Captain JOHN SMITH.
[e] Sir F. GORGES says, that Lord Chief Justice's death suddenly followed the death of the President.
[f] Sir F. GORGES's printer mistakes, in naming him RALPH GILBERT.
[g] President and Council's *Relation &c.*, 1622.

But upon the Colony's breaking up; the French settle themselves within our limits.[a]

July 25, Tuesday. A General Assembly meets at Linlithgow in Scotland; and intreats the King, as several Presbyteries and Synods had before, to grant the banished and confined Ministers their liberty. But it could not be obtained.[b]

This year. Captain JOHN SMITH sails up the rivers, and discovers the inland parts of South Virginia. *September* 10. He receives from England *Letters Patent* to be President. And now, it seems, that Captain NEWPORT arrives, with seventy persons more; and sailing for England, leaves two hundred in all in the Colony.[c]

1609.

MASTER ROBINSON's Church having stayed at Amsterdam, about a year; seeing Master SMITH and his Company were fallen into contention with the Church that was there before him, and that the flames were like[ly] *to break out in the Ancient Church itself (as afterwards lamentably came to pass): which Master ROBINSON and Church prudently foreseeing; they think it best to remove in time, before they were any way engaged with the same. Though they knew it would be very much to the prejudice of their outward interest, as it proved to be: yet valuing peace and spiritual comfort above other riches, they therefore, with Master ROBINSON, remove to Leyden, about the beginning of the "Twelve Years' Truce" between the Dutch and Spaniards. Choose Master BREWSTER, Assistant to him, in the place of an Elder: and there live in great love and harmony both among themselves, and their neighbour citizens, for above eleven years, till they remove to New England*[d,e]*; but the Reverend Master CLIFTON stays at Amsterdam, and there dies.*[f]

April 9. The Dutch agree to the "Twelve Years' Truce" with the King of Spain, and the Archduke ALBERT.[g]

[a] President and Council's *Relation &c.*, 1622. [b] CALDERWOOD.
[c] PURCHAS. [d] Governor BRADFORD's manuscript *History*.
[e] By this, it appears that both BAYLIE and HORNIUS are mistaken, in representing that Master SMITH set up his Church at Leyden; when it was to avoid him and his Company, that Master ROBINSON and his Church removed from Amsterdam to Leyden. And by several passages in Governor BRADFORD's manuscript, it seems as if they *began* to remove to Leyden at the end of 1608. [f] Church of Plymouth *Records*.
[g] CALVISIUS.

Kings. Great Britain, JAMES I.; *France,* HENRY IV.; *Spain,* PHILIP III.

May. King JAMES establishes the East India Company for ever.[a]

The Council for South Virginia having moved the King to call in their Commission; and received a new one: they make Sir THOMAS WEST, Lord DE LA WARR, General of the Colony; Sir THOMAS GATES, his Lieutenant; Sir GEORGE SOMERS, Admiral; Sir THOMAS DALE, High Marshal; Sir FERDINAND WAINMAN, General of the Horse; and Captain NEWPORT, Vice-Admiral.[b]

May 15. Sir THOMAS GATES and Vice-Admiral NEWPORT sail, with seven ships, from Woolwich for South Virginia; *May* 20, arrive at Plymouth, when Sir GEORGE SOMERS joins them with a ketch and pinnace. Friday, *June* 2, they all sail, with five hundred people,[c] men, women, and children,[a] from Plymouth; and *June* 8, from Falmouth.[c]

June. Sir JOHN BOURCHER brings the making of alum to perfection in England.[a]

July 10, or thereabouts. Captain SAMUEL ARGAL arrives at South Virginia, to fish for sturgeon [c]: who now first discovers the direct passage from England thither; and not to go by the West Indies, as before.[a]

July 24. Monday. The South Virginia Fleet crossing the Gulf of Bahamas, a most vehement storm separates them.

July 28, Friday. Sir GEORGE SOMERS descries Bermudas, from him therefore called the "Somer Islands:" is forced to run the ship ashore; and, in their boats, all get safe to land, being 150 men, women, and children. And there they live till *May* following; Sir THOMAS GATES, and Vice-Admiral NEWPORT being in the same ship with them.[c,d]

August 11. Four other ships of the Fleet arrive at South Virginia: a few days after, two more; and after this, the pinnace. And Captain SMITH, the President, being exceedingly burnt with powder, and the new comers setting up against him [c]; about *September* 29, he sails for England [b]; and they chose Master FRANCIS WEST, President; who soon follows him. And then, they chose Master GEORGE PIERCY, President.[b]

[a] HOWES. [b] Captain JOHN SMITH. [c] PURCHAS.

[d] This shipwreck, bringing the Bermudas to the special knowledge and esteem of the English, proves the occasion of their settling and possessing them.

This summer. Master HENRY HUDSON, an Englishman, but employed by the Dutch, searching for a North West Passage to the East Indies, sails to Newfoundland, and all along the coast to Cape Cod and Virginia as far as 33°[a]; and now, I suppose, it is, that he discovers Hudson's River.

October 9. JAMES ARMINIUS, Professor of Divinity at Leyden, dies[b] there, *æt.* 49[c]; and CONRADUS VORSTIUS called to supply his place.[b]

Beginning of *November*. At the King's direction, the Council of Scotland confine Master FAIRFULL, Minister of Dunfermline, during the King's pleasure; only for praying for the distressed Ministers both within and without the country.[d]

Master NICHOLAS FULLER, who was cast into prison by Archbishop BANCROFT, in 1607 [*see p.* 362], for pleading in defence of this clients against the power of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, is still by the Archbishop kept in prison. Many were his petitions to the King for enlargement: but the Archbishop pre-acquainted the King; and represented to him that this lawyer was the Champion of the Nonconformists; so that he lay in prison till he died this year.[e]

December 21. Master WILLIAM AMES, Fellow of Christ's College, in Cambridge, preaches in St. Mary's Church, against playing cards and dice: at which many are so offended; that, to avoid expulsion, he goes beyond sea; and the States of Friesland, not long after, choose him Professor of Divinity,[e] in their University of Franeker.[f]

1610.

February 15. THE King erects two High Commission Courts in Scotland, under the Archbishops of ST. ANDREWS and GLASGOW, and over their several Provinces; which Commission puts the King in possession of Absolute Power to use the bodies and goods

[a] HARRIS. [b] *Prefatio* ad *Acta Synod. Dordrec.*
[c] *Continuatio* CALVISII. [d] CALDERWOOD. [e] FULLER.
[f] Doctor THOMAS FULLER places this about 1610–11, and his preaching on St. Thomas' Day, which is *December* 21; yet by publishing his *Puritanismus Anglicanus* at Frankfort in 1610, I chose to place this Preaching on *December* 21, 1609; rather than 1610.

of his subjects at pleasure, without Form or Process of Common Law. And now the Scotch Bishops are become patrons of benefices, Lords of Parliament, of the Council, Exchequer, Session, High Commission, &c.[a]

February 28. The Lord DELAWARE [*DE LA WARR*] has his *Patent* sealed by the South Virginia Company, to be Lord Governor and Captain General of all the Colonies there, during his life: and before

March 24, he sails, with three ships and one hundred and fifty men, accompanied by Knights and Gentlemen of Quality; Captain ARGAL conducting him thither.[b]

April 27. King JAMES grants to divers persons a *Patent* of Incorporation, &c., to settle a Colony in Newfoundland.[c] In *June*, they send Master JOHN GUY, as Governor; with thirty-nine persons: who arrive there, begin the colony in Conception Bay, and there winter.[d]

May 3, Thursday. The French Queen crowned at Paris.[b,e] The next day, King HENRY IV. her Lord was stabbed to death,[e,f] by a Popish priest,[g] in his coach: and his son, LOUIS XIII., reigns[f]; but the Queen made Regent, during her son's minority.[b,e]

May 10. Sir THOMAS GATES, Sir GEORGE SOMERS, and Vice-Admiral NEWPORT sail from Bermudas, in their new built pinnaces, for South Virginia; leaving two men, who refused to come aboard them. Monday, *May* 21, they descry South Virginia, sail into Chesapeake Bay; and find Master GEORGE PIERCY, President. Wednesday, *May* 23, they anchor; and land at James Town, with about an hundred and fifty persons.

But finding the colony, from five hundred, when Captain SMITH went away, reduced to sixty; and in a wretched state: they all resolve for England. And on *June* 7, the whole Company gets on board, leaves James Town, and sails down the river.

---

[a] CALDERWOOD. [b] HOWES. [d] PURCHAS. [e] PETAVIUS.
[c] HOWES sets the date of the *Patent* on *May* 2 this year; but I adhere to PURCHAS, who recites the *Patent*.
[f] *Continuatio CALVISII.* [g] POINTER.

And thus the First Colony there breaks up.

[See *pp.* 340–341, for the three Attempts at Settlement of Old Virginia.]

But the next day, the Lord DELAWARE, from England, meets them. Upon which, they return, and land at the town again.[a]

June 10, Lord's Day. The Lord DELAWARE arrives with his three ships, and one hundred and fifty men at James Town; lands, and takes upon him the Government. *June* 19. Sir GEORGE SOMERS and Captain ARGAL sail from James Town for Bermudas, for provisions.[a]

June. Another ship, with twenty men, and a year's provisions, sent after the Lord DELAWARE from England, for South Virginia.[b]

July 15. Sir THOMAS GATES sails for England.

And *July* 16, Sir GEORGE SOMERS and Captain ARGAL meeting with violent storms and contrary winds, bare away for Cape Cod; and *July* 26, for Sagadehock. The night after, being foggy, they lose sight of each other.

July 29. Captain ARGAL comes to a rocky island, in 43° 40′ N. Lat.; lands upon it, finds a great store of seals, and calls it, "Seal Rock": *August* 14, shapes his course for Cape Cod; to the back side of which he came on *August* 19, in 41° 50′, find the variation 13° W.[c] The next day, sails for South Virginia; *August* 27, anchors in nine fathoms, in a very great Bay; the southern Cape of which is in 38° 20′ N. Lat.[d] *August* 31, arrives at Cape Charles, the northern Cape of Chesapeake Bay.

Sir GEORGE SOMERS also sails, first to Sagadehock, then to Bermudas; where he dies: and his pinnace returns to England, leaving three men behind them.[a]

October 21. By the King's Commission, the Bishops of LONDON, ELY, WORCESTER, and ROCHESTER consecrate the Scottish Bishops in the Bishop of LONDON's Chapel; viz., Master JOHN SPOTTISWOOD, Archbishop of GLASGOW; Master GAVIN HAMILTON, Bishop of GALLOWAY; and Master ANDREW LAMB, Bishop of Brechin.[b]

---

[a] PURCHAS. [b] HOWES. [c] In the margin of PURCHAS, 'tis 15° W.
[d] This seems to be the Bay, since called Delaware Bay.

Kings. Great Britain, JAMES I.; *France*, LOUIS XIII.; *Spain*, PHILIP III.

November 2. RICHARD BANCROFT, Archbishop of CANTERBURY dies.[a]

December 31. The King, by Proclamation, dissolves his First Parliament.[b,c]

This year comes out A Justification of Separation from the Church of England, *by JOHN ROBINSON*, 476 pp., *in quarto*.[d]

And, about this time, and the following years, many come to his Church at Leyden, from divers parts of England; so as they grow a great Congregation.[e]

And this year, Dr. AMES publishes his *Puritanismus Anglicanus*, in Latin, in octavo, at Frankfort in Germany.[f]

1611.

This winter. FOUR of the English die at Newfoundland.[g]

March 15, or thereabouts. Sir THOMAS DALE sails for South Virginia with three ships, three hundred people, twelve kine, twenty goats, and all thing needful for the colony.[b]

March. After eight months' illness there, Lord DELAWARE sails with Captain ARGAL for England: leaving upwards of two hundred men, and Captain GEORGE PIERCY, his Deputy Governor, till Sir THOMAS DALE arrives; whose power is also to end, upon Sir THOMAS GATES' arrival.[e]

This year. Masters EDWARD HARLIE and NICHOLAS HOBSON sail to North Virginia.[g] And of this Voyage, I suppose it is, that Captain SMITH writes, "That the Earl of SOUTHAMPTON and those of the Isle of Wight, employ Captain EDWARD HARLOW to discover an isle supposed to be about Cape Cod; but falling in with Monahigan, they detained three savages, viz., PECHMO, MONOPET, and PEKENIMNE; but PECHMO leapt overboard, and got away. Not far from thence, they had three men sorely wounded with arrows: and anchoring at the Isle of Nohono; the savages in their canoes assault the ship, until the English guns make them retire. Yet here they take SAKAWESTON; and at Capawe, they take CONECONAM and EPENOW. But at Agawam, the natives use them more kindly. And so,

[a] FULLER. [b] HOWES. [c] BAKER.
[d] See the book itself, which is doubtless printed at Leyden.
[e] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [f] *Liber ipse*. [g] PURCHAS.

with five savages, they return to England: but of Plantations, there are no more speeches.[a]

April 9, Tuesday. Doctor GEORGE ABBOT, Bishop of LONDON, transferred to the Archbishopric of CANTERBURY[b]; and FULLER says, "He was not much beloved by the inferior clergy; as being over austere and rigid."[c]

May 10. Sir T. DALE arrives at South Virginia, with the three ships and three hundred people, &c., in 8 weeks' passage.[d]

Towards the end of *May*. Sir T. GATES sails from England thither, with 3 ships and 3 caravels, 280 men, 20 women. 100 kine, and as many swine[b]: and *August* 1, or 2, arrives there; with his 6 ships, 300 people, &c.[d]

South Virginia being thus settled, I shall leave their history.

May 22. King JAMES begins the Order of Baronets; and this day, creates eighteen.[e]

End of *May*. Master STRATOUN, Minister of Forres in Scotland, warded in the Castle of Inverness, for preaching against the State of Bishops.

November. VORSTIUS ordered to retire from Leyden, to his house at Tergow. [*Goes.*][g]

This year. The new Version of the *Bible* into English, finished by the forty-seven Translators.[c]

1612.

THE CURATORS of the University of Leyden call SIMON EPISCOPIUS to be the Professor of Divinity there, against the mind of POLYANDER, the other Professor; and to the great grief of the Churches.[g]

March 3. BARTHOLOMEW LEGATE condemned to the fire, by the Bishops in the Consistory of St. Paul's, London; for Arianism. *March* 11, the King issues his writ to burn him[c]; and Wednesday, *March* 18, he is burnt in Smithfield,[b,c] in a vast conflux of spectators, he being about 40 years of age.[c,h]

[a] SMITH. [b] HOWES. [c] FULLER. [d] PURCHAS.
[e] SALMON. [f] CALDERWOOD. [g] *Prefatio* ad *Acta Synod. Dordrec.*
[h] FULLER says, that KING, Bishop of LONDON, called so many bishops, divines, and lawyers to his trial, that the Consistory seemed not so much a large Court as a little Convocation.

April 11. EDWARD WIGHTMAN having been convicted by the Bishop of LICHFIELD, of the like or worse heresies, is there, this day, burnt.

Which executions raising the compassion of the people; the King chooses that heretics should waste away their lives in prison.[a]

The Bermudas Islands being within the limits of Virginia, and the Company finding land enough on the Main; sell these Islands to 120 of the same Company; who name them the "Sommer Islands," obtain a *Charter*, and so hold them of His Majesty[b]: and

April 28. They send the First Colony thither, of 60 persons, under Master RICHARD MOORE, Governor there for three years[b,c]; who now embark in a ship at London, and go down to Gravesend; *May* 9, sail from the Downs; *July* 11, descry, and land at Bermudas; *August* 1, subscribe to Six religious *Articles of Government*: and this year, 30 passengers more, arrive here.[d]

June 7. Master GUY arrives at Newfoundland again. And this summer, Captain PETER EASTON, the famous pirate, comes thither, with ten good ships[e]; takes a hundred men out of the fishing vessels in Conception Bay, besides what he takes in others; mans six ships,[d] and sails to the Straits.[e,f,g]

And this year, the Newfoundland Colony increases to sixty persons.[d]

August 4. Master HUGH BROUGHTON dies at Tottenham High Cross, *æt.* 63.[h]

In these times, are great troubles raised by the Arminians in Holland. In Leyden especially, there are daily and hot disputes in the Schools about the Arminian doctrines: the two Divinity Professors being divided, EPISCOPIUS teaching for them, POLYANDER against them; and the Contention grows to that pass, that few of the disciples of the one will hear the other. But Master

[a] FULLER. [b] HOWES. [c] PERIER. [d] PURCHAS.
[e] WHITBOURN, in his *Discourse of Newfoundland*, printed, in quarto, London, 1622. [g] *i.e.*, of Gibraltar. E.A. 1879.
[f] WHITBOURN, by mistake, sets this in 1611; and it seems most likely that the six ships are part of the ten; and that he came but with four.
[h] LIGHTFOOT, in his *Preface* to Master BROUGHTON's *Works*.

ROBINSON, though he preaches thrice a week, and wrote sundry books, besides his other manifold labours; yet goes constantly to hear them both: whereby he is grounded so well in the controversy, sees the force of all their arguments, knows the shifts of the Arminians; and being himself otherwise very able, none is fitter to engage them, as appears by sundry disputes. So as he begins to be terrible to the Arminian party.[a]

October 16. Parliament of Scotland meets; and still enlarges the King's and Bishops' powers.[b]

The same day. FREDERICK, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, arrives at Gravesend[c,d]; and Lord's Day, 18, at White Hall: to marry the Princess ELIZABETH, King JAMES's only daughter.[c]

November 6, Friday. The most hopeful HENRY, Prince of WALES, dies of a malignant fever, aged 18 years, 8 months, 17 days[c,d]: and FULLER says, "He was never known to have uttered a profane oath."[e]

1613.

February 14, Lord's Day. THE Princess ELIZABETH married to the Prince Palatine.[c,d] On which day, are tilting and other royal entertainments of the time[c]; at night, a Masque of Lords and Ladies. Saturday, *April* 10, the Prince Palatine and Lady set out from White Hall for Heidelberg.[c,d] And HOWES says, That, during the Palatine's abode in England, he behaved himself so nobly; that he won the hearts of the whole nation.[c]

March 27. NICHOLAS GUY's wife delivered of a son at Newfoundland[f]; which seems to be the first English child born there.

June. Arrives from England, at Bermudas, a vessel with 60 passengers. Some time after, another with 40. Two months after, a third with 100; two days after, a fourth with 180; and fourteen days after, two frigates with 160.[g]

Bermudas being thus settled, I shall leave their history.

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History.* [b] CALDERWOOD. [c] HOWES. [d] BAKER. [e] FULLER. [f] PURCHAS. [g] SMITH.

The Government of South Virginia hearing that the French had settled within our limits; send Captain ARGAL to dislodge them: who sails to Sagadehock; seizes their forts at Mount Mansel, St. Croix, and Port Royal; and carries their ship and pinnace, ordnance, cattle and provisions to James Town.[a,b,c] [*See p.* 421].

October 25, Monday. Lord Chief Justice COKE removed to the King's Bench; and made Lord Chief Justice of England.[d]

This year, Master RANDAL BATES, a reverend Preacher dies in prison; having lain in the Gate House about twenty months, only for opposing the Prelacy and Ceremonies used in the Church,[e] and Master COTTON says, "He was an heavenly saint, suffered for the same cause, choked in prison; nor could be released, though Doctor HERING, a learned and beloved physician, earnestly solicited Bishop NEAL for his enlargement, as he tendered his life. But the physician's suit was repulsed with reproaches; and the life of his patient spilt by that rigour."

And about this year, it seems, that EPISCOPIUS sets forth sundry Arminian Theses *at Leyden; which he would defend in public against all opposers. Upon which, POLYANDER and the chief Preachers of the city desire Master ROBINSON to dispute against him: but, being a stranger, he was loath to engage. Yet the others telling him that such was the ability and expertness of the adversary, that the truth is in danger to suffer, if he would not help them; are so importunate as at length he yields: and when the day comes, he so defends the truth and foils the Opposer, as he puts him to an apparent* non plus *in this great and public audience. The same, he does a second or third time, upon the like occasions: which as it causes many to give praise to GOD that the truth had so famous a victory; so it procures Master ROBINSON much respect and honour from those learned men and others. And it is said by some of no mean note, "that were it not for giving offence to the State of England, they would prefer* [promote] *him otherwise, if he pleased; and allow his people some public favour."*[f]

[c] Though neither the month, nor year of this expedition are certified either by GORGES, SMITH, or PURCHAS; yet by comparing them together, it seems to be this year; and sometime between *May* and the following winter. [a] SMITH. [b] PURCHAS. [d] HOWES.
[e] COTTON'S *Bloody tenet washed.* [f] Governor BRADFORD'S *History.*

Kings. Great Britain, JAMES I.; *France*, LOUIS XIII.; *Spain*, PHILIP III.

1614.

January 21. MASTER JAMES MELVIN, having suffered [*pp.* 359–361] seven years' exile at the King's pleasure, not convicted of any offence, dies at Berwick, the place of his confinement. He was one of the wisest directors of ecclesiastical affairs the Church of Scotland had in his time: and the King being set upon advancing the State of Bishops, called him to Court: and never suffered him to return, lest he should hinder his designs.[a]

March 3. Captain JOHN SMITH, with two ships and forty-five men and boys, sails from the Downs for North Virginia[b] to make trial of a mine of gold and copper; and if these fail, then to fish and trade, carrying TANTUM an Indian with him.[c] *April* 30, arrives at the isle Monahigan,[b] in 43° 30′ N.,[c] where he is to stay with ten men to keep possession; if the whaling answers expectation.

But being disappointed; he builds seven boats in which thirty-seven men "make" a great fishing voyage; while, with eight men in a small boat, he ranges the coasts, and trades with the natives[b] from Penobscut to Sagadehock, Acocisco, Passataquack, Tragabigzanda, called Cape Ann; the Massachusetts Isles on which, they say, are 3,000 people; fights with forty or fifty of them; finds two French ships,[d] which had been here six weeks,[c] and "made" a great voyage, by trade.[d] Thence, he sails to Accomack; where he also fights and kills some Indians. Thence to Cape Cod, where he sets TANTUM ashore. On the main, against Monahigan, finds a ship of Sir FRANCIS POPHAM's, which had many years used that port only.[d]

July 18. Captain SMITH sails for England[b] in the bark; and leaves the ship, under THOMAS HUNT, Master, to fit for Spain.[c] *August* 5, Captain SMITH puts into Plymouth,[d] and in the end of the month, arrives at London[b]; draws a plat [*map*] of the country, and first calls it *NEW ENGLAND*.[c]

---

[a] CALDERWOOD. [b] PURCHAS. [c] SMITH.
[d] SMITH's *first* Account *of New England*, printed, in 4to., London, 1616.

After SMITH left New England,[a] HUNT gets twenty Indians aboard him at Patuxit,[b] [*see p.* 426] one of whom is called SQUANTO[b,c] or SQUANTUM or TISQUANTUM,[b,c,d] [*see p.* 427] and seven more at Nausit[b]; and carries them to Malaga, and sells them[a] for slaves at £20 a man[b]: which raises such an enmity in the savages against our nation, as makes further attempts of commerce with them very dangerous.[b,c,e,f]

From this time therefore, we shall distinguish North Virginia by the name of New England; and confine the name Virginia to the southern Colony.

March 4. A Proclamation, at Edinburgh, commanding Ministers and people to celebrate the Lord's Supper, on Easter following, *viz.*, *April* 24: the pretence being for trial of Popish Recusants; but the wiser take it as a trial how the people will bare innovations, there being *Acts* of the General Assembly in force against them.[g]

April 5. The King's Second Parliament of England begins.[h,i] Complains of his admitting Papists into his Council; his silencing many watchful and diligent Ministers; and his several treaties to marry the late Prince HENRY, and the present Prince CHARLES with the daughters of Popish Princes; all which dishearten Protestants, and encourage Papists.[h] And the House of Commons beginning to question Bishop HARSENET and Bishop NEAL for offensive speeches: to save them from the storm, is supposed the reason of the King's abrupt dissolving them,[j] on *June* 7.

Upon which, the King imprisons several Members without bail or mainprize, for the freedom they had taken; and raises money on his subjects, by way of Benevolence.[h,i]

June. Some of the Plymouth Company,[f] *viz.*, Sir F. GORGES, with the Earl of SOUTHAMPTON, Commander of the Isle of

---

[a] SMITH.
[b] *Relation of the Proceedings of the English Plantation at Plymouth in New England*: published [*anonymously, but Preface signed*] by G. MOURT [*hence usually called, "MOURT's Relation"*], in quarto, London, 1622.
[c] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.
[d] WINSLOW's *Good News from New England*, printed, in quarto, London, 1624.
[e] F. GORGES, Esquire, his *America painted to the life*: printed, in quarto, London, 1659.
[f] President and Council's *Relation &c.*, 1622.
[g] CALDERWOOD.
[h] EACHARD.
[i] SALMON.
[j] FULLER.

Wight, sent Captain HENRY HARLEY, and Captain HOBSON[a] Commander of some land soldiers, in a ship[b] from Plymouth,[c] for the Isle of Capawick[b] or Capawack,[d] lying southward of Cape Cod[b,d]; carrying two Indians, *viz.*, EPENOW and MANAWET,[e,f] in search of a gold mine, which EPENOW told them of (with a design only to get home[d]): but arriving at the harbour where EPENOW was to make good his undertaking (a little after HUNT had carried the Indians away) MANAWET dies[e]; and EPENOW jumps overboard, and gets ashore; while the Indians, in twenty canoes, attack them,[b] and wound the Master of the ship, and many of his company.[d] Upon which, the English return; without doing anything further.[b] And at this, the Western men are so discouraged, as they regard not the country, till they see four ships sail from London, and Captain SMITH at Plymouth, in January next.[d]

This summer, Sir HENRY MANWAYRING is at Newfoundland, with five good ships.[c,h]

1615.

January. THE Virginia Company at London send four ships with MICHAEL COOPER,[c] who had been Master of the bark under Captain SMITH last year,[d] to fish on the coast of New England: who arriving there in *March,* and "making" their voyages; one sails to Spain, one to Virginia, to relieve that colony, and two return to England.[c]

January. Captain SMITH goes from London to Plymouth. In *March,* sails in a ship of 200 tons, with another of 50[c]; furnished by Sir F. GORGES and others for New England: being to leave sixteen men there to begin a settlement. But

[a] Whether this be the EDWARD HARLIE and NICHOLAS HOBSON which PURCHAS mentions in 1611; and whether Sir F. GORGES mistakes HENRY for EDWARD is uncertain.

[b] Sir F. GORGES. [c] PURCHAS. [d] Captain JOHN SMITH.

[e] President and Council's *Relation &c.*, 1622.

[f] Sir F. GORGES says, three Indians, *viz.*, EPENOW, ASSACOMET, and WANAPE; but seems to mistake in saying that EPENOW was one of those whom HUNT carried away [*p.* 376]: whereas EPENOW seems to have been carried away by Captain HARLOW in 1611 [*p.* 370]. And Captain DERMER, in PURCHAS, seems to mistake in saying that EPENOW was carried home in 1615.

[h] WHITBOURN.

ere he sails 120 leagues, a great storm parts him from his other ship, breaks all his masts; and forces him to return to Plymouth: where leaving his ship, he gets into a bark of 60 tons; and *June* 24, sails again with 30 men, 16 of whom are to begin the settlement. At Fayal, meets with two French pirates, one of 200 tons, the other of 30: engages, and beats them off: but near the isle of Flores, four French Men of War take and carry him off to France.[a] The other ship, parted from him in the storm at first, proceeded, arrived at New England in *May*, "made" her voyage, and comes home in *August*.[b]

March 25. A Proclamation at Edinburgh, to celebrate the Lord's Supper at Easter, in all times coming.[c]

April 23, Lord's Day. GEORGE VILLIERS Esquire, sworn Gentleman of the King's Bedchamber; the next day, Knighted; and becomes the King's Favourite.[d] *August* 27, 1616, made a Lord; *January* 5, 1616–7, made Earl; *January* 1, 1617–8, made Marquis[d,e]: and *May* 18, 1623, Duke of BUCKINGHAM.[d]

This year. Captain RICHARD WHITBOURN goes to Newfoundland, with a Commission from the Admiralty to empannel juries &c.[b,f] And this year, at Newfoundland, are many thousands of English, French, Portuguese and others: the French and Biscayans resorting chiefly to the north and west parts, where the Indians also chiefly keep.[b]

Newfoundland being thus settled, I shall leave their history.

July. The Londoners send two more ships to fish at New England; but, going by the West Indies, arrive not in New England till *May* 1616: one returning two months after.[b]

October. Sir RICHARD HAWKINS sails from England, with Commission from the Council of Plymouth, to try what service he could do them as President for this year at New England: but arriving, and finding the war [?] at the height, and the principal natives almost destroyed; he passes along

[a] Captain JOHN SMITH. [b] PURCHAS. [c] CALDERWOOD. [d] HOWES.
[e] SEGAR *Honores Anglicani.* [f] Captain WHITBOURN's *Discourse &c.*

the coast to Virginia, stays there some time, and sails for Spain.[a]

This year. The Archbishops, Bishops, and the rest of the clergy in Ireland, in the Convocation holden at Dublin, agree upon *One hundred and four Articles of Religion*, for avoiding diversities of opinions, and establishing Consent concerning true religion.[b]

1616.

February and *March*. SAIL for New England, four ships from Plymouth,[c,d] and two more from London,[c,e] but only for voyages of profit,[d] by fish and trade.[c] One of the Plymouth ships gets in one month, to New England, and from thence goes to Spain. The other three return to Plymouth within six months.[d]

One of the Londoners gets in six weeks, to New England, and within six months returns to England; the other goes to the Canaries. And all six full laden.[d]

June 20. King JAMES goes into the Star Chamber, and makes a speech to the Judges and others there,[f,g] wherein he says, "The Star Chamber Court hath been shaken of late; and the last year, had received a sore blow, if it had not been assisted and carried by a few voices: and charges the Judges, *Let neither Paptists nor Puritans be countenanced!*" In another place, he says, "As I have said in the Parliament House, I can love the person of a Paptist, being otherwise a good man, and honestly bred; never having known any other religion: though the person of an apostate Papist [*i.e., a pervert from Protestantism*], I hate, &c."[f]

June 18. Comes out *A Description of New England, Or the Observations and Discoveries of Captain JOHN SMITH (Admiral of that Country) in* 1614; *with the success of six ships that went the next year* 1615, *and the Accidents that befell him among the French Men of War. With the proof of the present*

[a] Sir F. GORGES. [b] *Articles*, printed, in quarto, London, 1629.
[c] PURCHAS. [d] Captain JOHN SMITH.
[e] SMITH's *First Account* and *General History*, say four from London: but it seems that these four include the two that sailed thence in *July* last, and return, this year, from New England.
[f] King JAMES's *Speech* itself, printed at London, in quarto. [g] HOWES.

benefit this country affords; whither, this year 1616, *eight voluntary ships are gone, to make further trial.* Printed, in quarto, London, 1616.

August 13. A General Assembly meets by the King's Order at Aberdeen, in Scotland; where the Archbishop of St. ANDREWS steps into the Moderator's place, without election; against the *Act* of the Church yet unrepealed: a number of Lords and others sit without lawful commission; who, under the King's Guard, receive a new *Confession of Faith*; order the Communion to be celebrated every year at Easter; and empower Committees to draw up a new *Catechism*, a *Common Prayer Book*, and a *Book of Canons*, for the King's Allowance.[a]

September 29, Lord's Day. Doctor ANDREWES, Bishop of ELY, sworn a Privy Councillor.[b]

November 4. King JAMES crowns his son CHARLES, Prince of WALES; and Lord's Day, *November* 10, in honour of his creation, twenty-five Knights of the Bath, with all magnificence, ride to Whitehall; and are there knighted by His Majesty.[b]

November 16, Saturday. Sir EDWARD COKE, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, discharged of his office.[b]

Sometime this fall. A French ship cast away at the north-east part of Cape Cod; but the men getting safe ashore, the Indians watch and dog them, till they kill them all but three or four; whom they send from one Sachem to another, to make sport, and use them worse than slaves; till two are redeemed by Captain DERMER in 1619.[c,d] [*See p.* 393.]

1617.

Beginning of *January.* KING JAMES notifies the Council of Scotland, of his design of coming thither; and promises that what he does there shall be with the applause of all: yet in repairing his Chapel at Holyrood House, a place is prepared for organs; and the images of the twelve Apostles and four Evangelists wrought in wood and gilt, are

[a] CALDERWOOD. [b] HOWES. [c] PURCHAS.
[d] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.

ordered to be set up: but the people murmuring, the Scotch Bishops dissuade the King from setting them up; though with a sharp rebuke and check of "ignorance," both from the King and Archbishop ABBOT; the King telling the Scotch Bishops that his English Doctors would instruct them in these and other points.[a]

This winter, and the spring ensuing. A great plague befals the natives in New England; which wasteth them exceedingly; and so many thousands of them die, that the living are not able to bury them; and their skulls and bones remain above ground at the places of their habitation, for several years after.[b,c,d,e]

March 7. Sir FRANCIS BACON, King's Attorney, made Lord Keeper; and *January* 4 following, made Lord Chancellor.[f]

March 14, Friday. King JAMES sets out from Whitehall for Scotland.

May 16. Enters Edinburgh: and next day, has the *English Service*; where playing on organs, choristers, and surplices are first heard and seen in the King's Chapel.[a]

March 22. Master THOMAS PARKER, *æt.* 22, only son to the famous Master ROBERT PARKER, made Master of Arts at Franeker.[g]

This spring. Captain SMITH is provided with three good ships at Plymouth; and fifteen men to stay and settle in New England: but being wind-bound three months, the voyage is frustrate. For which, and his other losses and disappointments about this country; the Commissioners of the Plymouth Company contract with him to be Admiral of New England for life.[h]

June 8, being Whit Sunday. By the King's command,

[a] CALDERWOOD. [b] Sir F. GORGES. [c] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.
[e] By Captain DERMER's letter of *December* 27, 1619, in PURCHAS; and of *June* 30, 1620, in Governor BRADFORD; compared with Governor BRADFORD's own account; it seems that the Narragansets in the west, and Penobscuts in the east, escaped this plague; and that it raged only in the countries lying between them, and prepared the way for another People. [d] *MOURT's Relation*. [f] HOWES.
[g] He afterwards goes to New England, and becomes a Minister of the Church at Newbury: and though his diploma is dated *April* 1, I conclude it means the New Style; which is *March* 22, in ours. [h] PURCHAS.

the Lord's Supper is first observed after the English form, with kneeling, at Holyrood House; contrary to the order of the Church of Scotland: and several Lords forbare to communicate. Tuesday following, the King commands them to communicate after this new manner, the next Lord's Day: but though some Noblemen and Bishops communicate kneeling; yet not half the Noblemen required.[a]

July 17, Tuesday. The Parliament of Scotland meets. Wherein the Lords pass a Bill, that "the King with the Archbishops, Bishops, and such Ministers as he should choose, shall have, in all times coming, full power to conclude matters decent for the external policy of the Kirk, not repugnant to the Word of GOD; and such Conclusions shall have the power of Laws." But fifty-six Ministers protest against it, and the Bill falls; to the King's great displeasure.[a]

July 11. The King goes to St. Andrews to sit in the High Commission Court, upon the Protesting Ministers. The next day, sits therein; and makes a speech, declaring, "We took this order with the Puritans in England; who stood out as long as they were deprived only of their Benefices, preaching still, and living on the benevolence of the people that affected their cause: but when we deprived them of their Office; many yielded to us, and are now become the best men we have. Let us take the like course with the Puritans here!" So they went to work, and deprived three of the Protesting Ministers.[a]

August. King JAMES, returning from Scotland through Lancashire, says: "He rebuked some Puritans and Precise People, for prohibiting and punishing people there for using their lawful recreations and honest exercises (*as he calls them*) upon Sundays: and publishes his Pleasure, under his own hand, that they should not be prevented for the future."[b]

And *September* 15, he arrives at London.[c,d]

This year, Master ROBINSON *and his Church begin to think of a remove to America, for several weighty reasons, as,* **1.** *The difficulties in Holland discouraged many from coming to*

[a] CALDERWOOD.
[b] King JAMES's *Declaration* (called the *Book of Sports*) printed, in quarto, London, 1618. [c] HOWES. [d] BAKER.

them out of England; and obliged many to return.[a] **2.** *By reason of these difficulties, with the licentiousness of the youth, and the temptations of the place, many of their children left their parents; some becoming soldiers, others taking to foreign voyages, and some to courses tending to dissoluteness and the danger of their souls: to the great grief of their parents, and fear lest their posterity (through temptations and examples) should degenerate, and Religion die among them.* **3.** *From an inward zeal, and great hope of laying some foundation, or making way for propagating the Kingdom of* CHRIST *to the remote ends of the earth; though they should be but as stepping stones to others &c.*[b]

Upon their talk of removing, sundry of note among the Dutch would have them go under them; and make them large offers: but choosing to go under the English Government, where they might enjoy their religious privileges without molestation; after humble prayers to GOD, they first debate, "Whether to go to Guiana, or Virginia?" And though some, and none of the meanest, are earnest for the former; they at length determine for the latter: so as to settle in a distinct body, but under the General Government of Virginia.

Upon which they send Master ROBERT CUSHMAN *and Master* JOHN CARVER *to treat with the Virginia Company; and see if the King would give them liberty of conscience there.*[c]

November 4. Commissioners for a General Assembly in Scotland having been chosen in presence of the Bishops there; and those nominated who misliked Episcopal Govern-

[a] Governor BRADFORD says, on this head, that *Many who came to them, and desired to be with them, could not endure the great labour and hard fare, with other inconveniences which they endured: but though they loved their persons, approved their cause, and honoured their suffering, yet they left them, as it were, weeping, as* ORPAH *did her mother-in-law* NAOMI; *or as those Romans did* CATO *in Utica, who desired to be excused and borne with, though they could not all be* CATOS. *For many, though they desired to enjoy the Ordinances of GOD in their purity, and the liberty of the Gospel with them; yet, alas, they admitted of bondage with danger of conscience, rather than to endure these hardships: yea, some preferred the prisons in England, rather than this liberty in Holland with these afflictions.*

[b] Mr. MORTON mentions another reason; which he doubtless had from the original Planters; *viz., That the great neglect* [*i.e.*, in Holland] *of observing the Lord's Day was very grievous to them.* (MORTON'S *New England's Memorial.*)

[c] Governor BRADFORD'S *History.*

ment being not allowed by the Bishops; a General Assembly is, this day, proclaimed at Edinburgh, to meet at St. Andrews on the 25th current.

And *November* 25, the General Assembly meeting accordingly, the Commissioners of seven dioceses are absent, for want of time.

The Archbishop of St. ANDREWS, in his sermon, bitterly inveighs against many worthy men of the ministry, deceased; and said, "some of them deserved to be hanged."

The King, in his letter, wills the Assembly to conform to his desires; or otherwise threatens that he would use his own authority: and to gratify him, they agree

1. To minister the Communion to the dangerously sick.
2. That the Ministers shall deal the Elements to every one, with their own hands.

But deferring the consideration of Holy Days; the King is highly offended.[a]

November 12. *Sir EDWIN SANDYS writes from London to Master ROBINSON and Master BREWSTER; wherein he says: "Your Agents have carried themselves with that discretion as is both to their own credit, and theirs, from whom they came: and the* Seven Articles *subscribed with your names, have given the gentlemen of the Council of Virginia that satisfaction, which has carried them to a resolution to forward your desire in the best sort that may be for your own and the public good &c."*[b]

December 15 *(I suppose Old Style). Masters ROBINSON and BREWSTER date their letter of thanks, from Leyden, to Sir EDWIN; wherein they write, "We have set down our Requests, subscribed with the hands of the greatest part of our Congregation, and sent them to the Council by our Agent, JOHN CARVER; to whom we have also requested a gentleman of our Company to adjoin himself. And for your encouragement, we will not forbare to mention these inducements.*

1. *We verily believe and trust the LORD is with us, to Whom and Whose service we have given ourselves, in many trials; and that He will graciously prosper our endeavours, according to the simplicity of our hearts.*
2. *We are well weaned from the delicate milk of our mother-country; and inured to the difficulties of a strange land.*

[a] CALDERWOOD. [b] Governor BRADFORD'S *History*.

3. *The people are, for the body of them, industrious and frugal; we think we may safely say, as any company of people in the world.*
4. *We are knit together as a Body, in a most strict and sacred Bond and Covenant of the LORD: of the violation whereof, we make great conscience; and by virtue whereof, we hold ourselves straitly tied to all care of each other's good, and of the whole.*
5. *And lastly. It is not with us, as with other men, whom small things can discourage; or small discontentments cause to wish ourselves at home again &c.*"[a]

This year. The Reverend Master PAUL BAINE dies: who had succeeded the famous Master WILLIAM PERKINS as Lecturer, at St. Andrews, Cambridge: but afterwards was silenced by Archbishop BANCROFT's Visitor, Master HARSENET, for non-subscription and nonconformity.[b]

From 1519, to this year 1617, have been entered in the *Register Books* of Seville, 1,536 millions of gold, brought to Spain from the West Indies.[c]

1618.

January 8. SIR ROBERT NAUNTON sworn the King's Secretary.[d,e]

January 26. Archbishop SPOTTISWOOD calls together the Bishops and Ministers, at this time, in Edinburgh; and reads them the King's letter: wherein he wills them to approve the *Five Articles* under their hands; or the Bishops to suspend them from their Ministry and stipends.

The *Five Articles* are

1. For kneeling at the Lord's Table.
2. Giving the Communion privately to the sick.
3. For Baptizing in private.
4. For Confirmation by the Bishops.
5. For observing the Holy Days of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter Sunday, Ascension Day, and Whit Sunday.

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History.* [c] PERIER. [d] HOWES.
[b] *Life,* before his valuable *Exposition of the Ephesians.*
[e] LLOYD's *State Worthies.*

And *January* 28. A Proclamation at Edinburgh, for a universal cessation on these Holy Days; and those who refuse, to be punished with rigour as disobedient and rebellious persons, and contemners of the King's Authority: though the General Assembly had not consented; and the *Acts of Parliament* against them are yet unrepealed.[a]

January 27. *Masters ROBINSON and BREWSTER write from Leyden to Sir JOHN WOLSTENHOLME; wherewith they send an account of their Principles, to be communicated to the King's Council: who had received some ill impressions against them, viz.:*

Touching the Ecclesiastical Ministry, namely, of Pastors for teaching, Elders for ruling, and Deacons for distributing the Church's contributions; as also for the two Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper: we wholly agree with the French Reformed Churches, according to their Public Confession of Faith: *though some small differences are to be found in our practice, in some accidental circumstances, as*

1. *Their Ministers pray with their heads covered: ours, uncovered.*
2. *We choose none for Governing Elders, but such as are able to teach: which ability they do not require.*
3. *Their Elders and Deacons are annual; or, at most, for two or three years: ours, perpetual.*
4. *Our Elders administer their Office in Admonitions and Excommunications for public scandals, publicly before the Congregation; theirs more privately, and in their Consistories.*[b]

February 14. *S B* [or rather SABIN STARESMORE, *see p.* 389], *who delivered this letter writes, that upon Sir JOHN's reading it; I asked his Worship, "What good news he had for me to write, to-morrow?" He told me, "Very good news! for the King's Majesty and the Bishops have consented. But for your letters; he would not show them at any hand, lest he should spoil all."*[b]

March 30. The Provost and Bailiffs of Edinburgh are commanded by a letter from the King, to see that the people observe Good Friday.

April 1. The Charge for observing of Holy Days published

[a] CALDERWOOD. [b] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.

again at Edinburgh: and *April* 5, being Easter Sunday, the Bishops in Scotland celebrated the Communion kneeling.[a]

Beginning of *April*. Lord DELAWARE sails in a ship of 250 tons, with two hundred people for Virginia; but dies at sea.[b] The ship baring for New England, there meets with a small Frenchman rich in beavers and other furs; and there refreshing with fish, fowl, wood and water; after sixteen weeks, arrives at Virginia.[c,d]

This spring. Two ships sail from Plymouth to fish at New England; one of 80 tons, which carries her fish to Bilboa; the other of 100, which returns, laden with fish, to Plymouth.[c,d]

But in this larger ship, Sir F. GORGES[e] sends Captain EDWARD ROCROFT *alias* STALLINGS,[f] with a company hired on purpose; who, at his arrival on the coast, meets with a small French bark of Dieppe,[g] in a creek a fishing and trading, and takes her[h]: sends the Master with his Company, in the greater ship for England: and, with this bark, ROCROFT and his Company intend to keep the coast this winter. But some of his men conspiring to kill him, and run away with the prize: he is forced to put them ashore at Sawguatock; whence, they soon get to the isle of Monahigon, fifteen leagues off, and three leagues in the sea; where they stay the winter.[i]

But in *December*, ROCROFT, with ten or twelve men,[c] sail in the bark, with fish, to Virginia; there to trade and stay the winter.[d,i]

May 4. The King commands the Lords of the Privy Council in Scotland, to celebrate the Communion in the Chapel, on Whit Sunday, *May* 24; when the ceremonies are observed, before the General Assembly had allowed them.[a]

May 11,[j] or 21, *N.S.*[k] The Popish Archbishop of Prague

---

[a] CALDERWOOD. [c] PURCHAS. [d] SMITH.
[b] Sir RICHARD BAKER mistakes, in representing as if Lord DELAWARE arrived, and died at Virginia. [j] *Continuatio CALVISII.* [k] ALSTED.
[e] The President and Council of New England say, "We send &c." [*see p.* 391]. By which it seems as if Sir F. GORGES acted in behalf of some, at least, of the Plymouth Company. [f] So SMITH and PURCHAS call him.
[h] Sir F. GORGES says, that in such cases, he had liberty granted him to seize her. And SMITH says, the Frenchman offered some affront.
[i] President and Council's *Relation &c.*, 1622. [g] Sir F. GORGES.

destroying and shutting up the churches of the Protestants in Bohemia; the States of the Kingdom meet this day, at Prague, to consult how to preserve their privileges.[a]

May 13,[a] or 23, *N.S.*[b] The Emperor MATHIAS's three Officers opposing and provoking them,[a] the States throw them out of their Chamber window.[a,b] Though they escape unhurt,[b] and the States send their Apology to the Emperor,[a,b] intreat for pardon [a] and the removal of Evil Counsellors: but in vain.[c]

May 23,[a] or *June* 2, *N.S.* The States publish a Decree that all the Jesuits shall depart the kingdom in eight days; and never return.[a]

May 24. Lord's Day, King James issues his *Declaration*, wherein he requires the Bishop of Lancashire "to present all the Puritans and Precisians within the same; either constraining the same to conform, or to leave the country. That those who attend Church, on Sundays, be not disturbed or discouraged from dancing, archery, leaping, vaulting, having May Games, Whitsun Ales, Morris Dances, setting up May Poles, and other Sports therewith; or any other such harmless recreation on Sundays, after Divine Service. That this Declaration be published, by order from the Bishop of the diocese, through all the parish churches. And Commands that the directions given last year in Lancashire, with a few words added, most applicable to these parts of our realm, to be published to all our subjects." [d]

And as all Ministers were obliged to read it in their churches; those who refused, were summoned into the High Commission, imprisoned and suspended.[e]

Though the Agents of Master ROBINSON's *People found the Virginia Company very desirous of their going to their West India territory; and willing to grant them a* Patent *with as ample privileges as they could grant to any: and some of the chief of the Company doubted not to obtain their suit of the King for Liberty of Religion, and to have it under the Broad Seal, as was desired: yet they found it a harder piece of work than they expected. For though many means were used, and divers of*

[a] *Continuatio* CALVISII. [b] ALSTED. [c] RUSHWORTH.
[d] King JAMES's *Declaration*, called the *Book of Sports*: printed, in quarto, London, 1618. [e] ECHARD.

worth, with Sir ROBERT NAUNTON, *Chief Secretary of State, laboured with the King to obtain it; and others wrought with the Archbishop* [ABBOT] *to give way thereto: yet, all in vain.*

They indeed prevail so far, as that the King would connive *at them, and not molest them; provided they carry peaceably: but to tolerate them, by the Public Authority, under his Seal, would not be granted.*

Upon which, the Agents return to Leyden: to the great discouragement of the People who sent them.[a]

July 10, or 20, *N.S.*[b] The Emperor sends an army of 10,000 men towards Bohemia. Which begins the famous Religious War between the Papists and Protestants in Bohemia and Germany; that rages Thirty Years, and destroys above 325,000 people.[b]

Beginning of *August.* Sundry pious citizens being at a private meeting in London; many are seized, and committed to the Counter prison: but Master STARESMORE [*see p.* 386] and some others, escaping, are betrayed by one of the company: for which the Archbishop gives the betrayer great applause and his solemn blessing, in open court. And *September* 4, Master STARESMORE writes to Master CARVER, "That upon representing his extraordinary piteous case to Lord COKE and the Sheriffs, he supposes he should gain his liberty, if they were not overruled by others: but he could get no answer till the Lords of the King's Council give consent."[a]

August 3. A Proclamation at Edinburgh, for a General Assembly to meet at Perth the 25th instant; where they meet accordingly. The Commissioners of four dioceses, and of some Presbyteries absent, for want of time.

Archbishop SPOTTISWOOD assumes the Moderator's chair, without election; allows noblemen upon the King's missives only: reads the King's letter of *July* 10; who says, "He was once fully resolved never to call any more Assemblies, because of the disgrace offered him by the Assembly at St. Andrews, in neglecting his godly desires. That he would not have them think the *Five Articles* he proposes might not, without their consent, be enjoined by his authority; which would be a disclaiming his innate power from GOD to

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History.* [b] ALSTED.

dispose of things external in the Church, as he thinks fit: and that he will be content with nothing but the direct acceptation of the *Articles* in the form he sends them."

After which, the Archbishop said, "The King would be more glad of their Consent to the *Five Articles*, than of all the gold of India: but in case of their refusal, he assures them that the whole State of the Church would be overthrown, some Ministers would be banished, others deprived of their stipend and office: and all brought under the wrath of authority." And though the majority of the Commissioned oppose; yet the Archbishop neglecting many who could get no vote, and admitting others who had no commission; he carries it for the *Five Articles*.

And *October* 26. A Proclamation by the King, at Edinburgh, commanding all strictly to observe them, and certifying that those who do to the contrary, shall be holden as seditious factious disturbers of the peace of the Kirk, contemners of his just command, and shall be punished, in their goods and persons, with all the rigour and extremity at the arbitrement of the Privy Council.[a]

October 28. Sir WALTER RALEIGH,[b] by GONDOMAR, the Spanish Ambassador's instigation,[c] is, this day, brought to the King's Bench; and ordered to suffer death to-morrow, upon his sentence in 1603: and at nine, next morning, is beheaded[b,d] in Parliament Yard,[b] *æt.* 66.[c] He was, next to DRAKE, the Scourge and Hate of the Spaniard,[c,d] and LLOYD says, "that Princes had interceded for him; the whole nation pitied him; and King JAMES would not execute him, without an *Apology*."[e] But he fell a sacrifice to the King's earnestly desired match, of Prince CHARLES with the Popish *Infanta* of Spain.[c,f]

November 3, or 13, *N.S.*, Tuesday.[g] The famous Synod of Dort [*Dordrecht*] begins[g,h]; when there enter, and sit with them, Doctor CARLETON, Bishop of LANDAFF,[g] after, of CHICHESTER;[h] Doctor HALL, Dean of WORCESTER,[g] after, Bishop of EXETER, and then of NORWICH[h]; Doctor D'AVENANT, Public Professor of Divinity, and Master of

[a] CALDERWOOD. [b] HOWES. [c] ECHARD. [d] BAKER.
[e] LLOYD's *State Worthies*. [f] HOWELL's *Letters*.
[g] *Acta Synodi*. [h] FULLER.

Queen's College, Cambridge,[a] after Bishop of SALISBURY[b]; and Doctor WARD, Master of Sidney College, Cambridge, and Archdeacon of Taunton: being sent by King JAMES: in behalf of the Church of England.[a,b] And the States allow them £10 sterling a day.[b]

November 4, or 14, *N.S.* Wednesday. The Synod choose Master JOHN BOGERMAN, Pastor of the Church of Leeuwarden, in Friesland, their President.[a]

November 18, Wednesday. A comet appears over Europe, first in the morning, then in the evening; and continues visible to Wednesday, *December* 16.[c]

December 10, or 20, *N.S.* W. BALCANQUAL, B.D., Fellow of Pembroke Hall, in Cambridge, enters the Synod of Dort; being sent by King JAMES, on behalf of the Church of Scotland.[a,b]

1619.

February. KING JAMES publishes his *Meditation on the Lord's Prayer*, in a small octavo: at the beginning of which, he spends fifteen pages in reflecting on the Puritans, with those of the Separation; and proving the former to be the fathers of the latter.[d]

Notwithstanding the great discouragement the English of Leyden met with, from the King and Bishops refusing to allow them Liberty of Conscience in America, under the Royal Seal; yet, casting themselves on the care of Providence, they resolve to venture: and send two other Agents[e] *to agree with the Virginia Company. But the said Virginia Company falling into great disturbances and factions; these affairs are long delayed.*[f]

This spring, Sir F. GORGES[g] sends Captain THOMAS DERMER[h] from Plymouth, in a ship of 200 tons[i] for the fishing business at New England; assigning him a Company, to join with ROCROFT and his people, and sending with him SQUANTO or TASQUANTUM, one of the natives which HUNT had brought

[a] *Acta Synodi.* [b] FULLER. [c] HOWES.
[d] King JAMES's book itself, printed in London, 1619.
[e] By Master CUSHMAN's Letter from London, of *May* 8, this year, they seem to be Master CUSHMAN himself, and Master BRADFORD.
[f] Governor BRADFORD's *History.* [h] Sir F. GORGES.
[g] The President and Council of New England say, "We send &c," as before in Note [e] at *p.* 387; and SMITH says, There goes but one ship to New England, this year, from Plymouth. [i] Captain JOHN SMITH.

away [*p.*376]. But arriving, and not finding ROCROFT; he is in doubt what to do. Yet hearing by the people at Monahigan, that he was gone to Virginia; hopes for his return, till he hears of his disaster.[a]

March 2, Tuesday. Queen ANNE, Consort to King JAMES, dies at Hampton Court,[b,c] aged 45 years.[d,e]

March 10,[f] or 20, *N.S.*[g,h] MATTHIAS, Emperor of Germany dies, *æt.* 62,[g] 63[f,h]

March 12. The High Commission Court, at Edinburgh, deprive and confine Master RICHARD DICKSON, for giving the Communion to the People sitting, and not with his own hands.

And about this time, the King sends a command to the Officers of State, at Edinburgh, Lords of the Privy Council and Sessions, and Advocates, to communicate in the Great Kirk there, kneeling, on Easter Sunday, the 28th current; on pain of losing their offices; and enjoins the Magistrates of Edinburgh to communicate kneeling.[i]

April 18. Sir GEORGE YARDLY arriving as Governor at Virginia,[j] and finding ROCROFT ready to sail for New England, commands him aboard: who, taking the boat, with half his men, goes aboard the Governor's ship; is forced to stay all night; and a storm rising, the bark, for want of hands, is driven ashore and sunk.

However, the next day, the Governor and Captain labour so, that, at length, they free her. But while ROCROFT is fitting for New England again, he happens to be killed in a quarrel with one of Virginia: and the bark is a second time sunk and lost.[a]

April 22. The High Commission Court, at Edinburgh, suspend Master HOG from his Ministry; and order him to be confined during the King's pleasure; for preaching against Bishops, and the *Five Articles*; and declining their Judicatory. And afterwards, deprive him of his Ministry. They also depose and confine the Reverend Master DUNCAN, for declining their Judicature.[i]

April 26, or May 6, *N.S.*, Monday. The Synod of Dort, at

[a] President and Council's *Relation &c.* [b] HOWES. [c] BAKER.
[d] ECHARD. [f] *Continuatio* CALVISII. [g] PETAVIUS.
[e] RUSHWORTH mistakes, in placing her death on *November* 17, 1618.
[h] RICCIOLIUS. [i] CALDERWOOD. [j] SMITH.

their 153rd Session, proceed to the Great Church of that city; and publish their Sentence, on the *Five Points* in condemnation of the Arminian doctrines.

And *April* 29, Thursday. At their 154th session; they break up, with mutual embraces and tears.[a]

May 6. The States of Hungary meet and proscribe the Jesuits.[b] *May* 28, or June 2, *N.S.* The States of Moravia proscribe the Jesuits.[c] *June* 14,[b] or 24, *N.S.*[c] The States of Silesia agree to banish the Jesuits.[b,c] And *July* 13. The States of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia confederate for their preservation.[b]

May 8. *Master* CUSHMAN, *one of the Leyden Agents, at London, writes,* "*That Sir* THOMAS SMITH *having desired to be eased of his Office of Treasurer and Governor of the Virginia Company; Sir* EDWIN SANDYS *was chosen*[d] *: but Sir* THOMAS *repenting, and opposing Sir* EDWIN*; great disturbances and factions are raised in the said Company, that no business could well go forward.*"[e]

May 26. Captain DERMER sails from Monahigan in an open pinnace, of five tons, along the coast south-westerly; finds some ancient Plantations, not long since populous, now utterly void; in other places, a remnant, but not free of sickness, viz., the Plague, perceiving the sores of some that had escaped. Arrives at [SQUANTO] his savage's country; finds all dead: travels a day's journey west to Nummastaquit; sends a messenger a day's journey west, to Pocanaokit, bordering on the sea; whence two Kings come to see him.[f]

At Nummastaquit, the Indians would have killed him, had not SQUANTO intreated hard for him[f]: and here, he redeems a Frenchman, and afterwards at Mastachusit, another; cast away at the north-east of Cape Cod, three years before [*see p.* 380].

Returning, arrives at Monahigan, *June* 23; where he finds the ship ready to depart.[f] She had stayed about six weeks, and being laden by thirty-eight men and boys with fish and furs, returns.[g]

By Captain WARD from Virginia, Captain DERMER hears

[a] *Acta Synodi.* [b] *Continuatio* CALVISII.
[c] ALSTED. [e] Governor BRADFORD's *History.*
[d] Sir EDWIN SANDYS was chosen in *April.* (PURCHAS.)
[f] Captain DERMER's *Letter*, in PURCHAS. [g] Captain JOHN SMITH.

of ROCROFT's death [a,b,c]; whereupon, putting most of his provisions aboard the said WARD's ship, ready bound thither; and leaving his Indian at Sawahquatook; he sails in his pinnace for Virginia[a] with five or six men and the two Frenchmen.[b,d]

Having passed forty leagues along the coast, he is cast ashore in a broad bay; but gets off again. At Manamock, the southern part of Cape Cod, he is unawares taken prisoner: but gets clear. Thence, sails to Capaock, and meets with EPENOW [*see p.* 377]. Thence, steers along the coast between Long Island and the main; being the first who passes through: and finds it to be an Island thirty leagues in length; before accounted part of the main. Thence, sails along the coast: arrives at Cape Charles, *September* 7; and next day, at the mouth of James river.[a]

June 15. The King renews the High Commission Court in Scotland in more ample form. And *July* 2, upon the King's order, the Archbishop of GLASGOW cites before the High Commission, the Reverend Masters BLYTH and FORRESTER, to depose them from the Ministry; and confine them for giving the Communion without kneeling: who plead the *Acts of Parliament* for the manner of the celebration, and the practice of the Church these threescore years; and no *Act of Parliament* nor *of General Assembly*; no, not of Perth, forbidding the former practice. Yet they are suspended during the King's pleasure, and confined.[e]

August 18,[f,g] or 28, *N.S.*[h,i] FERDINAND, King of Hungary and Bohemia, elected Emperor of Germany. *August* 19, the States of Bohemia renounce King FERDINAND[f,g]; and *August* 26, choose FREDERICK Elector Palatine, their King: the Legates of Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia being present, and concurring with them.[f]

October 20, or 30, *N.S.* He is magnificently received at Prague; *October* 25, or *November* 4, *N.S.*, is there crowned

---

[a] Captain DERMER's *Letter* in PURCHAS. [b] Captain JOHN SMITH.
[c] President and Council's *Relation*. [e] CALDERWOOD.
[d] Sir F. GORGES seems to mistake, in representing as if DERMER heard not of ROCROFT's death, till he arrived in Virginia. Captain SMITH says, "He goes with five or six men, and the two Frenchmen:" but neither DERMER nor GORGES have any such passages.
[f] *Continuatio* CALVISII. [g] CLUVERIUS. [h] ALSTED. [i] RICCIOLIUS.

King of Bohemia; and *October* 28 or *November* 7, *N.S.* his royal Consort, there crowned Queen.[a]

September 17. The King, by letters to the Provost, Bailiffs, and Council of Edinburgh, wills them to change their Magistrates, the 29th current; and allow of none, but those who will conform to the *Five Articles*. Upon which, the Provost, Bailiffs, and Treasurer are changed.[b]

November 23. In a Convention of Ministers called to St. Andrew's by the Archbishop; he communicates to them a letter from the King, wherein he commands the Bishops to depose all that refuse to conform, without respect of persons; and no ways regarding their multitude.[b]

And beginning of *December*, a Charge proclaimed, at Edinburgh, for the observation of Christmas.[b]

After long attendance, the Leyden Agents obtain a Patent *granted and confirmed under the Virginia Company's Seal: but the* Patent *being taken out in the name of Master JOHN WINCOB, a religious gentleman (belonging to the Countess of LINCOLN), who intended to go with them; and Providence so ordering that he never went: they never made use of his* Patent, *which cost them so much charge and labour.*

However, the Patent *being carried by one of their messengers to Leyden, for the People to consider; with several proposals for their transmigration made by Master THOMAS WESTON of London, Merchant; and other friends and merchants as should either go, or adventure with them: they are requested to prepare, with speed, for the voyage.*[c]

1620.

UPON RECEIVING these, they first keep a Day of solemn Prayer; Master ROBINSON preaching a very suitable sermon from 1 Samuel xxiii. 3, 4; *strengthening them against their fears, and encouraging them in their resolutions: and then conclude how many, and who should prepare to go first. For all that were willing, could not get ready quickly.*

The greater number being to stay; require their Pastor to tarry with them: their Elder, Master BREWSTER, to go with the others. Those who go first, to be an absolute Church of themselves; as well as those who stay: with this Proviso, that as any

[a] ALSTED. [b] CALDERWOOD. [c] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.

go over or return, they shall be reputed as Members, without further dismission or testimonial. And those who tarry, to follow the rest as soon as they can.[a]

Master WESTON *coming to Leyden, the People agree with him on "Articles" both for shipping, and money to assist in their transportation. Then send Masters* CARVER *and* CUSHMAN *to England, to receive the money, and provide for the voyage: Master* CUSHMAN *at London, Master* CARVER *at Southampton. Those who are to go first, prepare with speed; sell their estates, put their money into the Common Stock, to be disposed by their Managers for making general provision.*

There was also one Master MARTIN, *chosen in England, to join with Masters* CARVER *and* CUSHMAN. *He came from Billericay in Essex. From which county, came several others; as also from London and other places, to go with them. And a ship* [the Speedwell] *of* 60 *tons is bought, and fitted in Holland*[b]*; both to help to transport them; and to stay in the country.*[a]

March 1. The High Commission Court, at Edinburgh, suspend Master PORTEOUS from his Ministry till the next Assembly; for not observing Holy Days, and not giving the Communion according to the *Five Articles*. And for the same reason, deprive Master SCRINGER from the Ministry; and confine him.[c]

March 28. The High Commission, at Glasgow, depose and confine Masters LIVINGSTONE and FERGUSON, for not observing the said *Articles*; and for declining the Judicature of the High Commission.[c]

April 21. The High Commission, at St. Andrew's, deprive Doctor BARCLAY from preaching; and confine Masters MEENES and ARESKIN, for not regarding the *Articles*.[c]

April 25. Five citizens of Edinburgh confined by the King's order, without citation, trial, or conviction, only to satisfy His Majesty for their accompanying the Ministers before the High Commission, and assisting them in their disobedience.[c]

And *May* 10, Master DUNCAN deprived, for not conforming to the *Articles*.[c]

This year, there go six or seven sail from the West of England to New England, to fish only[d]: but from England to Virginia, eight ships, with 1,096 passengers, to settle.[e]

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [b] See *pp.* 399, 410.
[c] CALDERWOOD. [d] SMITH. [e] PURCHAS.

Kings. Great Britain, JAMES I.; *France,* LOUIS XIII.; *Spain,* PHILIP III.

This spring, Captain DERMER returns to New England.[a] In this way, he meets with certain Hollanders, who had [had] a trade in Hudson's river, some years. Discovers many goodly rivers, and exceedingly pleasant coasts and islands, for eighty leagues east from Hudson's river to Cape Cod. But arriving at New England again,[b] whence he writes a letter on *June* 30[c]: first, comes to Nautican; then to Capawick. Where,[d] with SQUANTO, he goes ashore,[c] and is suddenly set upon by EPENOW[d] and other savages; who give him fourteen wounds[b,d]; and slay all his men, but one that kept the boat: with whose help, the Captain,[c] being a brave stout gentleman, drawing his sword,[d] by his valour and dexterity,[b] frees himself. But is forced to return to Virginia for cure: where he falls ill, and dies of the sickness of the country.[b,d,e]

May 25 (*or June* 4, *N.S.*)[c,f] *Master* ROBINSON *writes to Master* CARVER, *and complains of Master* WESTON's *neglect in getting shipping in England, for want of which they are in a piteous case at Leyden. And May* 31 (*or June* 10, *N.S.*), *S*[AMUEL] *F*[ULLER], *E*[DWARD] *W*[INSLOW], *W*[ILLIAM] *B*[RADFORD], *and J*[OHN] *ALLERTON*] *write from Leyden to Masters* CARVER *and* CUSHMAN, "*That the coming of Master* NASH, *and their Pilot, is a great encouragement to them.*"[c]

June 10. *Master* CUSHMAN, *in a letter from London to Master* CARVER *at Southampton, says,* "*That Master* CRABE, *a Minister, had promised to go; but is much opposed, and like*[*ly*] *to fail:*" *and in a letter to the People at Leyden,* "*That he had hired another Pilot, one Master* CLARK,[g] *who went last year to Virginia; that he is getting a ship; hopes he shall make all ready in fourteen days; and would have Master* REYNOLDS *tarry in Holland, and*

[a] SMITH. [b] President and Council's *Relation &c.*

[c] Governor BRADFORD says, The Captain gets aboard very sore wounded, and the Indians would have cut off his head upon the cuddy of his boat; had not the man rescued him with a sword: and so they got away, and made shift to get into Virginia, where he died (BRADFORD). And Captain SMITH writes as if he died of his wounds: but Governor BRADFORD says, whether of his wounds or disease of the country, or both; is uncertain.

[f] The date in the manuscript is *June* 14, *N.S.*; but the figure 1 being somewhat blurred, and *June,* 14 *N.S.*, being Lord's Day, and this letter being placed before the following of *June* 10, *N.S.*, I conclude it should be *June* 4, *N.S.*

[d] Sir F. GORGES. [c] Governor BRADFORD's *History.*

[g] See Note[d] on *p.* 404.

bring the ship there to Southampton." Upon this, a ship [May Flower] *of* 180 *tons, is immediately hired at London. And the ship* [Speedwell] *in Holland being ready; they spend a day in solemn prayer: Master ROBINSON preaching from* Ezra viii. 21.[a]

June 19. A Proclamation, at Edinburgh, of the King's will, that *all* in Scotland observe the Holy Days, with kneeling at the Lord's Table, and others of the *Five Articles*; that the Ministers who do not, be punished with deprivation, suspension, and confinement, at the discretion of the High Commission; that *every one* who observes not the Holy Days at church, shall for every omission, pay 13s. 4d.; that those who do not communicate kneeling, shall pay, an Earl, £100; a Lord, 100 marks; a Laird, £50; others £20 or less at the discretion of the Judges; and who ever impugns the *Five Articles*, shall be punished at the discretion of the Privy Council.[b]

But removing to North America, we must now leave the History of Scotland as well as of other parts of Europe; and only hint at those events in England, which more immediately affect the British Colonies.

[See *pp.* 350, 485, as to the Italic type in the Text. E. A. 1879.]

The Voyage of the English People at Leyden for Virginia.

[Or, as we should now say, "of the Pilgrim Fathers, in the *May Flower*, to New England." E. A. 1879.]

ABOUT *July* 21. (I suppose *N. S.*) The English Voyagers at Leyden leave that city, where they had lived near[ly] twelve years; being accompanied by most of their brethren to Delfshaven [*on the Maas, close to Rotterdam*], where their ship lay ready: and sundry come from Amsterdam, to see them shipped, and take their leave. They spend that night in friendly entertaining, and Christian converse [*conversation.*][a]

And *July* 22. (I suppose *N.S.*)[c] The wind being fair, they go aboard; their friends attending them. At their parting, Master ROBINSON falling down on his knees, and they all

[c] Both Mr. MORTON, and Doctor COTTON MATHER seem to mistake, in saying *July* 2. [a] Governor BRADFORD'S *History*. [b] CALDERWOOD.

with him; he, with watery cheeks commends them, with most fervent prayer, to GOD: and then, with mutual embraces and many tears, they take their leave. And with a prosperous gale, come to Southampton: where they find the bigger ship [the *May Flower*] from London, Master JONES Master, with the rest of the Company; who had been waiting there, with Master CUSHMAN, seven days.

£700 sterling are laid out at Southampton; and they carry about £1,700 Venture with them. And Master WESTON comes thither from London, to see them despatched.[a]

July 23. King JAMES gives a warrant to his Solicitor, Sir THOMAS COVENTRY, to prepare a new *Patent* for the *Incorporation of the Adventurers of the Northern Colony of Virginia, between* 40° *and* 48° *N.*: which *Patent* the King signs on *November* 3; styling them *The Council for the Affairs of New England, and their successors.*[b]

July 27. Master ROBINSON writes to Master CARVER, and the People, letters; which they receive at Southampton. And the Company being called together, theirs is read among them; to the acceptance of all, and after fruit of many.[c] Then they distribute their Company into the ships; and with the approbation of the Masters, choose a Governor and two or three Assistants for each, to order the People and provisions.[a]

August 5. They sail from Southampton; but reach not far, before Master REYNOLDS, Master of the lesser ship [the *Speedwell*], complained that she was so leaky, that he dare proceed no farther. Upon which, they both put into Dartmouth, about *August* 13: where they search and mend her, to their great charge and loss of time, and a fair wind; though had they stayed at sea, but three or four hours more, she had sunk right down.

About *August* 21. They set sail again,[a] with about 120 persons.[d,e] *August* 22 [d], 23 [e], leave the coast of England,[d,e] but, having gone above a hundred leagues beyond the Land's End of England,[a] the next day[d,e]: Master REYNOLDS complained of her leaking again; that they must either return or sink; for they could scarce free her by pumping.

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [b] Sir F. GORGES.
[c] This Letter is published in *MOURT's Relation*, MORTON's *Memorial*, and NEAL's *History of New England*. [d] SMITH. [e] PURCHAS.

Upon which they both put back to Plymouth; where finding no defect, they judge her leakiness owing to her general weakness.[a] [See *p.* 410.]

They therefore agree to dismiss her; and those who are willing, to return to London; though this was very grievous and discouraging: Master CUSHMAN and family returning with them.[b] The rest, taking what provisions they could well stow in the larger ship [the *May Flower*], resolve to proceed on the voyage alone.[a]

September 6. They make another sad parting, and the greater ship sets sail again with a hundred persons, besides sailors.[c,d] But about half seas over, meets with cross winds and many fierce storms: which often force them to hull for divers days together, not being able to bear a knot of sail; make her upper works very leaky; and bow and wrack a main beam in the midships, which puts them in such fear, as the Chief of the Company enters into a serious consultation with the Ship's Officers, about returning: but a passenger having bought a great iron screw from Holland, they, with it, raise the beam into its place; and, then committing themselves to the Divine Will, proceed.[a]

November 6. Dies, at sea, WILLIAM BUTTEN, a youth, and servant to [Doctor] SAMUEL FULLER[e]; being the only passenger who dies on the voyage.

November 9. At break of day,[f] after long beating the sea, they make the land of Cape Cod. Whereupon, they tack, and stand to the southward; the wind and weather being fair, to find some place about Hudson's river, for settlement. But sailing this course about half a day, they fall among roaring shoals and breakers; and are so entangled with them, as they find themselves in great hazard.[g] And the wind shrinking upon them, at the same time; they bare up for the Cape, get

---

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [c] SMITH. [d] PURCHAS.

[b] SMITH and PURCHAS say, There discharge twenty of their passengers.

[e] Governor BRADFORD's *Pocket Book* [now lost]; which contains a *Register of deaths &c.*, from *November* 6, 1620, to the end of *March*, 1621.

[f] *Relation* of their proceedings, published by *MOURT*.

[g] They are the same which Captain GOSNOLD, in 1602, called Point Care and Tucker's Terror: but the French and Dutch call them Malabar, by reason of perilous shoals, and the losses there sustained. (BRADFORD)

out of those dangers before night; and, the next day, into the Cape Harbour: where they ride in safety.

November 11, Saturday. Being thus arrived, they first fall on their knees, and bless the God of heaven, &c. But their design and *Patent* being for Virginia, and not New England; which belongs to another jurisdiction wherewith the Virginia Company have no concern: before they land, they, this day, combine into a Body Politic by a solemn Contract, to which they set their hands [see *p.* 411], as the Basis of their Government in this new found country; choose Master JOHN CARVER, a pious and well approved gentleman, their Governor, for the first year.[a] And then set ashore fifteen or sixteen men, well armed, to fetch wood, and discover the land: who, at night, return, but found neither house nor person.[b]

November 13. Monday. The people go ashore to refresh themselves. And every day, the whales play round about them, and the greatest store of fowls they ever saw; but the earth here, a company of sand hills, and the water so shallow near the shore, they are forced to wade a bow shot or two to get to land. Which, being freezing weather, affecteth them with grievous colds and coughs; and which after proves the death of many, and renders the place unfit for settlement.[b]

November 15. While the shallop is fitting, Captain STANDISH, with sixteen men well armed, set out on the Cape to search for a convenient place to settle.[a] WILLIAM BRADFORD, STEPHEN HOPKINS, and EDWARD TILLEY are, of the number, adjoined to the Captain for Council.[b]

When they had marched a mile southward, they see five or six savages[a]; whom they follow ten miles,[b] till night, but could not overtake them; and lodge in the woods.

The next day, they head a great creek,[a] and travel on to a valley, wherein is a fine, clear pond of fresh water, a musket shot wide, and two long. Then they come to a place of graves. Then to the remainder of an old Fort or *Pallizado*; which they conceive had been made by Christians.[b] And then to a harbour opening into two creeks with an high cliff of sand at the entrance[a]: the western creek being twice as large as the eastern.[b,c] Near which, they meet with

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [b] *MOURT's Relation*.
[c] This seems to be, what is since called Barnstable Harbour.

heaps of sand; dig into them, find several baskets full of Indian corn; and take some, for which they purpose to give the natives full satisfaction, as soon as they could meet with any. [See *p.* 433.] Return[a] to the pond; where they make a *barricado*; and lodge this night, being very rainy.

And the next day, wading in some places up to the knees, get back to the ship[a] to the great joy of their brethren.[a]

November 27. The Shallop being fitted, twenty-four of the men, with Master JONES and nine sailors, thirty-four in all, set forth on a more full discovery of the aforesaid harbour. But the weather growing rough, and the winds cross; they are soon obliged to row for the nearest shore: and there wade above their knees to land. It blows, snows, and freezes all this day and night; and here some receive the seeds of those fatal illnesses that quickly seized them.

The next day, they sail to their designed port; but find it unfit for shipping; land between the two creeks; and marching four or five miles by the greater, are tired with travelling up and down the steep hills and valleys, covered half a foot with snow: and lodge under pine trees.

The next morning, return to the other creek, and thence to the place of their former digging; where they dig again, though the ground be frozen a foot deep, and find more corn and beans: make up their corn to ten bushels, which they send with Master JONES and fifteen of their sick and weaker people to the ship; eighteen staying, and lodging there this night.

Next day, they dig in several such like places; but find no corn, nor anything else but graves: discover two Indian wigwams; but see no natives. And the shallop returning, they get aboard at night.

And the next day, *December* 1, return to the ship.[a]

The corn they found, happily serves for their planting in the spring ensuing, or they would have been in great danger of perishing[a,b]: for which, they gave the owners entire content, about six months after.[a] [See *p.* 433.]

Before the end of November,[b] SUSANNA [see *p.* 430], wife of WILLIAM WHITE,[a,c] [see *p.* 425]; was delivered of a son who is

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [b] *MOURT's Relation*.
[c] *Boston News Letter*.

called PEREGRINE,[a] being the first born since their arrival,[b] and I conclude the first of the European extract, in New England.[c]

December 4. Dies EDWARD THOMPSON, servant to Master WHITE,[d] the first that dies since their arrival. *December* 6, Dies JASPER, a boy of Master CARVER's; *December* 7, DOROTHY, wife to Master WILLIAM BRADFORD [see *p.* 457]; *December* 8, JAMES CHILTON.[d]

December 6. They again send out their Shallop, with ten of their principal men,[e] viz., Master CARVER, BRADFORD, WINSLOW, Captain STANDISH &c., with eight or ten seamen,[a] to circulate the Bay, and find a better place: though the weather is very cold, and the spray of the sea freezes on them, that their clothes look as if they were glazed,[e] and feel like coats of iron.[a] This night, they get to the bottom of the Bay, see ten or twelve Indians ashore [e] busy a cutting up a grampus.[a] By reason of the flats, they land with great difficulty; make a *barricado*, lodge therein, and see the smoke of the Indian fires that night [e] about four or five miles from them.[a]

December 7. This morning, they divide their company: some travelling on shore [e]; eight [a] others coasting in the shallop, by great flats of sand.[e]

About ten o'clock, the shore people find a great burying place: part thereof encompassed with a large *pallizado*, full of graves; some paled about, others having small poles turned and twisted over them. Without the *pallizado*, were graves also, but not so costly. Then they come to four or five deserted wigwams, but see no people.[a] Towards night, they hasten out of the woods to meet the shallop; and making a signal for her to bare into a creek, she comes in at high water; to their mutual joy, having not seen each other since morning: but found no people; nor any place they liked. And at night, make another *barricado*, and lodge therein.[e]

December 8. At five this morning, they rise; and, after prayer, the day dawning, and the tide high enough to call them down to the shallop: they suddenly hear a great and strange cry. One of their company running towards them,

[a] *MOURT's Relation.* [b] *Boston News Letter.*
[c] He lives to *July* 22, 1704, when he dies at Marshfield (*Boston News Letter*). [e] Governor BRADFORD's *History.*
[d] Governor BRADFORD's *Register* in his *Pocket Book.* (*p.* 400.)

calling, "Indians!" "Indians!"; and therewith arrows come flying about them.[a] [See *p.* 426.]

Upon discharging their pieces, the Indians soon get away; the English following a quarter of a mile, shouting: return to their shallop,[a] having left six men to keep her,[b] and not one of the company wounded, though the arrows flew close on every side. Upon which, they give GOD solemn thanks.

Then sail along the coast,[a] about fifteen leagues[b]; find no convenient harbour; and hasten on to a port which Master COPPIN, their pilot, assures them is a good one, which he had been in; and that they might reach before night. But after some hours sailing, it begins to snow and rain. At mid-afternoon, the wind rising, the sea grows very rough; they brake their rudder. It is as much as two men can steer her with a couple of oars. And the storm increasing, the night approaching, and bearing what sail they can to get in; they brake their mast in pieces, their sail falls overboard in a very grown sea, and they are like to founder suddenly. Yet, by the mercy of heaven, they recover themselves; and the flood [tide] being with them, strike into the imagined harbour. But the Pilot being deceived, cries out, "LORD be merciful! My eyes never saw this place before!" And he and his mate would have run her ashore in a cove full of breakers, before the wind:[c] but a steersman calling to the rowers, "About with her! or we are cast away!" they get her about immediately. And Providence showing a fair sound before them; though it be very dark and rains hard, they get under the lee of a small rise of land: but are divided about going ashore, lest they fall into the midst of savages. Some therefore keep the boat, but others, being so wet, cold, and feeble, cannot bear it: but venture ashore, with great difficulty kindle a fire: and, after midnight, the wind shifting to the north-west, and freezing hard; the rest are glad to get to them, and here stay the night.[a]

December 9. In the morning, they find the place to be a small island, secure from Indians.[d] And this being the last day

[c] Mr. MORTON says, This is between the place called the Gurnet's Nose, and Sagaquab. [a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [b] *MOURT's Relation*.
[d] Mr. MORTON says, This is since called "Clark's Island;" because Master CLARKE, Mate of the ship [see *p.* 398], first stepped ashore thereon.

of the week, they here dry their stuff, fix their pieces, rest themselves, and return GOD thanks for their many deliverances.

And here, the next day, keep their Christian Sabbath.[a]

December 11, Monday. They sound the harbour, find it fit for shipping; march into the land, see divers cornfields and running brooks; with a place they judge fit for habitation. And return to the ship, with the discovery; to their great comfort.[a]

December 15. The ship sails for this new-found port, comes within two leagues of it; when a north-west[b] wind springs up, and forces her back. But the next day, the wind comes fair; and she arrives in the desired harbour.[a] Quickly after, the wind chops about; so that had they been hindered but half an hour, they would have been forced back to the Cape again.[b]

December 18, Monday. They land, with the Master of the ship and three or four sailors, march along the coast seven or eight miles; but see neither wigwam, Indian, nor navigable river: but only four or five brooks of sweet fresh water running into the sea; with choice ground formerly possessed and planted. And, at night, return to the ship.

Next day, they go again to discover: some on land; others, in the shallop, find a creek, into which they pass three miles, and return.[b]

December 20. This morning, after calling to heaven for guidance; they go ashore again, to pitch on some place for immediate settlement. After viewing the country, they conclude to settle on the main, on a high ground facing the Bay, where corn had been planted three or four years before; a sweet brook running under the hill, with many delicate springs. On a great hill, they intend to fortify: which will command all round; whence they may see across the Bay to the Cape. And here, being in number twenty, they rendezvous this evening: but a storm rising, it blows and rains hard all night; continues so tempestuous for two days, that they cannot get aboard, and have nothing to shelter them.[b]

December 21. Dies RICHARD BITTERIDGE,[c] the first who dies in this harbour.

December 23, Saturday. As many as can, go ashore, cut and carry timber for a common building.[b]

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [b] *MOURT's Relation*.
[c] Governor BRADFORD's *Register* in his *Pocket Book*. (*p.* 400.)

December 24, Lord's Day. Our people ashore are alarmed with the cry of "Savages!" expect an assault; but continue quiet.[a] And this day, dies SOLOMON MARTIN;[a] the sixth and last who dies this month.

December 25, Monday. They go ashore again, felling timber; sawing, riving, carrying.[a] Begin to erect first house,[b] about twenty feet square,[a] for their common use, to receive them and their goods:[b] and, leaving twenty to keep a court of guard; the rest return on board in the evening. But in the night, and next day, another sore storm of wind and rain.[a]

December 28, Thursday. They go to work on the hill; reduce themselves to nineteen families, measure out their lots, and draw for them. Many grow ill of grievous colds, from the great and many hardships they had endured.

December 29 and 30. Very cold and stormy again. And they see great smokes of fires made by the Indians, about six or seven miles off.[a]

December 31, Lord's Day. Though the generality remain aboard the ship, almost a mile and a half off; yet this seems to be the first day that any kept the Sabbath in the place of their building. At this time we therefore fix the era of their Settlement here: to which they give the name of Plymouth, the first English town in all this country; in a grateful memory of the Christian friends they found at Plymouth in England, as of the last town they left in that their native land.[c]

Here Governor BRADFORD *ends his First Book, containing* 10 *Chaps. in* 53 *pages, folio: And here we end this First Part of our*

New England Chronology.

---

[a] *MOURT's Relation.* [b] Governor BRADFORD's *History.*

[c] My friend H. STEVENS, Esq., F.S.A., of Vermont, now of London, however, points out that in the Map in SMITH's *First Account of New England,* 1616; the place known to the Indians as Patuxet, is *there* called Plymouth, four years before the arrival of the Pilgrim Fathers. E.A. 1879.

THE

NEW ENGLAND

CHRONOLOGY.

PART II.

Being a short Account of the Affairs of this country as settled by the several Colonies of the English nation,

FROM

Their beginning, in the settlement of the First at Plymouth, by the name of Plymouth Colony, December 31, 1620,

TO

The settlement of the Seventh and last, by the combination of Forty-one Persons into a Form of Government on Piscataqua river, October 22, 1640; afterwards called the Province of New Hampshire.

[PRINCE, however, only succeeded in publishing as far as *August* 5, 1633, viz., IN TWO Sections,
SECTION I., *December* 31, 1620–*June* 12, 1630 *pp.* 409–510.
SECTION II., *June* 13, 1630–*August* 5, 1633 *pp.* 511–656.]





THE *NEW ENGLAND* CHRONOLOGY.

PART II.

SECTION I.

From the beginning of the Settlement of the First or Plymouth Colony at Plymouth, under Governor CARVER, *December* 31, 1620; *to the beginning of the Settlement of the Massachusetts or Second Colony by the arrival of Governor* WINTHROP *and Company at* Salem, *June* 12, 1630.

THROUGH a great variety of obstacles and hardships, this small and pious People are at length arrived and seated on this strange and distant shore, but yet a shore they are, by an overruling Providence, conducted to beside [*contrary to*] their own design, though not without

the secret plots of others. For as some unknown country further southward, about Hudson's river, was in their view, when they engaged in this adventurous voyage; Mr. MORTON, who published his *Memorial* in 1670, tells us, "He had *then* lately sure intelligence that the Dutch, intending to settle a colony there of their own, privately hired [*bribed*] [Master REYNOLDS] the Master of the ship [the *Speedwell*] to contrive delays in England; then to steer them to these northward coasts; and there, under pleas of shoals and winter, to discourage them from venturing further."[a]

However, by their being guided hither; they then unknowingly escaped the much greater danger of falling among the multitudes of savages, at that time, filling the countries about Hudson's river: and are landed in a place of greater safety; where a general pestilence had, two or three years before, exceedingly thinned the natives, and prepared the way for this feeble company.

Being thus, beside their intention, brought to the New England coast, where their *Patent* gave them no right or power: they were, in a sort, reduced to a state of nature; and some of the strangers received at London, dropping some mutinous speeches as if there were now no authority over them: the People, therefore, before they landed, wisely formed themselves into a Body Politic, under the Crown of

[a] Agreeable to this, we observed in the month of *June* this year, while the English Leydeners were preparing for their voyage, that as Captain DERMER returned from Virginia to New England, he met certain Hollanders sailing for Hudson's river, where they had had a trade for several years. [*p.* 397.]

MORTON's statement is untrustworthy. It can only refer to the *Speedwell*; as the *May Flower* was hired in London, and was not in Holland at all, in this business. The Dutch, in selling such a rotten vessel as the *Speedwell* [*pp.* 396, 398, 399], did virtually provide for some of the Pilgrim Fathers an early grave in the Atlantic; from which they were only saved by the company of the London ship. It is instructive to note, how that this *Speedwell* was, instrumentally, the cause of *all* the delays; and thereby of the many deaths in the following spring: but, on the other hand, how that these delays led to the settlement at Patuxet; one of the few places on the coast, where there were then no Indians.—E.A. 1879.

England; by the Solemn Contract hinted above [*p.* 401], and which Governor BRADFORD gives us in the following terms[a]:

> *In the name of GOD, Amen. We, whose names are under written, the loyal subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord, King JAMES; by the grace of GOD, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King; Defender of the Faith, &c.,*
>
> *Having undertaken, for the glory of GOD, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our King and country, a Voyage to plant the First Colony in the Northern Parts of Virginia; Do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of GOD and one of another, Covenant and Combine ourselves together into a Civil Body Politic for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by Virtue hereof to Enact, Constitute, and Frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, contitutions, and offices,[b] from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony. Unto which, we promise all due submission and obedience.*
>
> *In witness whereof, we have hereunder subscribed our names, at Cape Cod, the* 11*th of November, in the year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, King JAMES of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth; and of Scotland, the fifty-fourth.* Anno Domini, 1620.[c]

To this *Instrument*, Mr. MORTON sets the Subscribers in the following *order*: but their names *corrected* with their *titles* and *families*, I take from the List at the end of Governor BRADFORD's folio *Manuscript*; only this I observe that, out of

[a] The same is printed in *MOURT's Relation*, PURCHAS, MORTON, and NEAL: though in the two latter, with some small variations from the other three.

[b] So BRADFORD, *MOURT*, and PURCHAS: but MORTON says *officers*

[c] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.

modesty, he omits the title of *Master* to his own name, which he ascribes to several others.

N.B.—1. Those with this mark, ‖, brought their wives with them. Those with this, *, for the present, left them either in Holland or England.

2. Some left behind them some, and others all their children; who afterwards came over.

3. Those *italicized*, deceased before the end of March [1621].

4. The column [*NO.*] contains the number of their several families.

NAMES.		*NO.*
1 Master JOHN CARVER ...	‖	8
2 WILLIAM BRADFORD... ...	‖	2
3 Master EDWARD WINSLOW	‖	5
4 Master WILLIAM BREWSTER	‖	6
5 Master ISAAC ALLERTON ...	‖	6
6 Captain MILES STANDISH	‖	2
7 JOHN ALDEN		1
8 Master SAMUEL FULLER	*	2[a]
9 *Master CHRISTOPHER MARTIN*	‖	4
10 *Master WILLIAM MULLINS*	‖	5
11 *Master WILLIAM WHITE*...	‖	5[b]
12 Master RICHARD WARREN	*	1
13 JOHN HOWLAND[c]		
14 Master STEPHEN HOPKINS	‖	8[d]
15 *EDWARD TILLY*...	‖	4
16 *JOHN TILLY*	‖	3
17 FRANCIS COOK	*	2
18 *THOMAS ROGERS*		2
19 *THOMAS TINKER*	‖	3
20 *JOHN RIDGDALE*	‖	2
21 *EDWARD FULLER*	‖	3
22 *JOHN TURNER*		3

NAMES.		*NO.*
23 FRANCIS EATON...	‖	3
24 *JAMES CHILTON*	‖	3
25 *JOHN CRACKSTON*[e]		2
26 JOHN BILLINGTON[f]	‖	4
27 *MOSES FLETCHER*[g]		1
28 *JOHN GOODMAN*...		1
29 *DEGORY PRIEST*[h]		1
30 *THOMAS WILLIAMS*		1
31 GILBERT WINSLOW		1
32 *EDMUND MARGESON*... ...		1
33 PETER BROWN		1
34 *RICHARD BRITTRIDGE*[i] ...		1
35 GEORGE SOULE[j]...		
36 *RICHARD CLARKE*		1
37 RICHARD GARDINER... ...		1
38 *JOHN ALLERTON*		1
39 *THOMAS ENGLISH*		1
40 EDWARD DOTEY[k] } 1 ...		
41 EDWARD LEISTER }		
		101

[a] One of these was the Servant who died before their arrival [*p.* 100]. (BRADFORD.)

[b] Besides the son born in Cape Cod Harbour, named PEREGRINE. (BRADFORD.)

[c] He was of Governor CARVER's family. (BRADFORD.)

[d] One of these was a son born at sea, and therefore named OCEANUS. (BRADFORD.)

[e] Mr. MORTON calls him CRAXTON.

[f] See *p.* 429. Executed, *October* 1630, *p.* 559.

[g] Mr. MORTON seems to mistake, in calling him JOSES.

[h] Mr. MORTON calls him DIGERY.

[i] Mr. MORTON calls him BITTERIDGE.

[j] He was of Governor WINSLOW's family. (BRADFORD.)

[k] Mr. MORTON seems to mistake in calling him DOTEN.

[l] They were of Master HOPKINS's family. (BRADFORD.)

So there were just One hundred and One who sailed from Plymouth harbour; and just as many arrived in Cape Cod harbour. And this is the solitary number, who for an undefiled conscience and the love of pure Christianity first left their native and pleasant land; and encountered all the toils and hazards of the tumultuous ocean in search of some uncultivated region in North Virginia, where they might quietly enjoy their religious liberties, and transmit them to posterity; in hopes that none would follow to disturb or vex them.

SOME NOTED writers, not, with a sufficient accuracy, studied in the Religious History of those times, have, through great mistake, represented as if this People were a Congregation of Brownists. But even BAYLIE himself,[a] that bitter inveigher both against the Brownists and Independents, owns

> That Master ROBINSON their Pastor, was a man of excellent parts, and the most learned, polished, and modest spirit that ever separated from the Church of England; That the *Apologies* he wrote were very handsome; That by Doctor AMES and Master PARKER, he was brought to a greater moderation, than he at first expressed; that he ruined the Rigid Separation, allowing the lawfulness of communicating with the Church of England *in the Word and Prayer*[b]; *though not in the Sacraments and Discipline*; That he was the principal overthrower of the Brownists, and became the author of Independency.

The like account of Master ROBINSON, HORNIUS also gives us.[c] And how inconsistent is it then, to call him or his

[a] BAYLIE's *Dissuasive from the errors of the times*, printed, in quarto, London, 1645.

[b] But Master COTTON, who was well acquainted with Elder BREWSTER and the first members of the Church of Plymouth, tells us, "That by *Prayer* must not be understood the *Common Prayer* Book; but of the Prayers conceived by the Preacher before, and after Sermon."—*Way of Congregational Churches Cleared*, in answer to BAYLIE, *&c.* Printed, in quarto, London, 1648. [c] HORNII, *Historia Ecclesiastica et Politica.*

People, Brownists! when he was known to be a principal overthrower of them.

Agreeably, HORNIUS, from my Lord BROOKE, seems to express himself in this, more accurately than other writers; by dividing those who *separated* from the Church of England into two sorts, viz., 1. The Rigid Separatists, or Brownists: 2. The Semi-Separatists, or Robinsonians; who, after a while, were called Independents, and still retain the name. And so distant were the former in their principles and temper from the latter; that as the chief seat of the Brownists was then in Amsterdam, Governor WINSLOW, a principal Member of Master ROBINSON's Church, acquaints us, "That the Brownists there, would hardly hold communion with the People at Leyden."[a]

The same gentleman also tells us, That Master ROBINSON was always against Separation from any of the Churches of CHRIST, holding communion with the Reformed Churches, both in Scotland, France, and the Netherlands; that his study was for peace and union, so far as might agree with faith and a good conscience. But for the Government of the Church of England, as in the Episcopal way, the Liturgy and stinted prayers: yea, the Constitution of the Church as national; and so the corrupt Communion of the Unworthy with the Worthy Receivers of the Lord's Supper: these things were never approved of him; but witnessed against to his death, and by the Church under him. That the Church of Leyden made no schism or separation from the Reformed Churches; but, as occasion offered, held communion with them. "For we," says Governor WINSLOW, "ever placed a large difference between those who grounded their practice on the Word of GOD, though differing from us in the exposition or understanding of it; and those who hated such Reformers and Reformation, and went on in Antichristian opposition to it, and persecution of it: as the late Lord Bishops did. Nevertheless Master ROBINSON allowed hearing the godly

[a] Governor WINSLOW's *Ground of Planting New England*, at the end of his *Answer* to GORTON; printed, in quarto, London, 1646.

Ministers of the Church of England preach and pray in the public assemblies: yea, allowed Private Communion[a] with them all, and with all the faithful in the Kingdom and elsewhere, upon all occasions. None of which, would the Brownists ever allow."

"'Tis true," says Governor WINSLOW, "we profess, and desire to practice a separation from the world, and the works of the world, which are the works of the flesh, such as the Apostle speaks of, *Ephesians* v. 19–21; 1 *Corinthians* vi. 9–11; and *Ephesians* ii. 11, 12. And as the Churches of CHRIST are all Saints by calling, so we desire to see the grace of GOD shining forth, at least seemingly (leaving secret things to GOD) in all we admit into Church-fellowship; and to keep off such as openly wallow in the mire of their sins, that neither the holy things of GOD, nor the Communion of the Saints may be thereby leavened or polluted. And if any joining to us, when we lived at Leyden, or since we came to New England, have, with the Manifestation of their Faith, and Profession of Holiness, held forth therewith Separation from the Church of England; I have, divers times, in the one place, heard Master ROBINSON our Pastor; and in the other, Master BREWSTER, our Elder, stop them, forthwith: showing them, that we required no such thing at their hands, but only to hold forth Faith in JESUS CHRIST, Holiness in the Fear of GOD, and Submission to every Divine Appointment; leaving the Church of England to themselves, and to the LORD, to Whom we ought to pray to reform what was amiss among them."

Perhaps HORNIUS was the only person who gave this People the title of "Robinsonians;" but had he been duly acquainted with the generous principles, both of the People and their famous Pastor, he would then have known that

[a] By Private Communion, I suppose he means, in opposition to the Mixed Communion in the Public Churches: *i.e.*, *he allowed all of the Church of England, who were known to be pious, to have communion in his private* [separated or sifted] *Church*. For as Master COTTON, writing of Master ROBINSON, says, "He separated not from any Church, but from the World."

nothing was more disagreeable to them, than to be called by the name of any mere man whatever: since they renounced all attachment to any mere human systems or expositions of the Scripture; and reserved an entire and perpetual liberty of searching the Inspired Records, and of forming both their principles and practice from those discoveries they should make therein, without imposing them on others.

This appears in their *Original Covenant* in 1602, as we observed before [*p.* 348]. And agreeably to this, Governor WINSLOW tells, that when the Plymouth People parted from their renowned Pastor; with whom they had always lived in the most entire affection,

> He charged us, *before GOD and his blessed angels, to follow him no further than he followed* CHRIST: *and if GOD should reveal anything to us, by any other Instrument of His, to be as ready to receive it, as ever we were to receive any truth by his ministry; for he was very confident the* LORD *had more truth and light yet to brake out of His Holy Word.*
>
> He took occasion also, *miserably to bewail the state of the Reformed Churches; who were come to a period* [stop] *in religion; and would go no further than the Instruments of their reformation. As, for example, the Lutherans could not be drawn to go beyond what* LUTHER *saw: for whatever part of GOD'S Word, He had further revealed to* CALVIN; *they had rather die than embrace it. And so,* said he, *you see the Calvinists; they stick where he left them. A misery much to be lamented. For though they were precious shining lights in their times: yet GOD had not revealed His whole will to them; and were they now alive,* said he, *they would be as ready to embrace further light, as that they had received.*
>
> Here also he put us in mind of *our Church-Covenant, whereby we engage with GOD and one another, to receive whatever light or truth should be made known to us from His Written Word*; but withal, exhorted us *to take heed what we received for truth; and well to examine, compare, and weigh it with other Scriptures before we receive it. For,* said he,

it is not possible the Christian world should come, so lately, out of such Antichristian darkness, and that full perfection of knowledge should break forth at once, *&c.*

Words almost astonishing in that age of low and universal bigotry, which then prevailed in the English nation: wherein this truly great and learned man seems to be almost the only Divine, who was capable of rising in a noble freedom of thinking and practising in religious matters; and even, in urging such an equal liberty on his own People, he labours to take them off from their attachment to him, that they might be more entirely free to search and follow the Scriptures.

AS FOR Master ROBINSON being the author of Independency, Master COTTON replies, "That the *New Testament* was the author of it; and it was received in the times of purest primitive antiquity, many hundreds of years before Master ROBINSON was born;" and Governor WINSLOW, "That the Primitive Churches, in the Apostolic age, are the only pattern which the Churches of CHRIST in New England have in their eye; not following LUTHER, CALVIN, KNOX, AINSWORTH, ROBINSON, AMES, or any other, further than they follow CHRIST and his Apostles."

But as Master ROBINSON and his Church were of the same mind, and always lived in the great harmony and unity; I shall here give a Summary of their main Principles, from their published writings.

I. They were in the sentiments, which since, the famous Master CHILLINGWORTH tells us that, after long study, he also came into, *viz.*, That the Inspired Scriptures ONLY contain the true Religion; and especially nothing is to be accounted the Protestant Religion, respecting either Faith or Worship, but what is taught in them. As also, in the same sentiments, which the present celebrated Bishop HOADLEY and many other great men, have

so nobly defended as the Right of Human Nature, as the the very basis of the Reformation, and indeed, of all sincere religion; *viz.*, That every man has a right of judging for *himself*, of *trying* doctrines by them, and of worshipping according to *his* apprehension of the meaning of them.

II. *As to Faith and Holy Sacraments.* They believed the *Doctrinal Articles* of the Church of England, as also of the Reformed Churches of Scotland, Ireland, France, the Palatinate, Geneva, Switzerland, and the United Provinces, to be agreeable to the Holy Oracles: allowing all the pious members of these Churches, communion with them; and differing from them only in matters purely ecclesiastical.

III. *As to Ecclesiastical Matters.* They held the following *Articles* to be agreeable to Scripture and reason:

a. That no particular Church ought to consist of more members than can conveniently watch over one another; and usually meet and worship in one Congregation.

b. That every particular Church of CHRIST is only to consist of such as appear to Believe in and Obey Him.

c. That any competent number of such, when their consciences oblige them, have a Right to Embody into a Church, for their mutual edification.

d. That this Embodying is by some certain Contract or Covenant; either expressed or implied, though it ought to be by the former.

e. That being Embodied, they have a Right of choosing all their Officers.

f. That the Officers appointed by CHRIST for His Embodied Church are, in some respects of *three* sorts; in others, but *two*, *viz.*:

1. PASTORS or TEACHING ELDERS. Who have the power both of overseeing, teaching, administering the Sacraments, and ruling too: and, being chiefly to give themselves to studying, teaching, and the spiritual care of the flock; are therefore to be maintained.

2. Mere RULING ELDERS. Who are to help the Pastors in overseeing and ruling. That their offices be not temporary, as among the Dutch and French Churches; but continual. And being also qualified in some degree to teach; they are to teach only occasionally, through necessity, or in their Pastor's absence or illness: but being not to give themselves to study or teaching, they have no need of maintenance.

That the Elders, of both sorts, form the Presbytery of Overseers and Rulers; which should be in every particular Church: and are, in Scripture, called sometimes Presbyters or Elders, sometimes Bishops or Overseers, sometimes Guides, and sometimes Rulers.

3. DEACONS. Who are to take care of the poor, and of the Church's treasure; to distribute for the support of the Pastor, the supply of the needy, the propagation of religion; and to minister at the Lord's Table, &c.

g. That these Officers being chosen and ordained, have not Lordly, arbitrary, or imposing power; but can only rule and minister with the consent of the brethren: who ought not, in contempt, to be called Laity; but to be treated as men, and brethren in Christ, not as Slaves and Minors.

h. That no Churches or Church Officers whatever, have any power over any other Church or Officers, to control or impose upon them: but are all *equal* in their rights and privileges; and ought to be independent in the exercise and enjoyment of them.

i. *As to Church Administrations.* They held, That *BAPTISM* is a seal of the Covenant of Grace: and should be dispensed only to visible believers, with their unadult children: and this, in primitive purity, as in the times of CHRIST and His apostles, without the sign of the Cross, or any other invented ceremony. That the *LORD'S SUPPER* should be received, as it was at first; even in

CHRIST's immediate presence, in the *table posture.* That the Elders should not be restrained from *PRAYING IN PUBLIC* as well as private; according to the various occasions continually offering, from the Word or Providence; and no set form should be *imposed* on any. That *EXCOMMUNICATION* should be wholly *spiritual*; a mere rejecting of the scandalous from the Communion of the Church in the Holy Sacraments, and those other spiritual privileges which are peculiar to the faithful: and that the Church or its Officers have no authority to inflict any penalties of a temporal nature.

j. And lastly, *As for Holy days*, they were very strict for the observation of the *LORD's DAY*, in a pious memorial of the Incarnation, Birth, Death, Resurrection, Ascension, and Benefits of CHRIST; as also solemn *FASTINGS*, and *THANKSGIVINGS*, as the State of Providence requires: but all other times, not prescribed in Scripture, they utterly relinquished.

And, as in general, they could not conceive anything a part of CHRIST's Religion which He has *not* required: they therefore renounced all human right of *inventing*; and much less, of *imposing* it on others.

These were the main Principles of that Scriptural and Religious Liberty for which this People suffered in England, fled to Holland, traversed the ocean, and sought a dangerous retreat in these remote and savage deserts of North America: that here they might fully enjoy them, and leave them to their last prosterity.

BUT removing the stage of our *Chronology* to the western side of the Atlantic; we may take a brief survey, both of the state of Great Britain and the neighbouring countries they left behind them, and for which they were chiefly concerned; as well as the state of North East America, at the time of their arrival.

In France and Navarre, the King begins to persecute the Protestants, and to turn them out of their churches. In Lusatia [*Alsace*], Bohemia, and Germany the Imperial and Spanish forces are prevailing, and ruining the Reformed interest; even the Protestant Elector of Saxony joining with them. And the King of England, extremely fond of matching his only son, Prince CHARLES, to the Popish *Infanta*; refuses to support, and even allow of a Public Fast for his own daughter, the excellent Queen of Bohemia, the darling of the British Puritans; indulges the Papists throughout the Kingdoms; and, at the same time, allows no rest for any of the Reformed in them, who mislike the Ceremonies or Diocesan Episcopacy.

In Scotland, the Presbyterian Church is wholly overthrown; her Ministers deprived, confined, banished. And in England, "most of the affairs in Church and State," as ECHARD tells us, "are transacted by the Countess of BUCKINGHAM," whom he calls, "a fiery Romanist."

In so dark a season on the European shore, are this People brought to the North American; where the prospect also looks almost as dismal and discouraging.

For besides the natives, the nearest Plantation to them is a French one at Port Royal[a] [see *p.* 374]; who have another at Canada. And the only English ones are at Virginia, Bermudas, and Newfoundland; the nearest of these, about five hundred miles off; and every one incapable of helping them.

Wherever they turn their eyes, nothing but distress surrounds them. Harrassed for their Scripture Worship in their native land; grieved for the profanation of the holy

[a] Governor BRADFORD, in a manuscript note in the margin of Sir WILLIAM ALEXANDER'S *Description of New England, &c.*, printed, in quarto, London, 1630; says, *BIENCOURT lived at Port Royal, when we came into the country in* 1620. By which, it seems as if, by connivance of the Court of England, a small Plantation of the French were suffered to continue at Port Royal, after the reduction by Captain ARGAL in 1613.

Sabbath, and other licentiousness in Holland; fatigued with their boisterous voyage; disappointed of their expected country; forced on this northern shore, both utterly unknown and in advance of winter; none but prejudiced barbarians round about them, and without any prospect of human succour: without the help or favour of the Court of England; without a *Patent*; without a public promise of their religious liberties; worn out with toil and sufferings; without convenient shelter from the rigorous weather; and their hardships bringing a general sickness on them, which reduces them to great extremities, bereaves them of their dearest friends, and leaves many of the children, orphans. Within Five Months' time, above Half of their Company are carried off; whom they account as dying in this noble cause; whose memories they consecrate to the dear esteem of their successors; and bear ALL, with a Christian fortitude and patience, as extraordinary as their trials.

I have only now to remind the reader, that utterly unsought, and then unknown to them, on *November* 3, about a week before their arrival at Cape Cod; King JAMES signs a *Patent* for the *Incorporation of the Adventurers to the Northern Colony of Virginia, between* 40° *and* 48° *N.*; being the Duke of LENNOX, the Marquises of BUCKINGHAM and HAMILTON, the Earls of ARUNDEL and WARWICK, Sir F. GORGES, and thirty-four others; and their successors—styling them, *The Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England, in America.*[a] Which *Patent* is the great and civil [*legal*] *Basis* of all the future *Patents* and Plantations, that divide this country.

[a] From a manuscript Copy of the *Charter* itself, in the hands of the Honourable ELISHA COOKE, Esquire.

SECTION I.

To the Settlement of the Massachusetts Colony by the arrival of Governor WINTHORP and Deputy Governor DUDLEY with the Charter, *and Assistants, at Salem, June* 12, 1630.

[Additions of my own.]

1621.

January 1, Monday. THE People at Plymouth go betimes to work[a]; and the year begins with the death of DEGORY PRIEST.[b]

January 3. Some, abroad, see great fires of Indians; and go to their corn fields, but discover none of the savages: nor have seen any, since we came to this harbour.[a]

January 4. Captain STANDISH, with four or five more, go to look for the natives, where their fires were made; find some of their houses, though not lately inhabited; but none of the natives.[a]

January 8. FRANCIS BILLINGTON having, the week before, from the top of a tree on a high hill, discovered a great sea, as he thought; goes this day, with one of the Master's Mates to view it: travel three miles to a large water divided into two lakes; the bigger five or six miles in compass, with an islet in it of a cable's length square; the other, three miles in compass, and a brook issuing from it. Find seven or eight houses; though not lately inhabited.[a] And this day, dies Master CHRISTOPHER MARTIN.[b]

January 9. We labour in building our town, in two rows

[a] *MOURT's Relation.*
[b] Governor BRADFORD's *Register* in his *Pocket Book.* (*p.* 400.)

of houses for greater safety; divide, by lot, the ground we build on; agreed that every man shall build his own house, that they may make more haste, than when they work in common.[a]

January 12. At noon, JOHN GOODMAN and PETER BROWN gathering thatch abroad, and not coming home after their two companions, put us in great sorrow. Master LEAVER, with three or four more, go to seek them; but can hear nothing of them.

Next day [13], thinking the Indians had surprised them, we arm out ten or twelve men after them; who go searching seven or eight miles: but return without discovery, to our great discomfort.[a]

January 13. Having the major part of our people ashore, we purpose there to keep the Public Worship to-morrow.[a]

January 14, Lord's Day, morning. At 6 o'clock, the wind being very high, we on ship board see our *Rendezvous* in flames; and because of the loss of the two men, fear the savages had fired it: nor can we come to help them, for want of the tide, till 7 o'clock. At landing, hear good news of the return of our men; and that the house was fired by a spark flying into the thatch, which instantly burnt up. The greatest sufferers are Governor CARVER, and Master BRADFORD.

The two men were lost in the woods on Friday noon; ranged all the afternoon in the wet and cold; at night, it snowing, freezing, and being bitter weather, they walked under a tree till morning; then travelled by many lakes and brooks. In the afternoon, from a high hill, they discover the two isles in our harbour: and at night get home, faint with travel, and want of food and sleep; and almost famished with cold.[a]

January 21. We keep our Public Worship ashore.[a]

January 29. Dies ROSE, the wife of Captain STANDISH.[b]

January 31. This morning the people aboard the ship see two savages [the first we see at this harbour]; but cannot speak with them.

N.B. This month, Eight of our number die.[b]

---

[a] *MOURT's Relation.* [b] Governor BRADFORD's *Register.*

Kings. Great Britain, JAMES I.; *France*, LOUIS XIII.; *Spain*, PHILIP III.

February 9. This afternoon, our house for our sick people is set a fire by a spark lighting on the roof.[a]

February 16. One of our people a fowling by a creek, about a mile and a half off, twelve Indians march by him towards the town; in the woods, he hears the noise of many more: lies close, till they are passed by; then hastens home and gives the alarm. So the people abroad return, but see none; only Captain STANDISH and FRANCIS COOK leaving their tools in the woods, and going for them; find the savages had taken them away. And towards night, a great fire about the place, where the man saw them.[a]

February 17. This morning, we first meet for appointing military Orders; choose MILES STANDISH for our Captain; give him power accordingly. And while we are consulting, two savages present themselves on the top of the hill over against us, about a quarter of a mile off, making signs for us to come to them. We send Captain STANDISH and Master HOPKINS over the brook, towards them; one only with a musket, which he lays down, in sign of peace and parley: but the Indians would not stay their coming. A noise of a great many more is heard behind the hill; but no more come in sight.[a]

February 21. Die Master WILLIAM WHITE [*see pp.* 402, 430], Master WILLIAM MULLINS; with two more. And the 25th, dies MARY, the wife of Master ISAAC ALLERTON.[b]

N.B. This month, Seventeen of our number die.[b]

This spring, there go ten or twelve ships from the West of England to fish on the [North Eastern] coasts of New England; who get well freighted with fish and fur.[c,d]

About this time, the Indians get all the Pawaws of the country, for three days together, in a horrid and devilish manner, to curse and execrate us with their conjurations; which assembly, they hold in a dark and dismal swamp; as we are afterwards informed.[e]

March 7. The Governor with five more, go to the Great Ponds; and we begin to sow our garden seeds.[a]

March 16. This morning, a savage boldly comes alone

---

[a] *MOURT's Relation.*
[b] Governor BRADFORD's *Register* in his *Pocket Book*. (*p.* 400.)
[c] SMITH's *History.*
[d] PURCHAS's *Pilgrims.*
[e] Governor BRADFORD's *History.*

along the houses, straight to the *Rendezvous*; surprises us with calling out "Welcome, Englishmen!" "Welcome, Englishmen!" having learned some broken English among the fishermen at Monhiggon.

The first Indian we met with. His name is SAMOSET, says, he is a *Sagamore* or Lord of Moratiggon, lying hence a day's sail with a great wind, and five days by land; and has been in these parts, eight months. We entertain him; and he informs us of the country. That the place we are in, is called Patuxet [*pp.* 376, 393]; that, about four years ago, all the inhabitants died of an extraordinary plague; and there is neither man, woman, nor child remaining: as indeed, we find none to hinder our possession, or lay claim to it.

At night, we lodge and watch him.[a]

March 17. This morning, we send SAMOSET to the Masassoits, our next neighbours; whence he came. The Nausites, near south-east of us, being those by whom we were first encountered; as before related [*p.* 404], are much incensed against the English. About eight months ago, they slew three Englishmen, and two more hardly escaped to Monhiggon. They were Sir F. GORGES's men, as our savage tells us.[b] He also tells us of the fight we had with the Nausites; and of our tools lately taken away, which we required him to bring. This Masassoits people are ill affected to us, because of HUNT: who carried off twenty from this place, we now inhabit, and seven from the Nausites; as before observed [at *p.* 376].

He promises, within a night or two, to bring some of the Masassoits with beaver skins to trade.[a]

March 18. SAMOSET returns, with five other men; who bring our tools, with some skins; and make show of friendship: but, being the Lord's Day, we would not trade; but, entertaining them, bid them come again, and bring more; which they promise, within a night or two. But SAMOSET tarries with us.[a]

March 21. This morning, the Indians not coming; we send SAMOSET to inquire the reason. In his absence, two or three savages present themselves on the top of the hill

[b] ? Whether these were not Captain DERMER's company, mentioned after *June* 30, last year [*p.* 397]. [a] *MOURT's Relation.*

against us; but Captain STANDISH and another, with their muskets, going over; the Indians whet their arrows, and make show of defiance: but as our men advance, they run away.[a]

This day, PHILIP III., King of Spain dies, *æt.* 43,[b,c,d] and his son, PHILIP IV. succeeds, *æt.* 16.[c]

March 22. About noon, SAMOSET returns with SQUANTO, the only native of this place [*Patuxet*], one of the twenty HUNT carried to Spain [*see p.* 376], but got into England; lived in Cornhill, London, with Master JOHN SLANIE, Merchant; and can speak a little English: with three others. Bring a few skins, and signify that their great Sagamore, MASASSOIT,[e] the greatest King of the Indians bordering on us, is hard by; with his brother QUADEQUINA, and their company.

After an hour, the King comes to the top of an hill over against us; with a train of sixty men. We send SQUANTO to him: who brings word that we should send one to parley with him. We send Master EDWARD WINSLOW to know his mind; and signify that our Governor desires to see him, and truck and confirm a peace.

Upon this, the King leaves Master WINSLOW in the custody of QUADEQUINA; and comes over the brook, with a train of twenty men, leaving their bows and arrows behind them. Captain STANDISH, and Master WILLIAMSON, with six musketeers met him at the brook; where they salute each other: conduct him to a house, wherein they place a green rug, and three or four cushions.

Then instantly, comes our Governor, with drum, trumpet, and musketeers. After salutations, the Governor kissing his hand, and the King kissing him: they sit down. The Governor entertains him with some refreshments. And then, they agree on a League of Friendship, as follows.[a]

1. That neither he nor his should injure any of ours.
2. That if they did, he should send the Offender; that we might punish him.

[d] PETAVIUS and RICCIOLIUS say *March* 31: but I conclude they mean New Style. [a] *MOURT's Relation.* [b] PETAVIUS. [c] RICCIOLIUS.
[e] The printed accounts generally spell him, MASSASOIT. Governor BRADFORD writes him, MASSASOYT and MASSASOYET. But I find the ancient people, from their fathers, in Plymouth Colony, pronounce his name, MA-SAS-SO-IT.

3. That if our tools were taken away, he should restore them. And if ours did any harm to any of his, we would do the like to him.
4. If any unjustly warred against him; we would aid him. And if any warred against us; he should aid us.
5. He would certify his neighbour[ing] confederates of this; that they might not wrong us, but be comprised in the Conditions of Peace.
6. That when their men come to us, they should leave their bows and arrows behind them; as we should leave our pieces, when we come to them.
7. That doing thus, King JAMES would esteem him as his friend and ally.[a]

After this, the Governor conducts him to the brook; where they embrace and part. We keep six or seven hostages for our messenger; but QUADEQUINA coming, with his troop, we entertain, and convey him back; receive our messenger, and return the hostages.[b]

March 23. This morning, divers Indians, coming over, tell us, the King would have some of us come and see him. Captain STANDISH and Master ISAAC ALLERTON go venturously to him: whom they welcome, after their manner. And, about noon, they return to their place, called Sowams,[c] about forty miles off,[d] to the westward.

The King is a portly man, in his best years, grave of countenance, spare of speech. And we cannot but judge he is willing to be at peace with us; especially because he has a potent adversary, the Narragansetts, who are at war with him. Against whom, he thinks we may be some strength; our pieces being terrible to them. But SAMOSET and SQUANTO tarry.[b]

This day, we meet on common business, conclude our Military Orders; with some laws convenient for our present

---

[a] Governor BRADFORD, in 1645, observes, "This League hath lasted these twenty-four years." To which I may add, "Yea, thirty years longer! *viz.*, to 1675." [b] *MOURT's Relation.*

[c] Sometimes called Sowams, and sometimes Pacanokik; which I suppose is afterwards called Mount Hope; and since, named Bristol.

[d] Governor BRADFORD's *History.*

state: and choose [a] or rather confirm [b] Master CARVER, our Governor, for the following year.[a,b]

March 24. Dies ELIZABETH, the wife of Master EDWARD WINSLOW.[c] [*See next page.*]

The first offence, since our arrival, is of JOHN BILLINGTON,[c,d] who came on board at London [b]; and is, this month, convented before the whole Company, for his contempt to the Captain's [STANDISH] lawful command. For which, he is adjudged to have his neck and heels tied together: but upon humbling himself, and craving pardon; and it being the first offence; he is forgiven.[c]

N.B. This month, Thirteen of our number die.[c]

And in three months past, die Half our Company. The greatest part in the depth of winter, wanting houses and other comforts; being infected with the scurvy and other diseases, which their long voyage and unaccommodate condition bring upon them. So as there die, sometimes, two or three a day. Of one hundred persons, scarce fifty remain. The living scarce able to bury the dead; the well not sufficient to tend the sick: there being, in their time of greatest distress, but six or seven; who spare no pains to help them. Two of the seven were Master BREWSTER, their reverend Elder, and Master STANDISH the Captain.

The like disease fell also among the sailors; so as almost Half their company also die, before they sail.[b]

But the spring advancing, it pleases GOD, the mortality begins to cease; and the sick and lame to recover: which puts new life into the people; though they had borne their sad affliction with as much patience as any could do.[b]

April 5. We despatch the ship, with Captain JONES; who, this day, sails from New Plymouth: and *May* 6, arrives in England.[e,f]

After this, we plant twenty acres of Indian corn [a]; wherein SQUANTO is a great help; showing us how to set, fish, dress, and tend it [b]: of which we have good increase. We likewise sow six acres of barley [g] and pease. Our barley indifferent good; but our pease parched up with the sun.[a]

[a] *MOURT's Relation.* [b] Governor BRADFORD's *History.*
[c] Governor BRADFORD's *Register* in his *Pocket Book.* (*p.* 400.)
[g] Governor BRADFORD calls them Wheat and Pease; and says, they came to no good. [d] See *pp.* 412, 559. [e] SMITH. [f] PURCHAS.

While we are busy about our seed, our Governor, Master CARVER, comes out of the field, very sick; complains greatly of his head; within a few hours, his senses fail, so as he speaks no more: and, in a few days after, dies; to our great lamentation and heaviness. His care and pains were so great for the common good, as therewith, it is thought, he oppressed himself, and shortened his days: of whose loss, we cannot sufficiently complain. And his wife deceases, about five or six weeks after.[a]

Soon after, we choose Master WILLIAM BRADFORD our Governor, and Master ISAAC ALLERTON his Assistant: who are, by renewed elections, continued together, sundry years.[a]

May 12. The first Marriage in this place,[a] is of Master EDWARD WINSLOW [*see previous page*] to Mistress SUSANNA WHITE [*see p.* 402], widow of Master WILLIAM WHITE[b] [*see p.* 425].

June 18. The second offence, is the first duel fought in New England, upon a challenge at single combat, with sword and dagger; between EDWARD DOTY and EDWARD LEISTER, servants to Master HOPKINS: both being wounded; the one in the hand, the other in the thigh. They are adjudged by the whole Company to have their head and feet tied together; and so to lie for twenty-four hours, without meat or drink. Which is begun to be inflicted; but, within an hour, because of their great pains, at their own and their master's humble request; upon promise of better carriage, they are released by the Governor.[b]

July 2. We agree to send[c] Master EDWARD WINSLOW, and Master STEVEN HOPKINS, with SQUANTO, to see our new friend MASASSOIT[a] at Pakanokit,[d] to bestow some gratuities on him, bind him faster to us, view the country, see how and where he lives, his strength &c.[a,d]

[Tuesday]. At nine, this morning, we set out; travel fifteen miles westward to Namasket, by three in the after-

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History.* [b] Governor BRADFORD's *Register.*
[c] *MOURT's Relation* says: They set out *June* 10: but this being Lord's Day, is very unlikely; and is also inconsistent with the rest of the Journal. Whereas *July* 2 is Monday; when Governor BRADFORD says: "We sent &c." Though to comport with the rest of the Journal, I conclude that on Monday, *July* 2, they "agreed to send," but "set not out" till the next morning. [d] *MOURT's Relation.*

noon. The people entertain us with joy, give us bread they call *maizum*, and the spawn of shads, which they now have in great plenty, and we eat with spoons. By sunset, we get eight miles further to a weir, where we find many of the *Namascheuks*, *i.e.*, Namasket men, a fishing; having caught abundance of bass: who welcome us also. And there we lodge.

The head of this river is said to be not far from the place of our abode. Upon it are, and have been, many towns. The ground very good on both sides; for the most part cleared. Thousands of men have lived here; who died of the Great Plague [a] which befel these parts, about three years before our arrival: the living not being able to bury them, and their skulls and bones appear in many places, where their dwellings had been.[b] Upon this river, MASASSOIT lies. It goes into the sea at Narragansett Bay; where the Frenchmen use so much.

Next morning, we travel six miles, by the river, to a known shoal place: and, it being low water, put off our clothes, and wade over. Thus far the tide flows. We observe few places on the river, but what had been inhabited[a]; though now greatly wasted by the Plague aforesaid.[b] And so we travel to Pacanokik, where MASASSOIT kindly welcomes us,[a] and gratefully receives our presents[b]; assures us that he will gladly continue the peace and friendship[a]; tells us the Narragansetts live on the other side of that great Bay, are a strong people and many in number, live compactly, and are not touched with that wasting sickness[b]; desires us not to let the French trade with them. And there we lodge.

Next day, being Thursday, many of their *Sachems* or Petty Governors, come to visit us. We see their games for skins and knives. And there lodge again.

Friday morning, before sunrise, we take our leave; MASASSOIT retaining SQUANTO to procure truck for us; appoints TOCKAMAHAMON in his place: whom we had found faithful before; and after, upon all occasions.

[a] *MOURT's Relation.* [b] Governor BRADFORD's *History.*

That night, we reach the weir; and the next night, home.[a]

End of *July*. JOHN BILLINGTON,[b] a boy,[a] being lost in the woods, the Governor causes him to be inquired for, among the natives. At length, MASASSOIT sends word, he is at Nauset. He had wandered five days, lived on berries; then lighted on an Indian plantation, twenty miles south of us, called Manomet: and they convey him to the people who first assaulted us.[b]

But the Governor sends ten men,[a] in a shallop,[a,b] with SQUANTO and TOCKAMAHAMON,[a] to fetch him.[a,b]

The first day,[c] the shallop sails for the harbour at Cummaquid; but night coming on, we anchor in the midst of the Bay; where we are dry at low water.

Next morning, the Indians on the other side of the channel, invite us to come and eat with them. As soon as our boat floats, six of us go ashore; leaving four of them pledges in the boat. The rest bring us to their *Sachem*, whom they call IYANOUGH[d]: a man not above twenty-six years of age, but personable and courteous; who gives us plentiful and various cheer.

After dinner, we take boat for Nauset; IYANOUGH and two others of his men, with us. But the day and tide failing; we cannot get in with our shallop. IYANOUGH and his men go ashore; and we send SQUANTO to tell ASPINET, the Sachem of Nauset, our errand.

After sunset, ASPINET comes, with a great train of a hundred with him; bringing the boy; one bearing him through the water, delivers him to us. The Sachem makes his peace with us. We give him a knife; and another to him who first entertained the boy.

At this place, we hear the Narragansetts had spoiled

---

[a] *MOURT's Relation.* [b] Governor BRADFORD's *History.*

[c] *MOURT's Relation*, and PURCHAS from it, places this on *June* 17. But this date being inconsistent with several visits in the foregoing and following stories; I keep to Governor BRADFORD's original manuscript, and place it between the end of *July* and the 13th of *August*.

[d] Sometimes called IYANOUGH of Cummaquid; and sometimes IYANOUGH of Matakiest, which seems to be the country between Barnstaple and Yarmouth harbours.

some of MASASSOIT's men, and taken him; which strikes us with some fear. And setting sail, carry IYANOUGH to Cummaquid; and get home, the next day [at] night.[a]

Those people also [*i.e.*, of Nauset] come, and make their peace; and we give them full satisfaction for the corn, we had formerly found in their country.[b] [See *p.* 402.]

HOBAMAK,[b] a *Pinese* or chief captain of MASASSOIT,[c] also comes to dwell among us; and continues faithful, as long as he lives.[b]

At our return from Nauset, we find it true that MASASSOIT is put from his country by the Narragansetts,[d] and word is brought us that COUBATANT[e] or CORBITANT,[b,e] a petty Sachem under MASASSOIT, ever feared to be too conversant with the Narragansetts[a], and no friend to the English,[b] is at Namasket, seeking to draw the hearts of MASASSOIT's subjects from him; speaks disdainfully of us; storms at the peace between Nauset, Cummaquid, and us; and at SQUANTO, the worker of it; as also at TOKAMAHAMON and HOBAMAK.

However, SQUANTO and HOBAMAK go privately to see what is become of their King, and lodge at Namasket; but are discovered to CORBITANT: who besets the house,[a] threatens to kill SQUANTO and HOBAMAK, for being friends to us.[b] Seizes SQUANTO, and holds a knife to his breast[a]; offers to stab HOBAMAK, but he, being a stout man, clears himself[b]; concludes SQUANTO killed,[a] and flies to our Governor with the information.[b]

August 13. At this, the Governor assembles our Company,[a,b] and taking counsel, it is conceived not fit to be borne: for if we should suffer our friends and messengers thus to be wronged, we shall have none to cleave to us, or give

---

[a] *MOURT's Relation.* [b] Governor BRADFORD's *History.*
[c] WINSLOW's *Relation.*
[d] Governor BRADFORD says nothing of this; nor of MASASSOIT's being either seized or invaded by the Narragansetts.
[e] The *Relation* published by [*or rather with the Preface of*] MOURT: with SMITH and PURCHAS from it, call him COUBATANT; but Governor BRADFORD plainly writes him CORBITANT, and MORTON follows him.

us intelligence, or do us any service; but would next fall upon us, &c.[a]

We therefore resolve to send ten men, to-morrow, with HOBAMAK,[b] to sieze our foes in the night. If SQUANTO be killed, to cut off CORBITANT's head; but hurt only those who had a hand in the murder.[a] And retain NEPEOF, another Sachem in the confederacy, till we hear of MASASSOIT.[b]

August 14. Captain STANDISH with fourteen men and HOBAMAK, set out,[a] in a rainy day; lose their way in the night, wet, weary, and discouraged: but finding it again, beset CORBITANT's house, at midnight[a]; where three Indians are sorely wounded, in trying to brake away. But find him gone,[a] and TOKAMAHAMON and SQUANTO safe[a]; CORBITANT having only threatened SQUANTO's life, and made an offer to stab him.[a]

Next morning, we march into the midst of the town.[b] HOBAMAK telling the Indians what we only intended; they bring the best food they have[a]; and we breakfast at SQUANTO's house. Whither all whose hearts are upright to us, come: but CORBITANT's faction fled away.

We declare, "that if MASASSOIT does not return in safety from Narragansett; or if CORBITANT should make any insurrection against him; or offer violence to SQUANTO, HOBAMAK, or any of MASASSOIT's subjects: we would revenge it to the overthrow of him and his."

With many friends attending us, we get home at night[b]; bringing with us, the three wounded savages; whom we cure and send home.[a]

After this, we have many congratulations from divers Sachems, and much firmer peace. Yea, those of the Isle of Capawak send to secure our friendship; and CORBITANT himself uses the mediation of MASASSOIT to be reconciled.[a] Yea, CANONICUS, Chief Sachem of the Narragansetts, sends a messenger to treat of peace.[b]

Beginning of *September*. Sir WILLIAM ALEXANDER,[c] of Scotland[d]; afterwards Earl of STIRLING, having prevailed on

---

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [b] *MOURT's Relation*.
[c] Sir F. GORGES. [d] PURCHAS.

King JAMES to send to Sir F. GORGES, to assign to him part of the New England territory[a]: Sir FERDINAND, being entrusted with the affairs of this country, advising with some of the Company, yields that Sir WILLIAM should have a *Patent* of the North Eastern part of New England; to be held of the Crown of Scotland, and called Nova Scotia.[b] Whereupon, presently,[a] *viz.*,

September 10. King JAMES gives Sir WILLIAM ALEXANDER, a *Patent* for Nova Scotia: bounding the same, from Cape Sable to the Bay of St. Mary, thence north to the river St. Croix, thence north to Canada river, so down the river to Gachepe, thence south-east to Cape Breton islands and Cape Breton, thence round to Cape Sable again: with all the seas and islands within six leagues of the western, northern, and eastern parts; and within forty leagues to the southward of Cape Breton and Cape Sable. To be called Nova Scotia, &c.[b,c]

September 13. Nine Sachems subscribe an Instrument of Submission to King JAMES, viz.: OHQUAMEHAD, CAWNACOME, OBBATINNUA, NATTAWAHUNT, CAUNBATANT,[d] CHIKKATABAK, QUADAQUINA, HUTTAMOIDEN, and APPANOW.[e] Yea, MASASSOIT, in writing, under his hand, to Captain STANDISH, has owned the King of England to be his master; both he, and many other Kings under him, as of Pamet, Nawset, Cummaquid, Namasket, with divers others who dwell about the Bays of Patuxet and Massachusett: and all this, by friendly usage, love and peace, just and honest carriage, good counsel, &c.[f]

Though we are told the Massachusetts often threaten us, yet the Company think good to send among them,[f] to discover the Bay,[g] see the country, make peace,[f] and trade with the natives.[g] The Governor chooses ten men, with SQUANTO and two other savages, to go in the shallop.[f]

September 18 [being Tuesday]. At midnight, the tide serving, we set sail.

Next day, get into the bottom of the Massachusetts

---

[a] GORGES. [b] PURCHAS. [c] Taken from the Latin *Patent*, in PURCHAS.
[d] I suppose the same with CORBITANT. [e] MORTON's *Memorial*.
[f] *MOURT's Relations*. [g] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.

Bay, about twenty leagues north from Plymouth; and anchor.

Next morning, we land under a cliff. The Sachem of this place is OBBATINEWAT[a]; and though he lives in the bottom of this Bay, yet is subject to MASASSOIT. Uses us kindly, and tells us he dare not now remain in any settled place, for fear of the Tarratines[b]; who live to the Eastward, are wont to come at harvest and take away their corn, and many times kill them[c]; and that the Squaw Sachem or Massachusetts Queen is an enemy to him. He submits to the King of England; upon our promising to be his safeguard against his enemies. We cross the Bay, which is very large, and seems to have fifty islands.

Next morning, all, but two, go ashore, march three miles into the country, where corn had been newly gathered. A mile hence, their late King NANEPASHEMET had lived. His house was built on a large scaffold six feet high, and on the top of a hill. Not far hence, in a bottom, we come to a fort he had built; the *pallizadoes* thirty or forty feet high; but one way in, over a bridge. In the midst of the *pallizado* stands the frame of a house, where he lies buried. The natives, at first, fly from us; but are, at length, induced to meet us here; and entertain us in the best manner they can. Having traded with us, and the day nearly spent; we return to the shallop.

Within this Bay, the savages say, are two rivers, one of which we saw, having a fair entrance. Better harbour for shipping cannot be than here. Most of the islands have been inhabited, being cleared from end to end; but their inhabitants all dead or removed.

Having a light moon, we set sail at evening; and before next day, noon, get home,[d] with a considerable quantity of beaver, and a good report of the place: wishing we had been seated there.[c]

All the summer, no want: while some were trading;

[a] I suppose the same as OBBATINNUA, who subscribed his submission to King JAMES, on *September* 13 last [*see previous page*]. [b] SMITH.
[c] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [d] *MOURT's Relation*.

others were fishing for cod, bass, &c. We now gather in our harvest. And as cold weather advances, come in store of water fowl, wherewith this place abounds; though afterwards, they, by degrees, decrease: as also abundance of wild turkeys, with venison, &c. Fit our houses against winter; are in health, and have all things in plenty.[a]

November 9. Arrives a ship at Cape Cod,[a,b] and the 10th,[a] the Indians bring us word of her being near; but think her a Frenchman. Upon her making for our bay, the Governor orders a piece to be fired, to call home such as are abroad at work[c]; and we get ready for defence. But, unexpectedly, we find her a friend,[b] of 55 tons,[d,e] called the *Fortune*; in which comes Master CUSHMAN,[a] with thirty-five persons[a,f] to live in the Plantation, which not a little rejoices us. But both ship and passengers poorly furnished with provisions; so that we are forced to spare her some, to carry her home: which threatens a famine among us, unless we have a timely supply.

She sailed from London, the beginning of *July*,[a] could not clear the Channel till the end of *August*[d,e]; and brings a letter for Master CARVER from Master WESTON, dated *July* 6, wherein he writes, "We [*i.e., the Adventurers*] have procured you a *Charter*, the best we could; better than your former, and with less limitation."[a] [See *pp.* 442, 454.]

She finds all our people, she [*or rather*, that were] left in *April*, in health, except six who died; and stays a month ere she sails for England.[d,e]

December 11. We have built seven dwelling-houses; four for the use of the Plantation; and have made provision for divers others. Both MASASSOIT, the greatest King of the natives, and all the princes and people round us, have made peace with us. Seven of them, at once, sent messengers for this end. And as we cannot but account it an extraordinary blessing of GOD in directing our course for these parts; we obtained the honour to receive Allowance of our possessing and enjoy-

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [b] *MOURT's Relation*.
[c] SMITH places this on *November* 11; but *November* 11 being Lord's Day, we [thus] discover his mistake.
[d] SMITH. [e] PURCHAS. [f] WINSLOW's *Relation*.

ing thereof, under the authority of the President and Council for the affairs of New England.[a]

December 13. The ship sails[b,c], *viz.*, the *Fortune*[d,e], laden with two hogsheads of beaver and other skins, and good clapboards, as full as she can hold. The freight estimated at nearly £500.

Master CUSHMAN returning in her; as the Adventurers had appointed, for their better information.

But in her voyage,[d] as she draws near the English coast; is seized by the French, carried to France,[d] into the Ile Dieu,[b,c] kept there,[d] fourteen[b,c] or fifteen days; robbed of all she had worth taking; then the people and ship released, get to London[d] *February* 14[b,c] or 17.[d]

Upon her departure, the Governor and his Assistant dispose the late comers into several families; find their provisions will now scarcely hold out six months, at half allowance; and therefore put them to it, which they bare patiently.[d]

1622.

SOON after the ship's departure, that great people of the Narragansetts,[d,f] said to be many thousand strong,[f] can raise above 5,000 fighting men[g]; notwithstanding their desired and obtained peace with us, in the foregoing summer, begin to breathe forth many threats against us; so that it is the common talk of all the Indians round us, of their preparations to come against us. At length, CANONICUS, their chief Sachem,[f] in a braving manner, sends a bundle of arrows tied with a snake skin; which SQUANTO tells us is a challenge and threatening. Whereupon, our Governor, with advice of others, sends them an answer, "That if they would rather war than peace, they might

[a] *MOURT's Relation.* [b] SMITH. [c] PURCHAS.
[d] Governor BRADFORD's *History.*
[e] Governor BRADFORD says, we despatched her in fourteen days; but SMITH and PURCHAS say she stayed a month; and Master E[DWARD] W[INSLOW], dating his letter by this ship, on *December* 11; we may suppose Governor BRADFORD meant fourteen days from her being unladen. SMITH and PURCHAS say, she was laden with three hogsheads of beaver skins, wainscot, walnut; and PURCHAS says, some sassafras.
[f] WINSLOW's *Relation.* [g] GOOKIN *Of the Indians.*

begin when they would. We had done them no wrong, nor do we fear them; nor should they find us unprovided." By another messenger, we send back the snake skin charged with powder and bullets; but they refuse to receive it, and return it to us.[a,b]

Since the death of so many Indians, they thought to lord it over the rest; conceive we are a bar in their way, and see MASASSOIT already take shelter under our wings.[a]

This makes us more carefully to look to ourselves, and agree to enclose our dwellings with strong pales, flankers, gates.[a,b]

February. We impale our town, taking in the top of the hill under which our town is seated; make four bulwarks or jetties, whence we can defend the whole town; in three whereof are gates,[b] which are locked every night; a watch and ward kept in the day.[a] The Governor and Captain divide the Company into four squadrons[a,b] with commanders[b]; every one his quarter assigned, to repair to, in any alarm. And if there be a cry of "Fire!" a Company is appointed for a guard, with muskets, while others quench it, to prevent treachery.[a,b] [*See p.* 459.]

This spring. There go from the West of England to the [North Eastern] coasts of New England, thirty-five ships to fish.[c,d]

Beginning of *March*. By this time our town is impaled; enclosing a garden for every family.[a] [*See p.* 285.]

End of *March*.[a] We prepare for a second voyage to the Massachusetts. But HOBAMAK tells us, that from some rumours, he fears they are joined with the *Narragansetti*; and may betray us, if we are not careful: and has also a jealousy of SQUANTO, from some private whisperings between him and other Indians. However we resolve to proceed.[a,b] And

Beginning of *April*. We send our shallop[a,b] with Captain STANDISH,[b] and ten of our chief men; with HOBAMAK and SQUANTO.[a] But they had no sooner turned the "Gurnet," or Point of the harbour,[b] than a native of SQUANTO's family comes running with his face wounded, and blood fresh upon it, calling to the people abroad to make haste home:

---

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [b] WINSLOW's *Relation*.
[c] PURCHAS. [d] SMITH.

declaring that the Narragansetts with CORBITANT, and he thought MASASSOIT, were coming[a] to assault us in the Captain's absence; that he had received the wound in the face, for speaking for us; and that he had escaped by flight,[b] looking frequently back, as if they were just behind him."

Upon this, the Governor orders all to arms, and a warning piece or two to be fired, to call back the shallop. At which, she returns. And we watch all night, but nothing is seen. HOBAMAK is confidant for his master, and thinks all safe. Yet the Governor causes him to send his wife privately[a] to Pacanokik,[b] to see how things are; pretending other occasions; who finds all in quiet.[a]

Upon this, we discover it to be SQUANTO's policy to set us against MASASSOIT; that he being removed out of the way, SQUANTO might succeed as principal King of all these parts of the country.[b]

After which, the shallop proceeds to the Massachusetts, has good trade, and returns in safety.[a]

May. Our provisions being spent, a[a] famine begins to pinch us; and we look hard for supply, but none arrives.[a]

End of *May*. We spy a boat at sea, which we take to be a Frenchman; but proves a shallop from a ship[a,b] called the *Sparrow*[b]; which Masters WESTON[a,b] and BEACHAMP[a] set out a fishing at Damarin's Cove, forty leagues to the Eastward[a,b]; where, this year, are thirty sail of ships a fishing.[b] She brings a letter to Master CARVER from Master WESTON, of *January* 17[a] [1622]; with seven passengers on his account; but no victuals,[a,b] nor hope of any. Nor have we ever any afterwards. And, by this letter, find he has quite deserted us; and is going to settle a Plantation of his own.[a]

The boat brings us a kind letter from Master JOHN HUDDLESTON[a] or HUDSON,[c] a Captain of a ship fishing at the Eastward, whose name we never heard before, to inform us of a massacre of four hundred English by the Indians at Virginia, whence he came.[d]

---

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [b] WINSLOW's *Relation*.
[c] MORTON's *Memorial*.
[d] This massacre was on *March* 22 [1622] last, (SMITH, PURCHAS), being Friday. (PURCHAS.) And SMITH and PURCHAS reckon up 347 English people slain.

By this boat, the Governor returns a grateful answer; and with them sends Master WINSLOW in a boat of ours, to get provisions of the fishing ships; whom Captain HUDDLESTON receives kindly, and not only spares what he can, but writes to others to do the like. By which means, he gets as much bread as amounts to a quarter of a pound a person a day till harvest: and returns in safety. The Governor causes their portion to be *daily* given them; or some had starved. And by this voyage we not only get a present supply; but also learn the way to those parts for our future benefit.[a]

At Master WINSLOW's return, he finds the colony much weaker than he left it. The want of bread had abated the strength and flesh of some, had swelled others, and had they not been where are divers sorts of shell fish, they must have perished. These extremities befel us in May and June: and, in the time of these straits, and indeed before Master WINSLOW went to Monhiggon, the Indians began to cast forth many insulting speeches, glorying in our weakness, and giving out how easy it would be, ere long, to cut us off. Which occasions us to erect a fort, on the hill above us.[b] [*See p.* 285.]

End of *June*, or beginning of *July*. Come into our harbour two ships of Master WESTON, the *Charity*,[b] of 100 tons,[c,d] and *Swan*,[b] of 30[c,d]; with his letter of *April* 10,[a] and fifty or sixty men sent at his own charge,[b] to settle a Plantation for him in the Massachusetts Bay; for which he had procured a *Patent*.[e] They sailed from London about the last of *April*.[c,d]

The *Charity*, the bigger ship, leaves them, having many passengers to carry to Virginia.[b] We allow this people

---

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [b] WINSLOW's *Relation*.
[c] SMITH. [d] PURCHAS.
[e] SMITH and PURCHAS say, there were sixty passengers. Governor BRADFORD says, about 60 stout men. But MORTON mistakes in calling the *Swan*, the *Sparrow*. SMITH and PURCHAS mistake, in saying they come to supply the Plantation; whereas they come from Master WESTON to begin another. And, as the Manuscript Letter tells us, "they came upon no religious design, as did the Planters at Plymouth," so they were far from being Puritans.

housing; and many being sick, they have the best means our place affords.[a,b]

By Master WESTON's ship, comes a letter from Master JOHN PIERCE, in whose name the Plymouth *Patent* is taken; signifying that whom the Governor admits into the Association, he will approve.[a] [*See pp.* 437, 454.]

July 16. Our number is about a hundred persons, all in health[c] [*i.e.*, free from sickness, though not from weakness]; nearly sixty acres of ground well planted with corn, besides gardens replenished with useful fruits.[c,d]

This summer, we build a timber fort, both strong and comely, with flat roof and battlements: on which ordnance are mounted, a watch kept, and it also serves as a place of public worship.[a] [*See p.* 285.]

Master WESTON's people stay here the most part of the summer[a]: while some seek out a place for them. They exceedingly waste and steal our corn; and yet secretly revile us. At length, their coasters return; having found in the Massachusetts Bay, a place they judge fit for settlement, named Wichaguscusset,[e] or Wesagusquasset,[f] or Wessagusset[g]; since called Weymouth. [*See pp.* 451, 458.]

Whither, upon their ship [*i.e.*, the *Charity*] returning from Virginia,[a] the body of them go: leaving their sick and lame with us[e] till they had built some housing[a]; whom our Surgeon, by GOD's help recovers gratis, and they afterwards fetch home,[e] nor have we any recompence for our courtesy, nor desired it.

They prove an unruly company, have no good government over them; by disorder will soon fall to want, if Master

---

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [c] PURCHAS. [d] SMITH.

[b] Master WESTON, in a letter, owns that "many of them are rude and profane fellows." Master CUSHMAN, in another, writes, "They are no men for us; and I fear they will hardly deal so well with the savages, as they should. I pray you, therefore, signify to SQUANTO that they are a distinct body from us: and we have nothing to do with them, nor must be blamed for their faults; much less can we warrant their fidelity." And Master JOHN PIERCE, in another, writes, "As for Master WESTON's Company, they are so base in condition, for the most part; as, in all appearance, not fit for an honest man's company. I wish they prove otherwise." (BRADFORD.)

[e] WINSLOW's *Relation*.

[f] MORTON's *Memorial*.

[g] A Manuscript Letter.

WESTON come not quickly among them.[a] Nor had they been long from us, ere the Indians fill our ears with clamours against them, for stealing their corn, and other abuses.[b]

Our crop proving scanty, partly through weakness through want of food, to tend it; partly through other business; and partly by much being stolen: a famine must ensue next year, unless prevented.[a] But

End of *August*,[b] by an unexpected Providence,[a] come into our harbour two ships, *viz.*, the *Sparrow*, Master WESTON's; who having "made" her voyage of fish,[b] goes to Virginia[a,b]: where both she and her fish are sold.

The other, called the *Discovery*,[b] Captain JONES, Commander,[a,b] in her way from Virginia, homeward; being set out by some merchants to discover the shoals about Cape Cod, and harbours between this and Virginia. Of her, we buy knives and beads (which are now good trade) though at *cent. per cent.* or more; and yet pay away coat beaver at 3*s.* a lb. (which, a few years after, yield 20*s.*) By which means, we are fitted to trade; both for corn and beaver.[a]

In this ship, comes Master JOHN POREY, who had been Secretary in Virginia; and is going home in her. Who, after his departure, sends the Governor a letter of thanks, dated *August* 28, wherein he highly commends Masters AINSWORTH's and ROBINSON's Works: And, after his return to England, does this poor Plantation much credit among those of no mean rank.[a,c]

End of *September*, or beginning of *October*. Master WESTON's biggest ship, the *Charity*, returns to England; leaving his people sufficiently victualled. The lesser, *viz.*, the *Swan*, remains with his Plantation; for their further help.[b]

---

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [b] WINSLOW's *Relation*.

[c] Master WINSLOW and Mr. HUBBARD seem to mistake, in thinking Captain JONES was now bound for Virginia; and Master MORTON, in thinking Master POREY was going home in Master WESTON's ship, wherein his men came [*viz.*, the *Charity*, which Master WINSLOW says, sailed for England at the end of *September*, or beginning of *October*]: unless Master POREY went in the *Charity*, from Plymouth to Wessagusset, and there wrote his letter of *August* 28; and then both Master WINSLOW and Mr. MORTON may be right. But Governor BRADFORD is mistaken, in thinking he was going home in JONES's ship.

Shortly after harvest, Master WESTON's people at the Massachusetts, having by disorder, much wasted their provisions; begin to perceive a want approaching, and hearing we had bought commodities, and designed to trade for corn; they write to the Governor to join with us, offer their small ship for the service, and pray to let them have some of our commodities: which the Governor condescends to; designing to go round Cape Cod to the southward, where store of corn may be obtained.[a] But are often crossed in our purposes. As first, Master RICHARD GREEN, brother-in-law to Master Weston; who, from him, had the charge of this colony, dies suddenly at Plymouth.[b] Then Captain STANDISH,[a,b] with SQUANTO for guide,[a] twice sets forth with them; but is driven back by violent winds.[c] The second time, the Captain falls ill of a fever.[b]

November. The Governor goes with them: but seeing no passage through the shoals of Cape Cod, puts into a harbour at Manamoyk. That evening, the Governor, with SQUANTO and others, go ashore to the Indian houses; stay all night, trade with the natives, get eight hogsheads of corn and beans.[b]

Here SQUANTO falls sick of a fever, bleeding much at the nose; which the Indians reckon a fatal symptom: and here, in a few days, dies. Desiring the Governor "to pray that he might go to the Englishman's GOD in heaven;" bequeathing his things to sundry of his English friends, as remembrances of his love. Of whom, we have a great loss.[a]

Thence, sail to the Massachusetts; find a great sickness among the natives, not unlike the plague, if not the same; must give as much for a quart of corn, as we used for a beaver's skin. The savages renew their complaints to our Governor, against those English.

---

[a] Governor BRADFORD's History. [b] WINSLOW's *Relation*.

[c] This seems to be about the latter end of *October*, for which, Governor BRADFORD seems to mistake, in writing the latter end of *September*; where he says, "it was after harvest [*i.e., Indian harvest*] that Master WESTON's People began to perceive a want approaching; and wrote to the Governor of Plymouth, to join in trading for corn &c."

Then, sail to Nauset, buy eight or ten hogsheads of corn and beans; as also at Mattachiest.[a] But our shallop being cast away, we cannot get our corn aboard [the *Swan*]. Our Governor causes it to be stacked and covered; and charges the Indians with it [*puts it in their care*].

He procures a guide, sets out a foot, being fifty miles; receiving all respect from the natives, by the way: weary, and with galled feet, comes home.

Three days after, the ship comes also: and the corn being divided; Master WESTON's People return to their Plantation.[b]

1623.

January. CAPTAIN STANDISH being recovered, takes another shallop, sails to Nauset; finds the corn left there, in safety; mends the other shallop, gets the corn aboard the ship [the *Swan*]: but it being very wet and stormy, is obliged to cut the shallops from the stern of the ship, and and loose them; but the storm being over, finds them.

While we lodge ashore, an Indian steals some trifles out of the shallop, as she lay in a creek: which, when the Captain missed, he takes some of the company, goes to the Sachem, requires the goods, or would revenge it on them before he left them.

On the morrow, the Sachem comes to our rendezvous, with many men; salutes the Captain, licking his hand, and bowing down: says, "he had beaten the stealer," "was very sorry for the fact;" orders the women, to make and bring us bread; and is glad to be reconciled.

So we come home; and divide the corn as before.[b]

After this, the Governor, with another company, goes to Namasket; buys corn there: where a great

[a] Governor BRADFORD says, they get 26 or 28 hogsheads of corn and beans, in all; for both Plantations. [b] WINSLOW'S *Relation*.

sickness rising among the natives, our People fetch it home.[a]

The Governor also, with HOBAMAK and others, go to Manomet, a town nearly twenty miles south of Plymouth; stands on a fresh river running into a bay[b]; towards Narragansett, which cannot be less than sixty miles from thence. It will bear a boat of eight or ten tons, to this place. Hither, the Dutch or French, or both, used to come. It is from hence to the Bay of Cape Cod, about eight miles; out of which Bay, the sea flows into a creek about six miles, almost directly towards the town. The heads of this creek and river are nor far distant.[c] The Sachem of this place is CAUNACUM, who, [a] *September* 13 last,[d] with many others, owned themselves subjects of King JAMES: and now uses the Governor very kindly.

The Governor lodging here in a bitter night, buys corn; but leaves it in the Sachem's custody."[a]

February. Having not much corn left: Captain STANDISH goes again, with six men, in the shallop to Mattachiest: meeting with the like extreme weather, being frozen in the harbour, the first night; gets a good quantity of corn of the natives.

Through extremity, is forced to lodge in their houses; which they much press, with a design to kill him: as after appeared. For now begins a Conspiracy among the Indians to destroy the English, though to us unknown: but the Captain ordering his men to keep awake by turns, is saved.

---

[b] This is called Manomet Bay, though these new comers seem to mistake it for Narraganset Bay, which is nearly twenty leagues to the westward. [a] WINSLOW's *Relation.*

[c] This creek runs out easterly into Cape Cod Bay, at Scusset harbour; and this river runs out westerly into Monomet bay. The distance overland from bay to bay is but six miles. The creek and river nearly meet in a low ground; and this is the place through which, there has been a talk of making a canal, this forty years: which would be a vast advantage to all these countries, by saving a long and dangerous navigation round the Cape, and through the shoals adjoining. [d] MORTON's *Memorial.*

Here, also, an Indian steals some trifles, which the Captain no sooner perceived; but, though he had no more than six men with him, yet he draws them from the boat; besets the Sachem's house, where most of the people were; and threatens to fall upon them, without delay, if they would not forthwith restore them: signifying, that as he would not offer the least injury, so he would not receive any, without due satisfaction. Hereupon, the Sachem finds out the party, and makes him return the goods.

This act so daunts their courage, that they dare not attempt anything against the Captain; but to appease his anger, bring corn afresh to trade: so as he lades his shallop, and comes home in safety.[a]

End of *February*. An Indian comes from JOHN SANDERS, the Overseer of Master WESTON's men, at the Massachusetts,[a] with a letter showing the great wants they were fallen into[b]; that having spent all their bread and corn,[a] would have borrowed a hogshead of the natives; but they would lend him none. He desired advice, whether he might take it by force, to support his men till he returns[b] from Monhiggon, where is a Plantation of Sir F. GORGES; and whither he is going, to buy bread of the ships that come there a fishing.[a]

But the Governor with others, despatch the messengers with letters to dissuade him, by all means, from such a violence[a,b]; exhorting them to make a shift as we, who have so little corn left, that we are forced to live on ground nuts, clams, mussels, &c.

Upon receiving our letters, Master SANDERS alters his purpose, comes first to Plymouth: where, notwithstanding our necessities, we spare him some corn to carry him to Monhiggon.[a] And

End of *February*, he goes thither, with a shallop; without knowing anything of the Indian Conspiracy, before he sails.[a]

This spring, go from England to the [North East] coasts of New England, about forty ships to fish; who "make" a far better voyage than ever.[c]

---

[a] WINSLOW's *Relation*.
[b] Governor BRADFORD's *Memorial*.
[c] SMITH.

Beginning of *March*. The Captain having refreshed himself, takes a shallop, and goes to Manomet for the corn the Governor had bought.[a]

Being, with two of his men, far from the boat, at CAUNACUM's house, two natives come in from the Massachusetts; the chief of whom is WITUWAMET (a notable, insulting Indian, who had formerly embrued his hands in the blood, both of French and English) who derides our weakness, and boasts his valour. He came, as appears afterwards, to engage CAUNACUM in the Conspiracy.

The weather being cold, they would persuade the Captain to send to the boat, for the rest of his company: but he refusing, they help to carry the corn. There,[b] a lusty savage of Paomet, had undertaken to kill him in the *Rendezvous*, before they part: but the night being exceedingly cold, the Captain could not rest without turning his sides to the fire continually; so hereby the Indian missed his opportunity.

The next day, the Indian would fain persuade the Captain to go to Paomet; where he had much corn: and the Captain put forth with him; but the wind forcing them back, they come to Plymouth.[c]

March. While the Captain was at Manomet; news comes to Plymouth that MASASSOIT is likely to die; and that a Dutch ship is driven ashore before his house so high, that she could not be got off, till the tides increase. Upon which, the Governor sends Master EDWARD WINSLOW and Master JOHN HAMBDEN, a gentleman of London, with HOBAMAK, to visit and help him; and speak with the Dutch.

The first night, we lodge at Namasket.

Next day, at one o'clock, come to a ferry in CORBITANT's country; and three miles further to Mattapuyst his dwelling-place, though he is no friend to us: but find him gone to Pakanokik, about five or six miles off.

[a] It seems as if the Captain went into Scussit harbour; which goes up westward towards Manomet.

[b] SMITH says, Scar a lusty savage &c. But SMITH taking his *History* from this of WINSLOW's, I suspect the printer mistook "Scar" for "there," in SMITH's *written* Abridgment.

[c] WINSLOW's *Relation*.

Late within night, we get thither; whence the Dutch had departed, about two in the afternoon: find MASASSOIT extremely low, his sight gone, his teeth fixed, having swallowed nothing for two days: but using means, he surprisingly revives.

We stay and help him two nights and two days. At the end of the latter, taking our leave, he expresses his great thankfulness.

We come and lodge with CORBITANT at Mattapuyst; who wonders that we, being but two, should be so venturous.

Next day, on our journey, HOBAMAK tells us, that, at his coming away, MASASSOIT privately charged him to tell Master WINSLOW, "There was a plot of the Massachusuks against WESTON's people; and, lest we should revenge it, against us also: that the Indians of Paomet, Nauset, Mattachiest, Succonet,[a] the Isle of Capawak, Manomet, and Agawaywom are joined with them: and advises us, by all means, as we value our lives and the lives of our countrymen, to kill the conspirators at Massachusetts, and the plot would cease; and without delay, or it would be too late." That night, we lodge at Namasket.

The next day, get home: where we find Captain STANDISH had sailed this day for the Massachusetts, but contrary winds had driven him back; and the Paomet Indian still soliciting the Captain to go with him.

At the same time, WISSAPINEWAT, another Sachem, brother to OBTAKIEST, Sachem of the Massachusetts, reveals the same thing.[b]

March 23. Being a Yearly Court Day, the Governor communicates his intelligence to the whole Company, and asks their advice: who leave it to the Governor, with his Assistant and the Captain, to do as they think most meet. Upon this, they order the Captain to take as many men as he thinks sufficient, to go forthwith and fall on the conspirators; but

[a] Whether this was Succonest, since named Falmouth; or Seconet, since named Little Compton, seems uncertain.

[b] WINSLOW's *Relation*.

to forbear till he makes sure of WITUWAMET, the bloody savage before spoken of.

The Captain takes but eight, lest he should raise a jealousy.[a]

The next day, comes one of WESTON's men,[a] through the the woods to Plymouth; though he knew not a step of the way, but indeed had lost the path: which was a happy mistake. For being pursued,[b] the Indians[a] thereby missed him[a]; but by little, and went to Manomet.[a]

The man makes a pitiful narration of their weak and dangerous state; with the insults of the Indians over them. And that to give the savages content, since SANDERS went to Monhiggon, they had hanged one [of their number], who had stole their corn[a]; though he was bedridden[a]: and yet they were not satisfied. Some died with cold and hunger. One in gathering shell fish, was so weak that he stuck in the mud, and was found dead in the place. The rest were ready to starve; and he dare stay no longer.[a,b]

The next day [*March* 25], the Captain sails, and arrives there; is suspected, insulted, and threatened by the savages. But, at length, watching an opportunity, having WITUWAMET and PEKSUOT a notable *Pinese* (*i.e.*, counsellor and warrior), with another man, and a brother of WITUWAMET; with as many of his own men together: he falls upon them, and after a violent struggle slays the three former with their own knives; orders the last to be hanged. Goes to another place, kills another. Fights, and makes the rest to fly. And Master WESTON's men kill two more. But the Captain releases the Indian women, would not take their beaver coats, nor suffer the least discourtesy to be offered them.[a]

Upon this, Master WESTON's people resolve to leave their Plantation. The Captain tells them, "For his own part, he dare live here with fewer men than they: yet since they were otherwise minded, according to his orders,[a] offers to bring them to Plymouth; where they

[a] WINSLOW's *Relation*. [b] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.
[d] His name was PHINEAS PRAT (MORTON); and is living in 1677. (HUBBARD.) [c] *HUDIBRAS*.

should fare as well as we, till Master WESTON or some supply comes to them. Or if they better liked any other course, he would help them as well as he could."

Upon this, they desire him to let them have corn, and they would go with their small ship[a] to Monhiggon,[b] where they may hear from Master WESTON, or have some supply from him; seeing the time of year is come for the fishing ships to be there: or, otherwise, would work with the fishermen for their living, and get their passage to England.

So they ship what they have.[a] He lets them have all the corn he can spare, scarcely keeping enough to last him home; sees them, under sail, well out of the Massachusetts Bay[a,b]; not taking of them the worth of a penny.[a]

With some few of their Company, who desire it; he returns to Plymouth: bringing the head of WITUWAMET, which he sets up on the fort.[b]

Thus this Plantation is broken up in a year.

And this is the end of those, who, being all able men, had boasted of their strength, and what they would bring to pass in comparison with the People of Plymouth; who had many women, children, and weak ones with them.[a] [*See p.* 458.]

While Captain STANDISH was gone, the savage who went [*after PHINEAS PRAT*] to Manomet, returning through our town, was secured till the Captain came back: then confessed the plot; and says, that OBTAKIEST was drawn to it, by the importunity of his people. Is now sent to inform him of the grounds of our proceedings; and require him to send us the three Englishmen among them.

After some time, OBTAKIEST persuades an Indian woman to come and tell the Governor, "he was sorry they were killed, before he heard from us; or he would have sent them," and desires peace.[a]

But this action so amazes the natives, that they forsake their houses, run to and fro, live in swamps, &c.: which brings on them sundry diseases, whereof many die; as CAUN-

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [b] WINSLOW's *Relation*.

NACUM, Sachem of Manomet; ASPINET, Sachem of Nawset; IYANOUGH, Sachem of Mattachiest, and many others are still daily dying among them.

From one of those places, a boat is sent to the Governor, with presents to work their peace: but, not far from Plymouth, is cast away, when three are drowned; and one escaping, dares not come to us.[a]

Beginning of *April*. No supply being heard of, nor knowing when to expect any: we consider how to raise a better crop; and not to languish still in misery. We range all the youth under some family, agree that every family plant for their own particular private interest and consumption, and trust to themselves for food[b]; but, at harvest, bring in a competent portion for the maintenance of Public Officers, fishermen, &c.[a]: and in all other things go on in the General Way [*i.e.*, *Joint Fund* or *Stock*], as before. For this end, assign every family a parcel of land, in proportion to their number though make *no division for inheritance* [*pp.* 462, 477, 635], which has very good success, makes all industrious, gives content: even the women and children now go into the field; and much more corn is planted than ever.[b]

Captain JOHN MASON,[c] who had been Governor of Newfoundland,[d] Sir F. GORGES, and other gentlemen of Shrewsbury, Bristol, Dorchester, Plymouth, Exeter, and other places in the West of England; having obtained *Patents* of the New England Council, for several parts of this country[c]: they, this spring,[c] send over Master DAVID THOMPSON,[c] or TOMPSON, a Scotchman,[a] with Master EDWARD HILTON, and his brother WILLIAM HILTON, with others, to begin a settlement.[a] And Master TOMPSON now begins one, twenty-five leagues north-east from Plymouth, near Smith's Isles, at a place called Pascatoquack.[a] The place first seized is called the Little Harbour, on the west side of Pascataqua river, and near the mouth: where the first house is built, called Mason Hall. But the HILTONS set up their stages higher up the river at [Cochecho], since named, Dover.[a]

This year [and I conclude, this spring] there are also some

[a] WINSLOW's *Relation*. [b] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.
[c] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History*. [d] Sir F. GORGES.

scattering beginnings made at Monhiggon, and some other places, by sundry others.[a] But about Pascataqua river, there seem not many other buildings erected, till after 1631.[b]

Shortly after Master WESTON's people went to the Eastward, he comes there himself, with some of the fishermen, under another name, and in the disguise of a blacksmith; where he hears the ruin of his Plantation. And getting a shallop, with a man or two, comes on to see how things are; but in a storm is cast away in the bottom of the Bay, between Pascataquak and Merrimak river[c]; and hardly escapes with with his life. Afterwards, he falls into the hands of the Indians, who pillage him of all he saved from the sea, and strip him of all his clothes to his shirt. At length, he gets to Pascataquak, borrows a suit of clothes, finds means to come to Plymouth, and desires to borrow some beaver of us.

Notwithstanding our straits, we let him have 170 odd lbs. of beaver [*if worth* 3*s. a lb.* = £26, *or in present value* £100; *if worth* 20*s. a lb* = £170 *or* £700 *now-a-days*]. With which he goes to the Eastward, stays his small ship [the *Swan*] and some of his men, buys provisions and fits himself: which is the foundation of his future courses; and yet never repaid us anything save reproaches, and becomes our enemy on all occasions.[a]

Middle of *April.* We begin to set our corn, the setting season being good till the latter end of May.[d] But by the time our corn is planted, our victuals are spent: not knowing at night where to have a bit in the morning. And have neither bread nor corn, *for three or four months together.* Yet bear our wants with cheerfulness, and rest on Providence.[a]

Having but one boat left, we divide the men into several companies, six or seven in each; who take their turns to go out with a net and fish, and return not till they get some, though they be five or six days out: knowing there is nothing at home, and to return empty would be a great discouragement. When they stay long, or get but little; the rest go a digging for shell fish. And thus we live the summer, only

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History.* [b] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History.*
[c] And so says Mr. MORTON: Mr. HUBBARD, therefore, seems to mistake, in writing Ipswich Bay. [d] WINSLOW's *Relation.*

sending one or two, to range the woods for deer. They now and then get one, which we divide among the Company. And in the winter, are helped with fowl and ground nuts.

At length, we receive letters from the Adventurers in England, of *December* 22, and *April* 9 last: wherein they say, "It rejoiceth us much to hear these good reports, that divers have brought home of you," and give an account

That last fall,[a] *October* 16,[b] a ship, the *Paragon*, sailed from London, with passengers,[a] 37,[c] or rather 67,[b] for New Plymouth: being fitted out by Master JOHN PIERCE, in whose name our first *Patent* was taken; his name being only used in trust. [*See pp.* 437, 442.]

But when he saw we were hopefully seated; and by the success GOD gave us, had obtained favour with the Council for New England: he gets another *Patent*, of larger extent; meaning to keep it to himself, allow us only what he pleased, hold us as his tenants, and sue to his courts as Chief Lord.

But meeting with tempestuous storms,[d] in the Downs,[d] the ship is so bruised and leaky, that in fourteen days, she returned[a] to London[d]; was forced to be put into the dock, £100 [=£400 *now*] laid out to mend her, and lay six or seven weeks, to *December* 22, before she sailed a second time.

But, being half way over, met with extreme tempestuous weather, about the middle of *February*, which held fourteen days; beat off the round house [*the Captain's cabin*] with all her upper works; obliged them to cut her mast, and return to Portsmouth; having 109 souls aboard, with Master PIERCE himself.

Upon which great loss and disappointment; he is prevailed upon for £500 to resign his *Patent* to the Company[e]; which cost him but £50: and the goods, with charge of passengers in this ship cost the Company £640. For which, they were forced to hire another ship, *viz.*, the *Ann*, of 140 tons, to transport

---

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [b] PURCHAS. [c] SMITH.
[e] By this Company seems to be meant the Adventurers to Plymouth Colony. [*See p.* 285.] [d] MORTON's *Memorial*.

them; *viz.*, 60 passengers and 60 tons of goods; hoping to sail by the end of *April*.[a]

End of *June*. Arrives a ship, with Captain FRANCIS WEST; who has a Commission to be Admiral of New England, to restrain such ships as come to fish and trade without licence from the New England Council: for which they should pay a round sum of money. Tell us they spake with a ship at sea, and were aboard her; having sundry passengers bound for this Plantation; but she lost her mast in a storm which quickly followed: and they wonder she is not arrived, and fear some miscarriage, which fills us with trouble.

But Master WEST finding the fishermen stubborn fellows, and too strong for him, sails for Virginia; and their owners complaining to the Parliament, procure an order that fishing should be free.[a]

Middle of *July*. Nothwithstanding our great pains, and hopes of a large crop, GOD seems to blast them; and threaten sorer famine by a great drought and heat, from the third week in *May* to the middle of this month,[b] so as the corn withers,[a] both the blade and stalk, as if it were utterly dead. Now are our hopes overthrown, and we discouraged; our joy turned into mourning; and to add to our sorrowful state, our hearing the supply sent us in company with another ship, three hundred leagues at sea; and now in three months, see nothing of her; only signs of a wreck on the coast, which we can judge no other than she. The more courageous are now discouraged.

Upon this, the Public Authority[c] sets apart a Day of Humiliation and Prayer, to seek the LORD in this distress: Who was pleased to give speedy answer; to our own, and the Indians' admiration [*wonderment*].

For though in the former part of the day, it was very clear and hot, without a cloud or sign of rain: yet, towards evening,[a,c] before the Exercise is over, the clouds gather;

---

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.

[b] Mr. MORTON mistaking Governor BRADFORD, wrongly placed this drought in the preceding year; and Mr. HUBBARD follows Mr. MORTON's mistake.

[c] WINSLOW's *Relation*.

and next morning, distil such soft,[a] and gentle,[b] showers,[a,b] as give cause for joy and praise to GOD. They come without any thunder, wind, or violence; and by degrees; and that abundance[b] continuing fourteen days, with reasonable weather,[a] as the earth is thoroughly soaked, and the decayed corn and other fruits so revived, as it is astonishing to behold, and gives a joyful prospect of a fruitful harvest.[b]

At the same time, Captain STANDISH, who had been sent by the Governor to buy provisions, returns with some, accompanied with Master DAVID TOMPSON aforesaid.[a]

Now also, we hear of the Third Repulse [c] our Supply had; of their safe, though dangerous return to England; and of their preparing to come to us.

Upon all which, another day is set apart for solemn and public Thanksgiving.[a]

End of *July*.[a] *August*.[b] Comes in the expected ship, the *Ann*, Master WILLIAM PIERCE, Master[d]; and about a week or ten days after,[b] beginning of *August*,[a] arrives the Pinnace,[b] named the *James*, Master BRIDGES, Master,[e] which they had left in foul weather; a fine new vessel of 44 tons, which the Company had built to stay in the country. They bring about sixty persons for the General [*i.e., the company of Adventurers in England*][b]; being all in health, but one, who soon recovers.[a]

Some being very useful, and become good members of the Body[b]; ot whom the principal are Master TIMOTHY HATHERLY and Master GEORGE MORTON, who came in the *Ann*: and Master JOHN JENNYS, who came in the *James*.[e] Some were the wives and children of such who came before: and some others are so bad, we are forced to be at the charge to send them home next year.[b]

By this ship, R. C., [*i.e., doubtless Master CUSHMAN, their Agent*] writes, "Some few of your old friends are come.

---

[a] WINSLOW's *Relation*. [b] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.

[c] Neither Governor BRADFORD, nor Mr. MORTON give any hint in this *Third* repulse.

[d] Governor BRADFORD, and from him Mr. Morton, mentioning Captain WEST's sailing for Virginia, say, the *Ann* came in about fourteen days after: and SMITH tells us, the two ships came in, either the next morning, or not long after the Thanksgiving. [e] MORTON's *Memorial*.

They are dropping to you: and, by degrees, I hope ere long you shall enjoy them all, &c."

From the General, subscribed by thirteen, we have also a letter; wherein they say, "Let it not be grievous to you, that you have been Instruments to break the ice for others, who come after with less difficulty. The honour shall be yours to the world's end. We have you always in our breasts, and our hearty affection is towards you all: as are the hearts of hundreds more which never saw your faces; who doubtless pray your safety as their own."[a]

When these passengers see our poor and low condition ashore, they are much dismayed and full of sadness: only our old friends rejoice to see us, and that it is no worse; and now hope we shall enjoy better days together.

The best dish we could present them with, is a lobster or piece of fish; without bread, or anything else but a cup of fair spring water: and the long continuance of this diet, with our labours abroad, nas somewhat abated the freshness of our complexion; but GOD gives us health &c.[a]

August 14. The fourth marriage is of Governor BRADFORD [*see p.* 403] to Mistress ALICE SOUTHWORTH, widow.[b]

September 10.[c] The pinnace,[a] being fitted for trade and discovery to the southward of Cape Cod, is now ready to sail.[d] And, this day, the *Ann*, having been hired by the Company, sails for London[b]; being laden with clapboard, and all the beaver and other furs we have. With whom, we send Master WINSLOW: to inform how things are, and procure what we want.[e]

☞ *Here ends Master* WINSLOW's *Narrative, and therewith also,* PURCHAS's *Account of New England; and from this time forward, I shall chiefly confine myself to manuscripts.*

Now our harvest comes. Instead of famine we have plenty: and the face of things is changed, to the joy of our hearts. Nor has there been any general want of food among us since, to this day.[a,f]

---

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [b] Governor BRADFORD's *Register*.
[c] WINSLOW's *Relation*.
[d] SMITH says, under Captain ALTOM: but either SMITH or the printer mistook the name, for ALDEN. [e] MORTON's *Memorial*.
[f] Governor BRADFORD's *History* reaches to the end of 1646.

Middle of *September*. Captain ROBERT GORGES, son of Sir FERDINANDO, with Master [W.] MORELL,[a] an Episcopal minister,[b] and sundry passengers and families arrive in the Massachusetts Bay, to begin a Plantation there.[c] Pitches on the same place, Master WESTON's people had forsaken [*pp.* 442, 451]; has a Commission from the Council for New England [a] to be their Lieutenant General [d] or General Governor of the country; and they appoint for his Council and Assistance [*i.e., the Assistants*], Captain WEST, the aforesaid Admiral; CHRISTOPHER LEVIT, Esquire; and the Governor of Plymouth, for the time being. Giving him authority to choose others as he should think fit: with full power to him and his Assistants; or any three of them, whereof himself to be one; to do what they should think good in all cases, capital, criminal, civil, &c.

He gave us notice of his arrival, by letter; and before we could visit him, sails for the Eastward with the ship he came in: but a storm rising, they bare into our harbour; are kindly entertained, and stay fourteen days.

Meanwhile Master WESTON having recovered his ship, [the *Swan*] and coming in here: Captain GORGES calls him to account, for some abuses laid to his charge. With great difficulty, Governor BRADFORD makes peace between them.

Shortly after, Governor GORGES goes to the Massachusetts by land, being thankful for his kind entertainment. His ship staying here, fits for Virginia: having some passengers to deliver there.[a]

The pinnace [the *James*] being sent about the Cape, to trade with the Narragansetts, gets some corn and beaver: yet "makes" but a poor voyage; the Dutch having used [*been accustomed*] to furnish them with cloth and better commodities; whereas she had only beads and knives, which are not there much esteemed.[a]

---

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [b] Manuscript letter.

[c] Sir F. GORGES says, His son arrived at the Massachusetts Bay, about the beginning of *August*; and Mr. HUBBARD says, in the end of *August*; but these seem unlikely: inasmuch as Master WINSLOW (sailing from Plymouth on *September* 10, for London; and there printing an account of New England to the very day of his sailing) has not the least hint of Captain GORGES's arrival. [d] Sir F. GORGES.

November 5.[a] Some of the seamen roystering in a house; and making a great fire in very cold weather, it breaks out of the chimney into the thatch; consumes the house with three or four more, and all the goods and provisions in them,[b,c] to the value of £500.[d] The dwelling where it begun being right against the House which contained our Common Store and Provisions; that was likely to be consumed, which would have overthrown our Plantation. But through GOD's mercy, by the great care and diligence of the Governor and others about him, it is saved. Some would have had the goods thrown out: which if they had; much would have been stolen by the rude people of the two ships, who were almost all ashore. But a trusty company was placed within [*p.* 439]; as well as others who, with wet cloths and other means, kept off the fire without.

For we suspected malicious dealing, if not plain treachery. For when the tumult was greatest, was heard a voice, though from whom is unknown, "Look well about you! for all are not friends that are near you!" And when the vehemence of the fire was over, smoke was seen to rise within a shed adjoining to the Store House, which was wattled up with boughs, in the withered leaves whereof a fire was kindled: which some running to quench, found a firebrand, of an ell long, lying under the wall on the inside: which must have been laid there by some hand, in the judgement of all who saw it. But GOD kept us in the danger: whatever was intended.[b]

Captain GORGES' ship sailing for Virginia; sundry of those whom the Company had sent over, returned in her. Some because of the fire, which had burnt both their houses and provisions[b]; one of whom was Master HATHERLY[b]: and others, out of discontent and dislike of the country.[b]

---

[a] MORTON's *Memorial*. [b] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.
[c] Smith says, there were seven houses burnt: but perhaps, by mistake, he may account therewith the two burnt in 1621: and Mr. HUBBARD seems to mistake, in writing as if the Common House was burnt; whereas the fire was only right over against it, and great endangered it.
[d] SMITH.

1624.

Towards the spring. AFTER Captain GORGES and Master WESTON had been to the Eastward; Master WESTON comes again to Plymouth, then sails for Virginia.[a] And Captain GORGES, not finding the state of things to answer his Quality; with some who depended on him, returns to England. Some of his people go to Virginia: and some few remain, who are helped with supplies from hence. But Master MORRELL stays about a year after the Governor; and then takes shipping here, and returns. At his going away, he told some of our people, he had "a power of Superintendency over the Churches here": but he never showed it.

Thus this Second Plantation is broken up in a year.[b]

This spring, there go about fifty English ships to fish on coasts of New England.[c]

[This spring.] Within a year after Master DAVID TOMPSON had begun a Plantation at Pascataqua; he removes to the Massachusetts Bay; and possesses a fruitful island, and a very desirable neck of land; which are after confirmed to him by the General Court of the Massachusetts Colony.[d]

About this year [and I conclude, this spring], the fame of the Plantation at New Plymouth being spread in all the Western parts of England; the Reverend Master WHITE,[d] a famous Puritan Minister,[e] of Dorchester, excites several gentlemen there, to make way for another settlement in New England: who now, on a Common Stock, send over sundry persons to begin a Plantation at Cape Ann: employ Master JOHN TILLY, their Overseer of Planting; and Master THOMAS GARDENER, of the Fishery; for the present year.[d]

This year [and I suppose, this spring]. Master HENRY JACOB, who had set up an Independent Church in England, in

[a] He afterwards dies of the sickness at Bristol in England, in the time of the Civil War. (BRADFORD.)
[b] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [c] SMITH.
[d] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History*. [e] ECHARD's *History of England*.

1616; with the consent of his Church, goes to Virginia: where, soon after, he dies. But, upon his departure, his Congregation chose Master LATHROP, their Pastor.[a] [I conclude he is the same Master JOHN LATHROP, who, about ten years after, comes to Scituate in Plymouth Colony.]

The time of our electing Officers for this year, arriving; the Governor desires the People, both to change the persons, and add more Assistants to the Governor for counsel and help. Showing the necessity of it, that if it were a benefit or honour, it is fit others should be partakers; or if a burden, it is but equal, others should help to bare it: and that this is the end of yearly elections.[b,d] Yet they choose the same Governor, *viz.*, Master BRADFORD[c]: but whereas there was but one Assistant, they now chose five; and give the Governor a double voice.[b,d]

Beginning of *March.* We send our pinnace to the Eastward a fishing: but arriving safe in a harbour, near Damarin's Cove, where ships used to ride, some ships being there already arrived from England: soon after, an extraordinary storm drove her against the rocks, broke and sunk there. The Master and one man drowned, the others saved: but all her provisions, salt, and lading lost. Shortly after,[d] *viz.*, in *March,*[b] Master WINSLOW,[d] our Agent,[b] comes over, in the ship *Charity*; and brings a pretty good supply of clothing, &c. The ship comes a fishing: a thing fatal to this Plantation. He also brings a bull and three heifers: the first cattle of this kind in the land. But therewith, a sad account of a strong faction among the [Company of] Adventurers against us; and especially against the coming of Master ROBINSON and the rest from Leyden.

By Master WINSLOW, we have several letters.

1. From Master ROBINSON, to the Governor; Leyden, *December* 19 [I suppose New Style; but in ours, *December* 9], 1623; wherein he writes with great concern and tenderness about our killing the savage conspirators at the Massachusetts: says "O how happy a thing had it been, that you had converted some! before you had killed any!"[e] &c.

---

[a] NEAL's *History of the Puritans.* [b] MORTON's *Memorial.*
[c] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History.* [d] Governor BRADFORD's *History.*
[e] It is to be hoped that SQUANTO was converted.

2. From the same, to Master BREWSTER, dated Leyden, *December* 20 [I suppose New Style, but in ours *December* 10], 1623: wherein he writes of the deferring of their desired transportation, through the opposition of some of the Adventurers: five or six being absolutely bent for them, above all others; five or six are their professed adversaries; the rest more indifferent, yet influenced by the latter, who, above all others, are unwilling that *he* should be transported, &c.

3. From R. C. [I conclude, Master CUSHMAN], at London, dated *January* 24, 1623–4, wherein he says, "They send a *Carpenter* to build two Ketches, a Lighter, and six or seven Shallops; a *Salt Man*, to make salt; and a *Preacher*, 'though not the most eminent; for whose going,' says he, 'Master WINSLOW and I gave way: to give content to some at London." The ship to be laden [*with fish*] as soon as you can, and sent to Bilboa. To send Master WINSLOW again. We have taken a *Patent* for Cape Ann," [*see p.* 286] &c.

This spring. The People requesting the Governor to have some land for continuance, and not by yearly lot as before: he gives every person an acre to them and theirs, as near the town as can be; and no more till the seven years expire [*see pp.* 452, 477, 635], that we may keep close together, for greater defence and safety.[a]

The ship is soon discharged, and sent to Cape Ann a fishing, and some of our Planters, to help to build her Stages, to their own hindrance. But, through the drunkenness of the Master which the Adventurers sent, "made" a poor voyage: and would have been worse, had we not kept one a trading there, who got some skins for the Company.[a]

The fishing Masters sending us word that, if we would be at the cost, they would help to weigh [*raise*] our pinnace near Damarin's Cove; and their Carpenter should mend her. We therefore sent, and with several tun of caske fastened to her at low water; they buoy her up, haul her ashore, mend her; and our People bring her to us again.[a] [*See p.* 468.]

June 17. Born at Plymouth, to Governor BRADFORD, his son WILLIAM; who afterwards becomes Deputy Governor of the Colony.[b]

[b] From the said Deputy Governor's original *Table Book*: written with a black lead pencil. [a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.

This month. Dies Master GEORGE MORTON, a gracious servant of GOD, an unfeigned lover and promoter of the common good and growth of this Plantation; and faithful in whatever public employment he was entrusted with.[a]

The *Ship's Carpenter* sent us, is an honest and very industrious man, quickly builds us two very good and strong Shallops, with a great and strong Lighter: and had hewn timber for ketches, but this is spoilt. For, in the hot season of the year, he falls into a fever, and dies; to our great loss and sorrow.[b]

But the *Salt Man* is an ignorant, foolish, and self-willed man, who choses a spot for his salt works; will have eight or ten men to help him; is confident the ground is good; makes the Carpenter rear a great frame of a house for the salt, and other like uses; but finds himself deceived in the bottom. Will then have a lighter to carry clay, &c. Yet all in vain. He could do nothing but boil salt in pans. The next year, is sent to Cape Ann, and there, the pans are set up by the fishery: but, before the summer is out, he burns the house, and spoils the pans; and there is an end of this chargeable business.[b]

The *Minister* is Master JOHN LYFORD, whom a faction of the Adventurers send, to hinder Master ROBINSON [coming over]. At his arrival, appears exceedingly complaisant and humble, sheds many tears, blesses GOD that had brought him to see our faces, &c. We give him the best entertainment we can. At his desire, receive him into our Church; when he blesses GOD for this opportunity and freedom to enjoy His ordinances in purity among his people, &c. We make him a larger allowance than any other. And as the Governor used, in weighty matters, to consult with Elder BREWSTER, with the Assistants; so now, he calls Master LYFORD to Council also.

But Master LYFORD soon joins with Master JOHN OLDHAM, a private instrument of the factious part of the Adventurers in England; whom we had also called to Council, in our chief affairs, without distrust. Yet they fall a plotting, both against our Church and Government, and endeavour to overthrow them.[b]

July.[c] At length, the ship[b] wherein LYFORD came, setting

[a] MORTON's *Memorial*. [b] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.
[c] This date I compute, from the article of *August* 22 following.

sail, towards evening; the Governor takes a shallop, goes out with her a league or two to sea; calls for LYFORD's and OLDHAM's letters; opens them, and finds their treachery: Master WILLIAM PIERCE, now Master of the ship, who was aware of their actions, readily helping. The Governor, returning in the night, brings some of their letters back; but keeps them private till

LYFORD and his few accomplices, which the factious part of the Adventurers sent, judging their party strong enough, rise up: oppose the Government and Church; draw a Company apart; set up for themselves; and he would minister the sacrament to them, by his episcopal calling.[a]

Upon this, the Governor calls a Court; summons the whole Company to appear; charges LYFORD and OLDHAM with plotting and writing against us; which they deny.

The Governor then produces their letters; they are confounded and convicted.

OLDHAM, being outrageous, would have raised a mutiny; but his party leave him: and the Court expels him from the Colony. OLDHAM presently [*at once*]; though his wife and family have leave to stay the winter, or till he can make provision to remove them comfortably. He goes, and settles at Natasco,[a] *i.e.* Nantasket,[b,c] [at the entrance of ths Massachusetts Bay], where the Plymouth People had before set up a building to accommodate their trade with the Massachusetts. And there Master ROGER CONANT, and some others, with their families, retire; and stay a year and some few months.[c]

LYFORD has leave to stay six months; owns his fault before the Court, that all he had written is false, and the sentence far less than he deserves: afterwards, confesses the same to the Church; with many tears, begs forgiveness; and is restored to his teaching.[a]

August. The ninth marriage at New Plymouth is of Master THOMAS PRINCE, with Mistress PATIENCE BREWSTER.[d] [He is afterwards Governor; and by this only hint, I find he was now in the country.]

August 22. Notwithstanding LYFORD's protestations, and

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [b] MORTON's *Memorial*.
[c] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History*. [d] Governor BRADFORD's *Register*

the kindness shown him; he, in a month or two, relapses: and, this day, writes by the pinnace, another letter to the Adventurers against us; but the party entrusted [with it] gives it to the Governor.[a] [This Pinnace seems to sail for London, and Master WINSLOW in her.]

This year comes some addition to the few inhabitants of Wessagusset, from Weymouth in England; who are another sort of people than the former[b] [*pp.* 442, 458]: [and on whose account, I conclude the town is since called Weymouth].[c]

At New Plymouth, there are now [*p.* 285] about 180 persons; some cattle and goats; but many swine and poultry: 32 dwelling houses; the town is impaled about half a mile in compass. On a high mount in the town, they have a fort well built with wood, lime, and stone; and a fair watch tower. The place it seems is healthful; for in the last three years, notwithstanding their great want of most necessaries; there hath not died one of the First Planters.[d]

And this year, they have freighted a ship of 180 tons, &c.[d]

The General Stock already employed by the Adventurers to Plymouth is about £7,000.[d]

At Cape Ann, there is a Plantation beginning by the Dorchester men; which they hold of those of New Plymouth: who also, by them, have set up a Fishing Work.[d]

☞ *And here* SMITH *ends his Account of New England.*

1625.

This winter. MASTER [JOHN] WHITE, with the Dorchester Adventurers, hearing of some religious people lately removed from New Plymouth to Nantasket, from dislike of their rigid principles,[e] among whom was Master ROGER CONANT, a pious, sober, and prudent gentleman; they chose Master CONANT to manage their affairs at Cape Ann, both of Plant-

[a] Governor BRADFORD'S *History.* [b] Manuscript letter.

[c] They have the Reverend Master BARNARD, their first (Nonconformist) Minister; who dies among them. But whether he comes before or after 1630; or when he dies, is yet unknown (*Manuscript Letter*); nor do I anywhere find the least hint of him, but in the *Manuscript Letter* taken from some of the oldest people at Weymouth. [d] SMITH.

[e] See Note [b] at *p.* 467.

ing and Fishing; and Master WHITE engages Master HUMPHRY, their Treasurer, to signify to him the same, by writing. They also invite Master LYFORD to be Minister to the Plantation, and Master OLDHAM to manage their trade with the natives.[a]

March 27, LORD's Day. King JAMES I. of Great Britain, dies, [*æt.* 59; having reigned over England twenty-two years; and over Scotland above fifty-seven]: and his only son, CHARLES I., *æt.* 25, succeeds[b]; in whose reign the Reformation degenerates, and the Prelates load us with more Popish innovations; and bind the burdens more straitly on us.[c]

This year,[d] comes over Captain WOLLASTON, with three or four more of some eminence,[e] and a great many servants, provisions, &c., to begin a Plantation. They pitch on a place in the Massachusetts Bay,[f] since named Braintree,[d] on the northerly mountainous part thereof,[f] which they call Mount Wollaston. Among whom, is one[f] THOMAS[d] MORTON: who had been a kind of pettifogger at Furnival's Inn.[f,g]

This Spring, at our Election Court, OLDHAM, though forbidden to return without leave, yet openly comes; and in so furious a manner reviles us, that even his company are ashamed of his outrage. Upon which, we appoint him to pass through a guard of soldiers, and every one with a musket to give him a blow on his hinder part. He is then conveyed to the water-side; where a boat is ready to carry him away.[f]

While this is doing, Master WINSLOW and Master WILLIAM PIERCE land from England; and bid them "spare neither him nor LYFORD; for they had played the villains with us."

And their friends in England had the like bickerings with ours there, about LYFORD's calumnious letters, &c. After many meetings, and much clamour against our Agents for accusing him: the controversy was referred to a further meeting of most of the Adventurers to hear and decide the matter. Master LYFORD's party chose Master WHITE, a

[a] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History*. [g] See *pp.* 473, 477, 483, 496, 548, 651.
[b] HOWES's *Continuation of* STOW's *Annals*. [d] MORTON's *Memorial*.
[c] Master BENJAMIN HUBBARD's *Sermo Secularis*.
[e] Deputy Governor DUDLEY says, "There came thirty with Captain WOLLASTON," in his *Letter to the Countess of LINCOLN*, of *March* 28, 1631; printed, in octavo, at Boston, 1696. [f] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.

Counsellor at Law: the other chose the Reverend Master HOOKER [as] Moderators: and many friends on both sides coming in; there was a great Assembly.

In which, Master WINSLOW made so surprising a discovery of LYFORD's carriage, when a Minister in Ireland, for which he had been forced to leave that kingdom; and, coming to England, was unhappily lighted on, and sent to New Plymouth: as struck all his friends mute, and made them ashamed to defend him. And the Moderators declared that as his carriage with us gave us cause enough, to do as we did; so this new discovery renders him unmeet to bear the Ministry any more.[a,b]

Hence therefore, LYFORD with some of his friends, go after OLDHAM to Natasco [a]: where receiving the invitation of the Dorchester gentlemen, Master LYFORD removes, with Master CONANT, to Cape Ann; but Master OLDHAM chooses to stay at Nantasket, and trade for himself.[c]

But, upon this decision, the "Company of Adventurers to Plymouth" breaks in pieces: two-thirds of them deserting us. Yea, some of LYFORD's and OLDHAM's friends set out a ship a fishing,[a] under one Master HEWES [c]; and getting the start of ours, they take our Stage and our provision made for fishing at Cape Ann, the year before, to our great charge: and refuse to restore it, without fighting.

Upon which, we let them keep it: and our Governor sends some [of our] Planters to help the Fishermen [*of our Plantation to*] build another.[a,d]

---

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [c] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History*.

[b] By this, it seems as if the Rev. Master WHITE and the Dorchester gentlemen had been imposed upon, with respect to LYFORD and OLDHAM; and had sent invitations to them before this discovery. And as by many passages in Master HUBBARD, it appears he had never seen Governor BRADFORD's *History*; for want thereof he is sometimes in the dark about the affairs of Plymouth: and especially those which relate to LYFORD and OLDHAM, as also to Master ROBINSON.

[d] Master HUBBARD tells us, that Captain STANDISH, who had been bred a soldier in the Netherlands, arriving at Cape Ann, demands the Stage, in a peremptory manner: and the others refusing, the dispute grows hot. The Captain seems resolved to attack them, and recover his right by force of arms: but the prudence of Master CONANT, and the interposition of Master WILLIAM PIERCE, whose ship lay just by, prevents it. The ship's crew promising to help to build another, ends the controversy.

Yet, some of the Adventurers still cleaving to us: they, by Master WINSLOW, write on *December* 18, 1624, as follows, "We cannot forget you, nor our friendship and fellowship we have had some years. . . . Our hearty affections towards you (unknown by face) have been no less than to our nearest friends; yea, to our own selves. . . . As there has been a faction among us [*at London*] more than two years; so now there is an utter breach and sequestration. . . . The Company's debts are not less than £1,400; and we hope you will do your best to free them. . . . We are still persuaded you are the People that must make a Plantation in those remote places, when all others fail. . . . We have sent some cattle, clothes, hoes, shoes, leather, &c., but in another nature than formerly; having committed them to the charge of Masters ALLERTON and WINSLOW, to sell as our factors &c." The goods are ordered to be sold at seventy *per centum* advance —a thing thought unreasonable, and a great oppression. The cattle are the best commodity.[a]

They send also two ships a fishing, upon their own account. The one is [the *James*, *pp.* 456, 458] the Pinnace which had been sunk [*p.* 461] and weighed [*p.* 462] as before: the other, a large ship, which "makes" a great voyage of good dry fish, that would fetch £1,800 at Bilboa or San Sebastian; whither her owners had ordered her.

But there being a rumour of a war with France, the Master, timorous, sails to Plymouth and Portsmouth; whereby he loses the opportunity, to their great detriment.

The lesser ship is filled with goodly cod fish, taken on the Bank [of Newfoundland]; with eight hundredweight of beaver, besides other furs, from the Plantation.

They go joyfully together homeward: the bigger ship towing the lesser all the way, till they are shot deep into the English Channel, almost within sight of Plymouth: when a Turks' Man of War takes the lesser, and carries her off to Sallee; where the Master and men are made slaves, and many of the beaver skins sold for four pence a piece.[a]

[a] Governor BRADFORD'S *History*.

In the bigger ship, Captain STANDISH goes, our Agent,[a] both to the remaining Adventurers for more goods, and to the New England Council to oblige the others to come to a Composition: but arrived there in a bad time; the State being full of trouble, and the plague very hot in London. There die such multitudes weekly, that trade is dead, little money stirring, and no business can be done. However he engages several of the Council to promise their helpfulness to our Plantation: but our remaining Adventurers are so much weakened by their loss of the fish, and of the ship the Turks had taken, they can do but little.

Meanwhile GOD gives us peace and health, with contented minds: and so succeeds our labours, that we have corn sufficient, and some to spare, with other provisions. Nor had we ever any Supply [from England]; but what we first brought with us.

After harvest, we send a boat load of corn forty or fifty leagues to the Eastward, up the Kennebeck river: it being one of those two shallops, our Carpenter built the year before; for we have no larger vessel. We had laid a deck over her, midships, to keep the corn dry: but the men were forced to stand, in all weathers, without any shelter; and the time of year begins to grow tempestuous. But GOD preserves and prospers them: for they bring home seven hundredweight of beaver, besides other furs; having little or nothing but our corn to purchase it. The voyage was made by Master WINSLOW and some old standards; for seamen we have none.[b]

Sometime this fall,[c] Master LYFORD's people at Nantasket remove to Cape Ann, a place more convenient for the fishery; and there stay about a year. But Master CONANT finding a

[a] It seems most likely that Captain STANDISH first went in the smaller ship, with the furs; which, at first, was the only ship bound for England: but after the Master of the greater ship determined for England too; that the Captain got into her, and so escaped the slavery.

[b] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.

[c] I gather this from Mr. HUBBARD, who says, that Masters CONANT and LYFORD, with their families, and those few who followed them, tarried at Nantasket a year and some few months; till the door was opened for their removal to Cape Ann.

more commodious place for Plantation, a little to Westward, on the other side of a creek called Naumkeak; secretly conceives in his mind that, in after times, as is since fallen out, it may prove a receptacle for such in England as on the account of religion would be willing to settle in these parts of the world; and gives an intimation of it to his friends in England.[a]

December 23. From *December* 22, 1624, to this day, there die of the plague in London and Westminster, 41,313.[b] [*See p.* 352.]

1626.

UPON a year's experience, the Dorchester Adventurers being disappointed of their expectations; throw up their business. But the Rev. Mr. WHITE, a Chief Founder, under GOD, of the Massachusetts Colony, being grieved that so good a work should fall to the ground, writes to Master CONANT not to desert the business: and promises to Master CONANT, that if three others, whom he knew to be honest and prudent men, *viz.*, JOHN WOODBERRY, JOHN BALCH, and PETER PALFREYS, would stay at Naumkeak; he would procure them a *Patent*, and send them men, provisions, and whatever they write for to trade with the natives.[a]

This spring. A French ship is cast away at Sagadehock; wherein are many Biscay rugs and other commodities, which fall into the hands of the people at Monhiggen, and other fishermen at Damarin's Cove.[c] [*See p.* 473.]

About a year after we had sent OLDHAM away [*p.* 466], as he is sailing for Virginia, being in extreme danger, he makes a free and large confession of the wrongs he had done the Church and People at Plymouth; and, as he had sought their ruin, the LORD might now destroy him: beseeching GOD to forgive him, making vows that if he be spared, to carry otherwise.

And being spared, he after carries fairly to us; owns the hand of GOD to be with us; seems to have an honourable

[a] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History*.
[b] HOWES.
[c] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.

respect for us: and we give him liberty to come, and converse with us, when he pleases.[a]

Beginning of *April*. We hear of Captain STANDISH's arriving in a fishing ship; send a boat to fetch him, and right welcome he is. Had taken up for us £150, though at 50 *per centum*; which his expenses deducted, he laid out in suitable goods: and has prepared the way for our Composition with the Company.

But the news he brings is sad in many regards. Not only of the losses mentioned [*p.* 468]; whereby some of our friends are disabled to help us, and others dead of the plague: but also that our dear Pastor, Master ROBINSON is *dead*,[a] about the 50th year of his age[b]; which strikes us with a Great Sorrow. His and our enemies had been continually plotting how they might hinder his coming thither; but the LORD had appointed him a better place.[a]

Master ROGER WHITE, in a letter from Leyden, of *April* 28 [*i.e.*, *April* 18, *our Style*], 1625, to the Governor, and Master BREWSTER, has the following words. "It has pleased the LORD to take out of this vale of tears, your and our loving faithful Pastor, Master ROBINSON. . . . He fell sick Saturday morning, *February* 22 [*i.e.*, *February* 12, *our Style*], 1624 5. Next day, taught us twice. . . . On the week, grew weaker every day, feeling little or no pain. . . . Sensible to the last. . . . Departed this life, the 1st of *March* [*i.e.*, *Saturday*, *February* 19, *our Style*], 1624–5. . . . Had a continual inward ague. . . . All his friends came freely to him. . . . And if prayers, tears, or means would have saved his life; he had not gone hence. . . . We still hold close together in peace . . . wishing that you and we were again together," &c.[a]

Our other friends at Leyden also write us many letters, full of lamentations for their heavy loss: and though their wills are good to come, yet see not how.[a,c]

---

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [b] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History*.

[c] Contrary to Mr. BAYLIE's suggestion, Governor BRADFORD and Governor WINSLOW tell us, that Master ROBINSON and his People *always* lived in great love and harmony among themselves, and also with the Dutch with whom they sojourned.

And when I was at Leyden in 1714, the most ancient people, from their

Our Captain also brings us notice of the death of our ancient friend, Master CUSHMAN: who was our right hand with the Adventurers; and, for divers years, managed all our business with them, to our great advantage.

He had written to the Governor, a few months before, of the sore sickness of Master JAMES SHERLEY [*pp.* 479, 502]; who was a chief friend of the Plantation, and lay at the point of death; declaring his love and helpfulness in all things, and bemoaning our loss, if GOD should take him away; as being the Stay and Life of the business: as also of his own purpose to come, this year, and spend the rest of his days with us.[a]

These things could not but cast us into great perplexity. Yet, being stript of all human help and hopes, *when we are now at the lowest*, the LORD so helps us, as we are not only *upheld*, but begin to *rise*; and our proceedings both honoured, and imitated by others.[a]

Having now no business but Trading and Planting, we set ourselves to follow them. The People finding corn a commodity, having sold it at 6s. the bushel; they use great diligence in planting: and the trade being retained for the General Good, the Governor and other Managers apply it to the best advantage.

For wanting proper goods, and understanding the Plantation at Monhiggon, belonging to some merchants of Plymouth [in England], is to break up, and divers goods to be sold; the Governor, with Master WINSLOW, take a boat, and with some hands, go thither,

Master DAVID THOMPSON, who lies at Piscatoway, going with us, on the same design; we agree to buy all their goods, and to divide them equally.

Our moiety comes to £400. We also buy a parcel of goats,

parents, told me, that the City had such a value for *them*, as to let them have one of their churches, in the chancel whereof he lies buried; which the English still enjoy: and that as *he* was had in highest esteem both by the City and University for his learning, piety, moderation, and excellent accomplishments, the Magistrates, Ministers, Scholars, and most of the gentry mourned his death, as a public loss, and followed him to the grave.

His son, ISAAC, came over to Plymouth Colony, lived to above ninety years of age; a venerable man, whom I have often seen; and has left male posterity in the county of Barnstable.

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.

which we distribute to our People for corn, to their great content. We likewise buy the French goods aforesaid [*p.* 470]; which makes our part arise to above £500: and which we mostly pay with the beaver and commodities we got last winter; and what we had gathered this summer.

After harvest, with our goods and corn, we get such store of trade, as to discharge some other engagements, *viz.*, the money taken up by Captain STANDISH, with the remains of former debts, to get some clothing for the People, and to have some commodities beforehand.[a]

This year [and I suppose, in the fall] we send Master ALLERTON to England, to finish with the Adventurers, take up more money, and buy us goods.[a]

Sometime this fall, Master CONANT, with the People who came to Cape Ann, remove a Third time [*pp.* 464, 467], *viz.*, to Naumkeak aforesaid; on a pleasant and fruitful neck of land, embraced on each side with an arm of the sea; since named Salem: answers Master WHITE, that they will stay on his terms[b]; [*p.* 470] and Master LYFORD moves with them.[a,c]

Captain WOLLASTON having continued at Mount Wollaston some time, and finding things not answer his expectation; he carries a great part of his servants to Virginia; writes back to Master RASDALL, one of his Chief Partners to carry another part [there]: and appoints Master FITCHER his Lieutenant, till he or RASDALL returns.

But RASDALL being gone, MORTON excites the rest to turn away FITCHER, and set up for themselves: forcing FITCHER to seek his bread among his neighbours, till he can get a pass [*passage*] to England.

After this, they fall to great licentiousness and profaneness.[a,d]

Finding we run great hazards in going such long voyages

---

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [b] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History*.
[c] Master CONANT lives about Salem, to 1680; when he deceases. (HUBBARD.)
[d] It is, by guess, I here insert this article, because Mr. HUBBARD says, The Captain spent much labour, cost, and time in Planting at Mount Wollaston. It seems most likely that he tried the crop of *this* summer: and the *autumn* is the usual time for the North East fishing ships to go to Virginia.

in a little open boat, especially in the winter season: we consider how to get a small Pinnace. And having no Ship-builder, but an ingenious House-Wright, who wrought with our Ship's Carpenter deceased; at our request, he tries his skill; saws the bigger Shallop across the middle, lengthens her five or six feet, strengthens her with timbers, builds her up, decks and makes her a convenient vessel.

The next year, we fit her with sails and anchors; and she does us service seven years.[a]

In the beginning of winter, a ship, with many passengers, bound to Virginia, the Master sick, lose themselves at sea; have neither beer, wood, nor water left; in fear of starving, steer towards the coast to find some land; run over the dangerous shoals of Cape Cod in the night, they know not how; come right before a small obscure harbour in Monamoyack Bay; at high water, touch the bar; towards night, beat over it into the harbour; and run on a flat within, close to the beach, where they save their lives and goods.

Not knowing where they are, as the savages come towards them in canoes, they stand on their guard: but some of the Indians ask, "If they are the Governor of Plymouth's men?" and offering to bring them or their letters; they are greatly revived. Send a letter with two men to the Governor: entreating him to send them pitch, oakum, spikes, &c. to mend their ship; with corn to help them to Virginia. Those being abroad a trading, who were fit to send; the Governor goes himself in a boat, with the materials written for, and commodities proper to buy corn of the natives. And it being no season of the year to go without the Cape, he sails to the bottom of the Bay within, into a creek called Naumskaket, whence it is not much above two miles across to the bay where they are: has Indians to carry the things; is received with joy; buys of the natives as much corn as they want; leaves them thankful; returns to the boat, goes into other adjacent harbours, buys and loads with corn, and comes home.[a,b]

---

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.

[b] Though Governor BRADFORD, and from him Mr. MORTON, place the whole story under 1627: yet Governor BRADFORD says, "This part of it happened in the beginning of winter, 1626."

1627.

NOT MANY days after the Governor came home, the People at Monamoyack send him word that their ship being mended, a great storm drove her ashore, and so shattered her as to make her wholly unfit for sea; beg leave, and means to transport themselves and goods to us, and be with us, till they find passage to Virginia. We readily help to transport, and shelter them and their goods in our houses. The chief among them are Masters FELLS and SILSBY, who have many servants. Upon their coming to Plymouth, and being somewhat settled; seeing the winter before them, and likely to be the latter end of the year before they can get to Virginia; the Masters therefore desire some ground to employ their servants to clear and plant, and so help bear their charge: which being granted, they raise a great deal of corn.[a]

[About mid-*March.*] We receive messengers from the Dutch Plantation, with letters written in Dutch and French, dated from the Manhatas in the Fort Amsterdam, *March* 9, 1627 [*i.e., New Style; which is February* 27, 1626–7], signed ISAAC DE RASIER, Secretary.[b]

They had traded in those southern parts divers years before we came; but began no Plantation there, till four or five years after our coming. In their letter, they congratulate us, and our prosperous and praiseworthy Undertakings and Government of our Colony, with the presentation of their good will and service to us, in all friendly kindness and good neighbourhood; offer us "any of their goods that may be serviceable to us;" declare "they shall take themselves bound to accommodate and help us with them, for any ware we are pleased to deal for."[a]

March 19. We send the Dutch, our obliging answer; express our thankful sense of the kindnesses we received in

---

[a] Governor BRADFORD'S *History.*

[b] Mr. MORTON saying, that DE RASIER, not long after, comes to Plymouth; thence Mr. HUBBARD mistakes, in thinking he comes this year: whereas it is plain from Governor BRADFORD, that he comes not hither till the year succeeding. [*See p.* 480.]

their native country: and our grateful acceptance of their offered friendship.[a]

This spring. At the usual season of the ships' coming, Master ALLERTON returns; having taken up for us £300 at 30 *per centum*, laid them out in suitable goods, and brings them; to the great content of the Plantation.

With no small trouble; and the help of sundry faithful friends, who took much pains: he made a Composition with the Adventurers, on *October* 26 last, which they signed *November* 15; a draught of which he brings for our acceptance.

> Wherein we allow them £1,800. Paying £200 at the Royal Exchange, every Michaelmas. The first payment to be in 1628. In consideration of which, the Company sell us all their shares, stocks, merchandise, lands, and chattels.

Which is well approved, and agreed to by the whole Plantation: though they scarcely know how to raise the payment, discharge their other engagements, and supply their yearly wants: seeing they are forced to take up monies or goods at such high interest.

Yet they undertake it. And seven or eight of the chief become jointly bound, in behalf of the rest, to make the said payments. Wherein we run a great venture, as our condition is: having many other heavy burdens upon us, and all things in an uncertain state among us.

Upon this, to make all easy; we take every head of a family, with every young man of age and prudence, both of the First Comers and those who have since arrived, into partnership with us; agree the trade shall be managed as before, to pay the debts; that every single Freeman shall *have* a single Share; and every Father of a family leave to *purchase* a share for himself, one for his wife, one for every child living with him; and every one shall pay his part towards the debts, according to the shares he holds: which gives content to all.

We accordingly divide one cow and two goats, by lot, to every Six shares; and swine, though more in number, in the

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.

same proportion: to every Share, twenty acres of Tillable land, by lot; (beside the single acres,[a] [*pp.* 452, 462, 635] with the gardens and homesteads[b] they had before), the most abutting on the water side, five in breadth and four in depth: but no Meadows laid out, till many years after [*p.* 635]: because being strait [*straitened*] of meadow, it might hinder additions to us: though, at every season, all are ordered where to mow, in proportion to their number of cattle.[d]

MORTON and company at Mount Wollaston, having got some goods, and acquired much by trading with the natives: they spend the same in rioting and drunkenness, drinking £10 of wine and spirits in a morning; set up a May Pole, get the Indian women to drink and dance round it, with worse practices as in the feast of FLORA, or like the mad Bacchanalians: and change the name to Merry Mount; as if this jollity were to last for ever.[a,c]

[*May* and *June*.[d]] For greater convenience of trade, to discharge our engagements, and maintain ourselves; we build a small Pinnace at Monamet, a place on the sea [*i.e.*, *the Atlantic Ocean*], twenty miles to the south: to which, by another creek on this side, we transport our goods by water, to within four or five miles; and then carry them overland to the vessel. Thereby avoid our compassing Cape Cod, with those dangerous shoals; and make our voyage to the southward, with far less time and hazard. For the safety of our vessel and goods; we there also build a House, and keep some servants; who plant corn, rear swine, and are always ready to go out with the bark: which takes good effect, and turns to our advantage.[a]

June 27, [e,f,g] Wednesday. The Duke of BUCKINGHAM,[e,f,g] with 100 ships,[e,g] sails from Portsmouth [in England] for the Ile de Rhé, on the coast of France: and begins the War with that kingdom.[f,g]

---

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [b] MORTON's *Memorial*.
[c] By guess, I also place this here; because of the "goods" they had gotten of the European ships, and the May Pole now erected; which I suppose is the only one ever set up in New England.
[d] I place this in *May* and *June*, because in the article of *July* following this Pinnace is said "to be lately built at Monamet."
[e] HOWES. [f] *Continuation* of BAKER's *Chronicle*. [g] RUSHWORTH.

July. But, besides the discharge of our heavy engagements, our great concern is to help over our friends at Leyden; who so much desire to come to us, as we desire their company. The Governor therefore, with Master EDWARD WINSLOW, THOMAS PRINCE, MILES STANDISH, WILLIAM BREWSTER, JOHN ALDEN, JOHN HOWLAND, and ISAAC ALLERTON now run a great Venture; and hire the Trade of the Colony for Six years, to begin the last of next September [1627]. And for this, with the shallop call the "Bass Boat," and pinnace lately built at Monamet, with the stock in the Store House: we, this month, undertake to pay the £1,800, with all other debts of the Plantation, amounting to £600 more; bring over for them £50 a year, in hoes and shoes; sell them for corn at 6s. a bushel: and, at the end of the term, return the Trade to the Colony.

The latter end of the summer, the Virginia People at Plymouth sell us their corn, go thither in a couple of barks; and, afterwards, several of them express their thankfulness to us.[a]

And [now it seems] Master LYFORD sails, with some of his people, also to Virginia[b]; and there shortly dies.[a]

With the return of the ships, we send Master ALLERTON again to England.

1. To conclude our Bargain with the Company, and deliver our Nine bonds for the paying the £200, at every Michaelmas, for nine years.
2. To carry our beaver, and pay some of our late engagements; for our excessive interest still keeps us low.
3. To get a *Patent* for a fit trading place on the Kennebeck river; especially since the Planters at Pascataway and other places eastward of them, as also the fishing ships, envy our trading there, and threaten to get a *Patent* to exclude us: though we first discover and began the same, and brought to so good an issue.
4. To deal with some special friends in London, to join with the said eight Undertakers; both for the discharge of the Company's debts, and the helping of our friends from Leyden.[a] [*pp*. 492, 495, 501.]

---

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [b] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History*.

November 6. Master ALLERTON concludes our Bargain with the Company at London, delivers our Bonds, and receives their Deed.[a]

December 27. Master SHERLEY, from London, writes to the Plymouth People, as follows: "The sole cause why the greater part of the Adventurers malign me, was that I would not side with them against you, and the coming over of the Leyden People. . . . And assuredly, unless the LORD be merciful to us, and the whole land in general, our condition is far worse than yours: wherefore if the LORD should send persecution here, which is much to be feared, and should put into our minds to fly for refuge; I know no place safer, than to come to you," &c.[a]

"About this year, some friends, being together in Lincolnshire, fall into discourse about New England, and the planting of the Gospel there; and after some deliberation, we," says Deputy Governor DUDLEY, "impart our reasons, by letters and messages, to some in London, and the West Country; where it, at, length, so ripened as to procure a *Patent*" [b] [for the Massachusetts Colony].

1628.

MASTER ALLERTON, having settled all things in a hopeful way, returns, in the first of the spring, with our supply for trade. The fishermen, with whom he comes, use to set forth in winter, and be here betimes.

He has paid the first £200 of our £1,800 to the Adventurers; as also all our debts to others, except Masters SHERLEY, BEACHAMP, and ANDREWS, to whom we now owe but £400 odd; informs, that our said three friends and some others, will join us in our Six Years' Bargain; and will send to Leyden, for a number to come next year [*see pp.* 492, 501]; brings a competent supply of goods; with a *Patent* for Kennebeck, but so strait, and ill bounded as we are forced to get it renewed and enlarged, next year, as also that we have at home; to our great charge.

He likewise brings us, one Master RODGERS, a young man, for Minister.[a] [See *p.* 496.]

March 19. The Council for New England sell to Sir HENRY

[b] Deputy Governor DUDLEY's aforesaid *Letter to the Countess of LINCOLN.*

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History.*

ROSWELL, Sir JOHN YOUNG, Knights; THOMAS SOUTHCOAT, JOHN HUMPHRY, JOHN ENDICOT, and SIMON WHETCOMB, Gentlemen[a]; about Dorchester, in England,[b] their heirs and associates, that part of New England between the Merrimack river and Charles river in the bottom of the Massachusetts Bay, and three miles to the south of every part of Charles river and of the southernmost part of said Bay, and three miles to the north of every part of said Merrimack river; and in length with the breadth aforesaid, from the Atlantic Ocean to the South Sea [*or Pacific Ocean*], &c.[a]

After some time, Master WHITE brings the [above] Dorchester Grantees into acquaintance with several other religious persons in and about London, who are first Associated to them; then buy their right in the *Patent*,[c] and consult about settling some Plantation in the Massachusetts Bay on the account of Religion; where Nonconformists may transport themselves, and enjoy the liberty of their own persuasion in matters of Worship, and Church Discipline.

Soon after, the Company chose Master[b] MATTHEW[d] CRADOCK, Governor; Master[b] THOMAS[d] GOFF, Deputy Governor; with other Assistants.[b]

The New Plymouth People having obtained their *Patent* for Kennebeck, now erect a House up the river, in a convenient place for trade; and furnish it, both winter and summer, with corn and other commodities, such as the fishermen had traded with, as coats, shirts, rugs, blankets, biscuits, pease, prunes, &c. What we could not get from England, we buy of the fishing ships; and so carry on the business as well as we can.[e]

This year [and I conclude, this spring]. The Dutch send to us again from their Plantation, both kind letters, and divers commodities, as sugar, linen, stuffs, &c.; come with their bark to our house at Manomet; their Secretary, RASIER, comes with trumpeters, &c., but not being able to

[a] Manuscript Book of *Charters* in the hands of the Hon. THOMAS HUTCHINSON, Esquire. [b] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History*.
[c] By the Massachusetts Colony *Charter* and *Records*, it seems the three former, wholly sold their rights: the three latter retaining theirs in Equal Partnership with the said Associates.
[d] Massachusetts Colony *Records*. [e] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.

travel to us by land, desires us to send a boat within side [the Cape] to fetch him. So we send a boat to Manonscusset; and bring him, with the chief of his company, to Plymouth.

After a few days' entertainment, he returns to his bark; some of us go with him, and buy sundry goods.

After which beginning, they often send to the same place; and we trade together, divers years: sell much tobacco for linens, stuffs, &c., which proves a great benefit to us; till the Virginians find out their colony.[a]

But that which, in time, turns most to our advantage is their now acquainting and entering us in the trade of Wampam,[b] telling us how vendible it is at their Fort Orania; and persuading we shall find it so at Kennebeck. Upon this, we buy £50 worth.

At first it sticks; and it is two years [*i.e.*, *till* 1630] before we can put it off; till the inland Indians come to know it; and then we can scarce procure enough, for many years together. By which, and other provisions, we quite cut off the trade both from the fishermen and straggling planters. And strange it

[a] Governor BRADFORD'S *History*.

[b] "*Wampum*, the common English name for the shell beads used for Ornament, and as Currency, among the northern Algonquin and Iroquois tribes of American Indians. They were made chiefly on Long Island, and around New York bay. There were two kinds: Wampum or Wampumpeag, which was white, and was made from the conch or periwinkle; and the Suckanhock, black, or rather purple, made from the hard-shell clam; and worth twice as much as the white.

"The shell was broken in pieces, rubbed smooth on a stone till about the thickness of a pipe-stem; then cut, and pierced with a drill. It was strung or made into belts.

"As money, its use passed to the New England, French, and Dutch settlers; being known in French as *porcelaine*, and in Dutch as *zewant*. In the Dutch Colony, four beads, and, at a later date, six passed for a stiver. In New England it varied also; and was fixed in 1640 at six beads for a penny. The strings were called fathoms, and varied from 10*s.* to 5*s.*

"It was strung and used by the Indians for earrings, necklaces, bracelets, and belts. It was used in all treaties, and on all public occasions: a string of beads being given to bind each article of a treaty, and a treaty belt being delivered as a solemn ratification. On these, figures were elaborately worked with the different coloured beads, not arbitrarily, but according to a recognised system; so as to form a Record of the Event that could be read."—G. RIPLEY and C. A. DANA. *The American Cyclopædia*, *s.v.* 1876. E. A. 1879.

is to see the great alteration it, in a few years, makes among the savages. For the Massachusetts and others in these parts had scarce any; it being only made and kept among the Pequots and Narragansetts, who grew rich and potent by it; whereas the rest, who use it not, are poor and beggarly.[a]

Hitherto the natives of these parts have no other arms but bows and arrows; nor for many years after. But the Indians in the Eastern parts, having commerce with the French, first have guns of them; and, at length, they make it a common trade. In time, our English fishermen follow their example; but, upon complaint against them, the King, by a strict Proclamation, forbids the same, and commands that no sort of arms or munition be traded with them.[a,b]

June 20. Captain JOHN ENDICOT, with his wife and Company, this day, sails in the ship *Abigail,* HENRY GAUDEN, Master, from Weymouth in England, for Naumkeak in New England,[c,d] being sent by the Massachusetts Patentees at London, to carry on the plantation there, make way for the settling of a Colony, and be their Agent to all affairs, till the Patentees themselves come over.[e]

September 13. Master ENDICOT writes of his safe arrival at Naumkeak, to Master MATTHEW CRADOCK, one of the Massachusetts Company, in London; which Master CRADOCK receives on *February* 13 following.[f] With Master ENDICOT, come Masters GOTT, BRACKENBURY, DAVENPORT, Captain TRASK, and others; who go on comfortably in preparing for the new Colony.[e]

---

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History.* [c] Massachusetts Colony *Records.*

[b] By King, seems to be meant King JAMES. And the Massachusetts Colony *Records* of *July* 28, 1629, as also Mr. HUBBARD, say this Proclamation was issued in 1622.

[d] The *Bills of Lading* being signed on *June* 20 (Massachusetts Colony *Records*), I place their sailing here. But from the odd way of reckoning the 4th of March next, to be in 1628, Deputy Governor DUDLEY, Mr. HUBBARD, and others, wrongly place Master ENDICOT's voyage *after* the grant of the *Royal Charter*; whereas he came above eight months *before.* And Deputy Governor DUDLEY says: "We sent him and some with him, to begin a Plantation, and to strengthen such as he should find there; which we send thither from Dorchester and some places adjoining."

[f] Master CRADOCK's original letter among the Massachusetts Colony *Records*, compared with the copies of letters in the First Book of *Records* of the County of Suffolk. [e] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History.*

Kings. Great Britain, CHARLES I.; *France*, LOUIS 13; *Spain*, PHILIP IV.

Among those who arrive at Naumkeak, are RALPH SPRAGUE with his brethren RICHARD and WILLIAM; who, with three or four more, by Governor ENDICOT's consent, undertake a journey, and travel the woods above twelve miles westward; light on a neck of land called Mishawum, between Mistick and Charles rivers, full of Indians named Aberginians. Their old Sachem being dead, his eldest son, called by the English JOHN Sagamore, is Chief; a man of a gentle and good disposition; by whose free consent, they settle here; where they find but one English house, thatched and pallizadoed, possessed by THOMAS WALFORD, a smith.[a]

That worthy gentleman, Master ENDICOT, coming over for the Government of the Massachusetts [b]; visits the people at Merry Mount; causes the May Pole to be cut down, rebukes them for their profaneness, admonishes them to look there be better walking, and the name is changed to Mount Dagon.[c]

But MORTON and company, to maintain the riot, hearing what gain the French and fishermen made by selling guns, with powder and shot to the natives; he begins the same trade in these parts, teaches how to use them, employs the Indians in hunting and fowling for him; wherein they become more active than any English, by the swiftness of foot, nimbleness of body, quick-sightedness, continual exercise, and knowing the haunts of all sorts of game. And finding the execution guns will do, and the benefits thereby, become mad after them, and give any price for them. MORTON sells them all he can spare; and sends to England for more.

The neighbouring English who live scattered in divers places, and have no strength in any; meeting the Indians in the woods thus armed, are in great terror: and those in remoter places see the mischief will soon spread; if not forthwith prevented. Besides, they see they should not keep their servants; for MORTON receives any, how vile soever; and they, with the discontented, will flock to him, if this nest

[a] Town of Charlestown *Records*, wrote by Master INCREASE NOWELL, afterwards Town Clerk of Charlestown, and Secretary of the Massachusetts Colony.

[b] Governor BRADFORD and Master MORTON seem to mistake, in saying he came with a *Patent* under the Broad Seal, for the Government of the Massachusetts.

[c] Governor HUBBARD's *History*.

continues: and the other English will be in more fear of this debauched and wicked crew than of the savages themselves.

The chief of the straggling Plantations therefore, from Pascatoway, Naumkeak, Winisimet, Wesaguscusset, Natasco, and other places, meet, and agree to solicit those of Plymouth, who are of greater strength than all, to join and stop this growing mischief, by suppressing MORTON and company before they grow to a further head.

Those of Plymouth receiving their messengers and letters, are willing to afford our help. However, first send a messenger with letters to advise him, in a friendly way, to forbare their courses; but he scorns their advice, asks, "Who has to do with him?" declares he will trade pieces with the Indians, in despite of all, &c.

We send, a second time, to be better advised; for the country cannot bare the injury; it is against the common safety, and the King's *Proclamation*. He says, "The King's *Proclamation* is no law, has no penalty but his displeasure; that the King is dead, and his displeasure with him:" and threatens, "If any come to molest him; let them look to themselves! he will prepare for them!"

Upon this, they see no way but force; and therefore obtain of the Plymouth Governor to send Captain STANDISH with some aid to take him.

The Captain coming; MORTON arms his consorts, heats them with liquor, bars his doors, sets his powder and bullets on the table ready. The Captain summons him to yield, but has only scoffs, &c.

At length, MORTON fearing we should do some violence to the house; he and some of his crew come out to shoot the Captain. At which, the Captain steps up to him, puts by his piece, enters the house, disperses the worst of the company, leaves the more modest there: brings MORTON to Plymouth; where he is kept till a ship going from the Isle of Shoals to England, he is sent in her to the New England Council with a messenger and letters to inform against him, &c.; yet they do nothing to him, not so much as rebuke him. And he returns the next year.[a] [*pp.* 473, 496, 548, 651, &c.]

This year [and I suppose, this fall] we send Master

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.

ALLERTON, our Agent, again to London; to get our Kennebeck *Patent* enlarged and rectified, as also this at home enlarged; and help our friends from Leyden.[a] [*pp.* 492, 501.]

This year. Dies Master RICHARD WARREN, a useful instrument, and bare a deep share in the difficulties attending the first Settlement of New Plymouth.[b]

This year. The Massachusetts Patentees at London send several servants to Naumkeak [*p.*508]; but for want of wholesome diet and convenient lodgings, many die of scurvy and other distempers.[c] Upon which, Master ENDICOT hearing we at Plymouth, have a very skilful Doctor, Master FULLER,[a] Deacon of Master ROBINSON's Church, skilled in the diseases of the country which the people at Naumkeak are filled with[c]; sends to our Governor for him; who forthwith sends him in their assistance.[a,d]

[See *pp.* 350, 398, as to the Italic type in the Text. E. A. 1879.]

1629.

February 16. MASTER CRADOCK, at London, in his letter to Captain ENDICOT at Naumkeak, says, "We are thoroughly informed of the safe arrival of yourself, your wife, and the rest of your good company in our Plantation, by your letters of *September* 13; which came to hand the 13th instant. . . . Our Company is much enlarged since your departure. . . . There is one ship bought for the Company, of 100 tons; and two more hired of 200, one of 19, the other of 20 ordnance. In which ships are likely to be sent between 200 and 300 persons to reside there; and about a 100 head of cattle. . . . I wrote to you by Master ALLERTON of New Plymouth, in November. . . . It is resolved to send two Ministers, at least, with the ships now to be sent. . . . Those we send shall be by approbation of Master WHITE of Dorchester, and

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [b] MORTON's *Memorial*.
[d] Governor BRADFORD, and Mr. MORTON from him, seem to mistake in blending the several sicknesses at Naumkeak of 1628 and 1629 together; and writing, as if Dr. FULLER went first thither to help in the sickness introduced by the ships in 1629: whereas, by Governor ENDICOT's letter of *May* 11, 1629, it appears that Dr. FULLER had been *then* to help them: which was above a month before the ships' arrival there, in 1629. [c] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History*.

Master DAVENPORT. . . . I account our ships will be ready to sail hence, by the 20th of next month."[a]

The Massachusetts Company, for promoting their great design, first consider where to find two or three able Ministers to send; not doubting but if they meet with such, they shall have a considerable number of religious people to go with them: especially if there be grounded hopes of an Orderly Government to protect the people and promote the cause of Religion among them, as well as their civil rights and liberties. For which, they, with one consent, agree to petition the King, to Confirm their aforesaid Grant to themselves and Associates, by a *Royal Charter*[b]: Master WHITE, an honest Counsellor at Law, and Master RICHARD BELLINGHAM furthering the same.[c]

March 2, Monday. At a meeting of the Massachusetts Company, in London. Present, the Governor, Deputy Governor, Masters WRIGHT, VASSAL, HARWOOD, COULSON, ADAMS, NOWELL, WHETCOMB, PERRY, and HUSON[d]; when Master CONEY propounding, on behalf of the Boston men, that ten of them may subscribe £10 a man to the Joint Stock; and with their ships to adventure £250 more, on their own account; and provide able men to send for managing the business: it is condescended [*agreed*] to.[e]

March 4. At the petition of the Massachusetts Company, King CHARLES, by *Charter*, confirms the *Patent* of the Massachusetts Colony to them, *i.e.*, to the aforesaid Sir HENRY ROSEWELL, Sir JOHN YOUNG, THOMAS SOUTHCOT, *JOHN HUMFREY, JOHN ENDICOT, SIMON WHETCOMB*; and their Associates, *viz.*, *Sir RICHARD SALTONSTALL Knight, ISAAC JOHNSON, SAMUEL ALDERSEY, JOHN VEN*, MATTHEW CRADOCK, GEORGE HARWOOD, *INCREASE NOWELL, RICHARD*

---

[a] Master CRADOCK's original letter, among the Massachusetts Colony *Records*. [b] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History*.

[c] Captain EDWARD JOHNSON's *History*.

[d] This is the first account of Names set down at their meetings in the Massachusetts Colony *Records*. By Governor, is doubtless meant Master CRADOCK; and by Deputy Governor, Master GOFF; who seem to be chosen to those Offices, by virtue of their *Patent* from the New England Council. [e] Massachusetts Colony *Records*.

PERRY, RICHARD BELLINGHAM, *NATHANIEL WRIGHT*, *SAMUEL VASSAL*, *THEOPHILUS EATON*, THOMAS GOFF, *THOMAS ADAMS*, *JOHN BROWN*, SAMUEL BROWN, *THOMAS HUTCHINS*, *WILLIAM VASSAL*, *WILLIAM PYNCHON*, and *GEORGE FOXCROFT*: their Heirs and Assigns, for ever.

That they, and all who shall be made Free of their Company, be, for ever, a Body Corporate and Politic, by the name of *The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England*; and have perpetual succession.

That there shall be, for ever, a Governor, Deputy Governor, and eighteen Assistants, chosen out of the Freemen of the said Company.

That MATTHEW CRADOCK be the first and present Governor; THOMAS GOFF, first Deputy Governor; and the eighteen printed in Italic capitals, be the first Assistants.

That on the last Wednesday in Easter term, yearly; the Governor, Deputy Governor, and all other Officers shall be, in the General Court held that day, newly chosen by the greater part of the Company.

That they may have four General Courts a year, *viz.*, the Last Wednesday in Hiliary, Easter, Trinity, and Michaelmas Terms, for ever; which may admit Freemen, remove and choose Officers, order lands, and make laws not repugnant to the laws of England.

That "the Governor and Company," and their successors and assigns, may carry people who are willing, out of any of the King's dominions, thither; transport goods; have all the privileges of natural subjects in all the King's dominions.

That their chief Commanders, Governors, other Officers; and others under them, may, by force of arms, encounter all who shall attempt any detriment or annoyance, to them: and take their persons, ships, armour, goods, &c.

But that fishing shall be free &c.[a,b]

[a] Book of *Charters*.

[b] The *Chronologies* at the end of Master DANFORTH's *Almanack*, printed at Cambridge, New England, 1649; of Master JESSEY's, at London, 1651; and of Master FOSTER's, at Boston, New England, 1676; are all greatly mistaken, in representing this *Charter* to be granted by *Parliament*.

Kings. Great Britain, CHARLES I.; *France*, LOUIS 13; *Spain*, PHILIP IV.

March 9. At a meeting of the Massachusetts Company, in London. JOHN WASHBORN entertained Secretary, for one whole year; and directed to call on all such as have charge of provisions for the ships now bound to New England, that they may be despatched by the 25th of this month, at furthest.[a]

March 10. At a meeting of the Massachusetts Company, in London. Master THOMAS GRAVES, of Gravesend, gentleman, agrees to go to New England; and serve the Company as a person skilful in mines of iron, lead, copper, mineral salt, and alum; fortifications of all sorts [*p.* 505], surveying, &c.[a]

March 16. Estimate of charges for one hundred passengers, and their provisions, at £15 a man £1500

Freight of the ship *Talbot*, five months at £80		400
Her victuals and wages for 32 men, at £70 [a month]		350
Lion's Whelp set to sea...		500
Twenty cows and bulls at £4	80	
Ten mares and horses, at £6	60	
Charges of them	470	—610
		£3,360.[a,b]

March 23. Governor CRADOCK sworn in Chancery.[c] Deputy Governor GOFF, and eleven Assistants sworn: as also Master GEORGE HARWOOD sworn Treasurer.[a]

At a meeting of the Massachusetts Company, this day, at London. Master NOWELL giving intimation by letters from Master JOHNSON, that Master HIGGINSON of Leicester, an able[a] and eminent[c] Minister,[a] silenced for Nonconformity, would be likely[c] to go to our Plantation; who being approved for a reverend grave Minister, fit for our occasion: It is Agreed

[a] Massachusetts Colony *Records*. [c] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History*.

[b] Assuming that each of the 1,500 persons that went out in 1629, cost £30 a head, the mere passage outlay of this Great Puritan Exodus would come to £45,000; or about £200,000 in present value. E. A. 1879.

[d] Master HUBBARD mistakes, (1) in thinking Master CRADOCK now chosen Governor; (2) in omitting Master NOWELL, as among the eleven Assistants sworn; and, (3) in writing that Master HARWOOD is sworn Treasurer, on *April* 6.

to intreat Master HUMFREY to ride presently [*at once*] to Leicester, and if Master HIGGINSON can conveniently go this present Voyage, to deal with him: first, if his remove may be without scandal to that people, and approved by some of the best affected among them; with the approbation of [the Reverend and famous] Master HILDERSHAM of Ashby de la Zouche.[a,b] [See *p.* 611.]

Master HIGGINSON being addressed, both by Master HUMFREY and Master WHITE, he looks upon it as a call from GOD; and, in a few weeks, is, with his family, ready to take his flight into this savage desert.[c]

April 8. At another meeting of the Massachusetts Company, in London. Master FRANCIS[d] HIGGINSON, Master SAMUEL SKELTON,[a] another Nonconformist Minister of Lincolnshire,[c] and Master FRANCIS BRIGHT, entertained by the said Company as Ministers for the Plantation, to labour both among the English and the Indians. Master HIGGINSON having eight children, is to have £10 a year more than the others. Master RALPH SMITH, a Minister, is also to be accommodated in his passage thither.[a]

April 16. Sixty women and maids, twenty-six children, and three hundred men, with victuals, arms, apparel, tools; 140 head of cattle, &c., in the Lord Treasurer's *Warrant*[a] [to go to New England].[e]

April 17. The said Company's Committee date their letter, at Gravesend, to Master ENDICOT: wherein they say, "For that the Propagating of the Gospel is the thing we profess above all, in settling this Plantation; we have been careful to make plentiful provision of godly Ministers, *viz.*, Master SKELTON, in the *George Bonaventure*; Master HIGGINSON, in

[a] Massachusetts Colony *Records.*
[b] Master JOHN DAVENPORT first time mentioned as present at this meeting. He is also at the meetings of *March* 30, *April* 8, *August* 28 and 29, *October* 15, 19, and 20, *November* 25, and *December* 15 following. In that of *October* 20, he is styled "Clerk;" and of *December* 15, "Minister;" (Massachusetts Colony *Records*). By which, I conclude, he is the same who afterwards comes over, and becomes the famous Minister both of New Haven, and of Boston in New England.
[c] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History.*
[d] Mr. HUBBARD happens, by mistake, to call him JOHN.
[e] Deputy Governor DUDLEY therefore seems too short in saying, about three hundred people, with some cows, goats, and horses.

the *Talbot*; and in the *Lion's Whelp*, Master BRIGHT, trained up under Master DAVENPORT. As the Ministers have declared themselves to be of one judgement, and to be fully agreed in the manner how to exercise their Ministry, we have good hopes of their love and unanimous agreement."[a,b]

April 21. The *George* now rides at the Hope; the *Talbot* and *Lion's Whelp* at Blackwall.[b]

April 30.[c] At a *GENERAL COURT* of the Massachusetts Company, in London.

"There are three ships now to go to New England. . . . And the Company *ORDER* that thirteen in their Plantation shall have the sole ordering of the affairs and Government there, by the name of *The Governor and Council of London's Plantation in the Massachusetts Bay, in New England*. . . . Elect Master ENDICOT Governor; Masters HIGGINSON, SKELTON, BRIGHT, JOHN and SAMUEL BROWN, THOMAS GRAVES, and SAMUEL SHARP, to be of the Council. The said Governor and Council may choose three others, and the Planters choose two more. Of which twelve Counsellors, the Governor and major part may choose a Deputy Governor and Secretary. That they all continue a year, or till the Court appoint others. That the Governor, or in his absence the Deputy, may call a Court at discretion; and therein, the greater number, whereof the Governor or Deputy to be always one, have power to make laws not repugnant to the laws of England."

ORDER [that] copies of this *Act* be sent by the first conveyance,[d] and a Commission is accordingly sent to Master ENDICOT, &c.[e]

May 4. The *George Bonaventure* sails from the Isle of Wight. *May* 11, sail from thence, the *Lion's Whelp* and

---

[a] By this, it appears Master BRIGHT was a Puritan; and Mr. HUBBARD seems mistaken in supposing him a Conformist: unless he means in the same sense as were many Puritans in those days, who, by particular favour, omitted the more offensive ceremonies and parts in the *Common Prayer*; while, for the unity and peace of the Church, and in hopes of a further Reformation, they used the other. [b] Suffolk County *Records*.
[c] Mr. HUBBARD mistakes *April* 10, for *April* 30.
[d] Massachusetts Colony *Records*. [e] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History*.

Talbot[a]; being all full of godly passengers,[b] with the four Ministers, for the Massachusetts.[c,d]

The Planters in the *Lion's Whelp* go from Somerset and Dorset.[a] And, within a month,[b] are three more ships to follow.[d]

May 10, Lord's Day. Peace between Great Britain and France proclaimed at London.[e,f]

Dr. FULLER, of Plymouth, being well versed in the Discipline of Master ROBINSON's Church, and acquainting Master ENDICOT therewith: on May 11, *Governor ENDICOT writes a grateful and Christian letter to Governor BRADFORD; wherein he says, "I acknowledge myself much bound to you, for your kind love and care in sending Master FULLER among us; and rejoice much that I am, by him, satisfied touching your judgements of the Outward Form of GOD'S Worship. It is, as far as I can gather, no other than is warranted by the evidence of Truth; and the same which I have professed and maintained ever since the LORD, in mercy, revealed Himself unto me: being far from the common report that hath been spread of you, touching that particular; but GOD'S children must not look for less here below," &c.*[g,h]

And as this is the beginning of their acquaintance, and closing in the Truth and Ways of GOD[h]; it is the foundation of the future Christian love and correspondence, which are, ever after, maintained between the two Governors and their respective Colonies.[c]

May 13. At a *GENERAL COURT* of the Massachusetts Company, in London. Master CRADOCK,[d] a prudent and wealthy citizen,[c] chosen Governor; Master GOFF, Deputy; Master HARWOOD, Treasurer; Master WILLIAM BURGESS, Secretary for the year ensuing: and the same Assistants; only that Master ENDICOT and Master JOHN BROWN being out of the land, Master JOHN POCOCK and Master CHISTOPHER COULSON are chosen in their room.[d,i]

---

[a] Suffolk County *Records*. [c] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History*.
[b] Doctor COTTON MATHER's *Life of Master HIGGINSON*.
[g] Mr. HUBBARD mistakes, in thinking this letter was written to obtain the Doctor's help; when it plainly appears a letter of thanks for his help received. [d] Massachusetts Colony *Records*. [e] HOWES.
[f] POINTER mistakes in saying *March* 20; and SALMON, in saying *May* 20. [h] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.
[i] Mr. HUBBARD styles *this* the Second Court of Election; while by the *Royal Charter* it is the First, though by virtue of the former *Patent*

May 21. At a Court of Assistants of the Massachusetts Company, in London. For the present accommodation of the people lately gone to the London Plantation in New England, *ORDERED*, That the Governor, Deputy, and Council there, allot Half an Acre within the plat of the town, and Two Hundred Acres more, to every £50 Adventurer in the Common Stock; and so in proportion, That for every servant or others they carry, the Master shall have Fifty Acres more to himself, And those who are not Adventurers in the Common Stock, shall have Fifty Acres for themselves, or more, as the Governor and Council there, think necessary.[a,b]

May 25. *Master SHERLEY writes from London, to Governor BRADFORD "Here are now many of your and our friends from Leyden, coming over. . . . A good part of that end obtained, which was aimed at (by us), and has been so strongly opposed by some of our former Adventurers. . . . With them, we have also sent some servants in the* Talbot, *that went hence lately; but these come in the* May Flower." [c]

June 3. The Committee of the Massachusetts Company at London, writes from Gravesend, to Governor ENDICOT, and say, "We now send three ships, the *May Flower*, *Four Sisters*, and *Pilgrim*. . . . The charge of their freight, men, and victuals stands us in £2,400, &c.[d] *And they sail from England, before Master ALLERTON can get ready to come away.*" [c]

June 24. Master HIGGINSON,[e] and [either the same day, or] sometime this month,[f] the other Ministers with the People in the first three ships, arrive at Naumkeak; which they now name Salem, from that in *Psalm* lxxvi. 2.[g]

Master GRAVES, with some of the Company's servants under his care, and some others, remove to Mishawum; to which, with Governor ENDICOT's consent, they give the name of Charlestown. Master GRAVES lays out the town in

---

from the New England *Council*, it seems the Company had chosen a Governor, &c., the year before.

[a] Massachusetts Colony *Records*.
[b] Mr. HUBBARD mistakes, in placing this on *May* 13.
[c] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.
[d] Suffolk County *Records*.
[e] Doctor COTTON MATHER's *Life*.
[f] MORTON's *Memorial*.
[g] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History*.

Kings. Great Britain, CHARLES I.; *France*, LOUIS 13; *Spain*, PHILIP IV.

Two Acre lots to each inhabitant; and [after] builds the Great House for such of the Company as are shortly to come over; which becomes the House of Public Worship.[a,b]

Of the four Ministers, Salem needing but two[c]; Master SMITH goes with his family, to some straggling people at Natasco[d]: but Master BRIGHT disagreeing in judgement with the other two, removes to Charlestown, where he stays above a year.[c]

Some Plymouth People putting in with a boat at Natasco, find Master SMITH in a poor house that could not keep him dry. He desires them to carry him to Plymouth; and seeing him to be grave man, and understanding he had been a Minister, they bring him hither: where we kindly entertain him, send for his goods and servants, desire him to exercise his gifts among us; afterwards, choose him into the Ministry, wherein he remains for sundry years.[d]

July 20. Governor ENDICOT, at Salem, sets apart this Day for solemn Prayer with fasting; and the Trial and Choice of a Pastor and Teacher. The forenoon they spend in prayer and teaching; the afternoon about their Trial and Election: choosing Master SKELTON, Pastor; Master HIGGINSON, Teacher. And they accepting: Master HIGGINSON with three or four more of the gravest Members of the Church, lay their hands on Master SKELTON, with solemn prayer: then Master SKELTON &c.; the like, upon Master HIGGINSON. And Thursday, *August* 6, is appointed another Day of Prayer and Fasting, for the Choice of Elders and Deacons, and ordaining them.[d,e] [*See next page.*]

July 28, Tuesday. At a *GENERAL COURT* of the Massachusetts Company, at London, Governor CRADOCK reads certain Proposals, conceived by himself, *viz.*, "That for

[b] The Charlestown *Records* here mistake in placing this in 1628: for Master GRAVES comes not over till *June* 1629 (Massachusetts Colony *Records*). And as by Deputy Governor DUDLEY's letter, there was a great mortality among the English at the Massachusetts Colony, in the winter of 1629–30; so, by Captain CLAP's account, there were but one house and some few English at Charlestown, in *June* succeeding.

[c] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History*. [d] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.

[e] This article is nowhere found but in a letter from Master CHARLES GOFF, dated Salem, *July* 30, 1629; and preserved in Governor BRADFORD; and it being written between *July* 20 and *August* 6, must be an undoubted record of past matter of fact on *July* 20. [a] Charlestown *Records*.

the advancement of the Plantation, the inducing Persons of Worth and Quality to transplant themselves and families thither, and other weighty reasons" mentioned: to "transplant the Government to those, who shall inhabit there; and not continue the same subordinate to the Company here."

This occasions some debate; but defer the consideration and conclusion to the next General Meeting: and Agree to carry the matter secret, that it be not divulged.[a]

The religious people at Salem designing to settle in a Church state, as near as they can to the rules of the Gospel; apprehend it needful for the Thirty who begin the Church, to enter solemnly into Covenant one with another, in the Presence of GOD: to walk together before Him according to His *Holy Word*; and then Ordain their Ministers to their several Offices, to which they had been chosen.

Master HIGGINSON, being desired, draws up a *Confession of Faith*, and *Church Covenant*, according to Scripture. Thirty copies are written, one delivered to every Member. And the Church of Plymouth invited to the solemnity[b,c]; that the Church at Salem may have the approbation and concurrence, if not direction and assistance, of the other.[b]

August 6,[c,d,e] being Thursday.[d] The appointed Day being come, after the prayers and sermons of the two Ministers: in the end of the day,[c] the said *Confession*, and *Covenant* being read in the Public Assembly, are solemnly consented to. And they immediately proceed to ordain their Ministers[c,d]; as also, Master HOUGHTON, a Ruling Elder: being separated to their several Offices by the impositions of hands of some of the brethren, appointed, by the Church thereto.[f,g] [*See previous page.*]

Governor BRADFORD and others, as Messengers from the

[a] Massachusetts Colony *Records*. [b] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History*.
[c] MORTON's *Memorial*. [d] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.
[e] Mr. HUBBARD mistakes the 9th, for the 6th of *August*.
[f] A Manuscript letter.
[g] As Masters SKELTON and HIGGINSON had been Ministers ordained by Bishops in the Church of England; this Ordination was only to the care of this particular flock, founded on their free election. But as there seems to be a repeated Imposition of Hands: the former, on *July* 20, may only signify their previous separation for their solemn charge; and this latter of *August* 6, their actual investiture therein.

Church of Plymouth, being, by cross winds, hindered from being present in the former part of the Service; come in time enough, to give them the Right Hand of Fellowship; wishing all prosperity to these hopeful beginnings.[a,b]

But two of the passengers (observing the Ministers used not the *Common Prayer*, nor ceremonies; but profess to exercise Discipline upon scandalous persons, and that some scandalous ones were denied admission into the Church) begin to raise some trouble, to gather a separate company, and read *Common Prayer*. Upon which, the Governor convents the two ringleaders before him: and finding their speeches and practices tend to mutiny and faction, send those two back to England, at the return of the ships, the same year; and the disturbance ceases.[b]

August 28. At a *GENERAL COURT* of the Massachusetts Company, at London. *ORDERED* that Masters WRIGHT, EATON, ADAMS, SPURSTOW, with others they think fit, consider arguments *against* removing the Chief Government of the Company to New England; and that Sir R. SALTONSTALL, Master JOHNSON, Captain VEN, with others they think fit, prepare arguments *for* the removal: that both sides meet to-morrow morning at seven; confer and weigh their arguments; and at 9, make report to the whole Company.[c]

August 29. The said Committees meeting, and making report: the generality of the Company vote "That the *Patent* and Government of the Plantation be transferred to New England."[c]

August. *Thirty-five of our friends, with their families, from Leyden, arrive at New Plymouth. They were shipped at London in* May, *with the ships that came to Salem; which bring over many pious people to begin the Churches there, and in the Massachusetts Bay. So their being thus long kept back is now recompensed by Heaven with a double blessing. In that we not only enjoy them, beyond our late expectation, when all hope seemed to be cut off: but with them, many more godly friends and Christian brethren; as the beginning of a larger harvest to CHRIST in the increase of his People in the Churches in these parts of the earth; to the admiration of many, and almost wonder of the world.*[a]

The charge of our Leyden friends is reckoned on the several

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [b] MORTON's *Memorial*.
[c] Massachusetts Colony *Records*.

families; some £50, some £40, some £30, as their numbers and expenses were: which our Undertakers pay for gratis; besides giving them houses, preparing them grounds to plant on, and maintain them with corn, &c., above thirteen or fourteen months before they have a harvest of their own production.[a]

An infectious disease grew at sea among the Salem passengers, which spread among those ashore, whereof many died; some of the scurvy; others of an infectious fever, which continued some time among them: while the Leyden people, through the goodness of GOD, escaped it.[a]

Master ALLERTON returns, without accomplishing the enlargement and confirmation of our Plymouth Patent: *but gives great and just offence, this year,* in bringing over MORTON; *using him as his scribe, till caused to pack him away.* [*pp.* 484, 548, 651.]

Upon which, he goes to his old nest, at Merry Mount.[a]

This year [and I suppose, this fall] *we send Master ALLERTON again for England, to conclude our* Patent, *&c.: and Master RODGERS, the Minister which Master ALLERTON brought over last year* [*p.* 479], *proving crazed in his brain; we are forced to be at the farther charge to send him back this year; and lose all the cost expended in bringing him over, which was not small, in provisions, apparel, bedding, &c.*[a]

September 19. At a *GENERAL COURT* of the Massachusetts Company, at London, "Letters read from Captain ENDICOT, and others . . . by the *Lion's Whelp* and *Talbot*; now come laden from New England."[b]

September 29, Tuesday. At a *GENERAL COURT* of the Massachusetts Company, in London, "Desire the Governor to buy the ship *Eagle*, of 400 tons, for the safety, honour, and benefit of the Plantation."[b]

October 15, Thursday. At a *GENERAL COURT* of the Massachusetts Company, in London, "Agree that the charge of Ministers, and of building convenient churches,[c] be borne: half by the Joint Stock for seven years, and half by the Planters.[b,d]

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [b] Massachusetts Colony *Records*.
[c] Thus "Houses of Public Worship" are also called "churches" in the record of *February* 10 succeeding. (Massachusetts Colony *Records*.)
[d] Masters DUDLEY and WINTHROP the first time mentioned at this meeting (Massachusetts Colony *Records*). And Master DUDLEY says, "That Master WINTHROP of Suffolk, well known for his piety, liberality, wisdom, and gravity, coming in to us: we come to such resolution, as to sail from England in *April*, 1630.

October 19, Monday. At a meeting at the Deputy Governor's house, "Agree that at the General Court tomorrow, the Governor and Assistants be chosen of the Government [of the Massachusetts Colony] in New England."[a,b]

October 20, Tuesday. At a *GENERAL COURT* of the Massachusetts Company, at London. They chose a Committee for the Planters, another for the Adventurers, to draw up *Articles* between them: and Master WHITE of Dorchester, with Master DAVENPORT, to be Umpires between them.[c]

And the Governor representing the special occasion of summoning this Court, was for the Election of a new Governor, Deputy, and Assistants; the Government being to be transferred to New England: the Court having received extraordinary great commendation of Master JOHN WINTHROP (both for his integrity and sufficiency, as being one very well fitted for the place), with a full consent, choose him Governor for the ensuing year, to begin this day; who is pleased to accept thereof.

With a like full consent, choose Master HUMFREY, Deputy Governor; and for Assistants, Sir R. SALTONSTALL, Masters JOHNSON, DUDLEY, ENDICOT, NOWELL, W. VASSAL, PYNCHON, SAMUEL SHARP, EDWARD ROSSITER, THOMAS SHARP, JOHN REVELL, CRADOCK, GOFF, ALDERSEY, VENN, WRIGHT, EATON, ADAMS.

Master HARWOOD, still Treasurer[b] [and by the same kind of writing, I suppose Master BURGESS, Secretary].

November 20, Friday. At a Court of Assistants of the Massachusetts Company, in London, "Master CRADOCK informing of £1,200 still owing for mariners' wages and freight on the ships *Talbot*, *May Flower*, and *Four Sisters*; *ORDER* it to be paid, before other debts.[b]

[By which it seems, that all those ships are now returned to England.]

---

[a] Master DAVENPORT, Master WHITE the Preacher, Master WHITE the Counsellor, Master WINTHROP, DUDLEY, &c., present at this meeting. (Massachusetts Colony *Records*.) [b] Massachusetts Colony *Records*
[c] Masters WHITE and DAVENPORT are present, and entituled "Clerks" in the list of Members. (Massachusetts Colony *Records*.)

November 25, Wednesday. At a *GENERAL COURT* of the Massachusetts Company, at London, "Read a letter of *September* 5, from Governor ENDICOT and others in New England. . . . Master WHITE moving that the business may be proceeded in with the first intention, which was chiefly the glory of GOD; and to this purpose, that their meeting may be sanctified by the prayers of some faithful ministers resident in London, whose advice would be likewise requisite on many occasions: the Court admits into the Freedom of this Company, Master JOHN ARCHER and Master PHILIP NYE, Ministers in London,; who being present, kindly accept thereof. . . . Master WHITE also recommends to them, Master NATHANIEL WARD of Standon."[a]

December 1. The *GENERAL COURT* of the Massachusetts Company in London, choose Ten Undertakers, who, with much entreaty, accept the charge of the sole management of the Joint Stock for seven years; Master ALDERSEY to be their Treasurer: and *ORDER* them to provide a sufficient number of ships of good force for transporting passengers at £5 a person, and goods at £4 a ton; to be ready to sail from London by the 1st of *March*. That sucking children shall not be reckoned; those under four years old, three for one person; under eight, two for one; under twelve, three for two. That a ship of 200 tons shall not carry above 120 passengers complete, and others in like proportion. That for goods, homeward, the freight shall be for fur, £3 a ton; for other commodities 40*s*. a ton; for assurance, £5 *per centum*. That the Undertakers furnish the Plantation with all commodities they send for, at Twenty-five *per centum* above all charges. But the Planters are free to dispose their Half Part of the fur: and to fetch or send for any commodities, as they please; so as they trade not with interlopers."[a]

☞ This year. The inhabitants of Piscataqua river enter into a Combination for the erecting a Government among themselves.[b,c]

---

[a] Massachusetts Colony *Records*. [b] A Manuscript letter.
[c] So says the Manuscript letter: but being uncertain from what authority; I therefore rather adhere to their Combination in 1640.

Kings. Great Britain, CHARLES I.; *France*, LOUIS 13; *Spain*, PHILIP IV.

1630.

January 13. THE Council for New England—in consideration that WILLIAM BRADFORD and his associates have, for these nine years, lived in New England; and have there planted a town called New Plymouth at their own charges: and now seeing that, by the special Providence of GOD, and their extraordinary care and industry, they have increased their Plantations to nearly three hundred people: and are, on all occasions, able to relieve any new Planters, or other of His Majesty's subjects who may fall on that coast—therefore seal a Patent to the said WILLIAM BRADFORD, his Heirs, Associates, and Assigns of all that part of New England between Cohasset rivulet towards the north, and Narragansett river towards the south, the Western Ocean on the east, and between a straight line directly extending up into the main land towards the west from the mouth of Narragansett river to the utmost bounds of a country in New England called Pacanokit alias Sawamset westward, and another like straight line extending directly from the mouth of Cohasset river towards the west so far into the mainland westward as the utmost limits of the said Pacanokit or Sawamset extend. As also all that part of New England between the utmost limits of Capersecont or Comascecont which adjoineth to the river Kennebeck and the falls of Negumke with the said river itself, and the space of fifteen miles on each side between the bounds above said. With all prerogatives, rights, royalties, jurisdictions, privileges, franchises, liberties, and immunities; and also marine liberties, with the escheats and casualties thereof (the Admiralty Jurisdiction excepted) with all the interest, right, &c. which the said Council have or ought to have thereto; with liberty to trade with the natives, and fish on the seas adjoining. And it shall be lawful for them to Incorporate themselves or the people there inhabiting by some fit name or title: with liberty to them and their successors to make orders, ordinances, and constitutions, not contrary to the laws of England, for their better Government; and put the same in execution by such officers as he and they shall authorise and depute. And for their safety and defence, to encounter by force of arms, by all means, by land and sea, seize and make prize of all

who attempt to inhabit, or trade with the savages, within the limits of their Plantation; or attempt invasion, detriment, or annoyance to their said Plantation &c.[a,b]

February 10, Wednesday. At a *GENERAL COURT*[c] of the Massachusetts Company, at London, "Forasmuch as the furtherance of the Plantation will require a great and continual charge that cannot be defrayed out of the Joint Stock which is ordered for the maintenance of trade. It is Propounded that another Common Stock be raised from such as bear good affection to the Colony and the propagation thereof, to be employed in Defrayment of Public Charges; as maintaining ministers, transporting poor families, building churches and fortifications; and all other public and necessary occasions of the Colony." *ORDERED* that two hundred acres of land be allotted for every £50: and so proportionably, for what sums shall come in for this purpose; and Master HARWOOD chosen Treasurer for this Account.

Master ROGER LUDLOW now also chosen, and sworn Assistant, in the room of Master S. SHARP, who, by reason of absence, had not taken the oath.[c]

End of *February*. Here is [*i.e., in England*] a fleet of fourteen sail, furnished with men, women, children; all necessaries; men of handicrafts, and others of good condition, wealth and quality; to make a firm Plantation in New England, between 42° and 48° N. Lat.: but stay at Southampton and thereabouts, till *May*, to take 260 kine, with other live cattle, &c.[e,f]

---

[a] Book of *Charters*. [c] Massachusetts Colony *Records*. [e] HOWES.

[b] Master HUBBARD says, that in 1629 [*i.e.*, according to the Old Accounts, but in the Julian year, 1630] the Plymouth People obtain another *Patent* by the Earl of WARWICK's and Sir F. GORGE's Act; and a grant from the king for the confirmation thereof, to make them a Corporation in as ample manner as the Massachusetts (HUBBARD). Now this is the *Patent*: but the King's Grant miscarries.

Deputy Governor DUDLEY also mistakes, in thinking the Plymouth People had obtained successive *Patents* from King JAMES and CHARLES: their *Patents* being only from the Council of New England, as before.

[d] This is their last General Court in England. (Massachusetts Colony *Records*.)

[f] Deputy Governor DUDLEY says, "that one ship sailed in *February* [which I suppose is Master WILLIAM PIERCE, from Bristol]; that another

Kings. Great Britain, CHARLES I.; *France*, LOUIS 13; *Spain*, PHILIP IV.

The latter end of 1629.[a] A Congregational Church [b] is, by a pious People,[c] gathered [b] in the New Hospital at Plymouth, in England; when they keep a Day of solemn Prayer and Fasting. That worthy man of GOD, Master WHITE, of Dorchester, being present, preaches in the fore part of the day; and in the after part the People solemnly choose and call those godly Ministers, the Reverend Master JOHN WARHAM, a famous Preacher at Exeter; and the Reverend Master JOHN MAVERICK, a Minister who lived forty miles from Exeter, to be their Officers; who expressing their acceptance,[c] are, at the same time, Ordained their Ministers.[b,d]

This winter. Die in the Massachusetts Colony above eighty English.[e] And among the rest, Master HOUGHTON, a Ruling Elder of the Church of Salem. But Master SAMUEL SHARP chosen Ruling Elder there, serves in the Office till about 1657-8.[b,f]

March 8. *Master SHERLEY, at London, writes to Governor BRADFORD, "Those who came in May, and these now sent; must some while be chargeable both to you and us."*

This is another Company of our Leyden friends, who are shipped in the beginning of March, and arrive [in New England] the latter end of May. And the charge of this last Company comes to above £550 [=now about £2,000] *i.e., of transporting them from Holland to England, their lying there, with clothing and passage hither: besides the fetching them from Salem and the Bay, where they and their goods are landed.*

---

sailed in *March* [which I conclude is Captain SQUEB, from Plymouth], that four sailed in *April*, eight in *May*, one in *June*, and one in *August* besides another set out by a private merchant, 17 in all." The 14 former seem to be meant by HOWES.

[a] The latter end of 1629, according to the old way of reckoning is the beginning of 1630 in the Julian Year: and by Captain CLAP's Account, this transaction seems but just before their New England voyage; and preparatory to it. [b] A Manuscript letter.

[d] These had also been Ordained Ministers by Bishops in the Church of England; and they are now only separated to the special care of this People. [c] Captain ROGER CLAP's *Memoirs*, in manuscript.

[e] Deputy Governor DUDLEY's *Letters &c.*

[f] He was a person of note in the First Settlement (*Manuscript letter*); and I conclude is the same who was chosen Assistant, *April* 30, and *October* 20, 1629: but whether chosen Ruling Elder at the same time with Master HOUGHTON, or after his decease, is uncertain.

Kings. Great Britain, CHARLES I.; *France,* LOUIS 13; *Spain,* PHILIP IV.

All which, the New Plymouth Undertakers pay gratis; besides the providing them housing, preparing them ground, and maintaining them with food for sixteen or eighteen months, before they have a harvest of their own; which comes to nearly as much more. —A rare example of brotherly love and Christian care in performing their promises to their brethren; even beyond their power.[a]

March 18. At a Meeting of the Massachusetts Assistants, at Southampton. Present, the Governor, Sir R. SALTONSTALL, Masters JOHNSON, DUDLEY, HUMFREY, NOWELL, PYNCHON, GOFF.

They choose Sir BRIAN JANSON, WILLIAM CODDINGTON, and SIMON BRADSTREET, gentlemen, to be Assistants in the room of Masters EATON and GOFF of London; and Master WRIGHT, all merchants. And Sir BRIAN is accordingly sworn this day.[b,c]

Master SHERLEY [at Bristol,] writes to Governor BRADFORD, &c., "That Master ALLERTON got granted from the Earl of WARWICK and Sir F. GORGES, all that Master WINSLOW desired in his letters or more. Then sued to the King to Confirm their Grant, and make you a Corporation; and so enable you to make and execute laws in such ample manner as the Massachusetts. Which the King granted, referring the Lord Keeper [Lord COVENTRY] to order the Solicitor [Sir R. SHELDON] to draw it up. The Lord Keeper furthered it all he could; and so the Solicitor. But as FESTUS said to PAUL, With no small sum, I obtained this freedom: *many riddles must be resolved; and many locks must be opened with the silver; nay, the golden, key. For when it came to the Lord Treasurer [Lord WESTON] for his Warrant to free the Customs for seven years inward, and twenty-one outward: he refused; but referred to the [Privy] Council Table. And there Master ALLERTON attended, day by day, when they sat: but could not get his* Petition *read. And because of Master PIERCE's staying at Bristol, with all the passengers, he was forced to leave the prosecution of it to a Solicitor; but it will be needful he should return by the first ship from New England.*

---

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History.* [b] Massachusetts Colony *Records.*
[c] Mr. HUBBARD is mistaken, in supposing these not chosen till *March* 23

Kings. Great Britain, CHARLES I.; *France,* LOUIS 13; *Spain,* PHILIP IV.

N.B. The clause about the Customs was not thought of by the Colony, nor much regarded; but unhappily put in by Masters ALLERTON and SHERLEY's device[a]*; or the* Charter, *without all question, had been then finished, having the King's hand. But by that means, this opportunity being lost; it was never accomplished: but above £500 vainly and lavishly cast away about it.*[b]

March 19. *Masters SHERLEY and HATHERLY, at Bristol, write to the Plymouth Undertakers "That they two, with Masters ANDREWS and BEAUCHAMP of London, have taken a* Patent *for Penobscut, to carry on a trade with the natives there. That they employed Master EDWARD ASHLEY, a young man, to manage it; and furnished him with large provisions. That Master WILLIAM PIERCE is joined with them: because of landing ASHLEY and his goods there; and will bend his course accordingly. With four or five stout fellows, one of them a carpenter; with a new boat, and boards to make another. And moving us to join them."* [b]

Master ALLERTON accordingly returns (this spring) *to New England; and as soon as ASHLEY lands at Penobscut, about eighty leagues north-east of Plymouth, ASHLEY writes; and after, comes to be supplied with wampampeag and corn against winter. So, with much regret, we join; and give them supplies, to our great prejudice: but, with ASHLEY, we consort THOMAS WILLET, a discreet, honest young man come from Leyden; in whom we can confide.*[b,c] [*See p.* 590.]

March 20. The Reverend Masters WARHAM and MAVERICK, with many godly families and people, under their care,[d] from Devonshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire[e]; with Masters ROSSITER and LUDLOW, two Assistants of the Massachusetts Company,[f] and Master ROGER CLAP, *æt.* 21, [afterwards Captain of the Castle in Boston harbour], this day sail from

---

[a] I suppose they took the hint from the like advantage given in the Massachusetts Colony *Charter.* [b] Governor BRADFORD's *History.*

[c] Deputy Governor DUDLEY telling of a ship that sailed from England in February 1629-30; it seems to be this Captain WILLIAM PIERCE with Masters ALLERTON, ASHLEY, &c. But Governor BRADFORD, beginning 1630, on the 25th of *March*, draws all this Account of the *Charter*, ALLERTON, ASHLEY, &c., unto 1629. [d] Captain ROBERT CLAP's *Memoirs.*

[e] A Manuscript letter. [f] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History.*

Plymouth in England, in the *Mary and John*,[a] a ship of 400 tons, one SQUEB, Master; for the Massachusetts.[b]

March 23. Masters CODDINGTON, BRADSTREET, and T. SHARP, formerly chosen Assistants of the Massachusetts Colony, now take their oath [, at Southampton].

And this day, at a Court of Assistants on board the *Arbella*. Present, Governor WINTHROP, Sir R. SALTONSTALL, Masters JOHNSON, DUDLEY, CODDINGTON, T. SHARP, W. VASSALL, and BRADSTREET.

Master HUMFREY being to stay behind; is discharged of his Deputyship: and, in his place, Master DUDLEY chosen Deputy Governor.[c,d]

March 19. Monday. The four principal ships, *viz.*, the *Arbella*,[e] of 350 tons, 28 guns, 52 seamen; the *Talbot*; the *Ambrose*; and the *Jewel*: now riding at Cowes, and ready to sail. Master CRADOCK this morning, being aboard the *Arbella*, advises them to sail; the rest, *viz.*, the *May Flower*, the *Whale*, the *William and Francis*, the *Trial*, the *Charles*, the *Success*, and the *Hopewell* being at Southampton not yet ready: and takes leave of his friends. At ten, they weigh [a] [, and get to Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight].

April 7. Governor WINTHROP, Deputy Governor DUDLEY, Sir R. SALTONSTALL, I. JOHNSON, W. CODDINGTON, CHARLES FINES, Esquires: with the Reverend Master GEORGE PHILLIPS, on board the *Arbella*, at Yarmouth, sign *An humble Request of His Majesty's loyal subjects the Governor and Company late[ly] gone for New England, to the rest of their brethren in and of the Church of England; for the obtaining of their prayers, and the removal of suspicions and misconstructions of their intentions.* Printed, in quarto, London, 1630.

This is commonly said to be drawn up by that learned, holy, Reverend, and famous Master [J.] WHITE, of Dorchester.[a]

[And having signed this, they set sail again.] But having

[a] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History*. [b] Captain ROGER CLAP's *Memoirs*.
[c] Massachusetts Colony *Records*.
[d] This is the last Record of the Massachusetts Company in England.
[e] JOHNSON says, This was the *Eagle*, now named *Arbella* in honour of the Lady ARBELLA, wife to that pious gentleman ISAAC JOHNSON, Esquire. And the Massachusetts Colony *Records* say, she was of 400 tons.

been told, at the Isle of Wight, that ten ships at Dunkirk [which then belonged to Spain], with brass guns, the least of which had 30, were waiting for us: we on

April 10, discover several sail of ships bearing towards us; and provide to fight them[a]; but drawing nearer, find them to be the rest of our fleet: with whom, we clear the Channel on the 12th of April[b]; and, the *Arbella* being Admiral, steer our course for the Massachusetts,[c] but make a very troublesome and costly voyage. For as they had been wind bound long in England: so, after they had set sail, they are hindered with cross winds, and so scattered with mists and tempests, that few of them arrive together.[d]

About *April* and *May*, is a great conspiracy of the Indians in all parts, from the Narragansetts round about to the Eastward, to cut off the English: which JOHN Sagamore, who always loved us, revealed to the inhabitants of Charlestown. The design was chiefly against Plymouth, not regarding our paucity at the Massachusetts; to be effected under colour of having some sport at Plymouth: which the Governor refusing, they told him, "If they might not come with leave; they would, without."

At this time, the people of Charlestown agree to make a small fort, with *pallizadoes* and flankers, on the top of the Town Hill: which is performed at the direction of Master GRAVES [*p.* 488], by all hands, *viz.*, men, women, and children; who labour in digging and building, till the work is done.

But the people at Salem shooting off their great guns to clear them; the report so terrifies the Indians; that they disperse and run away. Their design breaks up. And though they come flattering afterwards, and call themselves "our

[a] JOHNSON writes but of four Men of War of Dunkirk, who were said to lie in wait for their sailing; and but of four ships that now appeared to pursue them: but, as HUBBARD writes of ten ships at Dunkirk; so by his account there seems to be seven [*of the Puritan fleet*] now bearing towards them.

[b] It seems strange that Deputy Governor DUDLEY should not only be wholly silent in this article; but also write of no more than four ships sailing in *April*, and of the next eight in *May*; but in Masters JOHNSON and HUBBARD, we have two witnesses.

[c] Rev. W HUBBARD's *History*.

[d] Deputy Governor DUDLEY's *Letter &c.*

good friends"; yet this plot obliges us to be in continual arms.[a,b]

[Latter end of *May*]. The *Lion*, WILLIAM PIERCE, Master, arrives in Salem harbour; though none of the Fleet expected.[c,d]

May 29, Saturday. Prince CHARLES born[e] [afterwards, King CHARLES II.]

May 30, [Lord's Day]. Masters WARHAM, MAVERICK, ROSSITER, and LUDLOW arrive [in the *Mary and John*] at Nantasket. Captain SQUEB [I suppose, on Monday, &c.], puts them and their goods on shore at Nantasket Point; and leaves them to shift for themselves. But getting a boat of some old Planters, they lade her with goods; and some able[-bodied] men, well armed, go up to Charlestown: where they find some wigwams, some few English, and one house; with an old Planter who can speak Indian. We go up Charles river, till it grows narrow and shallow. There, with much labour, land our goods; the bank being steep.

At night, we are told of three hundred Indians hard by; but our Planter going and desiring them not to come near us: they comply. Our Captain is Master SOUTHCOT, a brave Low Country soldier; but we not above ten in number.

In the morning, some of the natives stand at a distance, looking at us; but come not near, till they had been a while in view: and then one of them holding out a bass towards us, we send a man with a biscuit, and change them. After which, they supply us with bass; giving a bass for a biscuit; and are very friendly. And by our diligence, we get up a shelter to save our goods.

But are not there many days, before we have order to come

---

[a] Charlestown *Records*.

[b] This account is nowhere found but in Charlestown *Records*: and though they place this history in *April* and *May*, 1629; yet inasmuch as Master GRAVES comes not thither till *July*, 1629 [*p.* 488], I therefore place it in the *April* and *May* succeeding.

[c] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History*.

[d] I place this arrival at this time, (1) Because Mr. Hubbard says, He arrived in Salem harbour, some days before *June* 12. (2) Because this seems to be the same ship mentioned under *March* 8, last; which Governor BRADFORD says, arrives the latter end of *May*: and I suppose he had now landed ASHLEY at Penobscut. [*p.* 503.]

[e] HOWES.

[f] Captain ROGER CLAP's *Memoirs*.

away from this place [*pp.* 542, 545]; which is after called Watertown, to Matapan, because there is a neck to keep our cattle on, so we remove to Matapan.[a] Begin the town, name it Dorchester[b] [*p.* 549]; and here the natives are also kind to us.[a,c]

June 12[d] Saturday. At two in the morning, the *Arbella*, Admiral [*i.e.*, *Flag Ship*] of the New England Fleet, finding her port near, shoots off two pieces of ordnance: and descrying the *Lion*, WILLIAM PIERCE, Master, who had arrived there some days before, sends the skiff aboard; stands in towards the harbour; and some shallops coming, by their help, she passes through the narrow strait between Baker's Island and another little island; and comes to an anchor a little way within the said island.

Master PIERCE comes presently to us; but returns to fetch Master ENDICOT: who, with Master SKELTON and Captain LEVIT, come aboard us, about two o'clock.

And with them, this afternoon, the Governor, with those Assistants on board the Admiral, and some gentlemen and gentlewomen, go ashore to their friends at Salem. Many of the other people also landing on the eastern side of the harbour; regale themselves with strawberries, wherewith the woods are everywhere, in these times, replenished.[e]

Next morning, MASCONOMO, the Sagamore or Lord Proprietor of that side of the country towards Cape Ann, with one of his men, comes on board the Admiral, to bid him[f] welcome: stays all day. And

---

[a] Captain ROGER CLAP's Memoirs. [b] A Manuscript letter.

[c] By this means, Dorchester becomes the first settled Church and Town in the County of Suffolk; and in all Military Musters or Civil Assemblies where dignity is regarded, used to have the precedency (*Manuscript letter*): and by this, it appears that JOHNSON and others are mistaken, when they place the beginning of Dorchester Church and Town in 1631. But the *Manuscript letter* is mistaken, in supposing that this People removed to Matapan, in the beginning of *June*. [e] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History*.

[d] JOHNSON mistakes, in saying *July* 12, instead of *June* 12; and several *Manuscript Letters* mistake *July* for *June*.

[f] This is a confusion of thought on the part of HUBBARD: and interesting, as marking the transition, in his day, of the idea of Admiral, from the Flag Ship, to the supreme Commander (formerly styled, General at sea) sailing on board of it. E. A. 1879.

In the afternoon, arrives the *Jewel*.[a]

June 14, [Monday] morning. The Admiral weighs, is warped into the inner harbour; and, this afternoon, most of the passengers go ashore.[a]

But find the Colony in an unexpected and sad condition. Above eighty of them being dead, the winter before. Many of those alive, weak and sick. All the corn among them, hardly sufficient to feed them a fortnight: so that the remains [*remainder*] of 180 servants we had sent over [*p.* 485], the two years before, coming to us for victuals; we find ourselves unable to feed them, by reason that those we trusted to ship their provisions failed, and left them behind. Whereupon necessity forced us to give them all liberty, to our extreme loss: who had cost us £16 or £20 a person, furnishing and sending over.[b]

June 17. Thursday. The Governor with the chief of the gentlemen, travel to the Massachusetts; to find out a place for settlement: but return on Saturday; taking Nantasket in their way. Where they meet the *Mary and John*, the ship that sailed from the West Country, and brought Masters ROSSITER and LUDLOW, with other passengers; who missing Salem, needed the help of the Governor and other Assistants, to make up the difference between the Master and other gentlemen; which was composed on this occasion.[a]

The *Ambrose* arrives at Salem, before the Governor and company return from the Massachusetts.[a]

July 1. Arrive the *May Flower* and *Whale* in the harbour of Charlestown. The passengers all in health; but most of their cattle dead. *July* 2, comes in the *Talbot*: which had been sore visited by the small-pox; whereof fourteen died at sea.

In one of these ships, came Master HENRY WINTHROP, the Governor's second son, a sprightly and hopeful young gentleman: who was unhappily drowned in a small creek on *July* 2, the very next day after his landing; to the no small grief of his friends, and the rest of the Company.[a]

---

[a] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History*.
[b] Deputy Governor DUDLEY's *Letter &c.*

July 3. Arrives the *William and Francis*; *July* 5, the *Trial* and the *Charles*; and *July* 6, the *Success*. So as now the whole Fleet being safely come to port, they, on *July* 8, [Thursday], keep a public Day of Thanksgiving throughout all their Plantations, to praise Almighty GOD, for all His goodness and wonderful works towards them.[a]

[By this, it seems as if the *Hopewell* also was now arrived, though not mentioned: or, at least, that she arrived before *July* 11, by the following passage in Mr. HUBBARD.] "There were no less than ten of eleven ships employed to transport the Governor and Company with other Planters, at this time, to New England; some of them, ships of good burden, that carried over about two hundred passengers a piece: who all, by the good Providence of God, arrive at their desired port before the 11th of *July*, 1630." [a]

[By the ten or eleven ships, Mr. HUBBARD must mean only those which came from Southampton; and that arrived at the Massachusetts before *July* 11: and if the *Hopewell* was not then arrived, there were ten; but if she was, there were 11].

These ships are filled with passengers of all occupations, skilled in all kinds of faculties, needful for planting a new colony. Some set forth from the West of England; but the greatest number came from about London: though Southampton was the place of rendezvous, where they took ship. The three biggest brought over the Patentees and Persons of greatest Quality: with Governor WINTHROP, that famous pattern of piety, wisdom, justice, and liberality, which advanced him so often to the Place of Government by the annual choice of the people; and Deputy Governor DUDLEY, a gentleman, who, by reason of his experience and travels abroad, as his other natural and acquired abilities, qualified himself, next above other, for the chief Place of Government.[a]

With these, in the same fleet, there came several other Gentlemen of Note and Quality,[a] as Sir R. SALTONSTALL, Masters LUDLOW, ROSSITER, NOWELL, T. SHARP, PYNCHON, S. BRADSTREET [whom I find at the First Court in Charlestown, *August* 23]; as also Masters JOHNSON and CODDING-

[a] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History*.

TON [whom, with Master ENDICOT, I find at the Second Court there, *September 7*][a,b]; with other gentlemen of the civil order. As also some eminent and noted Ministers, as Master [JOHN] WILSON, who had formerly been a Minister of one of the parish churches in Sudbury in the County of Suffolk; Master GEORGE PHILLIPS, who had been Minister at Bocksted in Essex: with [the aforesaid] Master JOHN MAVERICK and Master [JOHN] WARHAM, who had been Ministers in the West Country.[c,d]

These were they, who first came to set up Christian Churches in this heathen wilderness, and to lay the foundation of this renowned Colony.

---

[a] Massachusetts Colony *Records.*

[b] Mr. HUBBARD also mentions Master William VASSAL: but though one of the Patentees, and Assistants this year; yet neither in all the lists of the Courts, nor anywhere else in the Massachusetts Colony *Records,* can I find his name mentioned, after their departure from England. [*But see pp.* 546, 570.]

[c] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History.*

[d] See PRINCE's biographical sketches of all these Worthies, at *pp.* 566–571; 600–605. E. A. 1879.

THE *NEW ENGLAND* CHRONOLOGY.

PART II.

SECTION 2.

From the beginning of the Settlement of the Massachusetts or Second Colony, to the Settlement of the Seventh and last, by the combination of Forty-one persons into a Form of Government on Piscataqua river, October 22, 1640; *afterwards called the Province of New Hampshire.*

BEING now arrived from England, with another Colony of Pious People, and on the known [*avowed*] account of Religion only: for the information of the present age, as well as posterity; we must observe, That they were of a denomination somewhat different, in those early times, from them of

Plymouth. Those of Plymouth being then called Separatists; these of the Massachusetts with the following colonies issuing from them, Puritans. The former had, about twenty-eight years before, separated from the Church of England, as what (on account of the impure mixture of unscriptural inventions in religious Worship, as well as the admission of the scandalous to the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; with the almost entire refusal of Discipline) they could not, therefore, in conscience join with: but the latter were, till now, professed members of the Church of England.

But that the reader may more clearly see the difference then between them, with the occasional causes of their transmigration, we must retrace to their origin in England; and take a summary view of their gradual progress to this memorable period. And though I might spare much labour by citing only out of Dr. E. CALAMY, Mr. PIERCE, BENNET, NEAL, &c.; yet, to avoid exception, I rather chiefly use those noted Church of England writers, FOX, CAMDEN, FULLER, BURNET, STRYPE, and ECHARD; which I have taken no small pains in searching and comparing.

"ON *June* 9, 1536,"[a] as FULLER says, "begins the First Reformed Convocation of the Clergy of England; in which, the Lord CROMWELL, Prime Secretary, sits in state, above all the Bishops, as the King's Vicar or Vicegerent General in all Spiritual Matters." And Bishop BURNET tells us, "That by King HENRY's order, he declares, *It was the King's pleasure that the rites and ceremonies of the Church should be reformed by the rules of Scripture; and that nothing was to be maintained which did not rest upon that authority.*"

Now this is the *Grand Principle* of Puritanism. Upon this,

[a] FULLER's printer wrongly places this indeed under 1535; but KEEBLE and BURNET assure us, it was in 1536.

as the Scriptures were more searched and known, the Reformation gradually went on, to the death of King EDWARD VI.; and had the Governors of the Church adhered strictly to this "One Principle," kept close to the Scriptures, and reformed the Worship as well as the Doctrine by them (*i.e.*, purged out of the Church whatever they themselves acknowledge is not prescribed in Scripture), the whole Church had then been Puritan; and had never driven such multitudes from her Communion.

FULLER also tells us that "Master JOHN ROGERS and Master JOHN HOOPER were the heads of those Reformers, called Puritans." Mr. ECHARD, that High Flying writer, calls Master ROGERS "a learned man, and Prebendary of St. Paul's, London." Bishop BURNET calls Master HOOPER "a pious, zealous, and learned man; first Bishop of GLOUCESTER, and then of WORCESTER." FULLER says "He was bred at Oxford: well skilled in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew." And King EDWARD, in his *Letter* to CRANMER, of *August* 5, 1550, writes "We, by the advice of our Council, have chosen our right beloved and well worthy Master JOHN HOOPER, Professor of Divinity, to be our Bishop of GLOUCESTER; as well for his great knowledge, deep judgement, and long study, both in the Scriptures and profane learning; as also for his good discretion, ready utterance, and honest life for that kind of vocation." [a]

These two led the van of martyrs under Queen MARY I.; Master ROGERS being the first who died at the stake; and Master HOOPER, the first Bishop burnt in her reign, if not the first Bishop that was ever burnt in the world.

And from FULLER and BURNET we learn, That in 1550, under the reign of EDWARD VI., we must begin the Era of the English Puritans: and not in 1554, among the exiles at Frankfort; and much less, lower down in Queen ELIZABETH's reign, as ECHARD and others place it, who seem to write as

[a] The *Letter* is entire in FOX, and FULLER.

if they had not a very exact acquaintance with the Religious History of England.

For Bishop BURNET tells us, That on *April* 1, 1550, RIDLEY was made Bishop of LONDON; orders Altars to be pulled down, and turned into Communion Tables; and that this change was universally made in England this year. That on *July* 3 ensuing, King EDWARD appointed HOOPER to be Bishop of GLOUCESTER, who refuses on these two accounts: 1. The last six words in the *Oath of Supremacy*, "*So help me, GOD! all Saints! and the holy Evangels!*" which all the Bishops had sworn by, before. 2. The Popish habits, such as the rochet, chimere, square cap, &c.,[a] still required by law. Upon this, HOOPER is cited before the King in Council, who sees so much of the reasonableness of his objections, that (1) he strikes those six words out of the *Oath*, with his own hand; (2) the law threatening a *Præmunire*, he writes a *Warrant* to Archbishop CRANMER to consecrate him without the habits; that Archbishop CRANMER was willing to yield; that COX, the King's preceptor, writes to BULLINGER "I think all things in the Church ought to be pure and simple, removed at the greatest distance from the pomps and elements of this world; but in this our Church, what can I do in so low a station?" That the famous Professors of Divinity, BUCER, in Cambridge, and MARTYR in Oxford, being consulted, express their dislike of the habits [*clerical garments*], and wish them removed by law, though till then, advise to use them; that RIDLEY was very earnest HOOPER should be made a Bishop; and that both RIDLEY and GOODRICH, Bishop of ELY, wish the habits abolished, but think the breaking through the law so bad a precedent, and may have such ill consequences, that they cannot consent. That HOOPER, declaring himself for another way of ordination, is committed to the Fleet [prison] *January* 27; but is at length prevailed upon, and consecrated in *March* ensuing, upon "allowance of liberty to lay by the

[a] FOX, and FULLER.

habits on common occasions, though to wear them when he preached in public."

And the *Treatise of the Troubles at Frankfort*, printed in 1575, says, "This was the common grief of all godly minds."

BURNET also says, that, "In 1551, the *Common Prayer Book* was, a second time, revised and corrected; and in 1552 authorised by Parliament." But POINTER and ECHARD, that "therein was neither Confession nor Absolution." Doctor LAYTON, That it thus expressly spake concerning the ceremonies, "As for kneeling, the sign of the cross, the lifting up of the hand, smiting of the breast, and gestures of the like nature; it shall be left for every one to do as he list." And Doctor E. CALAMY, "That in the days of King EDWARD VI., the Liturgy was for the most part used, and what was matter of scruple omitted without molestation; nor could he find any Subscription required to the *Book of Common Prayer*, the *Articles of Religion*, or anything else."

Thus the Puritans continued; and both they and the Reformation grew in the Church, till the decease of King EDWARD VI., on *June* 6, 1553; by which time Archbishop CRANMER, Bishop RIDLEY, Bishop LATIMER, Doctor TAYLOR, Masters PHILPOT, BRADFORD, and other glorious martyrs (as Mr. NEAL, from FOX and HEYLIN, observes) came into the same sentiments with HOOPER, about the Popish habits: and the four first treated them with great contempt, at their degradations. Nor were they Puritan only, in respect to the Popish habits; but also in removing crosses, copes, and altars, as well as images and pictures out of churches, and setting Communion Tables in convenient place.[a]

But Queen MARY I. succeeding, soon reduced the Church to Popery; and burnt to death those most and zealous Reformers.

Then FOX and BURNET tell us, RIDLEY in prison, wrote to HOOPER, "That he was entirely knit to him; though in

[a] See STOW, and BURNET.

some circumstances of religion, they had formerly jarred a little. It was HOOPER's wisdom and his own simplicity that had made the difference."

And FOX informs us, That when they came to be degraded, they were forced to be clothed with the Popish habits; in order to be stript; as a token of their being deprived of their Offices. That then RIDLEY did vehemently inveigh against all that foolish apparel; call the apparel *foolish and abominable; yea, too fond* [ridiculous] *for a VICE in a play.* That when they were put on TAYLOR, he walked up and down, and said to BONNER, *How say you, my Lord? Am I not a goodly fool? If I were in Cheap* [Cheapside], *should I not have boys enough to laugh at these apish toys and toying trumpery?* That CRANMER said, at his clothing and stripping, *All this needeth not, I had myself done with this gear long ago*, And NEAL, from FOX [first edition of his Martyrology in] Latin (which I have not seen) says, That LATIMER, at his degradation, also derided the garments: for when they pulled off his surplice, *Now*, says he, *I can make no more holy water.*

AND then the *Treatise of the Troubles at Frankfort* tells us, That Master WILLIAM WHITTINGHAM and other famous Puritans, with their Company, flying the kingdom; they, on *June* 27, 1554, enter Frankfort in Germany; being the first Englishmen that arrived there to remain.

July 8. They applied to the Magistrates for a church wherein they might have GOD's Word truly preached and the sacraments sincerely [*i.e.*, *purely*] ministered in their natural tongue. *July* 14, they obtained their request; and then [forming themselves into an Independent Church] consult what "Order of Service" to use. And the English Order being perused: they, by general consent, conclude that the answering aloud after the Minister should not be used; that the *Litany*, surplice, and many other things be omitted; that in the Sacraments also, sundry things be omitted as

superstitious and superfluous. And having chosen their Ministers and Deacons; they enter their Church on [Lord's Day] *July* 29: and thus continue till [Wednesday] *March* 13 [1555] following, when Doctor Cox and others with him, come to Frankfort, out of England; and begin to break their Order.

On the Lord's Day following, one of his Company, without the consent and knowledge of the Congregation, getting up suddenly into the pulpit, reads the *Litany*; and Doctor Cox with his Company answers aloud after the Minister, contrary to the Church's determination: and being admonished by the Seniors of the Congregation, he with the rest who came with him, answered, "They would do, as they had done in England." &c.[a]

Upon this, there rises a grievous controversy about the ceremonies; which brake the Church to pieces, and drave many of the Puritans, *viz.*, Fox [the Martyrologist] with some, to Bâle; and KNOX [the famous Scotch Reformer] with Master CHRISTOPHER GOODMAN, WHITTINGHAM, and others, to Geneva: where they form two other Churches.

In the meanwhile, Cox, with those who are for the *Common Prayer* and Ceremonies staying at Frankfort, form a second [Independent] Church; and chose Master DAVID WHITEHEAD, Bishop or Superintendent; to whom, at length, they agreed to give the title of Pastor, with two Ministers, four Seniors or Elders, and two Deacons. The Pastor to preside in preaching, ministering the Sacraments, example of good life, in exhorting, admonishing, rebuking; and, as the chief mouth of the Church, to declare all Orders taken by him and the Elders. The two Ministers to assist the Pastor in preaching and administering the Sacraments. The Elders to assist the Pastor in oversight and discipline. And the Deacons to care for the poor, visit the sick; and, if required, to assist in catechizing.[a]

Other exiles out of England set up another [Independent]

[a] *Treatise of the Troubles at Frankfort.*

Church at Embden in East Friesland; whereof Bishop SCORY was the Superintendent.[a] Others form another [Independent] Church in Westphalia, to which Bishop COVERDALE preaches; but he being called away, they remove to Aarau in Switzerland, under the conduct of Master THOMAS LEVER.[b] Others settle at *Z*urich, Strasburg, Worms, Mannheim, and Doesburg[c]: but whether, at all these places, in a Church state, seems uncertain.

But I must now surprise the reader with some observations of matter of fact, which have been overlooked by our historians, both Conformists and Nonconformists; and which have opened clearly to me upon my nicely examining the aforesaid authors, and comparing them together.

For in the "Frankfort tract," I find, That on further consultation, even the Second Church there, under the conduct of Master WHITEHEAD, A. NOWELL, and others, in a little while, became also Puritan: agreed on a pure Scheme of Discipline; and though they kept the Form and Order of ministration of the Sacraments and *Common Prayer*, as set forth in King EDWARD's last *Book*; yet they left out certain rites and ceremonies in it. That towards the end of Queen MARY's reign, the grudge between these, and those of the First Church who removed to Geneva, seem to be almost quite forgotten. That both before and after Queen ELIZABETH's accession, they proceed to say, "We trust that true religion shall be restored; and that we shall not be burdened with unprofitable ceremonies. . . . And if any shall be obtruded, that shall be offensive, at our own meeting with you [*i.e.*, *you of Geneva*] in England, which we trust will be shortly; we will brotherly join with you to be suitors for the reformation and abolishing of the same."[c] And by comparing this Tract with STYRPE, I find that, soon returning to England, they were as good as their word.

---

[a] FULLER.

[b] I call them all Independent Churches: for though their historians give them not this title; yet they were plainly such in reality.

[c] *Treatise of the Troubles at Frankfort.*

FOR STRYPE informs us, That Queen ELIZABETH ascending the throne on *November* 17, 1558; her First Parliament meets on *January* 23, 1559; her First Convocation of the Clergy on the next day: and they both hold to *May* following. That the Convocation, being entirely Papists, vote for Transubstantiation, the Sacrifice of the Mass, with the Pope's supremacy: and yet the Parliament passes the *Acts* of the *Queen's Supremacy* and of *Uniformity*, which last, restored King EDWARD's *Liturgy* with some alterations; before one Protestant was made a Bishop, and while all the Bishops in Parliament were Roman Catholics. That in May 1559, all the Bishops, except KITCHIN of LANDAFF, refusing the *Oath of Supremacy*, are in a short time expulsed their Bishoprics. And that the *Act of Uniformity* taking place on *June* 24, the Queen's Commissioners soon after visited the kingdom to administer the oath, and see the Order for Uniformity observed: when several of the Popish Clergy refusing, were deprived; and so made way for Protestants to take their places.

Then, NEAL informs us, That those famous Puritans, Master WHITEHEAD, was offered the Archbishopric of CANTERBURY; Bishop COVERDALE to be restored; and Masters KNOX, SAMPSON, and others were offered Bishoprics: but refused on account of the Popish habits and ceremonies.

And STRYPE, That on *December* 17, was MATTHEW PARKER, Queen ELIZABETH's first Protestant Bishop, consecrated; and that by *April* 19, 1562, were consecrated twenty-two Bishops more: of whom, says NEAL, GRINDAL, PARKHURST, SANDYS, PILKINGTON, and others, accepted their Bishoprics with trembling; in hopes, to obtain an amendment in the Constitution. And from BURNET, PIERCE, and STRYPE[a] that both Archbishop PARKER, with the Bishops HORNE, JEWEL, GRINDAL, PILKINGTON, GUEST, and SANDYS were, at first, against the habits: and cite their writings.

[a] See BURNET, Vol. III.; and STRYPE, Vol. I.: under 1559 and 1560.

And STRYPE expressly says, The first Bishops made by Queen ELIZABETH, as COX, GRINDAL, HORNE, SANDYS, JEWEL, PARKHURST, BENTHAM, upon their return, laboured all they could against receiving into the Church the Papistical habits; and that *all* the Ceremonies should be clean laid aside: but they could not obtain it from the Queen and Parliament.

STRYPE also says, That on *January* 12, 1563, Queen ELIZABETH's First Protestant Convocation met,[a] which agreed on the *Thirty-nine Articles*. But the beginning of the *Twentieth Article* being this, *That the Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith*, FULLER tells us, That both the English and Latin *Thirty-nine Articles* set forth in 1571, when they were first ratified by Act of Parliament, in Archbishop PARKER's time, are *without* this passage: and this published book being just before the Act confirming it, must be the book confirmed; and not the private manuscript attested only by a Public Notary.[b] He also says, This passage appears in the editions of 1593, in WHITGIFT's time; of 1605, in BANCROFT's time; and of 1612, in the beginning of ABBOT's time: though Doctor MOCKET, Chaplain to Archbishop ABBOT, left it out of his Latin translation of 1617. And FULLER leaves the matter undecided.

Yet STRYPE says, The Clause appears in two copies printed in 1563; but these were in Latin: and there is nothing of it in the *original manuscript* itself, subscribed by the Convocation, and now in Bennet College Library [Oxford]; by which he seems to decide the matter, and make it a Forgery.

Having finished the *Articles of Faith*, STRYPE says, the

[a] In BURNET and STRYPE, we find that Master ALEXANDER NOWELL that famous Puritan and Dean of St. Paul's, London, was chosen and approved Prolocutor of the Lower House. But BURNET mistakes *January* 13 for *January* 12.

[b] And yet the *Act* of Parliament confirms not *all* the *Articles*; but those which ONLY concern the *Confession of the true faith and the Doctrine of the Sacraments*. The very words of the *Act*, in KEEBLE. [*See p.* 352.]

Convocation, proceeded to the Reformation of Ceremonies in the Public Liturgy.

That Bishop SANDYS advised, **1.** *That private Baptism may be taken out of the* Common Prayer, *which has respect to women; who, by the Word of GOD, cannot be Ministers of the sacraments.* **2.** *That the Collect for Crossing the Infant, at baptism, may be blotted out, as needless and very superstitious.*

And that thirty-three[a] of the Lower House signed a Request.

1. *That playing with organs may be removed;* **2.** *That none but Ministers may be allowed to baptize; and may leave off the Sign of the Cross in baptism;* **3.** *That kneeling at the Communion may be left indifferent, to the discretion of the Ordinary;* **4.** *That the use of copes and surplices may be taken away; and that Ministers use a comely side-garment, as they commonly do in preaching;* **5.** *That Ministers be not compelled to wear such gowns and caps, as the enemies of CHRIST's Gospel have chosen to the special array of their priesthood;* **6.** *That in the Thirty-third article,*[b] *the clause about* traditions and ceremonies, *may be left out &c.* **7.** *That all Saints' Holy Days, as tending to superstition, be clearly abrogated.*

And to these subscribed

DEANS.

	1	DODS, GREGORY, ...	Dean of Exeter.
	2	*ELLIS, JOHN,*	Dean of Hereford.
F	3	*NOWELL, ALEXANDER,* ...	Dean of St. Paul's, London, *PROLOCUTOR.*
F	4	*NOWELL, LAWRENCE,* ...	Dean of Lichfield.
	5	*SAMPSON, THOMAS,*... ...	Dean of Christ's Church, Oxford.
	1	*DAY, WILLIAM,*	Provost of Eton College.

ARCHDEACONS.

Z	1	*BEMONT, ROBERT,*	Archdeacon of Huntingdon.
F	2	*CROWLEY, ROBERT,*	Archdeacon of Hereford.
S	3	*HETON, GUIDO,*...	Archdeacon of Glouester.
	4	*KEMP, DAVID,*	Archdeacon of St. Alban's.

[a] Though STRYPE says Thirty-three: he gives the names of but Thirty-two.

[b] *i.e.* King EDWARD's *Thirty-third*: but Queen ELIZABETH's *Thirty-fourth.*

Z	5	*LEVER, THOMAS,*	Archdeacon of Coventry.
	6	*LONGLAND, JOHN,*	Archdeacon of Buckingham.
F	7	MULLINS, JOHN, ...	Archdeacon of London.
	8	*PRAT, JOHN,*	Archdeacon of St. David's.
G	9	*PULLAN, JOHN,*	Archdeacon of Colchester.
F	10	ROGERS, RICHARD, ...	Archdeacon of St. Asaph.
Z	11	*SPENCER, THOMAS,*	Archdeacon of Chichester.
F	12	*WATTS, THOMAS,*	Archdeacon of Middlesex.

PROCTORS, [or REPRESENTATIVES].

	1	*AVIS, ROBERT,*	Proctor of the Church of Worcester.
	2	BONNER, W.	Proctor of the Clergy of Somerset.
	3	*CALFHILL, JAMES,*	Proctor of the Church of Oxford.
	4	*HILL,* or *HILLS, JOHN,* ...	Proctor of the Clergy of Oxford.
	5	*NEVYNSON, STEVEN,* ...	Proctor of the Clergy of Canterbury.
	6	*REEVE, RICHARD,*	Proctor of Dean and Chapter of Westminster.
S	7	*RENYGER, MICHAEL,* ...	Proctor of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester.
	8	*ROBERTS, THOMAS,*	Proctor of the Clergy of Norwich.
	9	*SAVAGE, GEORGE,*	Proctor of the Clergy of Gloucester.
F	10	*SAUL, ARTHUR,*	Proctor of the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester.
	11	*TREMAYN, RICHARD,* ...	Proctor of the Clergy of Exeter.
	12	*WALKER, JOHN,*	Proctor of the Clergy of Suffolk.
	13	*WIBURN, PERCIVAL,* ...	Proctor of the Church of Rochester.
F	14	*WILSON, THOMAS,*	Proctor of the Church of Worcester.

STRYPE and BURNET also tell us, That on *February* 13, the Six following *Articles* were brought into the Lower House; the determination whereof depended on a narrow scrutiny. **1.** *That all Sundays and principal feasts of* CHRIST *be kept Holy Days; and that all other Holy Days be abrogated.* **2.** *That the Minister, in Common Prayer, turn his face to the people; and distinctly read the Service.* **3.** *That in Baptism, the ceremony of Making the Cross on the child's forehead may be omitted, as tending to superstition.* **4.** *That at the Communion, kneeling may be left to the discretion of the Ordinary.* **5.** *That it be sufficient, in time of saying Divine Service and Ministering the Sacraments, to use a surplice: and none to say Divine Service or Minister the Sacraments, but in a comely garment.* **6.** *That the use of organs be removed.*

That upon this, arose a great Contest; and when they

came to vote, those that were against the *Articles* carried it; though with great difficulty; there being Forty-three for them, and Thirty-five against them. Yet the Forty-three producing but Thirteen proxies, and the Thirty-five producing Twenty-four proxies: the latter carried it by a Single Proxy [*of a person absent, who had no opportunity of being enlightened by the consultation*].[a] The four in the list above, in Roman Capitals [*as* GREGORY DODDS], happening then to be absent; the Forty-three Approvers were the Twenty-Eight there printed in Italic Capitals; with these Fifteen below.

F	1	*PEDDER, JOHN,*	Dean of Worcester.
	1	*BRADBRIDGE, WILLIAM,* ...	Chancellor of Chichester.
	1	*LANCASTER, THOMAS,* ...	Treasurer of Sarum.
	1	*TOD, WILLIAM,*	Archdeacon of Bedford.
	2	*WESTON, EDWARD,*	Archdeacon of Lewes.
F	3	*WISDOM, ROBERT,*	Archdeacon of Ely.
F	1	*BESELY, RICHARD,*	Proctor of the Clergy of Canterbury.
	2	*BOWRE, GUALTER,*	Proctor of the Clergy of Somerset.
	3	*COCCREL, RALPH,*	Proctor of the Clergy of Surrey.
	4	*EBDEN, JOHN,*	Proctor of the Clergy of Winchester.
	5	*GODWIN, THOMAS,*	Proctor of the Clergy of Winchester.
	6	*PROCTOR, JAMES,*	[Proctor] of the Clergy of Sussex.
F	7	*SOREBY, THOMAS,*	Proctor of the Clergy of Chichester.
	1	*BECON, THOMAS,*	[I suppose, of Canterbury.]
	2	*BURTON,*	[Uncertain.]

These were some of the principal Fathers of the English Low Church and Puritans. And in this Company, I observe —**1.** There were 6 Deans, 1 Provost, 1 Chancellor, 1 Treasurer, 15 Archdeacons, 21 Proctors, and 2 uncertain. **2.** I find but 1 of the English Church of Geneva, marked **G.** **3.** There were 12 of the Second Church of Frankfort, marked **F**; 3 of Zurich, marked **Z**; and 2 of Strasburg, marked **S**: which 17 were all for King EDWARD's *Book* in Germany[b]; but yet for removing the Ceremonies, and promoting a further Reformation. Hence see how much those writers are mistaken;

[a] A Proxy is the power of voting for an absent person.
[b] *Treatise of the Troubles at Frankfort.*

who, pouring out their spleen against Geneva, thought they were only or chiefly the exiles returning thence who were for a Further Reformation than Queen ELIZABETH's First Parliament began, while there was not *one* Protestant Bishop in it. **4.** Of many of those in the lists above, who were for removing the ceremonies; STRYPE gives great characters for learning, piety, and usefulness.

Of the Thirty-five Opposers; I observe **1.** There were but 4 Deans, 14 Archdeacons, 10 Proctors, and 7 uncertain. **2.** I find not one of the Church of Geneva; nor of the First or Second Church of Frankfort; nor of Strasburg; nor of Zurich. **3.** Of most of the Opposers, STRYPE gives indifferent or no characters. **4.** He informs us, That two of the Deans, *viz.*, PERNE and TURNBULL, and two Archdeacons, *viz.*, WHITE and COTTERELL, had complied with the Popish religion; were in place and dignity under Queen MARY; and even adhered to Popery till *June* 24, 1559, when they were obliged to leave it or lose their places. That another, *i.e.*, BRIDGWATER, afterwards went over sea, carried several young men with him, and turned Papist. That PERNE had been Queen MARY's Chaplain; and had been named by her to the Pope to be Bishop of SALISBURY, a little before her death. That WHITE is mentioned in a letter of Bishop GRINDAL's, wrote to the Secretary [Sir W. CECIL] soon after the Synod, as "a great Papist," but yet in the Convocation: and was afterwards reproved by a Popish writer, as dissembling in religion against his conscience. That BRIDGWATER produced one proxy, and COTTERELL three.

And these were they, who helped to stop the Reformation, and retain the Popish ceremonies as a perpetual fountain of offence, contention, and division to this very day. Yea, SAMPSON and HUMPHREY, in BURNET, write, "That many things were agreed to in this Convocation, that would have tended to the great good of the Church; but were suppressed," &c. STRYPE also tells us, "That besides these Conforming Papists, there were divers others in Convocation of the same character,"

[which he seems to have known, and yet concealed: however, by comparing CAMDEN, BURNET, STRYPE, and ECHARD, I think I have found them.]

FROM the Rise of the English Reformation, there appeared two sorts of people, who divided the Church through the successive changes in the reigns of HENRY VIII., EDWARD VI., Queen MARY I., and Queen ELIZABETH. **1.** Those, both Protestants and Papists, who were so *conscientious* in their several Religions; as both to quit their places, and either fly or suffer when the Public Alteration turned against them. **2.** Both Protestants and Papists *in disguise*, who, rather than suffer or lose their places, openly submitted to the Public Changes; while they inwardly retained their former principles.

Of the Former Sort, the more conscientious Papists, refusing the *Oath of Supremacy*, lost their preferments; though not many: and some of them, in HENRY VIII.'s time, their lives; though none at the stake. Of the more conscientious Protestants, many were burnt in the reigns, both of HENRY VIII. and MARY I.; and many concealed themselves in the kingdom. Others fled, as we observed before, but returning at Queen ELIZABETH'S accession, were advanced in the Church: who, by disputing, preaching, good life, and writing, greatly helped her Reformation; and would have thoroughly reformed her, but were for ever hindered by the Queen and others.

As to the latter sort, ECHARD says, Upon HENRY VIII.'s beginning the Reformation, ALL the Bishops, Abbots and Priors in England, except FISHER, Bishop of ROCHESTER, were so far satisfied, or so unwilling to leave their preferments, that they resolved to comply with the changes the King was resolved to make: and that the Convocation, the Universities, and the inferior clergy renounced the Pope's, and owned the King's supremacy.

BURNET tells us, That in the farther Reformation of

EDWARD VI., he could not find one Head of a College, in either University, turned out; for though they generally loved the old superstition, yet they loved their places much better: and indeed, the whole Clergy did so readily conform to every change, that it was not easy to find colours [*excuses*] for turning out BONNER and GARDINER.

Upon Queen MARY's accession, BURNET says, All who adhered to the Reformation were sure to be excluded all favour; and that the Reformed Bishops of ST. DAVIDS, EXETER, and GLOUCESTER [who were FARRAR, COVERDALE, and HOOPER], with TAYLOR, PHILPOT, BRADFORD, CROME, SANDERS, ROGERS, and LAWRENCE, in their paper of *May* 1554, declare "that the Universities were their open enemies, and condemned their cause; contrary to the Word of GOD, and the determinations they had made in King EDWARD's time." FULLER says, That on *October* 18, the Convocation meeting, there were found but Six therein who opposed the re-duction [*restoration*] of Popery; and that all the Bishops, but thirteen, returned to it. Archbishop PARKER, in BURNET and ECHARD, says, "That of the 16,000 clergymen then in the Nation, about 12,000 were turned out for being married:" but by Doctor TANNER's account, in BURNET, there were not above 3,000, for that cause, ejected.

4,000 or more then, of King EDWARD's Clergy seem to keep their places in Queen MARY's reign; and the vacancies of the others must needs be filled with the most zealous Papists.

Upon Queen ELIZABETH's being proclaimed in London: ECHARD says, The joy of the City was such as gave the melancholy priests just cause to fear a new Revolution in religious affairs, That the priests were forced to vent their griefs in private corners, And the Queen had reason to expect the Clergy, and those employed in the late reign, would oppose the change. From STRYPE, we learn that her First Convocation meeting *January* 24, 1559, both votes for Popery, and beseeches her not to change it.

May 20, 1559, COX, in BURNET, writes, "That the Clergy

stand as stiff as a rock, and not one of them is yet come over [*i.e.*, *from Popery to the Reformed religion*]." *May* 22, JEWEL, in BURNET, writes, "Besides those who had always been our enemies, the Deserters who left us in the former reign are now our most bitter enemies; and the Universities are universally corrupted." *June* 24, Queen ELIZABETH's *Act of Uniformity* takes place; when the English *Common Prayer Book* is to be used through the Kingdom, upon pain of loss of benefices and promotion. The like loss are they also subject to, who refuse the *Oath of the Queen's Supremacy*.[a]

And now! the sudden change! For STRYPE informs us, That soon after this, the Queen's Commissioners go through the kingdom to administer the *Oath*, and see the *Act of Uniformity* observed. And then ECHARD, from CAMDEN and BURNET, tells us, That *Oath of Supremacy* was offered to the Popish Bishops and all other Ecclesiastical persons; that as many as refused the *Oath*, were turned out of all their preferments: and that of the 9,400 benefices then named in England, 14[b] Bishops, 6 Abbots, 12 Deans, 12 Archdeacons, 15 Heads of Colleges, 50 Prebendaries, and 80 Rectors of parishes [but 189 in all] was the whole number that were deprived, or, as Bishop BURNET expresses it, "left their benefices, on the account of religion.

STRYPE says, That [Sir SIMON] D'EWES's *Journal* reckons but 177 "who left their livings": but that a volume in the Cottonian Library reckons 13 Deans and 14 Archdeacons; and so 192 in all. And that a book (supposed to be Cardinal ALLEN's) reckons 12 Deans, 14 Archdeacons, above 60 Canons, above 100 Priests, and 20 Doctors.

NOW there being about 14 Roman Catholic Archdeacons (deprived in 1559); and 15 Protestant Archdeacons (about three years after) in the list above, of those who were for removing the ceremonies, and

[a] KEEBLE.

[b] CAMDEN numbers but 14 Bishops, and yet gives the names of 15.

carrying the Reformation further (of whom 10 at least had been famous Exiles), it seems that most of the other Archdeacons in the Convocation (with others among the Proctors, in proportion), who stiffly adhered to the ceremonies, were of the Popish clergy, Cox had written of, who "stood like rocks" till *June* 24 or *May* 20, 1559; and then came over, to save their places.

To this account, CAMDEN adds, Most of the Popish priests thought it more behoveful for themselves and their religion, to sware obedience to the Prince, renouncing the Pope's authority; were it for nothing else but that they might shut the Protestants out of their churches, and withal be able to relieve the wants of those of their own side who were thrust out: and this they thought to be pious wisdom, and in a manner meritorious.

BURNET adds, The Popish clergy, when they saw no appearance of any new change, did generally comply with the laws then made; but in so untoward a manner that they made it very visible, that what they did was against their heart and conscience. So compliant were the Papists generally, and indeed the Bishops, after this time, had the same apprehension of the danger into which religion was brought by the jugglings of the greatest part of the clergy, who retained their affections, to the old superstition, which those in King EDWARD's time had. And ECHARD adds, "It was strongly believed that the greatest part complied against their consciences; and would have been ready for another turn, if the Queen had died, while that race of incumbents lived, and the next Successor had been of another religion."

But every knowing reader may likewise add, That as this is indeed agreeable to the common practice of mankind in public Changes of Religion, as well as the known characters of that race of Ministers who kept their places in those religious revolutions; so if preferments kept the lovers of the Popish superstition in the Church: for the same reason these preferments would successively draw in their relatives, friends,

and others, of the same principles and spirit; who would be as averse as they to any further Reformation. And if we allow but 8,000 clergymen in England, which is but half Archbishop PARKER's number: then thirty-nine to one of those stiff Roman Catholics at that time conformed to keep their places. And these, with their successors, were the High Flying Party in the Church, stiff adherers to the old Popish ceremonies; opposers of a thorough Reformation, and haters of those who laboured for it. It is, therefore, rather a wonder that so many Reformers got into the Convocation of 1562-3; and that so many joined with them in the Purity of Doctrine, as expressed in the original of the *Thirty-nine Articles*.

BUT as FULLER tells us, "Though none of these *Articles* were ratified by Parliament till nine years after; yet the Bishops conceiving themselves empowered by their *Canons*, begin to show their authority in urging the Clergy to subscribe to the *Liturgy*, Ceremonies, and Discipline; and such as refuse, are branded with the name of *Puritans*." And from this time forward, the Church is divided into these two parties; (a) the *CONFORMITANS*, who were for retaining these unscriptural Ceremonies; (b) the *PURITANS*, who were for rejecting them, and carrying the Reformation to perfection; conforming her entirely to Scriptural rule; and reducing her to the Apostolical purity in Discipline and Worship, as well as Doctrine.

(a) Of the *CONFORMITANS*, there were these two subdivisions.

1. The High Flyers were for retaining them as things they thought venerable for antiquity; though not brought into the Church in the Apostles' times, but after she declined from her primitive simplicity: as also on the account of their imagined decency [*i.e.*, *fitness or decorum*], they judged them expedient to be *added* to the Christian Institution.

2. Others were more *low* and *moderate*, as being of the same opinion and desire with the Puritans; but were for

retaining them, at present, for prudential reasons only: partly, to gain the Papists, of whom there were then great numbers in the kingdom; and partly in submission to the Queen, who appeared fond and zealous for pomp and ceremony in religious matters; but were in hopes of removing them afterwards, as appears by Bishop JEWEL's, Bishop HORNE's, and Bishop GRINDAL's Latin letters, in STRYPE and BURNET. The Puritans therefore found themselves embarrassed not only with the High Flying Party in that and the following reigns; but even the Queen herself and her successors JAMES I. and CHARLES I. were their continual prosecutors.

As to Queen ELIZABETH, CAMDEN tells us, "That to seven Protestants; she chose thirteen others into her Privy Council, who were of Queen MARY's Council before, and of the same religion with her. That she had no contemptuous [*i.e., she had a high*] opinion of the cross, of the Virgin MARY and the saints [*i.e., the saints canonized by Popes, and worshipped by Papists*]; and would not suffer others to speak unreverently of them." JEWEL, in BURNET, on *April* 10, 1559, laments, "The want of zeal in promoting the Reformation, that the Queen had softened the Mass much; but there were many things amiss left in it; and that she could not be prevailed upon to put the crucifix out of her chapel." And ECHARD says, "She loved magnificence in religion, which made her inclinable to some former ornaments[a] and even images in Churches." Yea, she grew so superstitous, that when she was above sixty years old, and her decaying nature required it, yet she would not eat a bit of flesh for the forty days of Lent, as being against the *Canons*; without a solemn license from her own Archbishop WHITGIFT [who depended wholly on her, for the power to grant it]: nor would she be easy with one general license, but must have it renewed every year, for several years before she died; as we learn from FULLER. At first, indeed, she

[a] BURNET has called them, some old Rites her father had retained [*which were crucifixes, lights, &c.*]: but ECHARD gives them the finer name of Ornaments.

indulged the Puritans; who were known to be her steady friends: but on *January* 25, 1564-5, she began to grow severe upon them; and Archbishop PARKER, with some other Bishops, followed her directions: yea, when she and her Council flagged, the Archbishop stirred them up to give him further power to vex them.

THE *PURITANS* seemed, at first, for retaining Episcopacy in the Diocesan form, in general; for they accepted of Prebendships, Archdeaconries, Deaneries, Bishoprics; and GRINDAL, of an Archbishopric: though they knew these were not of Divine appointments, yet they seemed to judge them as prudential methods for preserving order; and so interwoven with the national Constitution, that they could not well be sundered.

But they insisted, That the Hierarchy ought to be reformed. That the Spiritual Courts, the Commissary Courts, the Courts of Faculties, &c., invented in the times of Popery, and managed according to the *Canon Laws*, which are the Decrees of Popes (almost infinite in number, all with their processes in Latin, and exceedingly intricate), who, for money, gave out licenses and dispensations even from the said Laws themselves, and change the penances for crimes for money, &c.: that these offences to pious people be removed. That non-residences of Ministers in their parishes, with their plurality of benefices, be disallowed. And that the godly "Discipline" in the primitive Church, so often wished for in the *Common Prayer*, might be revived, and exercised not according to the Pope's decrees, but according to the Scriptures only. That Ecclesiastical Measures be merely spiritual, and for none but crimes condemned in Scripture. That the power of choosing Parish Ministers, before they be presented by the patrons to the Bishops for ordination, be restored to the parochial churches. And that their Ministers and Churchwardens be allowed to admonish and suspend immoral members from their communion.

If now, the unscriptural parts of the *Common Prayer* had been removed, or the ceremonies left indifferent; the Popish habits changed for more comely garments; the Pope's decrees, with the Inquisition oath called *ex officio*[a] abolished; and the Hierarchy thus reformed: the general frame of Diocesan Episcopacy had, no doubt, remained untouched; and almost all the People of England had continued in it without uneasiness.

But the Queen, with some of the superior Clergy, opposing such a Reformation; they employ their power to crush the Puritans: by requiring their Ministers' Subscription to the habits, the ceremonies in the *Common Prayer*, ALL the *Articles* and the *Queen's Injunctions*, though the Parliament had yet appointed no Subscription.

Upon this, as STRYPE relates, Those two eminent men of Oxford, and Heads of the chief Colleges, Doctor SAMPSON, Dean of Christ's Church, with Dr. HUMPHREY, President of Magdalen College and Regius Professor of Divinity, appear at the head of the Puritans. In *March*, 1564–5, Doctor SAMPSON is deprived; and about 30 [NEAL, from STRYPE'S *Life of PARKER*, says 37] Ministers in London alone, are suspended, and some of them deprived.

And thus the severities on the Puritans begin: wherein some of the Ministers were suspended, some deprived, some are fined, some imprisoned. Yea, in 1566, SAMPSON and HUMPHREY, in BURNET, write that "Many of the people are put in prison; because they would not provide Godfathers and Godmothers for baptizing their children."

But while the Puritan Ministers are deprived, the Papists comply and triumph; and an author, whom STRYPE supposes was Sir T. SMITH or Secretary Sir WILLIAM CECIL, says, that "In 1569 and before, Papists were frequent in Church, in Court, in Place; that Popish priests still enjoy the great

[a] By the oath *ex officio*, the swearers were obliged, on oath, before the Ecclesiastical Courts, to answer every question proposed, both against themselves and others; or go to prison.

Ecclesiastical livings, without recantation or penance, yea, in simoniacal heaps, Cathedral Churches are stuffed with them; the very spies and promoters of Queen MARY's time are cherished, &c." Yea, STRYPE informs us, That notwithstanding the repeated risings of the Papists against of the Queen in 1569 and 1570, defacing and tearing *Bibles*, &c.: she, on *June* 15, 1570, "declared in the Star Chamber, that she would not have any of their consciences unnecessarily sifted, to know what affection they had to the old religion."

However, the more the Puritans suffer, the more the people search the Scripture; to which appeals are made in these religious matters: and the more they grow acquainted with this inspired Rule of Worship, the more they discover of the Popish superstitions, the more they abhor them, the more they prefer the Divine Institutions, the more pure they desire the Worship of the Church to be. And STRYPE informs us, "That the Puritans grew, both in city and country; and not only the lower sorts, but also in the Universities"—"That, in *December*, 1565, the Fellows and Scholars in St. John's College in Cambridge, with the Allowance of Doctor LONGWORTH, the Master, to the number of nearly 300, threw off the surplice, with one consent. That in Trinity College, all but three, by Master CARTWRIGHT's [influence]; and many in other Colleges, were ready to follow their example."

And from FULLER, and STRYPE, we learn, "That the House of Commons, in the Parliaments of 1566, 1571, 1572, 1575, 1580, 1585, and 1587 laboured earnestly for a further Reformation; but the Queen would never allow it."

The only *Act* that established the *Articles* in that, and the Two following reigns, was made in 1571; and yet this *Act* takes so much care of the Puritans, as to require no more of the *Ministers*, than to *declare their assent, before the Bishop of the diocese, to all the* Articles of Religion *which* ONLY *concern the Confession of the true Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments, comprised in the book imprinted, entituled* Articles &c.;

and to subscribe the same. "Yet now," FULLER says, "the Bishops urge Subscription to the *Thirty-nine Articles* more severely than before:" and STRYPE, that "by force of this *Act*, many Ministers were deprived in this, and the following years."

The Puritan Ministers were indeed as ready as any to subscribe, according to the *Act*, *i.e.*, *To all the* Articles of Religion *which ONLY concern the Confession of the true Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments*; which are commonly called the "Doctrinal Articles." Yet, under colour of this *Act*, the Bishops deprive them for not subscribing to ALL the others, without exception.

BUT THE Queen and Bishops growing more severe on the Puritans, it only alienates them more from the *Hierarchy*, as well as the *Ceremonies*; and turns their minds to the Presbyterian Discipline. And though many of their clergy were deprived and silenced; yet many others, by the favour of several great men in Court and Council,[a] stay in their places, upon using the less offensive parts of the *Liturgy*, without Subscription.

And now BANCROFT and COWELL[b] tell us, "That on *November* 20, 1572, this Puritan part of the Clergy began to erect a Presbytery at Wandsworth, in Surrey," which, FULLER says, "was the First Born of all the Presbyteries in England," and names sixteen of the Clergy belonging to it. That *May* 8, 1582, there was a *Synod* of three score Ministers [*i.e.*, *Church Ministers*] of Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, and Norfolk, at Cockfield, in Suffolk; and, the summer following, another in Cambridge at the Commencement. That, on *April* 10, 1588, there was another of the Warwickshire *Classis* at Coventry. That, by *September* 1, 1590, the Presbyterian Dis-

[a] Such as the Earl of LEICESTER, Sir FRANCIS KNOLLYS, Secretary WALSINGHAM, and others. (See STRYPE, and FULLER.)

[b] Archbishop BANCROFT in his *Dangerous Positions*; and WILLIAM COWELL, D.D., a writer against the Puritans, in his *Examination &c.*, printed, in quarto, London, in 1604.

cipline so grew in the Church, that their *Classes* spread into divers other parts of the Kingdom; and had their assemblies at London, Cambridge, Oxford, Northampton, Kittery [*Kettering*], Warwick, Rutland, Leicester, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and other places: but in 1591, the High Commission and Star Chamber Courts dissolve them. That in the spring of 1603, there were 750 Ministers [*i.e.*, *Church Ministers*] in twenty-five of the forty counties of England and twelve in Wales, who petitioned King JAMES I. to remove the Ceremonies, the public reading of the books of *Apocrypha*, *non-residence*, pluralities, and the Popish *Canons*. And RUSHWORTH tells us, That in 1626, the country was so overspread with Puritans; that WILLIAMS, Bishop of LINCOLN, would not meddle against them, and said, *He was sure, that they would carry all at last.*

YET ALL this while: there were but few *SEPARATIONS* from the Church established: nor would the Law allow them, in England, till King WILLIAM's time. Upon the first depriving of the London Ministers, in the spring of 1566, NEAL and the *Register*[a] say, "their churches were shut up, and their people scattered." Bishop GRINDAL, on *August* 27, 1566, writes, "that many of the more learned Ministers seemed to be about leaving their Ministry; and many of the people consulted of making a Secession from us, and of gathering in private assemblies: but the greater part is come to a better mind."[b] Yet as the *Register* tells us, "In the Spring of 1567, a hundred of them, absenting from the Parish churches, gathered together many times, and made Assemblies; using Prayers, Preaching, and the ministering of the Sacraments, after the Geneva manner: but on

[a] *A parte of a register, containing sundry memorable matters &c.* A Collection of some 42 Puritan tracts, anonymously printed by R. WALDEGRAVE, the Martinist printer, at Edinburgh, before the appearance, in 1593, of BANCROFT's *Dangerous positions &c.*, which refers to it. E. A. 1879.

[b] I rather more precisely follow GRINDAL's Latin, than BURNET's more loose translation.

June 20, many are seized, and put in prison: next day, brought before the Bishop of LONDON and others of the Queen's Commissioners;" and NEAL, from STRYPE's *Life of GRINDAL*, says, "that BOLTON with 23 other men and 7 women were, for this, sent to Bridewell; and kept there a year;" which seems to break up their assembly. And this, I suppose, was the same Separate Church, Master AINSWORTH mentions[a]: whereof Master FITS was Pastor, and BOLTON one of the Elders; in the beginning of Queen ELIZABETH's reign.

Yet FULLER observes, "Though the Queen proceeded severely against them; their party daily increased."

The next Separation made, was by ROBERT BROWN; who, as FULLER says, "was bred at Corpus Christi College in Cambridge; began to preach at Norwich, in 1581, against Bishops, and Ordinations of Ministers, as well as Ecclesiastical Courts, and Ceremonies:" and NEAL, that sometime after—"He denied the Established Church to be a true Church; and her Ministers, true Ministers; renounced communion with her not only in Ceremonies and Sacraments, but even in Hearing the Word and Public Prayer: and gathered a Separate Church of his own principles: but were quickly forced to fly, and settle at Middleburg in Zealand. And from him, the Separatists were at first called *Brownists*; till Master ROBINSON reduced them to milder principles and tempers."

But the Bishops' violent measures, as NEAL observes, "instead of reconciling the Puritans to the Established Church, drave them further off: and carried many of them into a total Separation from her. For, in 1592, a Company set up another Church at London, choosing Master FRANCIS JOHNSON, Pastor, and Master GREENWOOD, Teacher; who, with fifty-four of their Church, were soon seized by the Bishop's officers; and sent to several gaols; where some were

[a] In his *Counterpoison or Reply to SPRINT, BARNARD, and CRAWSHAW*. Printed, in quarto, 1608.

ladened with irons, some shut up in dungeons, some beaten with cudgels, some, both men and women, perished, Master GREENWOOD and Master BARROW executed.

Others kept in close prison for four or five years, and then being banished; as we learn from BAYLIE, "Master JOHNSON, with some of his people, set up their Church at Amsterdam; where he was succeeded by the learned AINSWORTH; and he, by Master CANN," the author of a valuable *Margin* [*Commentary*] to our English *Bible*. In 1596, they publish their *Confession of Faith*; with the grounds of [*reasons for*] their Separation. Reprinted, with their *Apology*, in quarto, 1604.

But their sufferings and writings soon increased their numbers; and more of the warmer Puritans embraced their doctrines, left the public churches, and met in private houses for a purer worship. But then they lost the name of Puritans, and received that of Separatists: the far greater part of the Puritans remaining still in the Church, writing with zeal against the Separation; and as SPRINT, on their behalf, in 1608, expresses it "A Separation we deny not from the corruptions of the Church wherein we live; in judgement, profession, practice . . . for which so many of both Parts [*or parties, i.e., of Puritans and Separatists*] have suffered; and do suffer so many things. But the difference is, We [*i.e., the Puritans*] suffer for separating *in* the Church; You [*i.e., the Separatists*] *out* of the Church, *&c.*"

BY COMPARING their ancient writings, I find the *SEPARATISTS* and *PURITANS* agreed in these two particulars, (a) in their belief of the same Doctrinal Articles of the Church of England; (b) in their offence with her unscriptural parts of Worship, unscriptural *Canons* and Courts of Discipline, and unscriptural power of Bishops.

But, in this, they chiefly differed. That whereas the people in every parochial Congregation through the kingdom, containing all sorts of persons, both religious and profane, make up a Parochial Church under one Presbyter; and great

numbers of these Parochial Churches make up a Diocesan Church, under one Diocesan Bishop; and several of these Diocesan Churches make up one Provincial Church under one Archbishop; and the two Provincial Churches in the Kingdom, *viz.*, of YORK and CANTERBURY, make up a National Church, under one Primate, *viz.*, the Archbishop of the latter; in which National Church, there were about Forty different sorts of Officers, as among the Papists: the *SEPARATISTS* held that neither of these Churches were such sort of Churches, nor their Officers such sort of Officers, as CHRIST has instituted; neither in *Matter*, *Form*, nor *Power*. The *Matter* of right, Christian Churches being *only* Visible Saints separate from the rest of the world, or as the *Nineteenth Article* of the Church of England has it, *a Congregation of faithful Men* or faithful Christians; the *Form* being a *voluntary* Convocation of such faithful Christians, not forced by human sanctions; and their *Powers* being confined to the mere laws of CHRIST, both in Worship, Government and Discipline. From such unscriptural Churches; they therefore judged themselves obliged to separate, and set up such sort of Churches and Church Officers, Discipline, and Worship ONLY, as they found in the Apostles' days.

And then the Church of England Order, Discipline, and Worship, being not according to CHRIST's pure appointment; but polluted with human mixtures, which she refused to leave: the *SEPARATISTS*, at first, went further, and rigidly renounced Communion both with her and her Officers, as Popish and Anti-christian; and even with those who held communion with her. But as for their censoriousness; I cannot find but the Church of England writers against them, were as censorious and rigid, in those times, as theirs.

But the *PURITANS* allowed the *faithful Christians* of the several parishes to be true Christian Churches; and their *qualified* Ministers to be *true* Christian Ministers; that neither their being restrained by human laws, in the exercise of the powers and privileges CHRIST had given them; nor their

having, by such laws, corrupt members, *Canons*, and Ways of Worship *imposed* upon them, neither destroyed their rights nor Christian character: and that since a Separation was not allowed by the then reigning powers, and their setting up purer Churches within the Kingdom was not practicable; they therefore judged they ought to remain in the Church Established, groaning under their burdens, and labouring for her Reformation.

Master ROBINSON, at first, indeed, went off among the more rigid Separatists, in 1602: but as BAYLIE informs us, by conversing in Holland with Doctor AMES and Master PARKER, he grew more moderate, as we observed before [*p.* 413]: yet insisting that the unscriptural Ceremonies, *Canons*, and mixed Communion in the Church of England were sufficient grounds of separating from her, and of erecting Churches on the Scripture bottom; without denying Communion to her pious members, when they desired it of him.

But how strenuously so ever the Puritans opposed the Separation; yet he was so well acquainted with them, that in his *Answer* to Master BARNARD, in 1610, he says, "I doubt not but Master BARNARD and a thousand more Ministers in the land, were they secure of [*from*] the Magistrate's sword, and might go on, with his good licence, would wholly shake off their canonical obedience to their Ordinaries; neglect their citations and censures, and refuse to sue in their Courts. Could they but obtain licence from the Magistrate to use the liberty they are persuaded CHRIST has given them; they would soon shake off the Prelates' yoke, and draw no longer under the same in spiritual communion with all the profane in the land; but would brake those bonds of iniquity," &c.

Governor BRADFORD, also, treating of the afflictions of Master ROBINSON's People in Holland, and of the grounds of [*motives for*] their removing to America; says, "It was thought that if a better and easier place of living could be had, it would draw many; and take away those discourage-

ments. Yea, their Pastor would often say, *that many of those who both wrote and preached now against them: if they were in a place where they might have liberty and live comfortably, would do as they did.*"

But for a further account of the rise, sufferings, principles, and progress, both of the *PURITANS* and *SEPARATISTS*; I must refer to the authors before mentioned; especially Mr. NEAL's elaborate and valuable *History of the Puritans*; in two octavo volumes; which is a branch of English History the Nation wanted, and which ought to be read by every lover of Religious Liberty.

I SHALL only observe, that Archbishop PARKER dying in *May* 1575, GRINDAL succeeded him; who grew more moderate, and the Church enjoyed some quiet: for which SACHEVEREL calls him, "That false son of the Church! and perfidious prelate!"

But he deceasing in *July* 1583, WHITGIFT is made Archbishop of CANTERBURY: who (as we learn from FULLER, STRYPE, and the *Register*) persecutes the Puritans and Separatists, with unrelenting vigour, to his death in *February* 1603-4: as does his successor, BANCROFT to his, in *November* 1610. And then, ABBOT being set in his place, though he shows no mercy to those of the Separation, yet seeing the Puritans, more strictly adhere to the "Doctrinal Articles" than the rest of the Church, grows more indulgent to them: till *October* 1627, when CHARLES I. sequesters him from his jurisdiction; and transfers it to Bishop LAUD and others; as we read in ECHARD. Who says, "LAUD was an aspiring and fiery man, a lover of pomp and ceremony, an active opposer of *Anti-Arminianism*, a mortal opposer of Puritans, that his heart was entirely set upon the advancement and grandeur of the Church [*i.e.*, *not the laical, but clerical part;* or as ECHARD, in another place more clearly calls it, *the advancement of the clergy's grandeur*] which the Archbishop brought to that height, as it showed rather a Rivalship than Resemb-

lance of the Church of Rome. In which he had the hearty concurrence of the King; and grew in such favour with him, as to be made Bishop of LONDON in 1628, Archbishop of CANTERBURY in 1633, and to govern, with a rival, in Church and State." FULLER says, "He was over severe in his censures [*Judicial Sentences*]; in the Star Chamber was always observed to concur with the severer side; and that it was most apparent, he endeavoured a Reconcilation between Rome and England." And the *Continuation* of BAKER's *Chronicle*,[a] "That he was a busy man, over violent in his proceedings, and never ceased to persecute the Puritans."

Of these English *PURITANS*, were the greater part of the Settlers of the Massachusetts Colony. They had been chiefly born and brought up in the National Church; and had hitherto lived in communion with her. As their Ministers had been ordained by her Bishops, they had officiated in her parochial Churches; and, till now, had made no secession from them; though, with multitudes of others, labouring under grievous impositions, conflicting with many difficulties, and looking earnestly for better times: till the High Flying Bishops both increased the ceremonies, and grew so rigorous in *imposing* them, as to allow no Worship in the Church without them; yea, so severely prosecute those who could not in conscience use them, as to let them live no longer in their native land in quiet.

Finding therefore the impositions growing, losing all further hopes of reformation and indulgence *there*, and New England opening her arms to embrace them; they judged they now ought to improve the offer, and rather chose a hideous wilderness, 3,000 miles across the ocean: that *here*, being free from all restraint, they might set up Churches in their Worship, Matter, Form, and Discipline, entirely after the *New Testament* model; enjoy these great and Christian liberties without disturbance; and transmit them, as, what they accounted the dearest legacy, to their perpetual successors.

[a] *viz.* That edition of BAKER's *Chronicle*, printed in 1660.

SECTION II.

1630.

THE situation of Salem pleasing us not [for the capital town]; we consult about some other. To this purpose, some are sent to the Bay, to search up the rivers for a convenient place: who returning, report they have found a good one on the Mystic river; but others, seconding these, find another we like better, three leagues up the Charles river.[a] Whereupon, we unship our goods into other vessels; and in *July*, with much cost and labour, bring them to Charlestown, on the north side of Charles river.[b]

July. Arrive at Charlestown, Governor WINTHROP, Deputy Governor DUDLEY, Sir RICHARD SALTONSTALL, Masters JOHNSON, LUDLOW, NOWELL, PYNCHON, and BRADSTREET, with the Massachusetts Colony *Charter*; as also Masters WILSON and PHILLIPS, Ministers, without about 1,500 people,[c] brought over in twelve ships[d] from England.[e]

But many of our people, being sick of fevers and the scuvey; we are unable to carry up our ordnance and baggage so far.[b] The Governor and several Patentees dwell in the

---

[a] I suppose this was at the place, whence, the Dorchester People were ordered to remove [*p.* 507]. [e] Town of Charlestown *Records*.

[b] Governor DUDLEY's *Letter to the Countess of LINCOLN*.

[c] By Master WILSON's yearly allowance out of the Public Treasury beginning on *July* 10 (Massachusetts Colony *Records*) [*p.* 547.], it seems as if, on that day, the fleet arrived at Charlestown; and [Captain E.] JOHNSON saying that "*July* 12, or thereabouts [this People] first set foot on this western end of the world; where arriving in safety, men, women, and children, on the north side of Charles river they landed; near Noddel's Island." By "this western end of the world" he may mean Charlestown: but if he meant at Salem, he should have said *June* 12.

[d] By these twelve ships seem to be meant (1) The *Mary and John* (2) *Arbella*, (3) *Jewel*, (4) *Ambrose*, (5) *May Flower*, (6) *Whale*, (7) *Talbot*, (8) *William and Frances*, (9) *Trial*, (10) *Charles*, (11) *Success*, (12) *Hopewell*. For the *Lion* brought other people for Plymouth, or came on the Penobscut business. But the Charlestown *Records* unaccountably mistake in placing all this history in 1629. [f] Governor DUDLEY's *Letter &c.*

great house, last year built by Master GRAVES [*p.* 493], and the rest of their servants. The multitude set up cottages, booths, and tents about the Town Hill[a]; and their Meeting Place is abroad, under a tree, where Masters WILSON and PHILLIPS preach, &c.[b]

The state of the neighbouring places on the Massachusetts Bay, at their arrival.

ON NODDEL'S Island lives Master SAMUEL MAVERICK, a man of a very loving and courteous behaviour; very ready to entertain strangers. On this island, with the help of Master DAVID THOMPSON, he had built a small fort, with four great guns [*cannon*], to protect him from the Indians.

About a mile distant, upon the river, runs a small creek, which takes its name from Master EDWARD GIBBONS; who dwelt there, for some years, after; and become [a] Major General.

On the south side of Charles river mouth, on a point called Blaxton's Point, lives Master BLAXTON[c] [*p.* 545]: where he only has a cottage.[a] The Neck of land from which the point runs being in Indian named Shawmut, afterwards Boston.[a] [*p.* 549.]

To the south-east thereof, near Thompson's Island, live some few planters more.[d] These were the first planters of those parts, having some small trade with the natives for beaver skins; which moved them to make their abode in those places, and are found of some help to the new Colony.[c]

BUT having had a long passage, some of the ships seventeen, some eighteen weeks a coming; many people arrive sick of the scurvy: which increases for want of houses, and by reason of wet lodgings in their cottages,[a] having no fresh food to cherish them.[d] And

[a] Town of Charlestown *Records.* [b] Captain ROGER CLAP's *Memoirs.*
[c] Captain EDWARD JOHNSON.
[d] Whether he [*i.e.*, EDWARD JOHNSON] means the few people at Mount Wollaston, Weymouth, and Nantasket, seems uncertain.

though the People are very pitiful and loving, yet the sickness, with other distempers, so prevails, that the well are not able to tend them. Upon which, many die; and are buried about the Hill[a]; yet it was admirable to see with what Christian courage, many carry it, amidst these calamities.[b]

July 25, Lord's Day. After the evening Exercise [*service*], Master JOHNSON at Salem, receives a letter from Governor WINTHROP at Charlestown, representing the hand of GOD upon them in the prevailing sickness, whereby divers are taken away. Signifying they had concluded, He is to be sought in righteousness. To this end, next Friday is set apart to humble themselves before Him, and seek Him in His ordinances; that then, such godly persons among them as know each other, may publicly, at the end of their Exercise, make known their desire, and practice the same by solemnly entering into Covenant with Him, to walk in His ways. That since they live in three distinct places,[c] each having men in ability with them, there to observe the days [*Sundays*], and become three distinct bodies [*Congregations*]; not then, intending rashly to proceed to the choice of Officers, or admitting others to their Society [*Church*], but a few well known: promising, after to receive in such, by Confession of Faith, as shall appear to be fitly qualified. They earnestly entreat the Church of Plymouth to set apart the same days for the same ends; beseeching the LORD as to withdraw His hand of correction, so to direct and establish them in His ways.[d]

July 30, Friday. The Day of solemn Prayer and Fasting kept at Charlestown; when Governor WINTHROP, Deputy Governor DUDLEY, Master JOHNSON, and the Reverend Master WILSON first enter into Church Covenant; and lay the foundation of the Churches both of Charlestown[d] [and afterwards, at Boston].

August 1, Lord's Day. Five more join to the Church at Charlestown,[d] which, by the order in Boston Church *Records*, are Master NOWELL, T. SHARP, BRADSTREET [Assistants], Master WILLIAM GAGER [Surgeon], and Master WILLIAM

[a] Town of Charlestown *Records*. [b] Captain EDWARD JOHNSON.
[c] I suppose these three places are Charlestown, Dorchester, and Salem.
[d] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.

COLBORN[a] [afterwards, a Ruling Elder]; who, with others quickly added, choose Master WILSON for their Pastor: the greater number, at this time, intending no other than to settle here; where the Governor orders his house to be cut and framed.

But the weather being hot, many sick, and others faint upon their long voyage; the People grew uneasy for want of water. For though this Neck of land abounds with good water; yet they only *found* a brackish spring by the water side, in the sand, on the west side of the north-west field,[b] which was not to be come at, but when the tide was down[c]; and could not supply half the necessities of that multitude. At which time, the death of so many was thought to be owing to the want of good water.[b]

This made several go abroad upon discovery.[b] Some go over to Shawmut, on the south side of the river.[c] Some go without Charlestown Neck, and travel into the main till they come to a place well watered; whither Sir R. SALTONSTALL, with Master PHILLIPS and several others went, and settled a Plantation; and called it Watertown. [*p.* 507.]

In the mean time, Master BLACKSTON [*p.* 543] of Shawmut, coming over, informs the Governor of an excellent spring there; withal inviting and soliciting him thither.[b] [Upon which, it seems, that Master JOHNSON, with several others, soon remove; and begin to settle on that side of the river.]

August 2. *One of Plymouth* [Doctor SAMUEL FULLER] *writes from Charlestown, to his friend at Plymouth.*

"*The sad news here is, that many are sick and many are dead; the LORD in mercy look upon them! Some are entered into Church Covenant . . . and others, it is likely, will add themselves to them, daily: the LORD increase them! both in number and holiness. . . . Here is a gentleman, one Master* COTTINGTON,[d] *a Boston man; who told me, that Master* COTTON's

[a] Boston Church *Records*. [b] Town of Charlestown *Record*.
[c] Captain EDWARD JOHNSON.
[d] I suppose this should be CODDINGTON; and by Boston, I conclude he meant Boston in England; for Boston in New England seems not, yet, to be named. And as by this only passage of a letter in Governor BRADFORD's manuscript *History*, we find that the Reverend and famous Master COTTON went from Boston in Lincolnshire to take his leave of his depart-

Kings. France, LOUIS 13; *Great Britain,*‖ CHARLES I.; *Spain,*† PHILIP IV.

charge at Hampton [Southampton] *was,* '*That they should take advice of them at Plymouth, and should do nothing to offend them.*' *Here* [at Charlestown] *are divers honest Christians desirous to see us: some out of love they bare to us, and the good persuasion they have of us; others to see whether we be so ill, as they have heard. We have a name of* [reputation for] *holiness, and love to GOD and His saints: the LORD make us more and more answerable! that it may be more than a name! &c.*"[a]

August 20. Arrives in Charlestown harbour, another ship, called the *Gift*; which, though 12 weeks at sea, yet lost but one passenger[b]: and Deputy Governor DUDLEY says, that all the 17 ships mentioned in *Section* I. [*pp.* 505, 566] arrived safely in New England, for the increase of the Plantation here, this year, 1630.

It having been reported in England, that there were now provisions enough here, divers ships came not so well supplied as otherwise they would [have done]; and there being miserable damage of our provisions at sea; and yet some imprudently selling much of the remainder to the Indians for beaver: we fall into great and threatening straits, for want of food. Upon which, the Governor and other gentlemen hire and despatch away Master WILLIAM PIERCE with his ship,[c] the *Lion*, of Bristol,[d] for Ireland; to buy more and come back with all speed. With whom, go Master REVIL [*p.* 570], one of the five Undertakers; Master VASSAL [*p.* 570], one of the Assistants, and his family; and Master BRIGHT, the Minister sent hither the year before[d] [*p.* 493].

The mortality increasing, many die weekly, yea, almost daily: among whom were Mistress PYNCHON, Mistress CODDINGTON, Mistress PHILLIPS, and Mistress ALCOCK, a sister of Master HOOKER. So that the ships being now on their return, some for England, some for Ireland, there were

---

ing friends at Southampton: so by this, we find he had better ideas of the Plymouth People than had been represented by their enemies; and perhaps the letters of Master ENDICOTT and others of Salem might have given that great and learned man, with others in England, a different and more agreeable apprehension of them.

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History.*

[b] HUBBARD's *History.*

[c] Town of Charlestown *Records.*

[d] Deputy Governor DUDLEY's *Letter &c.*

not much less than an hundred (some think, many more), partly out of dislike of our Government, which restrained and punished their excesses; and partly, through fear of famine, not seeing other means than by their labour to feed themselves; returned back: and glad were we so to be rid of them.[a]

Others also, afterwards, hearing of men of their own disposition as Pascataway, went from us to them: whereby, though our numbers were lessened, yet we accounted ourselves nothing weakened by their removal.[a]

August 23. The First Court of Assistants held at Charlestown,[b] on board the *Arbella*.[c] Present, Governor WINTHROP, Deputy Governor DUDLEY, Sir R. SALTONSTALL, Masters LUDLOW, ROSSITER, NOWELL, T. SHARP, PYNCHON, and BRADSTREET.

Wherein the first thing propounded is, "How the Ministers shall be maintained?" Masters WILSON and PHILLIPS only proposed. And

ORDERED That houses be built for them, with convenient speed, at the public charge. Sir R. SALTONSTALL undertook to see it done at his Plantation [*Watertown*] for Master PHILLIPS; and the Governor, at the other Plantation, for Master WILSON. Master PHILLIPS to have £30 a year, beginning at the 1st of September [1630] next; Master WILSON to have £20 a year, begining at *July* 10 last. [*See Note* [c] *p.* 542.] All this at the common charge; those of Mattapan and Salem excepted.

ORDERED That [THOMAS] MORTON of Mount Wollaston be sent for presently [*at once*]. [*pp.* 484, 496, 651.]

And that Carpenters, Joiners, Bricklayers, Sawyers, and Thatchers take no more than 2s. a day; under pain of 10s. to [both] giver and taker.[b] [*Rescinded on* 23 *Aug.* 1630; *p.* 579.]

And Master BRADSTREET chosen Secretary.[c,d]

---

[a] Deputy Governor DUDLEY's *Letter &c.*

[b] Massachusetts Colony *Records.* [c] Captain EDWARD JOHNSON.

[d] [Captain EDWARD] JOHNSON says, Master WINTHROP was then chosen Governor, and Master DUDLEY, Deputy Governor; for the remainder of of the year [which seems unlikely; having been chosen before in England.]

Kings. France, LOUIS 13; *Great Britain,*‖CHARLES I.; *Spain,*†PHILIP IV.

August 27, Friday. The first Ordination of an Elder in the Massachusetts Bay, *viz.*, Master WILSON; who is [now] made Pastor [or Teaching Elder] of the Church at Charlestown[a]; and whose extent now reaches on both sides the river.[b]

End of *August.* About this time,[c] dies at Salem; and is soon after interred there, the Lady ARBELLA, wife of Master JOHNSON; who came from a paradise of delight and plenty she enjoyed in the family of noble Earldom, into this wilderness of straits; and now left her worthy consort overwhelmed in grief and tears.[d] [*See p.* 558.]

Beginning of *September.* Dies of a fever, Master GAGER, a skilful surgeon, a right godly man, and one of the Deacons of our Congregation. As also, the Reverend Master HIGGINSON, of a consumption,[c] the first Teacher of the Church at Salem,[d] a zealous and profitable Preacher[c] *æt.* 43.[e,f]

September 27. The Second Court of Assistants held at Charlestown. Present, Governor WINTHROP, Deputy Governor DUDLEY, Sir R. SALTONSTALL, Masters JOHNSON, ENDICOT, SHARP, NOWELL, CODDINGTON, LUDLOW, ROSSITER, PYNCHON, BRADSTREET.

ORDERED That THOMAS MORTON of Mount Wollaston shall presently [*at once*] sit in the bilboes [*stocks*]; and after sent prisoner to England, by the ship called the *Gift*, now returning thither; that all his goods shall be seized to defray the charge of his transportation, payment of his debts, and to give satisfaction to the Indians for a canoe he took unjustly from them; and that his house be burnt down to the ground in sight of the Indians, for their satisfaction for many wrongs he has done them.

---

[a] Town of Charlestown *Records.* [b] Captain EDWARD JOHNSON.
[c] Deputy Governor DUDLEY's *Letter &c.* [d] HUBBARD's *History.*
[e] Doctor COTTON MATHER's *Life of Master HIGGINSON.*
[f] Master MATHER says, he died about the same time of the year after, [as] his Ordination in *August*; Doctor C. MATHER says, in *August*; and Mr. HUBBARD on *August* 6; But Deputy Governor DUDLEY writing, about the same time [as Master HIGGINSON's death], I chose to mention it in the same manner.

Kings. France, LOUIS 13; *Great Britain*, ‖CHARLES I.; *Spain*, †PHILIP IV.

ORDERED That no person shall plant within the limits of this *Patent* without leave from the Governor and Assistants or the major part [*majority*] of them.

That a warrant shall presently be sent to Aggawam to command those who are planted there, forthwith to come away.

And that *Trimountain* be called Boston; *Mattapan*, Dorchester; and the town upon Charles river, Watertown.[a] [*p.* 507.]

Thus this remarkable Peninsula, about two miles in length and one in breadth; in those times, appearing, at high water, in the form of two islands, whose Indian name was *Shawmut*; but I suppose, on the account of the three contiguous hills appearing in a range, to those at Charlestown, by the English called, at first, *Trimountain*; and now receives the name of Boston. Which Deputy Governor DUDLEY says, "they had before intended to call the place they first resolved on;" and Mr. HUBBARD; that they gave this name, on account of Master COTTON [the then famous Minister of Boston, in England: for whom they had the highest reverence; and of whose coming over, they were doubtless in some hopeful prospect.]

And from the late Judge SEWALL, in comparison with the Charlestown *Records*, I learn that this town was settled under the conduct of Master JOHNSON; whom Mr. HUBBARD calls, 'a right worthy gentleman of note for piety and wisdom," and the Reverend Master DANFORTH, of Roxbury, styles him, "a right NATHANIEL, eminent for piety and virtue," and in another place "a gentleman of singular piety and sincerity."[b]

To this town, the major part of the Church, in a little time, removes from Charlestown; and so much increases, as that 151 are admitted by *October* 14, 1632: when they peaceably divide into two Churches.[c,d] [*See p.* 630.]

Thus out of small beginnings, great things have been produced by His hand, that made all things, and gives being to all things

[a] Massachusetts Colony *Records*.
[b] In his Chronological Articles at the end of his *Almanacs*, printed in 1647 and 1649.
[c] Town of Charlestown *Records*.
[d] Boston Church *Records*.

Kings. France, LOUIS 13; *Great Britain,*‖ CHARLES I.; *Spain,*† PHILIP IV.

that are: and as one small candle may light a thousand, so the light here[a] *kindled, hath shone to many; yea, in some sort, to our whole Nation. Let the glorious name of JEHOVAH have all the praise!*[b]

---

[a] Governor BRADFORD adding this, immediately after the article of *August* 2 [*p.* 545]; it seems uncertain whether by *here* he means the Plymouth or Boston Church; though I am apt to think the latter. [*In which we differ from our worthy Annalist, as we take the* one small candle *to refer to the few Pilgrim Fathers.* E. A. 1879.]

[b] Governor BRADFORD'S *History.*

But this Composure growing beyond my expectation, and the Bookseller informing me that if I proceed to the End of this Second Section, *as intended; it will make the First Volume too unsizeable: I must ask the Reader to excuse my referring the rest to the Second Volume; and closing this, with the addition of some passages omitted in the* Introduction *and* Part I.

[These additions have been incorporated in the present Text. E. A. 1879.]

VOLUME II.

OF THE

ANNALS OF NEW ENGLAND.

was issued, after a lapse of nearly twenty years, and when the Compiler was nearly seventy years of age, in 1754 and 1755, in the form of occasional

Sixpenny Numbers,

of Thirty-two pages each, stitched in a paper Cover of Four printed pages.

Three only of these Numbers are known to have appeared. None of them bear any date of publication; but on the cover of the first, there is a *Proposal* dated *May* 30, 1754 [*p.* 554]; and on that of the third, an Appeal for further information, dated *May* 28, 1755 [*p.* 624.] Their precise dates of appearance might possibly be fixed by a reference to the *Boston Gazette or Country Journal* of those two years; but apparently there are no copies of that newspaper, of that date, in Great Britain.

It is supposed that no one possesses a *perfect* Set of the Three Sixpenny Numbers, which constitute all that ever appeared of PRINCE's Second Volume All the Sets known are wanting in some portion of their printed *Covers*.

The Set from which the following Text is taken, is now in the British Museum; and wants the entire Cover of NUMB. III., but is otherwise perfect.

It was formerly in the possession of SAMUEL G. DRAKE Esq., of Boston, U. S. A., already mentioned at *p.* 228, as my predecessor in the honourable enterprise of reprinting these *Annals*. Mr. DRAKE parted with it to Mr. CROWNINSHIELD; whose entire Collection was purchased by my friend Mr. H. STEVENS, F.S.A., in 1860.

In 1871, I moved Mr. STEVENS to offer the Set to W. B. RYE, Esq., the then Keeper of Printed Books at the British Museum; and strongly urged the latter gentleman to buy the same. The result was, that the Set (96 *pp.* of Text+8 *pp.* of printed Covers, and wanting the 4 *pp.* additional *pp.* that constituted the Cover of NUMB. III.), originally issued for 1*s.* 6*d.*; was, on 6 *November* of that year, purchased for the Museum Library for £10 10*s.* and is probably, at present, *the only Set in Europe*.

The Museum press mark is 278 b 37*

[Reprinted from the original four-page Cover in the British Museum. Press Mark 278 b 37*. The *last* page of the First Cover reproduced on the other side; the second and third pages, forming part of the Text, on *pp.* 555, 556.]

ANNALS
OF
NEW ENGLAND.

By Thomas Prince, A.M.

VOL. II.

NUMB. I.

Deut. xxxii. 7. &c. *Remember the days of old! Consider the years of many generations! Ask thy father! and he will show thee; thy elders! and they will tell thee. When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when He separated the sons of* ADAM*; He set the bounds of the People.*

He found him in a desert land, in the waste howling wilderness; He led him about, He instructed him, He kept him as the apple of his eye.

As an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings; taketh them, beareth them on her wings: so the LORD alone, did lead him; and there was no strange god with him.

BOSTON: Printed and Sold by S. KNEELAND in Queen Street, and by J. and T. LEVERETT in Cornhill.

[Price *Sixpence* lawful money, each Number.]

[The Fourth page of the Cover of NUMBER I.]

Boston, May 30, 1754.

PROPOSALS

FOR printing, by Subscription, the II. Volume of the Reverend Mr. PRINCE's *Annals of New England.* The Volume will be printed on a good paper and fair character [*type*], in octavo; and will come out in successive Numbers, two sheets [*i.e., 32 pp.*] in each Number, covered [*i.e., in paper covers*]: which shall be delivered to the Subscribers in Boston, as soon as published, and notice given thereof, that those who live at a distance may send for them; at Six pence lawful money for each Number. And it is expected that the Subscribers pay for each Number, when they are delivered. Those who subscribe for six Books, in Numbers; shall have a seventh *gratis.*

Subscriptions are taken in by S. KNEELAND in Queen Street, and by J. & T. LEVERETT in Cornhill, Boston.

Just Published, and Sold by S. KNEELAND, in Queen Street.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS relating to the Houssatunnuk Indians: Or, an Account of the methods used, and pains taken for the propagation of the Gospel among that Heathenish tribe; and the success thereof, under the Ministry of the late Rev. Mr. JOHN SERGEANT: Together with the character of that eminently worthy Missionary; and an Address to the people of this Government relating to those Indians *&c., &c.*

Lately Published in London.

EIGHT Numbers of a New Edition of the *History and Survey of London, Westminster, Southwark, and places adjacent; to the present time.* By WILLIAM MAITLAND, F.R.S., and others. Which Numbers may be had of JOHN and THOMAS LEVERETT in Cornhill, Boston; at the first cost, which is Six Pence Sterling, each Number.

Any gentleman desirous of subscribing to the above Work, may have the Numbers in order, as they will be sent for in the vessels that come next after they are published, at the above price. The whole Work will make two Volumes folio, illustrated with near[ly] one hundred and fifty copper plates. A specimen of the said Work may be seen at [the] said LEVERETT's.

Where likewise may be had, just imported, CHAMBER's *Dictionary* in 4 Vols.; last edition, neatly bound. And a variety of Books in Divinity, History, Physic, &c.; and all sorts of Stationery ware.

N.B. **1.**  N THE *Second Section*, and thenceforward, we set the chief stage of our *Annals* in Boston.

2. The articles of Plymouth Colony, we shall distinguish by single commas ' [*in the present Text, these are put in Italic type, see p.* 485]; and of Connecticut and New Haven Colonies by double commas ", [*There are none in the Text, so far as was published.*]

3. The monies in the *Second Section* are yet accounted Sterling.

4. As we are now about Foundations; we purpose to be larger in these two years, 1630 and 1631, than others. [See *p.* 593.]

6. Our Marks of reference are these.

At the top of the page; ‖ *Peace*, † *War*.

[*The following Marks have been discarded in the present Text, wherein all abbreviations are expanded; and are here given merely to show* PRINCE's *plan. See pp.* 593, 625, *for additional Marks.*]

b, Beginning; *m*, middle; *e*, end of a month.
bcr, Boston Church *Records*, in MS. *bp*, Book of *Patents*, in MS.
btr, Boston Town *Records*, in MS.
br, Governor BRADFORD's *History*, in MS.
c, Captain CLAP's *Memoirs*.
Ccr, Connecticut Colony *Records*, in MS.
ctr, Charlestown *Records*, in MS.
d, Deputy Governor DUDLEY's *Letter to the Countess of* LINCOLN.
fl, FULLER's *Church History of Britain*.
g, FERDINANDO GORGES, Esquire, *History of New England*.
h, Rev. Mr. WILLIAM HUBBARD's *History of New England*, in MS.
hc, Harvard College *Records*, in MS.
hcr, Hingham Church *Records*, in MS.
hs, HOWES's *Annals of England*.
j, Captain JOHNSON's *History of New England*.
im, Doctor INCREASE MATHER.
mo, Mr. MORTON's (Secretary of Plymouth Colony) *Memorial*.
Mcr, Massachusetts Colony *Records*, in MS.
ml, Manuscript letter. *mss*, Manuscript.
Ncr, New Haven Colony *Records*, in MS.
Pcr, Plymouth Colony *Records*, in MS.
pn, POINTER's *Chronological Historian*.
rcr, Roxbury Church *Records*, in MS.
Rr, Rhode Island Colony *Records*, in MS.
s, SALMON's *Chronological Historian*.
sd, Rev. Master SAMUEL DANFORTH.
w, Governor WINTHROP's *Journal*, in MS.

The other Marks are common. As E, East; W, West; N, North; S, South; N.E. North-east, &c. D, Duke; E, Earl; L, Lord; P. Prince; Q, Queen; Gov., Governor; D. Gov., Deputy-Governor, &c.

Advertisement.

HAVING brought our *Annals of New England* down to the Settlement of the Massachusetts Colony, in the First Volume; and having lately received a most authentic and valuable *Journal* of events relating to the said Colony, from the time when their first Governor WINTHROP, Deputy Governor DUDLEY, eleven Assistants, with their *Charter*, four Ministers and about 1,500 people were waiting, at the Isle of Wight and other places in the south and west of England, to sail for this desired land; *viz.*, from Monday, *March* 29, 1630, to *January* 11, 1648–9. Wherein are many remarkables not to be found anywhere else; and whereby alone we are enabled to correct many mistakes, and ascertain the dates of many articles in others: all wrote with the said Governor WINTHROP's own hand, who deceased in the very house I dwell in, on the 26th of *March* after; I may now proceed with a further enlargement of intelligence, and with a greater certainty and exactness.

And for my readers' satisfaction, I shall also go on, as I did before, to give them, not my own expressions; but those of the authors, who lived in the times they wrote of; excepting, now and then, a word or note of mine for explanation sake, distinguished from theirs by being enclosed in such marks as [these]. So that we may, as it were, hear those eminent persons, Governor BRADFORD, Governor WINSLOW, Governor WINTHROP, Mr. Secretary MORTON of Plymouth, Governor BRADSTREET, Mr. Secretary NOWELL, &c., in the Massachusetts Colony *Records*; the Reverend Mr. HUBBARD, and others, telling us the remarkable events of the times they lived in. But as I was unhappily obliged to close the former Volume abruptly in *September* 1630; about two months after our entering the *Second Section* of the *Second Part*; I must refer to that; and begin the Second Volume, with *September* 28, in continuation of the

Kings. France, LOUIS 13; *Great Britain*, ‖ CHARLES I.; *Spain*, † PHILIP IV.

SECOND SECTION.

Containing articles from the beginning of the Settlement of the Massachusetts or Second Colony; to the Settlement of the Seventh and last, by the combination of Forty-one persons into a Form of Government at Piscataqua on October 22nd, 1640, afterwards called the Province of New Hampshire.

1630.

September 28. THE THIRD Court of Assistants, at Charlestown. Present, The Governor, Deputy Governor, Captain ENDICOT, Masters LUDLOW, NOWELL, CODDINGTON, BRADSTREET, ROSSITER, PYNCHON.

ORDERED **1.** That no person permit any Indian to use any piece [or gun] on any occasion, under £10 for the first offence; for the second to be fined and imprisoned, at the discretion of the Court.

2. That no person give, sell, truck or send any Indian corn to any English out of this jurisdiction; nor to any Indian: without licence from the Governor and Assistants.[a]

3. That £50 be levied out of the several Plantations for Master PATRICK, and Master UNDERHILL, [I suppose for some military purpose] *viz.*—

[a] English and Indian corn being 10*s.* a strike, and beaver 6*s.* a pound: we made laws to restrain selling corn to the Indians, and to leave the price of beaver at liberty, which was presently sold for 10*s.* and 20*s.* a pound. (DUDLEY.)

Kings. France, LOUIS 13; *Great Britain,*‖ CHARLES I.; *Spain,*† PHILIP IV.

1. Charleston to pay	£7	6. Meadford to pay	£3
2. Boston	[a] 11	7. Salem	3
3. Dorchester	7	8. Wessaguscus [after, called Weymouth]	2
4. Roxbury	5	9. Natasket	1
5. Waterton	11		
			[b]£50

September 30 [1630], Thursday. About two in the morning, Master ISAAC JOHNSON dies [*p.* 548]. He was a holy man and wise; and died in sweet peace, leaving part of his substance to the Colony.[c] This gentleman was a prime man among us, having the best estate of any; zealous for religion, one of the Five Undertakers,[d] and the greatest furtherer of this Plantation. He made a most godly end, dying willingly, professing his life better spent in promoting this Plantation, than it could have been any other way. He left to us a great loss.[e] The first Magistrate that died in the Massachusetts.[f]

And Captain JOHNSON says, The beginning of this work was very dolorous. First, for the death of that worthy personage, ISAAC JOHNSON, Esquire, whom the LORD had endued with many precious gifts; insomuch as he was had in high esteem among all the people of GOD, and as a chief pillar to support this new erected building. He very much rejoiced at his death, that the LORD had been pleased to keep his eyes open so long as to see one Church of CHRIST gathered before his death. At whose departure, there were not only many weeping eyes; but some fainting hearts, fearing the fall of the present work.[g]

And the late Chief Justice, SAMUEL SEWALL, Esquire, informed me, That this Master JOHNSON was the principal cause of settling the town of Boston, and so of its becoming the metropolis; had chosen for his lot, the great Square

[a] By this, it seems as if the much greater part of the people at Charlestown, were now removed to Boston; and the Reverend Master WILSON with them. [b] Massachusetts Colony *Records.*

[c] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.* [f] Rev. Mr. SAMUEL DANFORTH.

[d] The five Undertakers were Governor WINTHROP, Deputy Governor DUDLEY, Sir RICHARD SALTONSTALL, ISAAC JOHNSON, Esquire, and Master REVIL [*see p.* 570] (DUDLEY). [e] Dep. Gov. DUDLEY's *Letter &c.*

[g] Captain EDWARD JOHNSON, *History of New England.*

lying between Cornhill on the south-east, Treemount street on the north-west, Queen street on the north-east, and School street on the south-west; and on his death-bed desired to be buried at the upper end of his lot, in faith of his rising in it. He was accordingly buried there: which gave occasion for the first Burying Place of this town to be laid out round about his grave.]

[October[a], 1630]. *The first Execution in Plymouth Colony, which is a matter of great sadness to us, is of one,* JOHN BILLINGTON, [*p.* 412] *for waylaying and shooting* JOHN NEWCOMEN, *a young man*[b] *in the shoulder*[c]; *whereof he died. The said* BILLINGTON *was one of the profanest among us. He came from London; and I know not by what friends* [*was*] *shuffled into our Company. We used all due means about his trial: was found guilty, both by Grand and Petty Jury. And we took the advice of Master* WINTHROP *and others, the ablest gentlemen in Massachusetts Bay; who all concurred with us, that he ought to die; and the land be purged from blood.*[b]

Master PHILLIPS, the Minister of Watertown, and others, have their houses burnt.

October 19. The First *GENERAL COURT* of the Massachusetts Colony: and this at Boston. Present, the Governor, Deputy Governor, Sir RICHARD SALTONSTALL, Master LUDLOW, Captain ENDICOT, Masters NOWELL, PYNCHON, BRADSTREET.[d]

[N.B. For the Form of Government in the Massachusetts under Deputy Governor ENDICOT, subordinate to the Governor and Company in England; see *April* 20, 1628, and *April* 30, 1629. But since their arrival here, the (1st) Form of their Government was that of Governor, Deputy Governor, and Assistants: the Patentees with their heirs, assigns, and associates, being Freemen &c. But now in this *GENERAL COURT*, they agree on a (2nd) Form, as follows.]

[a] N.B.—This is the order wherein Governor WINTHROP sets this article, who was consulted about it; though Mr. HUBBARD says "about September;" and Governor BRADFORD "in the latter part of the year."

[b] Governor BRADFORD's *History.* [c] Rev. Mr. HUBBARD's *History.*

[d] Massachusetts Colony *Records.*

Proposed as the best course—For the *Freemen* to have the power of choosing the *Assistants*, when they are to be chosen; and the *Assistants*, from among themselves, to choose the *Governor* and *Deputy Governor*: who, with the *Assistants*, to have the power of making laws, and choosing Officers to execute the same.

This was fully assented to, by the General Vote of the people.[a]

And now the Massachusetts Colony *Records* give the First List of persons desiring to be made *Freemen*, to the number of 108, as follows:—

Master SAMUEL MAVERICK.
Master EDWARD JOHNSON.
Master EDWARD GIBBINS [or GIBBONS, after, Major General].
Master WILLIAM JEFFRIES.
Master SAMUEL SHARP.
Master THOMAS GRAVES [after, a Rear-Admiral in England].
Master ROGER CONANT.
Master NATHANIEL TURNER.
Master SAMUEL FREEMAN.
Master WILLIAM CLERKE.
Master ABRAHAM PALMER.
Master WILLIAM PELHAM.
Master WILLIAM BLACKSTONE [formerly, a Minister; after, went to Providence].
Master RICHARD BROWN.
Master GEORGE LUDLOW.
JAMES PENN [after, Ruling Elder of the First Church in Boston].
HENRY WOOLCOT.
THOMAS STOUGHTON.
ROGER WILLIAMS [a Minister, who goes (1) to Salem, (2) to Plymouth, (3) to Salem again, (4) to Providence].
Captain WALTER NORTON.
JAMES PEMBERTON.
Master JOHN DILLINGHAM.
JOHN JOHNSON.
GEORGE ALCOCK.
THOMAS LAMB.
Master CHARLES GOTT.
Master GEORGE PHILLIPS [Minister of Watertown].
Master JOHN WILSON [Minister of Boston].
Master JOHN MAVERICK, and
Master JOHN WAREHAM [Ministers of Dorchester].
Master SAMUEL SKELTON [Minister of Salem].
Master WILLIAM COLBRON [after, Ruling Elder of the First Church in Boston].
Master WILLIAM ASPINWALL [after, Secretary of Rhode Island Colony].
EDWARD CONVERSE.
RICHARD CHURCH.
RICHARD SILVESTER.
WILLIAM BALSTONE.
JOHN PHILLIPS.
NATHANIEL BOWMAN.
DANIEL ABBOT.
Master SAMUEL POOL.
&c.[a,c]

[a] Massachusetts Colony *Records*.

[b] [But many of them seem not to be *made* Freemen till *May* 18, 1631; which see (*p.* 586). But Captain JOHNSON says, that] at the Court in *October* [1630], many of the first planters came, and were made free; yet afterwards, none were admitted to this Fellowship, but such as were at first

October 23 [1630]. Master ROSSITER, one of the Assistants, dies[a]: A godly man, and of a good estate; which still weakens us; so that now there are left, of the five Undertakers,[b] but three, *viz.*, Governor WINTHROP, Deputy Governor DUDLEY, and Sir R. SALTONSTALL; and seven other Assistants[c] [*viz.*, Captain ENDICOT, Masters LUDLOW, NOWELL, PYNCHON, CODDINGTON, BRADSTREET, and T. SHARP: see *October* 20, 1629; *March* 23, *August* 23, and *September* 7, 1630].

October 25. Master COLBORN, who was chosen Deacon by the Congregation a week before; [is now] *invested* by Impositions of Hands of the Minister [*i.e.*, Master WILSON] and Elder [*i.e.*, Master NOWELL].[a]

The Governor, in consideration of the inconveniences which had grown in England, by drinking one to another; restrained it at his own table; and wished others to do the like: so as it grows, by little and little, to [be] disused.[c]

October 29. *The* Handmaid *arrives at Plymouth; having been twelve weeks at sea, and spent all her masts. Of* 28 *cows, lost* 10; *has about sixty passengers, who come all well.*[a]

The first *recorded*, as baptized in Boston church, are said to be baptized in the said church, in this month; and are only three, *viz.*: JOY, and RECOMPENCE, daughters of brother JOHN MILES; and PITIE, daughter of our brother WILLIAM BAULSTONE.[d]

End of *October*. The Governor, Deputy Governor, and Master [SAMUEL] MAVERICK join in sending out our pinnace to the Narragansets, to trade for corn to supply our wants. After doubling Cape Cod, she puts into the next harbour she found; and there meeting with Indians, who showing their willingness to truck, she "made" her voyage there: and brought us an hundred bushels of corn; which helped us something.

From the coast where they traded, they saw a very large

joined in Fellowship with one of the Churches of CHRIST; their chief aim being bent to promote this work altogether. [And that] the number of Freemen this year, was about 110. [But he mistakes in calling *this*, their Second Court on the south side of the river.] [d] Boston Church *Records*.

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal*. [c] Dep. Governor DUDLEY's *Letter*.

[b] A mistake. JOHN REVELL, not EDWARD ROSSITER, was one of the Five Undertakers, see *pp.* 540, 570. E. A. 1879.

island four leagues to the East: which the Indians commended as a fruitful place, full of good vines, and free from sharp frosts; having one only entrance into it, by a navigable river: inhabited by a few Indians; who, for a trifle would leave the island, if the English would set them upon the main.[a] [This is, no doubt, the Island of Aquethneck, after, called Rhode Island.]

About *November*, the Governor and Deputy Governor, with most of the Assistants, remove their families to Boston.[b]

November 9 [1630]. The Fourth Court of Assistants; but the First at Boston. Present, Governor, Deputy Governor, Master LUDLOW, Captain ENDICOT, Masters CODDINGTON, PYNCHON, BRADSTREET.

ORDERED, That every Englishman who kills a wolf within this *Patent*, shall have One Penny for every beast and horse, and One Farthing for every weaned swine and goat in every Plantation: to be levied by the Constables of said Plantations.

And whoever will first give in his name to the Governor, that he will undertake to set up a ferry between Boston and Charlestown; and begin the same at such time as the Governor shall appoint, shall have One Penny for every person, and One Penny for every hundred pounds weight of goods he shall so transport.[c]

November 10. FIRMIN, of Waterton has his wigwam burnt.[d] Divers have their haystacks burnt, by burning the grass.[d]

November 11. The Master [of the *Handmaid*] comes to Boston, with Captain STANDISH; and two gentlemen passengers who come to plant here: but having no testimonials, we would not receive them.[d]

November 30. The Fifth and last Court of Assistants this year; but the Second at Boston. Present, Governor, Deputy Governor, Sir R. SALTONSTALL, Masters LUDLOW, NOWELL, PYNCHON, CODDINGTON, BRADSTREET.

One of the Assistants fined £5 for whipping two per-

[a] Deputy Governor DUDLEY's *Letter &c.*
[b] Rev. W. HUBBARD, *History of New England.*
[c] Massachusetts Colony *Records.* [d] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*

sons, without the presence of another Assistant; contrary to an *Act of Court* formerly made.

ORDERED. That a man be whipt for shooting at fowl, on the Sabbath Day;

And that £60 be collected for the maintenance of Master WILSON and Master PHILLIPS, *viz.*, out of

Boston	£20	Roxbury	£6
Waterton	20	Meadford	3
Charlestown	10	Winnesemet	1[a]

Of the people who came over with us, from the time of their setting sail from England in *April* [this year], to *December*; there died, by estimation, two hundred at the least. So low hath the LORD brought us: yet they who survived, were not discouraged; but bearing GOD's corrections with humility, and trusting in His mercies; and considering how, after a *lower* ebb, He has raised our neighbours at Plymouth, we began again, in *December*, to consult about a fit place to build a town upon.[b]

December 6 [1630]. The Governor, and most of the Assistants and others, meet at Roxbury; and agreed to build a town, fortified upon the Neck between that and Boston; and a Committee is appointed to consider of all things requisite, &c.[c]

December 16. The Committee meet at Roxbury: and upon further consideration, for [3] reasons it is concluded, we should *not* have a town in the place aforesaid:

1. Because men would be forced to keep two families.
2. There is no running water; and if there are any springs, they wont suffice for the town.
3. The most of the People have built already; and would not be able to build again.

So we agree to meet at Waterton, this day se'ennight; and, in the mean time, other places should be viewed.[c]

Captain NEALE and three other gentlemen come to us [at Boston]. He came in the bark *Warwick* this summer tc Pascatoway; sent as Governor there, for Sir FERDINANDO GORGES and others.[c]

---

[a] Massachusetts Colony *Records.* [c] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*
[b] Deputy Governor DUDLEY's *Letter &c.*

December 21 [1630]. We meet again at Waterton: and here, upon view of a place a mile beneath the town, all agree it [to be] a fit place for a fortified Town: and we take time to consider farther about it.

December 24. Till this time, there was, for the most part, fair open weather, with gentle frosts in the night; but, this day, the wind comes north-west, very sharp; and some snow. But so cold that some have their fingers frozen, and in danger to be lost.[a]

December 26 [Lord's Day]. The rivers are frozen up; and they of Charleston could not come to the Sermon at Boston, till the afternoon at high water.[a]

Many of the cows and goats are forced to be still abroad, for want of houses.[a]

December 28. After many consultations at Boston, Roxbury and Waterton, by Governor WINTHROP [Deputy Governor DUDLEY] and Assistants, about a fit place to build a Town for the Seat of Government; they, this day, agree on a place on the west [*rather north-west*] side of Charles river, about three miles west from Charlestown. And all, except Master ENDICOT and [T.] SHARP,[b] oblige themselves to build houses there, the following spring; and remove their ordnance and munition thither: and first call the place Newtown; but after [*viz.*, in 1638] Cambridge.[c,d]

December 22. RICHARD GARRET of Boston, with one of his daughters, a young maid, and four others, against the advice of their friends, went towards Plymouth in a shallop; and about the Gurnet's Nose, the wind blew so much at north-west, as they were put [*driven*] to sea, and the boat took in much water, which froze so hard as they could not free her: so that they gave themselves [up] for lost; and committing themselves to GOD, disposed themselves to die.

But one of their company espying land near Cape Cod, they made a shift to twist up part of their sail; and, by GOD's special providence, were carried through the rocks to the shore; where some get on land; but some had their legs

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*
[b] [The former living at Salem and] the latter purposing to return by the next ship to England. (DUDLEY.) [a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*
[c] Deputy Governor DUDLEY's *Letter &c.* [d] Manuscript Letter.

frozen in the ice [in the boat], so as they were forced to be cut out. Being now on shore, they kindle a fire; but having no hatchet, they can get but little wood; and are forced to lie in the open air all night; being extremely cold.

In the morning, two of the company go towards Plymouth [supposing it within seven or eight miles: whereas it is nearly fifty from them; and not an English house nearer]. By the way, they meet two Indian squaws; who, telling their husbands they had met two Englishmen who had been shipwrecked, [they] make after them, and bring them back to their wigwam, and entertain them kindly: and one of them [*viz., of the Indians*], next day, goes with them to Plymouth; and the other [Indian] goes to find out their boat and the rest of their company; which are seven miles off. And having found them, helps them what he can; returns to his wigwam, fetches a hatchet, builds a wigwam, covers it, gets them wood; for they were so weak and frozen they could not stir. And GARRET dies, about two days after his landing; and the ground so frozen as they could not dig his grave, the Indian with his hatchet hews a hole about half a yard deep, [puts the] corpse in it, and lays over it a great heap of wood to keep it from the wolves.

By this time, the Governor of Plymouth sends three men to them, with provisions; who launched their boat, which the wind had driven up to high water mark, and with a fair wind, get to Plymouth: where another of their company dies, his flesh being mortified with the frost; and the two who went towards Plymouth died also; one of them being not able to get thither, and the other had his foot so frozen as he died of it after. The girl escaped best: and one HARWOOD, a godly man of the Congregation of Boston, lies long under the surgeon's hand.[a]

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal*.

Appendix to 1630.

I. *Articles of uncertain dates.*

HALF OUR cows, and almost all our mares and goats sent out of England, died at sea; and those intended to be sent us out of Ireland, were not sent at all. All which, together with the *loss* of our six months' building, occasioned by our intended removal to a Town to be fortified, weaken our estates; especially the estates of the Undertakers, who were £3,000 or £4,000 [sterling[1]] engaged in the Joint Stock, which is now, not above so many hundreds; yet many of us labour to bear it as comfortably as we could, remembering the *End* of our coming hither; and knowing the power of GOD, who can support and raise us again, and useth to bring his servants low, that the meek may be made glorious by deliverance.[2]

It goes harder with this poor People in their beginnings; because of the scarcity of all sorts of grain, this year, in England: every bushel of Wheat Meal standing them in 14*s.* [sterling]; and every bushel of Peas 10*s.*; and not easy to be procured, either.[3] [And] coming into this country, we found some English at Salem, and some few at Charlestown; who were very destitute: and planting time being past, shortly after, provisions were not to be had for money. And the unsubdued wilderness yielding little food; many were in great straits for want of provisions for themselves and their little ones. We quickly built boats; and some went a fishing. Bread was, with many, a very scarce thing; and flesh, of all kinds, as scarce. And O the hunger that many suffered! and saw no hope, in an eye of reason, to be supplied, but with fish, clams, and mussels. But GOD caused his People to be contented with mean things; and to trust in Him.[4]

II. *A List of ships which arrived in New England this year.*

No.	Name.	Whence set sail. *England.*	When set sail. 1630.	When arrived. 1630.	Where arrived. *New England.*
1	*Lion*	Bristol	*February*[2]	End of *May*	Salem.
2	*Mary & John* ...	Plymouth	*March* 20	*May* 30	Nantasket.
3	*Arbella*	Yarmouth at the Isle of Wight	*April* 8	*June* 12	Salem.
4	*Jewel*		,,	*June* 13	
5	*Ambrose*		,,	*June* 18	
6	*Talbot*		,,	*July* 2	
7	*May Flower*		*May*	*July* 1	Charlestown.
8	*Whale*		,,	,,	Charlestown.
9	*Hopewell*		,,	*July* 3	[Salem.]
10	*William & Francis*	Southampton	,,	,,	[Salem.]
11	*Trial*		,,	*July* 5	Charlestown.
12	*Charles*		,,	,,	Salem.
13	*Success*		,,	*July* 6	[Salem.]
14	*Gift*		End of *May*	*August* 20	Charlestown.
15	Another[2]		*June*[2]		
16	*Handmaid*		*August* 6	*October* 29	Plymouth.
17	Another set out by a private merchant.[2]				

[1] Equal to about from £12,000 to £16,000, in present value. E. A. 1879.
[2] Deputy Governor DUDLEY's *Letter &c.* [4] Captain CLAP's *Memoirs.*
[3] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History of New England.*

Kings. France, LOUIS 13; *Great Britain*, ‖ CHARLES I.; *Spain*, † PHILIP IV.

These 17 ships arrived all safe in New England, for the increase of the Plantation here, this year.[1]

III. *Accounts of the thirteen Magistrates, who came this year, with the* Charter, *as far as I have met with.*

JOHN WINTHROP, Esquire, *Governor.*

HIS [2] ancestor was ADAM WINTHROP, a worthy gentleman [in England]; who had a son of the same name, a discreet, learned gentleman, eminent for skill in the law; not without remark for his love to the *gospel*, under the reign of King HENRY VIII.: and [*another son*] a memorable favourer of the Reformed religion in the days of Queen MARY; into whose hands, the famous martyr PHILPOT committed his papers, which afterwards made no inconsiderable part of our Martyr books [*i.e.*, FOX's *Book of Martyrs*].

This Master ADAM WINTHROP had a son of the same name, endowments and employments with his father. And this third ADAM WINTHROP was father to this renowned JOHN WINTHROP; who is the Founder of a Colony, which, on many accounts, like him that founded it, may challenge a first place among the glories of America.

Born at the mansion house of his ancestors, at Groton, in Suffolk, on *July*, 12, 1587; [had] an agreeable education: but the accomplishments of a lawyer were those wherewith Heaven made his chief opportunities to be serviceable. Being, at the age of eighteen, made a Justice of the Peace; his virtues began to fall under a more general observation: [was] not only exemplary for his conformity to the laws of Christianity in his conversation; but also discovered a more than ordinary measure of those qualities which adorn an Officer of Human Society. His justice was impartial; his wisdom excellently tempered things according to the art of governing; his courage made him dare to do right: all which virtues, he rendered the more illustrious, by emblazoning them with the constant liberality and hospitality of a gentleman. This made him the terror of the wicked, the delight of the sober, and the hope of those who had any hopeful design in hand for the good of the nation, and the interest of religion.

Accordingly, when the noble design of carrying a Colony of chosen people into an American wilderness was by some eminent persons undertaken; this eminent person was, by the consent of all, chosen for the MOSES who must be the Leader of so great an undertaking. Wherefore, having sold a fair estate of £600 or £700 [sterling][3] a year: he [now] transmitted himself, with the effects of it, into New England,[2] [in the forty-third year of his age. Is the First Governor of the Massachusetts Colony, one of the Five Undertakers, the First Member who joined in

[1] Deputy Governor DUDLEY's *Letter &c.* [2] Doctor COTTON MATHER.
[3] Equal to about £2,500 to £3,000 a year, in present value. E.A. 1879.

forming the Congregational Church of Charlestown and Boston, and the principal cause of fixing on Boston for the metropolis.

2. THOMAS DUDLEY, Esquire, *Deputy Governor.*

Born[1] at Northampton in 1574 [rather 1576], the only son of Captain ROGER DUDLEY, who, being slain in the wars, left this, our THOMAS; who, in the family of the Earl of NORTHAMPTON [learned] the points of good behaviour, and fitted himself to do many benefits to the world. Next, became a clerk to Judge NICHOLAS, who, being his kinsman by his mother, took the more special notice of him; [improved the] advantage to attain such skill in the law, as was of great advantage in the future changes of his life: and the Judge would have preferred him to higher employments, whereto his prompt wit not a little recommended him, if he had not been, by death, prevented.

But before he could do much at the pen, for which he was very well accomplished; he was called to the sword. For being a young gentleman well known for ingenuity, courage, and conduct; when soldiers were to be raised by order of Queen ELIZABETH, for the service of King HENRY IV. [of France, against the Spaniards on the borders of the Netherlands, in 1597] none of the [youths], about Northampton, were willing to enter the service till a Commission was given to young DUDLEY, to be their Captain: and then, presently [*at once*] four score [en]listed under him. At the head of these, he went over; was at the siege of Amiens; and thus came to be furnished for the field as well as the bench. But [the French and Spaniards making peace in *June* 1, 1598] he returned to England, settled [near] Northampton, married a gentlewoman, whose extract [*extraction*] and estate were considerable; and the situation of his [dwelling] helped him to enjoy the ministry of Masters DOD, CLEAVER, WINSTON, and HILDERSHAM, excellent and renowned men: which Puritan ministry so seasoned his heart with religion, that he was a devout Christian, and a follower of the Ministers that most effectually preached real Christianity, all his days.

The spirit of real Christianity in him, now also disposed him to sober Nonconformity; and from this time, though none more hated the fanaticism and enthusiasms of wild opinions, he became a judicious dissenter from the unscriptural Ceremonies retained in the Church of England.

Not long after this, the Lords SAY and COMPTON and other persons of Quality, made such observations on him, as to commend him to the service of the Earl of LINCOLN; then a young man, and newly come to the possession of his earldom: whose *grandfather* had left his affairs under vast entanglements, out of which his *father* was never able to extricate himself; which caused [the young Earl] to apply to Master DUDLEY for assistance.

Who proved so able, careful, and faithful a Steward, that in a little while, the debts of nearly £20,000[2] were happily [discharged]. By this means also, a match was procured between the young Earl, and the Lord SAY's daughter; who proved a most virtuous lady, and a great blessing

[1] COTTON MATHER. [2] Equal to about £100,000 in the present day. E.A. 1879.

to the whole family. In this [business], Master DUDLEY continued about nine or ten years; but then, growing desirous of a more private life, returned to Boston [in England]: where the ministry and acquaintance of Master Cotton [were] no little satisfaction to him. But the Earl could be no more without Master DUDLEY, than PHARAOH without his JOSEPH; and prevailed with him to resume his former employment, till the storm of persecution on the Nonconformists caused many men of great worth to transport themselves to New England.

Master DUDLEY was not the least of the worthy men [who] bore a part in this transportation, in hopes that in an American wilderness, they might peaceably enjoy the pure Worship of CHRIST. And when the Undertakers for [this] Plantation came to know him; they soon saw that in him, that caused them to choose him their Deputy Governor: in which capacity he [now] arrived,[1] [here, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. Was one of the Five Undertakers; the Second Member in forming the Congregational Church of Charlestown and Boston; and a principal founder of the town of Newtown, after, called Cambridge, being zealous to have it made the metropolis: and is one of the first who builds there, in the spring ensuing.]

3. Sir RICHARD SALTONSTALL.

Was son or grandson of Sir RICHARD SALTONSTALL, whom MUNDAY, in his *Chronicle*, records, was Lord Mayor of London in 1597, who was son to GILBERT SALTONSTALL of Halifax, in Yorkshire. He was the First Associate to the Six original Patentees, mentioned in King CHARLES I.'s *Charter of the Massachusetts*, of *March* 4, 1628-9; and the Fourth Assistant made therein. Now comes over, their First Assistant; a worthy Puritan, and one of the Five Undertakers: and the First Founder of the Town, and the First Member of the Congregational Church at Watertown.

4. ISAAC JOHNSON, Esquire.

He had married the Lady ARBELLA, of the House of the Earl of LINCOLN; was the Second Associate to the Six original Patentees mentioned in the said *Charter*; and the Fifth Assistant made therein: who now comes over their Second Assistant, and one of the Five Undertakers. Was the Third Member who joined in forming the Congregational Church of Charlestown and Boston; and the principal Founder of the town of Boston. And for the rest, see *July* 25, end of *August*, *September* 7, and *September* 30, 1630.

5. INCREASE NOWELL, Esquire.

His father or grandfather was brother to the famous ALEXANDER NOWELL, Dean of St. Paul's, in the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH, and Prolocutor of her First Convocation. He was the Seventh Associate mentioned in the said *Charter*, and the Eight Assistant made therein. And Captain ENDICOT, being the Third Assistant; Master NOWELL, as their Fourth Assistant, now comes over: one of the owners of the *Jewel*, a

[1] Doctor COTTON MATHER.

zealous Puritan, the Fifth who joins in forming the Congregational Church of Charlestown and Boston, and the principal person who continues at Charlestown.

6. WILLIAM VASSAL, Esquire.

The Eighteenth Associate mentioned in the said *Charter*; and the Seventeenth Assistant made therein: comes over as their Fifth Assistant, but this last summer returned. [*pp.* 510, 546.]

7. WILLIAM PYNCHON, Esquire.

A gentleman of learning and religion. The Nineteenth Associate mentioned in the said *Charter*; and the Thirteenth Assistant made therein. As their Sixth Assistant now comes over; is the principal Founder of the town of Roxbury, and the First Member who joins in forming the Congregational Church there.

8. EDWARD ROSSITER, Esquire.

Comes over as their Seventh Assistant; first chosen *October* 20, 1629; and

9. ROGER LUDLOW, Esquire.

As the Ninth Assistant. First chosen *February* 10, 1629–30.

Both pious gentlemen, of good families, in the West of England; who are the principal Founders of the town of Dorchester: and the first who joined in forming the Congregational Church, even at Plymouth in England, a little before they come away; and brought their Pastor, Teacher and whole Church with them. See at the beginning of this year.

10. THOMAS SHARP, Esquire.

Comes over as the Eight Assistant, first chosen *October* 20, 1629; and is the Sixth Member who joins in forming the Congregational Church at Charlestown and Boston.

11. JOHN REVELL, Esquire.

Comes over as the Tenth Assistant, first chosen *October* 20, 1629; and was one of the Five Undertakers: but returned, this last summer, with Master WILLIAM VASSAL. [*See p.* 546.]

12. WILLIAM CODDINGTON, Esquire.

Was, on *March* 18, 1629–30, chosen, at Southampton, the Eleventh Assistant. In this capacity, now comes over: and is one who joins to the Congregational Church of Charlestown and Boston.

13. SIMON BRADSTREET, Esquire.

Son of a Minister in Lincolnshire, and born at Horbling, *March* 1603. His father [son of a Suffolk gentleman, of a fine estate] was one of the first Fellows of Emmanuel College, under Doctor CHADERTON; after, highly esteemed by Master COTTON and Doctor PRESTON: and was always a Nonconformist at home, as well as when a Preacher at Middleburg [in Zealand].

Our BRADSTREET was brought up at the Grammar School, till he was about fourteen years of age; [when] the death of his father put a stop, for the present, to the designs of his further education. But two or three years after, was taken into the religious family of the Earl of LINCOLN (the best family of any nobleman then in England), where he spent about eight years, under the direction of Master DUDLEY; sustaining, successively, divers offices.

Doctor PRESTON, who had been my Lord's tutor, then moved my Lord, that Master BRADSTREET might have their permission to come to Emmanuel College, in the capacity of Governor to the Lord RICH, son of the Earl of WARWICK; which they granting, he went with the Doctor: who provided a chamber for him, with advice that he should apply to study, till my Lord's arrival. But my Lord RICH not coming, Master BRADSTREET, after a year, returned to the Earl of LINCOLN: and Master DUDLEY removing to Boston, his place of Steward was conferred on Master BRADSTREET. Afterwards, he, with much ado, obtained the Earl's leave to answer the desires of the aged and pious Countess of WARWICK, that he would accept the Stewardship of her noble family: which, as the former, he discharged with an exemplary discretion and fidelity; [and] here he married [Mistress ANN], the daughter of Master DUDLEY.[1]

[By which means, he became one of the Massachusetts Company. And on *March* 18, 1629–30, chosen, at Southampton, their Twelfth Assistant; in this capacity, comes over, about the 27th year of his age: and is the Seventh Member who joins in forming the said Congregational Church of Charlestown and Boston].

[For JOHN ENDICOT, Esquire, Assistant, being here before. Of the eighteen Assistants; there were twelve, this last summer, here together, besides the Governor and Deputy Governor.]

An account of the Ministers now come over, I refer to the *Appendix* of the year ensuing [*pp.* 600–605]; where we shall have more to join them; and conclude this year with

IV. *The most material events in England and other places, which concern this People.*

April 11. SIXTEEN Popish priests are released out of the Clink [prison, in Southwark] by one Warrant, under the King's own sign manual, "at the instance of our dearest Consort, the Queen," as the King, in the Warrant, writes; and *July* 26, by the like Warrant and instance, six priests and Jesuits more, are released out of the same prison, but no instance known of his releasing one Puritan out of prison, all his reign.[2]

April 12. Doctor LAUD, Bishop of LONDON, made Chancellor of Oxford.[3]

May 29, Saturday. Born, at St. James's, to King CHARLES I. [by his Queen, a Papist] a second son [,the first being dead]. Lord's Day, *June* 27. Christened by the names of CHARLES [by Bishop LAUD]: his God-

[1] Doctor COTTON MATHER. [2] PRYNNE. [3] SALMON'S *Chronological Historian.*

fathers being the French King, LOUIS [a Papist,] and the Prince Palatine [a Protestant]; and Godmother, the Queen Mother of France,[1] [a Papist.[2] He is afterwards King CHARLES II.]

The Pope having made anti-Bishops over all the sees in Ireland; makes RICHARD SMITH, titulary Bishop of CHALCEDON, Bishop over all the Romish Catholics in England: who is now very busy in his employment; and the insolency of the Regulars daily increases in England.

November.[3] Doctor LEIGHTON, a Scotchman, for publishing a book, entituled *An Appeal to Parliament, or a Peer against Prelacy*; sentenced in the Star Chamber to be whipt, have his forehead branded, his nose slit, and his ears cut off[4]: which is soon after inflicted:[5]

October 3, *O. S.*; [13, *N. S.*]. Born [at the Hague] to FREDERICK, the [Protestant] Elector Palatine, by his Lady ELIZABETH, [only] daughter to King JAMES I., the Princess SOPHIA [in the time of their banishment from the Palatinate, by the Popish Emperor]; afterwards married, *viz.*, in 1658, to ERNEST AUGUSTUS, [the Protestant] Duke of HANOVER; by whom, in 1660, she becomes the mother of King GEORGE I.[6]

December 3. JAMES NOWELL writes from London, "Sir THOMAS WENTWORTH was made Viscount, with a great deal of high ceremony, on a Sunday at Whitehall" [so little regard had King CHARLES for the Lord's Day].

December 5, *O. S.*, being the Lord's Day. Peace between England and Spain proclaimed at London; and at Madrid, *December* 15[1] [I suppose, *N.S.*; the same *day* with the other: and POINTER and SALMON, no doubt, mistake, in writing *November* 27].

[This year, Doctor I. MATHER tells us] Bishop LAUD persecutes Master [THOMAS] SHEPHERD [in England] for preaching a "Lecture;" notwithstanding he is now a Conformist: having not searched into the principles of the Nonconformists, till after this. I have by me a manuscript of Master SHEPHARD's, written with his own hand; in which are these words:

> *December* 16, 1630. I was inhibited from preaching in the diocese of London, by Doctor LAUD, Bishop of that diocese.
>
> As soon as I came, in the morning, about eight o'clock; falling into a fit of rage, he asked me, "What degree I had taken in the University?" I answered him, "I was a Master of Arts." He asked, "Of what College?" I answered, "Of Emmanuel." He asked me, "How long I had lived in his diocese?" I answered, "Three years and upwards." He asked, "Who maintained me all this while?" Charging me to deal plainly with him; adding withal, that he had been more cheated and equivocated with by some of my malignant faction, than ever was man by Jesuit. At the speaking of which words, he looked as though blood would have gushed out of his face, and did shake as if he had been haunted with an ague fit: to my apprehension, by reason of his extreme malice and secret venom. I desired him "to excuse me [*i.e.*, *telling*]." He fell then to threaten

[2] Papists joined with Protestants! Two Papists to one Protestant! and why not one of the Protestant Kings or Queens of Sweden, or Denmark? [1] HOWES.
[3] LLOYD. [4] FULLER. [5] POINTER's *Chronological Historian.* [6] ANDERSON.

me, and withal to bitter railing; calling me all to naught: saying, "You prating coxcomb! Do you think all the learning is in your brain?"

He pronounced his sentence thus. "I charge you, that you neither preach, read, marry, bury, nor exercise any ministerial function in any part of my diocese! for if you do, and I hear of it, I'll be upon your back; and follow you wherever you go, in any part of the kingdom: and so everlastingly disenable you!" I besought him not to deal so, in regard of a poor town. And here he stopped me, in what I was going on to say, "A poor town! You have made a company of seditious, factious bedlams! and what do you prate to me of a poor town!" I prayed him "to suffer me to catechise on the Sabbath days, in the afternoon." He replied, "Spare your breath! I will have no such fellows prate in my diocese! Get you gone! And now make your complaints to whom you will!" So away I went. And blessed be GOD! that I may go to him.

Thus did this Bishop, a professed disciple of the meek and lowly JESUS, treat one of the most pious, humble, diligent, and faithful young Ministers of the Church of England, in his day.

The war which was renewed between the Dutch and Spaniards in 1622, yet continues.

The war having raged in Germany between the Emperor FERDINAND II., a Papist, and the Protestant Princes, ever since 1618; wherein the Emperor had reduced Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia; conquered the Palatinate, banished the Protestant Elector from his dominions, and overrun the lower Saxony; beat the King of Denmark, and forced him to a disadvantageous peace; grievously oppressed the Protestants, and in the fairest way, to subdue them entirely; and the Protestant Princes having no hope from England, and having implored the help of the pious and heroic GUSTAVUS, King of SWEDEN: he, this year, on *June* 24, *N.S.*, in the 36th year of his age, with an army of about 12,000 foot and 3,000 horse, (some say, but 11,000 in all) lands in Pomerania; bends down his knees on the shore, offers thanks to the most High for the prosperous beginning of his expedition; implores Him to succeed his future undertakings for the help of his people. And then, rising up; he, quick like lightning, carries all before him; and begins their deliverance.

N.B. See the most accurate and concise account of this German War in ALSTED: who thus begins this glorious enterprize:

June 24. *Rex Sueciæ instructus numerosis copiis appellit in Pomerania, nominis sui fama non mediocrem timorem hostibus injicit: inde fulgure violentior omnia celerrime pervadit.*

Which I have partly construed in the words above.

In twelve days, reduces the isles of Rugen, Usedom, and Wollin; in eight days more, takes many cities, defeats many enemies; and in eight months, taking eighty castles, small forts, towns, and cities; reduces the Provinces of Newmark and Pomerania (see ALSTED, CLUVERIUS, and S. CLARK).

1631.

N.B. The principal Stage of our *Annals* is from this time forward, at Boston.

January. A HOUSE at Dorchester burnt down.[a]

January 3. Dies [at Boston] the daughter of Master SHARP [I suppose THOMAS SHARP, Esquire, one of the Assistants], a godly virgin; making a comfortable end, after a long sickness. The Plantation here [*i.e.*, I suppose, at Boston] received not the like loss of any woman, since we came thither: and therefore she well deserves to be remembered in this place.

And among those who died [at Boston], about the end of *January*, was the daughter of JOHN RUGGLES, a girl of eleven years old; who, in the time of her sickness, expressed to the Minister and those about her, so much faith, and assurance of salvation, as is rarely found in any of that age; which I thought not unworthy here to commit to memory. And if any tax me with wasting paper, with recording these small matters; such may consider that small things, in the beginning of Politic Bodies, are as remarkable as greater in Bodies full grown.[b]

As the winter came on, provisions are very scarce [in the Massachusetts Bay], and People necessitated to feed on

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*
[b] Deputy Governor DUDLEY's *Letter &c.*

clams and mussels, and ground nuts and acorns; and these got with much difficulty, in the winter season. Upon which, the People grow much tired and discouraged, especially when they hear that the Governor himself, has his last batch of bread in the oven. And many are the fears of the People that Master PIERCE, who was sent to Ireland for provisions, is either cast away or taken by pirates.

Upon this, a Day of Fasting and Prayer to GOD, for relief, is appointed [to be on the 6th of *February*]: but GOD, who delights to appear in the greatest straits, works marvellously at this time.[a] For on

February 5,[b] [1631], the very day before the appointed Fast, in comes[a] the ship *Lion*, Master WILLIAM PIERCE, Master, now arriving at Nantasket[b] laden with provisions. Upon which joyful occasion, the Day is changed; and ordered to be kept [on the 22nd] as a Day of Thanksgiving.[a]

February 8. The Governor goes aboard the *Lion*, riding at Long Island. [Next day] the ship comes to an anchor before Boston [to the great joy of the People]; where she rides very well, notwithstanding the great drifts of ice.[b] And the provisions are, by the Governor, distributed to the People proportionable to their necessities.[a]

The *Lion* [had] set sail from Bristol, *December* 1; brought about twenty passengers, and had had a very stormy passage. Yet, through GOD's mercy, all the people came safe, except one[b] of the sailors. Who, not far from our shore, in a tempest, having helped to take in the sprit-sail, as he was coming down, fell into the sea; where, after long swimming, he was drowned: to the great dolour of those in the ship, who beheld so lamentable a spectacle, without being able to help him; the sea was so high, and the ship drave so fast before the wind, though her sails were taken down.[c]

By this ship[c] [we hear, that] the *Ambrose*, [having been] masted at Charlestown, [returning to England] spent all her masts near Newfoundland; and had perished, if Master PIERCE, in the *Lion*, her consort, had not towed her home to England.

[a] Charlestown *Records*. [b] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal*.
[c] Deputy Governor DUDLEY's *Letter &c.*

Of the other ships, which returned[a] last summer,[b] three, *viz.*, the *Charles*, the *Success*, and the *Whale* were,[a] with two English Men of War,[b] set upon [a] by 14 Dunkirkers,[b] near Plymouth in England: and, after a long fight, having lost [a] thirteen or fourteen men out of our three ships,[b] and being much torn (especially the *Charles*,[a] a stout ship of 300 tons, so torn that she had not much of her left whole above water)[b] they got into Plymouth.

Of those who went back in the ships, [last] summer for fear of death or famine; many died, by the way, and after they were landed; and others fell very sick and languishing.[a]

February 10 [1631]. The frost breaks up [in Boston harbour]; and it has been observed, ever since this Bay was planted by the English, *viz.*, seven years, that the frost hath broken up, every year, at this day.[a]

The poorer sort of people, by long lying in tents [a] and small huts [c] are much afflicted with the scurvy: and many die, especially at Boston and Charlestown. And it has been always observed here, that such as fell into discontentment, and lingered after their former conditions in England; fell into the scurvy, and died. Of the old Planters, and such as came the year before; there were but two which have the scurvy, in all the country. At Plymouth, not any have had it, no, not of those who came this [last] year; whereof there were about sixty: whereas at their first planting there, nearly half their people died of it.[a] Of which mortality, it may be said of us almost, as of the Egyptians, there is not an house wherein there was not one dead; and in some houses, many.

The natural causes seem to be, The want of warm lodging, and good diet; to which English [people] are habituated at home: and the sudden increase of heat they endured, who landed here in the summer; the salt meats at sea having prepared their bodies thereto. For those only, these two last years, died of fevers, who landed in *June* and *July*; as those of Plymouth, who [formerly] landed in winter, died of the scurvy: as did our poorer sort, whose housing and bedding kept them not sufficiently warm, nor their diet sufficiently in heart.[b]

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*
[b] Deputy Governor DUDLEY's *Letter &c.*
[c] Captain EDWARD JOHNSON's *History of New England.*

But when this ship came, which brought store of juice of lemons, many recover speedily.[a]

February 18[a,b] [1631]. Among others who died about this time, was Master ROBERT WELDEN,[c] a hopeful young gentleman, and an experienced soldier,[a] whom, in the time of his sickness, we had chosen to be Captain of a hundred foot: but before he [could] take his place, he dies[c] at Charleston, of a consumption; and is buried at Boston, with a military funeral,[a] three volleys, &c.[c]

A shallop of Master GLOVER's cast away on the rocks about Nehant; but the men are saved.[a]

The provisions came this [last] year, at excessive prices; in regard of the dearness of corn in England: so as every bushel of wheat meal stands us in 14*s.* sterling; pease 11*s.*, &c.[a]; besides the adventure.[c] Tonnage, £6 11*s.*[a]; which is 3*s.* or 4*s.* a strike. An higher price than I ever tasted bread before.[c]

February 22. We hold a Day of Thanksgiving for this ship's arrival, by Order from the Governor and Council directed to all the Plantations[a]; throughout the [Massachusetts] Colony.[c]

March 4. First Court of Assistants this year, at Boston. Present, Governor, Deputy Governor, Sir R. SALTONSTALL. Master LUDLOW, Captain ENDICOT, Masters PYNCHON, NOWELL, [T.] SHARP, CODDINGTON, BRADSTREET.

ORDERED 1 That Six persons be sent to England, in the ship *Lion*, now returning thither; as persons unmeet to inhabit here. Also that Sir CHRISTOPHER GARDINER[d] [*pp.* 584, 645, 648] and another be sent as prisoners in her.

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*

[b] Deputy Governor DUDLEY's printed *Letter* says, *February* 16; but I choose to keep to Governor WINTHROP's manuscript *Journal.*

[d] Sir CHRISTOPHER GARDINER [who, it seems, came over the last year], a great traveller, received his first honour of knighthood at Jerusalem, being made Knight of the Sepulchre there: [who] came into these parts under pretence of forsaking the world, and to live a private life in a godly course; not unwilling to put himself to any mean employments, and take any pains for his living; and offers himself to join to the Churches, in sundry places. [Had] brought over with him a servant or two; and a comely young woman, whom he called his cousin, but [is] suspected to be his concubine. [First sojourned] in the Massachusetts. (Governor BRADFORD's *History.*) [c] Deputy Governor DUDLEY's *Letter &c.*

2. A man fined £5, for taking upon him to cure the scurvy, by a "Water" of no value; which he sold at a very dear rate: to be imprisoned till he pay his fine, or give security for it; or else be whipt. And shall be liable to any man's action, of whom he has received money for the said "Water."[a]

March 8 [1631]. From fair daylight till 8 *a.m.*, fly over all the towns in our Plantations, so many flocks of doves; each flock containing many thousands; and some so many that they obscure the light, that it passeth credit. If but the truth should be written, they are all turtles, somewhat bigger than those of Europe: and fly from north-east to south-west.[b]

March 8. At a Court at Watertown. Present, Governor, Deputy Governor, Sir R. SALTONSTALL, Masters LUDLOW, NOWELL, PYNCHON, CODDINGTON, BRADSTREET.

1. Sagamore JOHN, and [his subject] PETER, complaining of two wigwams burnt, occasioned by a servant of Sir R. SALTONSTALL.

ORDERED That Sir RICHARD satisfy the Indians (which he did by seven yards of cloth); and that his servant pay him for it, at the end of his time, 50s. [sterling].[c]

2. In regard that the number of Assistants is but few, and that some of them are going for England:

ORDERED That when the number of Assistants resident within this Jurisdiction, shall be fewer than Nine; it shall be lawful for the Major part [*majority*] of them to keep a Court; and what-

[a] Massachusetts Colony *Records*.

[c] [Said] Wigwams were not inhabited; but stood in a place, convenient for their shelter, when they should travel that way. By examination, we found that some English fowlers, having retired into that which belonged to the subject [of the Sagamore], and, leaving a fire therein carelessly, (which they had kindled to warm them); were the cause of burning thereof. For that which was the Sagamore's [own], we could find no certain proof how it was fired; yet, lest he should think us not sedulous enough to find it out, and so should depart discontentedly from us; we gave both him and his subject satisfaction for them both. (Deputy Governor DUDLEY's *Letter &c.*)

[b] Deputy Governor DUDLEY's *Letter &c.*

ever *Orders* or *Acts* they make, shall be as legal and authentical, as if they were the full number of seven or more.[a]

March 15 [1631]. Dies at Salem, Mistress SKELTON, the wife of the Minister there, a godly, helpful woman; lived desired, dies lamented; and well deserves to be honourably remembered.[a]

The ship *Lion* now waits but for the wind; which when it blows [fair], there are ready to go aboard for England, Sir R. SALTONSTALL, Master T. SHARP, Master CODDINGTON, and many others: the most of whom purpose, if GOD will, to return to us again. In the meantime, we are left a People, poor and contemptible; yet such as trust in GOD, and are contented with our condition; being well assured that He will not fail nor forsake us.[a]

March 16.[b] About noon, the chimney of Master [T.] SHARP's house, in Boston, takes fire; and taking the thatch, burns it down: and the wind being north-west, drives the fire to Master COLBRON's house, [some] rods off; burns that down also.[c]

Which houses, as good and as well furnished as most in the Plantation, are in two hours burned to the ground: with much of their household stuff, apparel, and other things; as also, some goods of others who sojourned with them. GOD so pleasing to exercise us with this kind of correction. For prevention whereof, in our new Town, intended to be built this summer; we have ordered that no man there shall build his chimney with wood or cover his house with thatch: which was readily assented to, for that divers other houses have been burned since our arrival.[d]

March 22. Court of Assistants, at Boston. Present, Governor, Deputy Governor, Masters LUDLOW, CODDINGTON, NOWELL, Sir R. SALTONSTALL, Masters PYNCHON, [T.] SHARP, BRADSTREET.

ORDERED 1. That artificers be left at liberty to agree for wages. [See *August* 23, 1630, *p.* 547].

[a] Massachusetts Colony *Records*. [c] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal*.
[b] In Deputy Governor DUDLEY's printed *Letter*, it is *March* 17; but I keep to Governor WINTHROP's manuscript.
[d] Deputy Governor DUDLEY's *Letter &c.*

2. That every town within this *Patent*, before *April* 5, take care that every person in them (excepting Magistrates and Ministers), as well servants as others, be furnished with sufficient arms, allowable by the Captains or other Officers. Those who are able, to buy them; the Town to provide for those who are unable, and to receive satisfaction from those who are able.

3. That all who have cards, dice, or "tables," in their houses; shall make away with them, before the next Court.[a]

March 23 [1631]. CHICKATABOT [the chief Sachem of Massachusetts] comes, with his *sannups* and *squaws* [*i.e.*, married men and their wives] to Boston. Presents the Governor with a hogshead of Indian corn. After they had all dined, had each a cup of sack and beer; and his men, tobacco. He sent away all his men and women, though the Governor would have stayed them, in regard of the rain and thunder; he, and one squaw and one sannup, stay all night; and [he] being in English clothes, the Governor sets him at his table: where he behaves himself as soberly &c., as an Englishman.

Next day, after dinner, they return home; the Governor giving him cheese and pease, a mug, and some other things.[b]

March 25. One of Watertown, having lost a calf; about ten at night, hearing the howling of wolves, raises his neighbours out of their beds, that, by discharging their muskets, they might put the wolves to flight, and save his calf. The wind serving to carry the report of the muskets to Roxbury; the inhabitants there take an alarm, beat up their drum, arm themselves, and send in post to us to Boston. [But] in the morning, the calf is found, our danger past &c.[c]

March 28. Deputy Governor DUDLEY seals his *Letter*, at Boston, in the Massachusetts Bay, *to the Countess of LINCOLN*, wherein he writes as follows:—

> Having some leisure to discourse of the motives for other men's coming to this place, or their abstaining from

[a] Massachusetts Colony *Records.* [b] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*
[c] Deputy Governor DUDLEY's *Letter &c.*

it: after, my brief manner, I say this. That if any come hither to plant for worldly ends, that can live well at home; he commits an error, of which he will soon repent him.

But if for spiritual, he may find here what may well content him, *viz.*: materials to build, fuel to burn, ground to plant, seas and rivers to fish in, a pure air to breathe in, good water to drink till wine or beer can be made; which, with the cows, hogs, and goats brought hither already, may suffice for food. For clothes and bedding, they must bring them with them, till time and industry produce them here. In a word, we enjoy little to be envied; but endure much to be pitied, in the sickness and mortality of our People. If any godly man, out of religious ends, will come over to help us, in the good work we are about; I think they cannot dispose of themselves, or their estates, more to GOD's glory, and the furtherance of their own reckoning. But they must *not* be of the poorer sort, yet for divers years.

And for profane and debauched persons: their oversight in coming hither, is wondered at; where they shall find nothing to content them.

If there be any endued with grace, and furnished with means to feed themselves and theirs for eighteen months; and to build and plant: let them come into our Macedonia, and help us! and not spend themselves and their estates in a less profitable employment.

For others, I conceive they are not yet fitted for this business.[a]

March 29 [1631]. Sir R. SALTONSTALL and his two daughters and one of his younger sons (the two elder remaining in the country) come down to Boston, stay this night with the Governor,[b] and *March* 30, this morning, at seven, they, with Master PIERCE and others, in two shallops, depart [for] the ship at Salem. Master [T.] SHARP goes away at the same time, in another shallop.

At ten, Master CODDINGTON, Master WILSON, and divers of the

[a] Deputy Governor DUDLEY's *Letter &c.*
[b] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*

Congregation, met at the Governor's; and there Master WILSON praying, and exhorting the Congregation to love; recommends to them [in their necessity] the exercise of "prophesy" [*i.e., exhorting to Christian duties*], in his absence; and designed those whom he thought most fit for it, *viz.*, the Governor, Master DUDLEY, and Master NOWELL the Elder [who were men of eminent piety and learning]. Then he desires the Governor, to commend himself and the rest to GOD in prayer: which being done; they accompany him to the boat. And so they go over to Charlestown, to go by land to the ship: which sets sail from Salem, April 1,[a] and arrives at London, all safe, *April* 29.[b]

April 4 [1631]. WAHGUMACUT, a Sagamore up the river Conaatacut, which lies west of Narraganset, comes to the Governor at Boston, with JOHN Sagamore, and JACK STRAW, (an Indian who had lived in England [with] Sir WALTER RALEIGH) and divers of their sannups; and brings a letter to the Governor, from Master ENDICOT, to this effect, "That the said WAHGUM is very desirous to have some English to plant in his country; and offers to find them corn, and to give them yearly eighty skins of beaver: [says,] the country is very fruitful; and wishes there may be two men sent with him to see the country." [See *p.* 654.]

The Governor entertains them at dinner; but would send none with him: discovers, after, that the said Sagamore is a very treacherous man; and at war with the Pekash, [or Pequots, under] a far greater Sagamore. His country is not above five days' journey from us by land.[b]

April 12. Court of Assistants at Boston. Present, the Governor, Deputy Governor, Masters LUDLOW, NOWELL, PYNCHON, BRADSTREET.

ORDERED **1.** That a Watch, of four, be kept every night at Dorchester; and another, of four, at Watertown: to begin at sunset.

2. That whoever shoots off any piece after the

[a] Mr. HUBBARD therefore mistakes, in placing their going from Boston, on *April* 1: as also, in placing after this, the account of Captain PIERCE's carrying [*towing*] the *Ambrose* into Bristol, and the fight at sea mentioned under *February* 5 last.

[b] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*

Watch is set, shall forfeit 40*s.*; or if the Court judges him unable, then to be whipt.

3. That every man who finds [*provides*] a musket; shall, before the 18th of this month, and so always after, have ready 1lb. of powder, 20 bullets, and two fathoms of match.
4. That every Captain shall train his Company, every Saturday.
5. That none shall travel single between their Plantations and Plymouth; nor without some arms, though two or three together.[a]
6. Upon information, that they of Salem had called Master [ROGER] WILLIAMS to the office of a Teacher: a letter is written from the Court to Master ENDICOT, to this effect, "That whereas Master WILLIAMS had refused to join with the Congregation of Boston; because they would not make a public Declaration of their Repentance for having communion with the Churches of England while they lived there; and besides, had declared his opinion that the Magistrate might not punish the breach of the Sabbath, nor any other offence as was a breach of the First Table [*of the Ten Commandments*]: therefore they [*i.e., the Court*] marvelled they would chose him, without advising with the Council; and withal advising him that they should forbear to proceed till they had conferred about it."[b]

April 13 [1631]. CHICKATABOT comes to the Governor, and desires to buy some English clothes for himself. The Governor tells him that English Sagamores did not use to truck; but calls his tailor, and gives him order to make him a suit of clothes. Whereupon he gives the Governor two large skins of coat beaver. And after he and his men had dined, they depart; and said they would come for his suit in three days.[b]

April 15. CHICKATABOT comes to the Governor again, [who] puts him into a good new suit, from head to foot; and, after, sets meat before him; but he would not eat till the Governor

[a] Massachusetts Colony *Records.* [b] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*

had given thanks; and after meat desired him to do the like. And so departed.[a]

April 21 [1631]. The house of JOHN PAGE, of Waterton, burnt by carrying a few coals from one house to another. A coal fell by the way, and kindled the leaves.[a]

May 3. Court of Assistants at Boston. Present, Governor, Deputy Governor, Master LUDLOW, Captain ENDICOT, Masters NOWELL, PYNCHON, BRADSTREET.

> [A man] fined £10, and he and his wife enjoined to depart this *Patent* before *October* 20, under pain of confiscation of goods; for contempt of authority, and confronting Officers.[b]

Sir CHRISTOPHER [GARDINER, having been] accused to have two wives in England, was sent for [p. 577]; but had intelligence, and escaped: and travelled up and down among the Indians,[a] especially in Plymouth Colony,[c] about a month. But by means of the Governor of Plymouth, is taken by the Indians about Namasket; and brought to Plymouth.[a]

[When] the Indians came to Governor [BRADFORD], and told him where he was, and asked "if they might kill him?" He told them, "No, by no means! but watch their opportunity, and take him." And so [after a vigorous fray] they did; and brought him to Governor [BRADFORD].

In his lodgings, those who made his bed, found a little Note Book, *which, by accident, had slipt out of his pocket or some private place; in which was a memorial, what day he was reconciled to the Pope and Church of Rome; and in what University he took his* scapula, *and such and such degrees.*

It being brought to Governor [BRADFORD], he keeps it; and sends him and his Notes *to Governor [WINTHROP].*[c]

[Being] brought by Captain UNDERHILL and his Lieutenant, on May 4, *to Boston*[a]*; Governor WINTHROP takes it very thankfully,*[c] *and* May 5, 1631, *writes to Governor [BRADFORD] the following letter*[c]*:*

> *SIR, It hath pleased GOD to bring Sir CHRISTOPHER GARDINER safe to us, with those that came with him. And howsoever I never intended any hard measure to him; but to respect and use him according to his Quality: yet I let him*

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.* [b] Massachusetts Colony *Records.*
[c] Governor BRADFORD's *History.*

know your care of him; and that he shall speed the better for your mediation.

It was a special Providence of GOD, to bring those Notes *of his to our hands. I desire you will please to speak to all who are privy to them, not to discover them to any one; for that may frustrate any further use to be made of them. The good LORD our GOD, who hath always ordered things for the good of his poor Churches here, direct us in this aright! and dispose it to a good issue!*

I am sorry we put you to so much trouble about this gentleman, especially, at this time of great employment: but I knew not how to avoid it. I must again intreat you to let me know what charge and trouble any of your People have been at about him; that it may be recompensed.

So with the true affection of a friend, desiring all happiness to yourself and yours, and to all my worthy friends with you, whom I love in the LORD; I commend you to His grace and good Providence, and rest

Your most assured friend,

JOHN WINTHROP.[a]

But, after Sir CHRISTOPHER gets to England, he shows his malice; but GOD prevents him [a] [see next year, *pp.* 645, 649].

May 16 [1631]. An alarm to all our towns in the night, by a piece shot off; but where, could not be known; and the Indians having sent us word, the day before, that the Mohawks are coming down, against them and us.

May 18, Wednesday,[b] *GENERAL COURT* at Boston. Present, Master WINTHROP, Governor; Master DUDLEY, Deputy Governor; Master LUDLOW, Captain ENDICOT, Masters NOWELL, PYNCHON, BRADSTREET, Assistants.

JOHN WINTHROP, Esquire, chosen Governor for this year; by the general consent of the Court; and THOMAS DUDLEY, Esquire, Deputy Governor.[c]

---

[b] And not 17, as by a mistake in Governor WINTHROP.

[c] In the like manner, did the choice proceed among the Assistants. [HUBBARD]. [And that which makes me think Master BRADSTREET was again chosen Secretary, is, that in the Massachusetts Colony *Records*, the title of "Captain" is always put before ENDICOT, and of "Master" prefixed to every other Assistant; but before his own name he, in excess of modesty, only puts the letter, S.]

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.

Kings. France, LOUIS 13; *Great Britain*, ‖CHARLES I.; *Spain*, ‖PHILIP IV.

ORDERED **1.** For explanation of an *ORDER* of the last General Court, of *October* 19, now *ORDERED*, with full consent of all the Company present, that, once every year at least, a General Court be holden; at which it shall be lawful for the Commons to propound any person or persons whom they shall desire to be chosen Assistants.

2. The like course to be held, when the said Commons shall see cause, for any defect or misbehaviour, to remove any one or more of the Assistants. And

3. To the end the Body of the Commons may be preserved of honest and good men, *ORDERED* and *AGREED*, that for the time to come, no man shall be admitted to the Freedom of this Body Politic, but such as are members of some of the Churches within the limits of the same.

4. THOMAS WILLIAMS having undertaken to set up a ferry between Winnesemet and Charleston: he is to have Three Pence a person: and from Winnesemet to Boston, Four Pence.

5. CHICKATABOT and Sagamore JOHN promise the Court to make satisfaction for whatever wrong any of their men shall do to any of the English, to their cattle, or any otherwise.

6. One hundred and sixteen take the *Oath* of Freeman, of whom are:

1. Master JOHN MAVERICK.
2. Master JOHN WARHAM.
3. Master WILLIAM BLACKSTONE.
4. Master GEORGE PHILIPS.
   Master RICHARD BROWN.
   Captain DANIEL PATRICK.
   Captain JOHN UNDERHILL.
5. Master THOMAS GRAVES.
6. Captain WALTER NORTON.
7. Master WILLIAM COLBRON.
8. Master ROGER CONANT.
9. THOMAS STOUGHTON.
   ROBERT SEELY.
   WILLIAM AGAR.
   Master WILLIAM CLARKE.
   WILLIAM NODDLE.[a]
10. WILLIAM BALSTONE.
11. Master GEORGE ALCOCK.
12. ROBERT MOULTON.
    Master EDWARD BELCHAR.
13. ROGER WILLIAMS.
    Master RICHARD SALTONSTALL.

[a] Perhaps Noddle's Island may derive its name from him.

14. EDWARD GIBBONS.
15. Master WILLIAM JEFFRY.
16. EDWARD CONVERSE.
17. Master JOHN DILLINGHAM.
18. THOMAS LAMB.
19. Master EDWARD JOHNSON.[a,b]

At noon, a house burnt down; all the People, &c.,[c] being present.[c]

May 27 [1631]. There comes from Virginia into Salem, a Pinnace of 18 tons, laden with corn and tobacco; was bound to the north, but [happily] put in here by foul weather. She sells her corn at 10s. [sterling] the bushel.[c]

June 14. Court at Boston. Present, Governor, Deputy Governor, Master LUDLOW, Captain ENDICOT, Master NOWELL, Master PYNCHON, S. BRADSTREET.

ORDERED **1.** That none shall travel out of this *Patent*, by sea or land, without leave from the Governor, Deputy Governor, or some Assistant; under such penalty as the Court shall think meet to inflict.

2. That Master JOHN MAISTERS having undertaken to make a "passage" from Charles river to the new Town, twelve feet broad, and seven deep. The Court promises him satisfaction.

3. That none buy corn or other provision, or any merchantable commodity of any ship or bark that comes into this Bay; without leave from the Governor, or some Assistant.

4. EDWARD CONVERSE having undertaken to set up a ferry between Charlestown and Boston; he is to have Two pence for every single person, and One penny [a person] if there be two or more.[b]

June 25.[d] Comes [to Boston] a shallop from Piscatoway; which brings news of a small English ship come thither with provisions, and some Frenchmen to make salt.

By this boat, Captain NEAL, Governor of Piscatoway, sends a packet of letters to Governor [WINTHROP], directed to Sir

[a] N.B. Those numbered, are mentioned as *desiring* freedom, on *October* 19, 1630 [see *p.* 560]; and now, as taking their oaths to the Government.
[b] Massachusetts Colony *Records.* [c] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*
[d] Not 14, as by mistake, in HUBBARD.

CHRISTOPHER GARDINER: which are opened, because directed to one who is our prisoner, and had declared himself an ill willer to our Government.

Which, when the Governor opened, he finds it came from Sir FERDINANDO GORGES. In the packet is [another] letter to THOMAS MORTON; sent prisoner before into England [*p.* 548]. By both which letters, it appears he [*i.e.*, Sir FERDINANDO] had some design to recover his pretended right to part of the Massachusetts Bay; and reposed much trust in Sir CHRISTOPHER.[a]

June 27 [1631]. Come to Governor [WINTHROP], letters out of the *White Angel* lately arrived at Saco; [which] brought cows, goats, hogs, and many provisions, both for the Bay and Plymouth. Master ALLERTON returns [hither] in this ship; and by him, we hear that the *Friendship* which put out from Barnstaple [some] weeks before the [*White*] *Angel,* was forced home again by a tempest.[a]

July 4. The bark, which Governor [WINTHROP] built at Mistic, launched, and called the *Blessing of the Bay.*[a]

July 5. Court of Assistants, at Boston. Present, Governor, Deputy Governor, Master LUDLOW, Master NOWELL, Master PYNCHON, S. BRADSTREET.

ORDERED **1.** There be levied out of the several Plantations, £30 for making good the creek from Charles river to Newtown, *viz.*:

1 Winesemet	£0 15		6 Boston	£5 0	
2 Wesaguscus	2 0		7 Dorchester	4 10	
3 Saugus	1 0		8 Roxbury	3 0	
4 Natasket	0 10		9 Salem	3 0	
5 Waterton	5 0		10 Charlestown	4 10	
[Meadford *omitted*].					
				£30 0	

2. That every Assistant have power to grant warrants, summonses, and attachments.

3. That Sagamore of Agawam [after, called Ipswich] is banished from coming into any Englishman's house, for a year; under penalty of ten beaver skins.[b]

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.* [b] Massachusetts Colony *Records.*

Kings. France, LOUIS 13; *Great Britain,*‖CHARLES I.; *Spain,*‖PHILIP IV.

July 6 [1631]. A small ship, of 60 tons, arrives at Natasket, [T.] GRAVES, Master, brings ten passengers from London. They came with a *Patent* for Sagadehock[a]: but not liking the place, they come hither. Their ship draws ten feet; goes up to Waterton, but runs aground twice by the way[a]; and lays her bones here.[b]

These were the Company called the "Husbandmen," and their ship called the *Plow*[a]; their *Patent* called the *Plow Patent.*[b] The most of them prove "Familists"; and,[a] soon after,[b] vanish away.[a]

About this time, [as I judge from Governor BRADFORD's *History,*] *the Plymouth Undertakers send Master EDWARD WINSLOW to England, to discharge Master ALLERTON from being their Agent; for acting contrary to their instructions.*

July 14. The ship *Friendship,* of Barnstaple, arrives at Boston; had been at sea eleven weeks; and beaten back again by foul weather; set sail from Barnstaple again, about the middle of *May,* [and] lands here 8 heifers, 1 calf, and 5 sheep.[a] *Master TIMOTHY HATHERLEY first comes in her.*[c]

July 21. The Governor, Deputy Governor, and Master NOWELL the Elder of the Congregation at Boston, go to Waterton to confer with Master PHILLIPS, the Pastor, and Master Brown the Elder of the Congregation there, about an opinion they had published that the Churches of Rome were true Churches. The matter is debated before many of both Congregations, and by the approbation of all the assembly, except three, is concluded an error.[a]

July 21. The *White Angel* comes into the Bay, [and] lands there 21 heifers.[a]

July 26. Court at Boston. Present, Governor, Deputy Governor, Master LUDLOW, Captain ENDICOT, Master NOWELL, Master PYNCHON, S. BRADSTREET.

ORDERED **1.** That there be a Watch, of six and an Officer, kept every night at Boston: where two to be of Boston, two of Charleston, and two of Roxbury.

2. That every first Thursday in every month, there be a general Training of Captain UNDERHILL's

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.* [c] Governor BRADFORD's History.
[b] Rev. Mr. HUBBARD's *History of New England.*

Company at Boston and Roxbury; and every first Friday in every month, there be a general Training of the remainder of them, [who] inhabit at Charlestown, Mistic, and the New Town, at a convenient place about the Indian wigwams. The Trainings to begin at one p.m.

3. Master FRANCIS ALEWORTH chosen Lieutenant to Captain SOUTHCOT; Captain SOUTHCOT hath liberty to go for England, promising to return with all convenient speed.[a]

July 26 [1631]. A small bark of Salem, of about 12 tons, coming towards the Bay, (three of Master CRADOCK's fishermen being in her, with two tons of stores, and three hogsheads of train oil) is overset in a gust: and being buoyed up by the oil, floats up and down forty-eight hours, the men sitting on her; till a boat coming by, espies and saves them.[b]

July 20. The *Friendship* sets sail for Christopher Island.[b]

July 30. *The* White Angel *falls down with Masters* ALLERTON *and* HATHERLY,[b] *for Plymouth, but the wind not serving, comes to an anchor; and a week after, runs aground near the Gurnet's Nose.*[b] [See *p.* 594.]

August 8. The Tarrentines [*i.e.*, Eastern Indians], to the number of a hundred, come in thirty canoes; and in the night, assault the wigwam of the Sagamore of Agawam, by Merrimack; slay seven men, and wound JOHN Sagamore, and JAMES, and some others (whereof some, after, die): and rifle a wigwam where Master CRADOCK's men kept to catch sturgeon; taking away their nets, biscuits &c.[b]

[*Continued on p.* 593.]

[a] Massachusetts Colony *Records.* [b] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*
[c] Governor BRADFORD's *History.*

[Reprinted from the original four-page Cover in the British Museum. Press Mark, 278 b 37*. The *last* page of this Second Cover is reproduced on the other side; and the *fresh* matter on its *second* and *third* pages, on *p.* 593.]

ANNALS

OF

NEW ENGLAND.

By Thomas Prince, M.A.

VOL. II.

NUMB. II.

CICERO, *De Oratore.*

Nescire quid antea quam natus sis acciderit,
id semper est esse puerum.

i. e.,

Not to know what came to pass before you were born, is always to remain a child.

BOSTON: Printed by B. EDES and J. GILL, in King Street, for S. KNEELAND in Queen Street, and for J. and T. LEVERETT in Cornhill.

[Price Sixpence lawful money, each Number.]

[The Fourth page of the Cover of NUMBER II.]

Advertisements.

HAVING no accounts from those ancient towns, viz Newtown, Groton, Chelmsford, Billerica, Woburn, Dunstable, and Manchester, in the Massachusetts; nor of Saybrook, New Haven, Fairfield, nor Stamford in Connecticut; nor of Bristol in the ancient Plymouth *Patent*: the Rev. Ministers of those towns are intreated to inquire of their Records, Grave stones, and ancient People; and send the Remarkables of their History, from the beginning, in chronological order, to the Compiler of these *Annals*; with all convenient expedition.

THOSE *persons who have Subscription Papers in their hands for this Work, are desired to take the first opportunity to send them to S.* KNEELAND, *or J. and T.* LEVERETT *in Boston. As several Numbers are prepared for the press; so soon as suitable encouragement presents, they will be published.*

Just Published, and Sold by S. KNEELAND, *in Queen Street.*

A STRICT and careful Inquiry into the *modern* prevailing Nations of that *Freedom of Will*, which is supposed to be essential to *Moral Agency*, *Virtue* and *Vice*, *Reward* and *Punishment*, *Praise* and *Blame*. By JONATHAN EDWARDS, Pastor of the Church in Stockbridge.

As most of the Subscribers live at a considerable distance, the Undertaker desires they would, as soon as possible, send or call for the books they have subscribed for.

Lately Imported.

And to be Sold by J. and T. LEVERETT, *in Cornhill.*

CHAMBER'S *Dictionary*, 4 Vols., last edition, neatly bound; RAPIN'S *History of England*, 2 Vols.; WATT'S *Works*, 6 Vols., FLAVEL'S *Works* in One, and Two Volumes. *Where likewise may be had*, Merchants' Account Books, and all other sorts of Stationery.

*** *All sorts of Printing Work done at the New Printing Office, in King Street, at a reasonable rate, with care and expedition.*

EXPLANATIONS.

[These are but a repetition of those at *p.* 555 : with the exception of the following alteration and additions :

8. As we are now about Foundations; we propose to be larger in these ten years, viz. 1630 to 1640, than others [*instead of* two years 1630–1632, *as at p.* 555].

cb *Continuation* of Sir R. BAKER.
cm Doctor COTTON MATHER.
ld Bishop LAUD's *Diary.*
lt *Bishop LAUD's Trial.*]

CORRECTIONS.

[These have been all applied to the present Text.]

Kings. France, LOUIS 13; *Great Britain,*‖CHARLES I.; *Spain,*‖ PHILIP IV.

[Master HUBBARD says] they wound JOHN and JAMES, two Sagamores that lived about Boston; and carry others away captive, among whom, is the wife of the said JAMES: and, That the [said] Sagamore of Agawam [as was usually said] had treacherously killed some of the Tarrantine families; and was therefore less pitied of the English. [But Master HUBBARD has misplaced this in 1632].

[And Captain JOHNSON says] the Indians most conversant among us, came quaking, and complaining of the Tarrantines, a barbarous and cruel people; who, they said, would eat such men as they caught alive, tying them to a tree, and gnawing their flesh by piece-meals off their bones; and also, that they were a numerous people, and now a coming: which made them flee to the English, who are but very few in number, and can make but little resistance, being much dispersed. Yet we keep a constant watch, neglecting no means for our safety: so that we are exceedingly weakened with continual labour, watching, and hard diet; but the LORD upholds in all.

[And that], near Sawgus, in the dead of the night, being on their watch, because of the report of the Indians' approach; Lieutenant WALKER, a man endued with faith, and a courageous spirit, coming to relieve the sentinel, they, of a

sudden, hear the sticks [break near] them, and withal he felt something brush hard on his shoulder, which was an Indian arrow, shot through his coat and the wing of his buff jacket. Upon this, he discharges his culliver towards the place where they heard the noise; which being deeply laden, breaks in pieces. Then, they return to the Court of Guard. Coming to the light, they perceive he has another arrow shot through his coat between his legs. Stand on their guard till morning, expecting the Indians to come on them every minute.

When daylight appears, they send word to other parts, [whence divers] gather together: and to quit themselves of these Indians, discharge their great guns; the redoubling echo rattling in the rocks causes the Indians to betake themselves to flight, or rather, He who put such trembling fear in the Syrian army, strikes the like in these cruel cannibals.

August 16 [1631]. Court of Assistants, at Boston. Present, Governor, Deputy Governor, Masters LUDLOW, NOWELL, PYNCHON, S. BRADSTREET.

1. Four men fined Five Marks a piece [*a Mark is* 13*s.* 4*d. sterling*] for drinking too much aboard the *Friendship*; and at Master MAVERICK's house at Winesemet.
2. Master WILLIAM GENNISON chosen Ensign to Captain PATRICK[a] [I mention this to show that the Court of Assistants now choose military officers].

[About this time, as I judge] *ASHLEY at Penobscut, for trading powder and shot with the Indians, contrary to his bond* [to the Plymouth Undertakers] *is, by some authority seized, and sent prisoner to England: and Penobscut* [*trade*] *is now wholly at their disposing.*[b] [See *p.* 503.]

September 6. *The* White Angel *sails for Marble Harbour*[c]*; and so, with Masters ALLERTON and HATHERLY to Bristol: where they arrive before* November 16, 1631. *Master ALLERTON being no more employed by the Plantation* [*of Plymouth*].

September 6. Court of Assistants at Boston. Present, Governor, Deputy Governor, Masters LUDLOW, NOWELL, PYNCHON, S. BRADSTREET.[a]

---

[a] Massachusetts Colony *Records*. [b] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.
[c] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal*.

1. A young fellow soliciting an Indian squaw to incontinency, her husband and she complaining of his carriage: *ORDER* that he be severely whipt [therefor].[a] Her husband and she are present at the execution; and very well satisfied.[b]
2. Upon this, it is propounded, "Whether Adultery, either with English or Indian, shall not be punished with death?" Referred to the next Court, to be considered.[a]

September 17 [1631]. Master SHURT[b] or SHURD[c] of Pemaquid, sends home to Agawam, JAMES the Sagamore's wife; who had been taken away in the surprise of Agawam; and writes that the Indians demand — fathoms of wompampeag, and — skins for her ransom.[b]

September 27. Court of Assistants, at Boston. Present, Governor, Deputy Governor, Masters LUDLOW, NOWELL PYNCHON, S. BRADSTREET.

ORDER That a man for stealing four baskets of corn from the Indians,[a] *viz.*, from CHICKATABUT and his men, who are present,[b] shall return them eight baskets' [full], be fined £5; and hereafter called JOSIAS, and not Master, as formerly; and that two others,[a] *viz.*, his servants,[b] be whipt for being accessory to the same offence.[a]

October 18. Court of Assistants, at Boston. Present, Governor, Deputy Governor, Master LUDLOW, Captain ENDICOT, Masters NOWELL, PYNCHON, S. BRADSTREET.

ORDER 1. That if any man have carnal copulation with another man's wife: they shall both be punished with death.
2. That a man's house at Marble Harbour be pulled down; and that no Englishman give him house room, or entertain him: under such penalty as the Court shall think meet.
3. That corn shall pass for payment of all debts, at the usual rate it is sold for; except money or beaver be expressly named.[a]

---

[a] Massachusetts Colony *Records*. [b] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal*.
[c] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History of New England*.

October 22 [1631]. Governor [WINTHROP] receives a letter from Captain WIGGIN of Pascataquack [sometimes wrote Pascataqua; but commonly called Pascatowa], informing of a murder committed the 3rd of this month, at Richmond Isle[a] (being a part of a tract of land granted to Master TRELANE, a Plymouth merchant [in England]; where he had settled a place for fishing, built a ship there, and improved many servants for fishing and planting[a]) by an Indian Sagamore, called SQUIDECASSET and his company, on one WALTER BAGNELL, and Jo. P., who kept with him; having killed them, burnt their house over them, and carried away their guns and what else they liked: persuading the Governor to send twenty men presently [*at once*] to take revenge.

But the Governor advising with some of the Council, thought best to sit still awhile: partly because he heard that Captain NEAL &c., were gone after them; partly because of the frost and snow, and want of boats fit for that expedition.

This BAGNELL was sometime servant to one in the Bay; and these three years had dwelt alone in the said Isle, and had got about £400; was a wicked fellow, and had much wronged the Indians.[a] [*See pp.* 626, 643.]

October 25. Governor [WINTHROP], with Captain UNDERHILL and other officers, go a foot to Sawgus [afterwards called Lynn]; and next day to Salem: where they are courteously entertained by Captain ENDICOT &c.; and the 28th, returned by Mistic to Boston.[a]

A plentiful crop [in the Massachusetts].[a]

October 30. Governor [WINTHROP] having erected a building of stone at Mistic; there comes a violent a storm of rain for twenty-four hours from north-east and south-east: as (being laid with clay instead of lime, and not finished) two sides of it are washed down to the ground. And much harm done to other houses by the storm: [and] Master PYNCHON's boat coming from Sagadehock, is cast away at Cape Ann; but the men and chief goods saved, and the boat recovered.[a]

According to the agreement of Governor WINTHROP, Deputy Governor DUDLEY, and Assistants, on *December* 28

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*

last, to build at Newtown; Deputy Governor DUDLEY, Secretary BRADSTREET, and other principal gentlemen, in the spring, went forward with their design; and intended to carry it on amain. The Governor has the frame of his house set up, where he first pitched his tent: and Master DUDLEY had not only framed, but finished his house there, and removed his family thereinto, before winter. But on other considerations, which at first came not into their minds, the Governor [about this time, as I guess] takes down his frame, and brings it to Boston; where he intends to take his [abode] for the future. Which is no small disappointment to the rest of the Company who were minded to build [at Newtown]; and accompanied with some disgust between the two chief gentlemen[*p.* 627]: but they are, soon after, satisfied with the grounds of each other's proceedings.[a] Master DUDLEY and others, being without any settled Minister, till Master HOOKER comes over in 1633; Governor WINTHROP still continuing at Boston, which is like[ly] to be the place of chiefest commerce. He prepares his dwelling accordingly.[b]

November 2 [1631]. The ship *Lion*, WILLIAM PIERCE, Master, arrives at Natasket, [with] Governor [WINTHROP's] wife, his eldest son [Master JOHN WINTHROP, *junior*] and wife, and other of his children; Master [JOHN] ELIOT, a Minister, and other friends: being about sixty persons, all in health, having been ten weeks at sea, and lost none of their company, but two; whereof one was the Governor's daughter, about a year and a half old.

November 3. The wind being contrary, the ship stays at Long Island, but the Governor's son comes ashore; and the Governor goes to the ship, abides all night.

Next morning, *November* 4. The wind coming fair, [the ship] comes to an anchor before Boston. The Governor, his wife and children come ashore, with Master PIERCE, in his ship's boat. The ship gives them seven [guns] at their

[a] Governor WINTHROP gives this as one reason of removing his house to Boston, *viz.*, that the People of Boston had, under all their hands, petitioned him, that, according to the promise he made them when they first set down with him at Boston (*viz.*, that he would not remove, except they went with him), he would not leave them.

[b] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*

landing. The Captains with their Companies, in arms, entertain them with a guard, and divers volleys, and three drakes, [a sort of great guns, perhaps invented by Sir FRANCIS DRAKE]. And divers of the Assistants, and most of the People of the near Plantations come to welcome them; and bring and send, for divers days, great store of provisions, as fat hogs, kids, venison, poultry, geese, partridges, &c.: so as the like joy and manifestation of love had never been seen in New England. It was a great marvel how so many people, and such store of provisions could be gathered together at so few hours' warning.[a]

[The Reverend] Master ELIOT left his intended wife in England, to come next year[b]; soon [c] joins to the Church at Boston, and there exercises, in the absence of Master WILSON the Pastor; who was gone back to England for his wife and family.[b]

November 11. We keep a Day of Thanksgiving at Boston.[a]

November 17 [1631]. *Governor* [*BRADFORD*] *of Plymouth, comes to Boston; and lodges in Master PIERCE's ship.*[a]

November 23. Master PIERCE goes down to his ship at Natasket. Divers go home with him to England, by Virginia; as Sir R. SALTONSTALL's eldest son, and others: and are six weeks going to Virginia.[a]

The Congregation at Waterton, whereof Master GEORGE PHILLIPS is Pastor, had chosen [Master] RICHARD BROWN [see the list of *October* 19, 1630; *p.* 560] for their Elder beforenamed: who persisting in his opinion of the truth of the Roman Church, and maintaining other errors, and being a man of a very violent spirit; the Court wrote a letter to the Congregation, directed to "the Pastor and brethren," to advise them to take into consideration, whether Master Brown were fit to be continued their Elder or not? To which, he returned answer to this effect, that "if we would take the pains to prove such things as were objected against him, they would endeavour to redress them."[a]

December 8. The Congregation [at Waterton] being much divided about their Elder; both parties repair to Governor WINTHROP for assistance: whereupon he goes to Waterton,

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*
[b] Roxbury Church *Records.* [c] Doctor COTTON MATHER.

with the Deputy Governor and Master NOWELL. And the Congregation being assembled, the Governor tells them, "that being come to settle peace, &c.; they might proceed in three different respects: **1.** As the Magistrates, their assistance being desired; **2.** As members of a neighbouring Congregation; **3.** Upon the answer we received of our letter, which did no way satisfy us."

But the Pastor, Master PHILLIPS desires us to sit with them as "Members of a neighbouring Congregation": whereto the Governor, &c., consent. After much debate, they are reconciled; and agree to seek GOD in a Day of Humiliation, and so to have a solemn Uniting: each party promising to reform what had been amiss, &c.; and the Pastor gives thanks to GOD, and the Assembly breaks up.[a]

[Mr. HUBBARD says, that] said BROWN had been one of the Separation in England, [and seems to intimate as if the occasion of his opinion was that] the Reformed Churches did not use to re-baptize those that renounced the religion of Rome, and embraced that of the Reformation.[b]

Articles of various dates.

CAPTAIN JOHNSON says, The number of Freemen of the Massachusetts added this year, was about 83. But in the *Records* of *May* 18, I find 116 take the *Oath* of Freeman, as then observed; besides two more scored out. And as these are all I find admitted this year, and the first that are mentioned in the said *Records*, as taking the *Oath* of Freeman; I am apt to think the 110 he mentions as made Freemen in 1630 [*see p.* 560] are included in the 116 who take their *Oath* on *May* 18, 1631 [*p.* 586]; and that these 116 are the first admitted after the arrival of the Governor and Company.

JOSSELINE says, that Captain JOHN SMITH, Governor of Virginia [*i.e.*, President in 1608], and Admiral of New England [*i.e.*, made so in 1616] dies in 1631: [but where, he does not say].

[a] Governor WINTHROP'S *Journal*.
[b] Rev. W. HUBBARD'S *History of New England*.

And he mistakes in placing, under 1631,

1. The arrival of Sir R. SALTONSTALL, and the Reverend Masters MAVERICK and WILSON in the Massachusetts[; which was in *May* and *June*, 1630].
2. Master HARLACKENDEN, a Magistrate and Leader of their military forces [; which is not till 1636].

And I guess he mistakes in placing, in 1631,

The Reverend Master WILSON's brother, Doctor WILSON's gift of a £1,000 to New England [which seems to be some time after].

SUPPLEMENT TO THE APPENDIX OF 1630.

Containing Accounts of the four Ministers who arrived in 1630.

1. The Reverend Master JOHN MAVERICK.
2. The Reverend Master JOHN WARHAM.

} of Dorchester.

OF BOTH these gentlemen, Captain CLAP, of the same town, gives the best account in the following paragraph: which I insert almost entire, to show the pious spirit of the Puritan laity as well as Ministry, in those times, in England, as well as those who came over hither.

I was born, *says he,* at Salcombe [about twelve miles east of Exeter], in Devonshire, *April* 6, 1609. My father, a man fearing GOD and in good esteem among GOD's faithful servants. His estate, I think, not above £80 *per annum* [*about* £400 *now*]. We were five brethren (I, the youngest); and two sisters. GOD was graciously pleased to breathe His Holy Spirit (I hope) in all our hearts. Four of us brethren lived at home. My dear mother being dead, I desired my dear father I might live abroad [*go into service*]; which he consented to.

So I first went to live with a worthy gentleman, Master WILLIAM SOUTHCOT, about three miles from the city of Exeter. He was careful to keep a godly family. There being a very mean Preacher in the place; he went every Lord's Day into the city, where were

many famous Preachers of the Word of GOD. I took such a liking to the Reverend Master WARHAM, that I desired to live near him. So, with my father's consent, I removed into the city; and lived with Master MOSSIOUR, as famous a family for religion as ever I knew. He kept seven or eight men, and divers maid servants; and he had a Conference on a Question propounded once a week in his family.

I never heard of New England, till I heard of many godly persons that were going there; and that Master WARHAM was to go also. My master asked me, "Whether I would go?" I told him, "Were I not engaged to him, I would willingly go." He answered, "That should be no hindrance; I might go for him, or for myself, which I would."

I wrote to my father, who lived about twelve miles off, to entreat his leave to go to New England: who was so much displeased at first, that he wrote me no answer.

[Upon which] I went and made my request to him: [and] now GOD sent the Reverend Master MAVERICK, who lived forty miles off, a man I never saw before. He, having heard of me, [was so zealous to promote our going to New England, that he] came to my father's house: and my father agreed I should be with him, and come under his care; which I did.

[And then, he adds]; It was GOD that did draw me out of my father's family; that brought me near Master WARHAM, and inclined my heart to his Ministry; that made me willing to leave my dear father and dear brethren and sisters, my dear friends and country; that sent Master MAVERICK, that pious Minister! to me, who was unknown to him, to seek me out, that I might come hither. Blessed be GOD that brought me here!

In our *Annals* at the beginning of March 1630 [*p.* 503], we gave an account of the said Masters MAVERICK and WARHAM joining with Masters LUDLOW and ROSSITER and others, in forming a Congregational Church, at Plymouth in England, of those pious People who were there and then preparing to come over hither; who then chose the said MAVERICK and WARHAM their Officers. And Captain JOHNSON tells us, [that] "the Reverend and godly Master MAVERICK was their first Pastor, and the gracious servant of CHRIST, the Reverend Master WARHAM, their Teacher." In which qualities they came over, with their Church, in a ship, the *Mary and John,* of 400 tons; setting sail from said Plymouth on *March* 20, and arriving at Nantasket on *May* 30, 1630, as observed before.

And from both these accounts, we learn that Master MAVERICK was the eider person; that they had both been Ministers in the Church of England, and therefore had been ordained by some Bishop or other; as none other, in those days, were allowed to preach in that Kingdom, nor any separate Congregation allowed there till the Civil Wars began in 1642. Nor would Masters MAVERICK and WARHAM have been then allowed to form a Congregational Church at Plymouth, in England; were it not of those who had taken their passage for New England, and were just ready to sail hither.

3. The Reverend Master JOHN WILSON.

Being the first Minister of this metropolis; I may be larger on him.

And Doctor COTTON MATHER, says, That descending from ancient ancestors; he was born at Windsor in 1588. The third son of Doctor WILLAM WILSON, Prebend of St. Paul's, of Rochester, and of Windsor; and Rector of Cliff: his mother a niece of Doctor EDMUND GRINDAL, the renowned Archbishop of CANTERBURY.

His education, under his parents (which betimes tinged him with an aversion to vice, and, above all, to the very shadow of a lie), fitted him [for] Eton College [: to which he went at ten years of age] under UDALL and LANGLEY. Here he was most remarkably twice [saved] from drowning: but, at his book, made such proficiency, that, while he was the least boy in the school, he was made a Propositor. And when the Duke DE BIRON, Ambassador from the French King HENRY IV. to Queen ELIZABETH, visited the School; he made a Latin Oration, for which the Duke bestowed three angels [=30*s.*=*about* £10 *now*] on him.

After four years at Eton, he was admitted into King's College in Cambridge, in 1602; [and] in that College obtained a Fellowship.

He had hitherto been, according to his good education, very soberly disposed: but being led to the Ministry of such holy men, as Master BAINES, Doctor [THOMAS] TAYLOR, Doctor CHADERTON: he was, by their sermons, enlightened; and awakened to more solicitous inquiries after the One Thing yet lacking in him. The serious dispositions of his mind were now such; that, besides his perseverance after the works of repentance in himself, he took no little pains to pursue it in others; especially malefactors in prison, whom he visited with a devout and successful industry.

[Yet] being forestalled with prejudices against the Puritans, he declined their accquaintance (though his good conversation had made him to be accounted one himself) till going to a bookseller's shop to augment his well-furnished library; he light on that famous book of Master RICHARD ROGERS, called *The Seven Treatises* (*see* Vol. I. *p.* 350). Which, when he read, he so affected, not only the matter, but the Author; that he took a journey to Withersfield, on purpose to hear a sermon from that BOANERGES. When he had heard the heavenly passages which fell from the lips of that worthy man, privately as well as publicly; and compared them with the writings of GREENHAM, DOD, and DENT, especially [DENT's] *Pathway to heaven;* he saw that those who were nicknamed Puritans were likely to be the desirablest companions for one that intended his own everlasting happiness. And pursuant to the advice he had from Doctor AMES, he associated himself with a pious Company in the University; who kept their meetings, in Master WILSON's chamber, for prayer, fasting, holy conference, and the exercises of true devotion.

But now perceiving many good men to scruple about the *Rites* imposed in the Church of England, he furnished himself with all the books he could find written on Conformity, both *Pro* and *Con*; and pondered, with a most conscientious deliberation, the arguments on both sides: was hereby so convinced of the Evil of Conformity, that, for his omission of certain

Kings. France, LOUIS 13; *Great Britain*, ‖CHARLES I.; *Spain*, †PHILIP IV.

uninstituted ceremonies in the worship of GOD [? WILLIAM BARLOW] the Bishop of LINCOLN, then visiting the University, pronounced on him, the Sentence of *Quindenum*, *i.e.*, besides other mortifications, he must, in fifteen days, be expelled, if he continued in his offence.

His father, being hereof advised, wrote to him to conform; interceded with the Bishop, that he might have a quarter of a year allowed him, in which time, if he could not be re-duced, he should leave his fellowship. [and] thereupon, sent him to several Doctors of great fame, to get his objections resolved. But when much discourse and writing had passed between them; he was rather more confirmed in his principles about Church Reformation.

Wherefore his father disposed him to the Inns of Court: where he fell into accquaintance with some young gentlemen, who associated with him in constant exercises of devotion; to which meetings, the repeated sermons [*i.e.*, *from memory*] of Doctor GOUGE were a continual entertainment.

[After] three years at the Inns of Court, his father discerning his disposition to be a Minister, permitted his proceeding Master of Arts in Cambridge. Doctor CARY, Vice Chancellor, understanding his former circumstances, would not admit him without Subscription; [which] he refused. But the Earl of NORTHAMPTON, Chancellor of the University, [writing] to the Vice Chancellor, on behalf of our WILSON; he received his degree, and continued awhile in Emmanuel College: but while passing under these changes, took up a resolution, which he thus expressed before the LORD, "That if the LORD would grant him Liberty of Conscience, with Purity of Worship: he would be content, yea, thankful, though it were at the furthermost end of the world."

At length, preaching his first Sermon at Newport; he set hand to that plough, from whence he never after looked back.

Not long after, his father lying on his dying bed [in 1615]: he kneeled, in his turn, before him for his blessing; and brought with him for a share [there]in, the virtuous young daughter of the Lady MANSFIELD (widow of Sir JOHN MANSFIELD, Master of the Minories, and the Queen's Surveyor), whom he designed to marry. Whereupon the old gentleman said, "Ah, JOHN! I have taken much care about thee! because thou wouldest not conform! I would fain have brought thee to some higher preferment! I see thy conscience is very scrupulous concerning such things as have been imposed in the Church: nevertheless, I have rejoiced to see the grace and fear of GOD in thy heart! And seeing thou hast kept a good conscience hitherto, and walked according to thy light: so do, still! and go by the rules of GOD's Holy Word! The LORD bless thee! and her! whom thou hast chosen to be the companion of thy life."

Among other places, he preached at Mortlake, where his Nonconformity exposed him to the rage of persecution: but by the friendship of Sir WILLIAM BIRD the Justice, a kinsman of his wife; and, by a mistake of the informers, the rage of that storm was moderated. After this, at Henley [in Oxfordshire]; then, for three years together, continued preaching at four places, by turns; which lay near [each other] on the edge of Suffolk, *viz.*, Bumstead, Stoke, Clare, and Candish.

Here some of Sudbury happening to hear him; they invited him to

succeed the eminent old Master JENKINS: with which, he cheerfully complied, and the more, because of his opportunity to be near old Master ROGERS; from whom, afterwards, when dying, he received a blessing among his children. And yet he accepted not the Pastoral Charge of the place, without a solemn Day of Prayer, with Fasting; wherein the neighbouring Ministers, [who were then called, Puritan Ministers in the Church of England], assisted at his election.

Great notice was now taken of the success of his labours in this famous town. But if they that will live godly, must suffer persecution; a peculiar share must fall on them who are zealous and useful instruments to make others live so.

Master WILSON had his share of this; and one A——N [a Preacher] was the principal author of it. Upon seeing Master WILSON more highly valued and honoured than himself, he became a malignant and violent persecutor. By his means, Master WILSON was put into trouble in the Spiritual Courts: from whence his deliverance was, at length, obtained by certain powerful mediators.

Afterwards, an eminent Lady happening to make some comparison between the preaching of Master WILSON and Doctor B. of B.: the angry Doctor presently applied himself to the Bishop of LONDON; who, for a while, suspended him.

And when that storm was over, he, with several other Ministers, came to be wholly silenced in another that was raised upon complaints made by one Doctor BIRD to Doctor HARSENET, [then] Bishop of NORWICH, against them: but at [length] Master WILSON obtained [of] the truly noble Earl of WARWICK, to sign a letter which the Earl bid him draw up to the Bishop, on his behalf; by the operation of which, his liberty for the exercise of his Ministry was again procured.

At last, being persecuted in one country, he must flee to another. The Plantation of a New England Colony was begun; and Master WILSON, with some of his neighbours, embarked in the fleet which came over hither in 1630 [about the 42nd year of his age]; where he applied himself, with all the vigour imaginable, to encourage the poor people, under the difficulties of a new Plantation. But he was most set on the main design [thereof]; which was "to settle the Ordinances of the Gospel, and worship CHRIST according to His Institutions;" and accordingly, he, with the Governor and others, [who] came with him on the same account, combined into a Church state, with all convenient expedition [1] [*viz.*, in about a month after their arrival at Charlestown, as we observed before, *p.* 544.]

4. The Reverend Master GEORGE PHILIPS.

Doctor C. MATHER says, He was born at Raymond in Norfolk [whose] parents were encouraged by his great proficiency at the Grammar School, to send him to the University [I suppose of Cambridge; it being forty miles nearer, and between Norfolk and Oxford], where his good

[1] Doctor COTTON MATHER.

invention, strong memory, and solid judgement, with the blessing of GOD upon all, attained a degree of learning that may be called eminent. The diligent reading of the Fathers, while he was yet among young men, was one of the things which gave a special ornament to that skill in theology whereto he attained. But that which yet further fitted him to become a Divine, was his being made partaker of the Divine nature by the sanctification of all his abilities for the service of GOD in a true regeneration.

Devoting himself to the work of the Ministry, his employment befell him at Boxford in Essex; whereof he found much acceptance with good men. as being a man mighty in the Scriptures.

[Mr. HUBBARD styles him an able and faithful Minister of the Gospel at Boxsted in Essex, near Groton in Suffolk; but Boxford being in Suffolk, and Boxsted in Essex, and both near Groton: I suppose that Boxford in Doctor C. MATHER is a mistake of the printer].

But his acquaintance with the writings and persons of some old Nonconformists, had instilled into him such principles about Church Government, as were likely to make him unacceptable to some who then drave the world before them. Some of these principles he had intimated in his public preaching: whereupon some of his dissatisfied hearers repaired to old Master [JOHN] ROGERS of Dedham [near Boxsted] with some intimations of their dissatisfaction. But though Master ROGERS had not much studied the controversy, yet he had so high a respect for Master PHILIPS, that he said, "He believed Master PHILIPS would preach nothing, without some good evidence for it from the Word of GOD; and therefore they should be willing to regard whatever Master PHILIPS might, from that Word, make evident to them." And as for Master PHILIPS, the more he was put upon the study and searching of the truth in the matter controverted, the more he was confirmed in his own opinion of it.

When the spirit of persecution did, at length, with the extremest violence, urge a Conformity to Ways and Parts of Divine Worship conscientiously scrupled by such persons as Master PHILIPS: he, with many more of his neighbours, entertained thoughts of transporting themselves and their families into [these, then] deserts of America, to prosecute and propagate the glorious designs of the Gospel, and spread the light of it in these goings down of the sun. And being resolved accordingly, to accompany the excellent Master WINTHROP [then of Groton] in that undertaking; he, with many other devout Christians, embarked for New England: where they arrived in 1630 [as before related, see *p.* 510].

Here [soon] after his landing, he lost his only Consort; who, though an only child, had cheerfully left her parents, to serve the Lord JESUS with her husband, in a terrible wilderness. She died at Salem, entering into everlasting peace; and was very solemnly interred near the Right Honourable the Lady ARBELLA, the sister of the Earl of LINCOLN, who also took New England in her way to heaven.[1]

---

[1] Doctor COTTON MATHER.

APPENDIX TO 1631.

I. *Account of the two Ministers; who arrived in* 1631.

1. Master ROGER WILLIAMS.

WITH respect to whom, Governor WINTHROP writing, That the *Lion* arriving on *February* 5, 1630-1, brought Master WILLIAMS, a godly Minister," and on *April* 12 following "That the Church at Salem had called Master ROGER WILLIAMS to the Office of a Teacher, &c.:" the names seem to mean the same man. But then the List of Persons "desiring to be Freemen" placed under *October* 19, 1630, [*p.* 560] comprehends all those who entered their desires between that time and *May* 18, 1631 [*p.* 586].

By his printed Works, he appears to be a gentleman of considerable parts and learning: but of a very Separating principle and spirit, and for the utmost liberty in religious matters.

Governor BRADFORD, writes of him thus, "Master ROGER WILLIAMS, a man godly and zealous, having many precious parts, but very unsettled in judgement, came over first to the Massachusetts; but, upon some discontent, left the place, and came hither [*i.e.*, to Plymouth; and, as I suppose, in the summer of 1631], where he was freely entertained, according to [our] poor ability, and exercised his gifts among [us]: and, after some time, was admitted a Member of the Church, and his teaching well approved. For the benefit whereof, I still bless GOD; and am thankful to him, even for his sharpest admonitions and reproofs, so far as they agree with truth."[1]

2. The Reverend Master JOHN ELIOT.

Doctor C. MATHER says, He was born in England [I suppose, about *November*, 1604]. His parents gave him a pious education; [and] his first times were seasoned with the fear of GOD, the Word and prayer. Was educated at one of the Universities [I suppose, at Cambridge]. GOD had furnished him with a good measure of learning; which made him capable of dividing the Word aright. He was a most acute grammarian; understood very well the [Greek and Hebrew] languages, which GOD first wrote his *Holy Bible* in; had a good insight into all the liberal arts; but, above all, had a most eminent skill in Theology.

His first appearance in the world was in the difficult but very necessary employment of a Schoolmaster; which he discharged with fidelity. [I suppose under Master HOOKER, in a sort of Academy at Little Baddow, near Chelmsford, in Essex: see account of Master HOOKER.]

[1] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.

He had not passed many [changes] in the world, before he knew the meaning of a saving turn to GOD in CHRIST by a true repentance. He had the privilege and happiness of an early conversion from the ways, which original sin disposes all men unto. One of the principal instruments which the GOD of heaven used in trying and filling the mind of his chosen vessel with good principles, was that venerable THOMAS HOOKER; whose name in the Churches of the Lord JESUS is as ointment poured forth. It was an acquaintance with him that contributed more than a little, to the accomplishing of our ELISHA for that work to which the Most High had designed him.

His liberal education having now the addition of religion to direct and improve it, gave such a bias to his young soul as quickly discovered itself in very signal instances. [And his being a tutor of youth] rather prepared him for the further service which his mind is now set upon. Wherefore, having dedicated himself to GOD betimes, he could not reconcile himself to any lesser way of serving his Creator and Redeemer than the Ministry of the Gospel. [And] he was mighty in the Word; which enabled him to convince gainsayers, and show himself a workman that needed not to be ashamed. But where, alas! should he have opportunities for the exercising of it? The Laudian, Grotian, and Arminian faction [then] in the Church of England, in the prosecution of their grand plot for reducing England to a moderate sort of Popery, had pitched on this as one of their methods for it, [*viz.*] to cripple as fast as they could, all the learned, godly, painful Ministers of the Nation; and invent certain Shibboleths for detecting and destroying such men as were cordial friends to the Reformation. It was now a time, when there were every day multiplied and imposed those unwarrantable Ceremonies in the Worship of GOD, by which the conscience of our considerate ELIOT counted the *Second Commandment* notoriously violated.

It was now also a time, when some hundreds of those good People, which had the nickname of Puritans put upon them, transported themselves with their families and interests into the deserts of America; that there, they might peaceably erect Congregational Churches, and therein attend and maintain all the pure Institutions of CHRIST: having the encouragement of royal *Charters*, that they should never have any interruption in the enjoyment of those pleasant and precious things.

Here was a prospect which [soon] determined the devout soul of our young ELIOT to a remove into New England; while it was yet a land not sown. He [soon] enlisted himself among those valiant soldiers of CHRIST, who cheerfully encountered, first the perils of the Atlantic Ocean, then the fatigues of a New English wilderness; that they might have an undisturbed communion with Him in His appointments there.

He came [hither] in *November*, 1631, [at twenty-seven years of age] among those blessed old Planters, which laid the foundation of a remarkable country, devoted to the exercise of the Protestant Religion in its purest and highest Reformation. [1]

---

[1] Doctor COTTON MATHER.

Kings. France, LOUIS 13; *Great Britain,* ‖ CHARLES I.; *Spain,* ‖ PHILIP IV.

II. *The most material events in England.*

WILLIAM BEAL, servant to Master HENRY GELLIBRAND, Professor of Mathematics at Gresham College, setting forth an *Almanack* for this year, by his master's approbation, agreeing with the *Kalendar* before Master FOX's [*Martyrology*], printed oftimes by public authority, without the least exception, both in Queen ELIZABETH, King JAMES's, and King CHARLES's reign; in which *Almanack*, the names of Popish saints were omitted, and the names of Martyrs mention in the *Book of Martyrs* inserted, just as in Master FOX's *Kalandar*: Bishop LAUD, taking great exceptions against this *Almanack*, brought Master GELLIBRAND and his man unto the High Commission, for compiling and publishing it; prosecutes them with great violence, stands up in a great passion, and publicly informs the Court, that "the Queen [HENRIETTA MARIA] sent for him, and complained to him against this *Almanack*; which gave great offence to those of her religion; and desired him to prosecute the author of it, and suppress the book: he therefore hoped he should not pass unpunished in this Court." Yet the Court acquitting him, the Bishop stood up again, in a fury, and said to Master GELLIBRAND, "Sir! Remember you have made a faction in this Court; for which you ought to be punished! And know that you are not yet discharged hence! I will sit in your skirts! For I hear you keep conventicles at Gresham College, after your lectures there!"

Whereupon he gave order for a second Prosecution against him, in the High Commission: which so afflicted this good man; that it put him into a fever, whereof he died.

Offended with this *Almanack*, Bishop LAUD perused a book of Doctor POCKLINTON's; wherein he calls Master FOX's Martyrs, traitors, murderers, rebels, and heretics; and orders it to be printed.[1]

January 16. "I [*i.e., Bishop LAUD*] consecrate St. Katherine Creed Church in London:[2] though only *repaired* in his predecessor (Bishop MONTEIGNE)'s time.

As Bishop LAUD approaches the West Door, his [attendants] cry out, with a loud voice, "Open! open! ye everlasting doors! that the King of Glory may come in:" and presently, as by miracle, the doors fly open; and the Bishop enters in; falls down on his knees, "In the name of the Father, Son, and HOLY GHOST" pronounces the place holy; then takes up some of the dust, and throws it into the air: and this he does in the great middle aisle, several times. As he approaches eastward towards the rails of the Lord's Table; he bows lowly towards it five or six times. When he approaches the Communion Table; he bows with his nose near the ground, six or seven times. Then comes to one of the corners of the Table, and there bows three times. Then to the second, third, and fourth corners; bowing at each corner, three times: but when he come to the side where the bread and wine are; he bows seven times.

[1] *Bishop LAUD's Trial.* [2] Bishop LAUD's *Diary.*

Then after reading many prayers by himself, and his two chaplains on their knees by him, in their surplices, hoods, and tippets; he comes near the bread cut and laid in a napkin: gently lifts up one of the corners of the napkin, peeps into it; flies back a step or two, and then bows very low three times towards it and the Table.

When he beholds the bread, he comes near and opens the napkin again, and bows as before: then lays his hand on the Cup of Wine, with a cover on it. So soon as he pulls the cup a little nearer to him, he lets the Cup go; flies back, and bows again three times towards it. Then comes near again, and lifting the corner, peeps into it, and seeing the wine; lets fall the cover again, flies nimbly back, and bows as before, &c.

[In short] prays and "acts," as in the Roman *Pontificale*, published by Pope CLEMENT VIII.: though he consecrated it more as a Burying Place than as a House of Worship; and though this *Pontificale* with the ceremonies of consecrating churches had been abolished by *Acts of Parliament.*

Doctor PILKINGTON, Bishop of DURHAM, and Archbishop PARKER, with other Divines in Queen ELIZABETH's reign, had condemned the consecrating of churches as paganish, superstitious, childish, and ridiculous; and the practice had been discontinued from the beginning of the Reformation till now Bishop LAUD revives it.[1] [And how extremely pleasing to the Popish Queen and all her party!]

January 23. "I [*i.e., Bishop LAUD*] consecrated St. Giles' Church in the Fields"[2]: which had been also in part rebuilt in Bishop MONTEIGNE's days; and had had Divine Service in it for three or four years. But, on a sudden, Bishop LAUD interdicts, and shuts it up for two or three weeks, till he consecrates it now, with the same bowings, &c., as the other: with the churchyard also.[1]

This year, THOMAS DOVE, Bishop of PETERBOROUGH, living in a poor bishopric, and leaving a plentiful estate, [dies]. The Nonconformists in his diocese, complain of his severity; [having] silenced five of them in one morning: on the same token that King JAMES is said to say, "It might have served for five years."[3] [And the learned author of *The dispute against kneeling at the Lord's Supper*, in quarto, printed in 1608, says that] Bishop DOVE deprived fifteen Ministers in one day.

"*June* 7. I" [*i.e., Bishop LAUD*] "consecrate the Chapel at Hammersmith"[2]: with the like Popish ceremonies as Creed Church.[1]

June 29. The *Continuator* of Baker says, Two years ago [*i.e.*, in 1629] the fort Kebeck [*Quebec*] on the river of Canada, in North America, had been taken, and garrisoned by Captain KIRK: it being a great staple for beaver and otter [skins]. The King of France, therefore, detains 400,000 crowns [=£120,000 *or about* £500,000 *in present value*] part of the English Queen's portion; and a greater breach is likely to ensue.

[But he seems to mistake in saying that] 1630 puts an end to the differences; the fort delivered, and the money paid [: for Monsieur DENNIS tells us, that] on *June* 29, 1631, King CHARLES empowers Sir ISAAC WAKE, his Ambassador, to conclude a treaty with the French King for

[1] *Bishop LAUD's Trial.* [2] Bishop LAUD's *Diary.* [3] FULLER.

ending of all controversies, perfecting mutual reconciliation, restoring commerce, and establishing a firmer peace and friendship between them and their subjects. [But the said treaty is not finished till *March* 29, 1632.] [*See p.* 639.]

"Before Bishop LAUD came to be Chancellor of the University of Oxford [in *April* 1630]; there were no copes, altars, nor Communion Tables turned and railed about, altar wise, in churches or colleges; nor any bowing to or towards the altar; nor any crucifixes, but such as were either defaced, or covered over with dust and quite neglected. But since his being Chancellor, the Tables in all or most churches and colleges are turned into altars; or railed, altar wise: and usually bowed unto. The old crucifixes repaired and adored: and new crucifixes set up where there were none before." Sworn by Sir NATHANIEL BRENT, his Visitor.[1]

June and *July.*[2] Begin great discontents to grow in the University of Oxford. Many conceive that Innovations are multiplied in Divine Service. Offended thereat, in their Sermons brake out into what is interpreted bitter invectives. Yea, their very texts give offence: one preaching on *Num.* xiv. 4, "Let us make us a Captain! and let us return into Egypt!"; another on 1 *Kings* xiii. 2, "And he cried against the altar, &c." In prosecution whereof, they had tart reflection on some eminent person in the Church.

Doctor SMITH, Warden of Wadham [College], convented the principal persons, *viz.*, Master THORN, of Baliol College, Master HODGES, of Exeter College, and Master THOMAS FORD, of Magdalen Hall; as offenders against the King's *Instructions.*[1] They suspecting partiality in the Vice-Chancellor, appealed from him to the Proctors, two men of eminent integrity and ability, Master ATHERTON BRUCH and Master JOHN DOUGHTY; who received their Appeal, presuming the same justifiable by the *Statutes* of the University.

Bishop LAUD did not like those retrograde appeals; but, sensible that his own strength moved rather by ascending than descending, procures the cause to be heard before the King, at Woodstock [, on *August* 23]. By whose sentence,

1. The Preachers complained of, are expelled the University;
2. The Proctors are deprived of their places, for accepting of their Appeal.

[But] the expulsion of these Preachers expels not, but increases, the differences in Oxford. Many complain that the Sword of Justice did not cut indifferently; but that it is more penal for some to touch, than others to break the King's *Declaration.*[3]

Yea, Master FORD returning into Devonshire, some friends intended to elect him for their Lecturer or Vicar in Plymouth; of which, Bishop LAUD being informed, presently, *viz.*, *September* 12, procures a Letter from [the King] to the Mayor and Corporation of Plymouth, "not to chose Master FORD their Lecturer or Vicar, on any terms, under pain of his displeasure"; and another Letter to the Bishop of EXETER, not to admit him to be their Lecturer or Vicar, in case they should elect him.[1]

[1] *Bishop LAUD's Trial* [2] Bishop LAUD's *Diary.* [3] FULLER

Kings. France, LOUIS 13; *Great Britain,* ‖ CHARLES I.; *Spain,* ‖ PHILIP IV.

After *August* 2, dies Master ARTHUR HILDERSHAM. Derived, by his mother, from the Duke of CLARENCE, second son of King EDWARD III.; bred in Christ's College, Cambridge; Minister of Ashby de la Zouche [in Leicestershire], forty-three years; a learned writer: though a Nonconformist, he loved all honest men, were they of a different judgement; minded herein like LUTHER, who gave for his motto, "In whomsoever I see anything of CHRIST, him I love."[1]

LEIGH says, "He was a learned and judicious Divine, quotes Scripture pertinently, and his works are excellent." And Master T. HALL styles him, "an oracle, and honour of his time."

Yet neither the royal blood in his veins, nor his eminent learning, piety, and charity protected him from being persecuted by the then bishops. For FULLER says, After he entered the Ministry, he met with many molestations; being

	ON	*SILENCED BY*	*RESTORED BY*	*ON*
1	1590 *June,*	The High Commissioners.	The High Commissioners.	1591–2 *January.*
2	1605 *April* 24,	Bishop CHADERTON.	Bishop BARLOW.	1608–9 *January.*
3	1611 *November,*	Bishop NEILE.	Doctor RIDLEY.	1625 *June.*
4	1630 *March* 4,	The Court at Leicester.	Ditto.	1631 *August* 2.

After *September,* dies the Reverend Master ROBERT BOLTON, B.D., *æt.* 60; being born in 1572. In 1592, went to Lincoln College, in Oxford. There he became an excellent logician and philosopher, and wrote out all Homer; so that he could, with as much facility, dispute in the 'Schools' in Greek, as in Latin or English. Removed to Brazenose College, where, in 1602, he was made a Fellow, and M.A.; and being chosen Lecturer, performed with such exactness, that he grew very famous. Was well studied in Metaphysics, Mathematics, and School Divinity. His disputations in the University were performed with such acuteness of wit and profound learning, that he was chosen by the Vice Chancellor, at King JAMES's first coming to the University, to be one of the Disputants before him.

In the 35th year of his age [*i.e.,* about 1607], he was ordained; and two years after, preferred to Broughton, in Northamptonshire. Applied himself wholly to his studies and the Ministry; aimed at the conversion of souls: and GOD crowned his labours, by making him an instrument [of converting] many to righteousness. Often refused preferment, that he might not be divorced from that country [*district*] where his Ministry found such entertainment and effect, &c.[2]

Both the persons and Works of these two famous Ministers were highly esteemed by the pious settlers of New England.

November 4. Born to CHARLES I., the Princess MARY, at St. James's[3]: who, in 1641, *May* 2, is married to WILLIAM II., Prince of ORANGE; and in 1650, *November* 4, becomes the mother of WILLIAM III., afterwards King of England.[4]

---

[1] FULLER. [2] S. CLARK. [3] HOWES. [4] ANDERSON.

III. *The most material events among foreign nations.*

THE War between the Spaniards and Dutch continues, without any help from the Court of England.

In Germany. *This being a most critical year, wherein the settlers of New England* [*see p.* 619], *as well as all Europe are greatly concerned. I hope the reader will excuse the following summary.*

While GUSTAVUS is, with a small army, delivering the Electorate of Brandenburg; the Popish Emperor's old general, Count TILLY, with 21,000 veteran troops, besieges the most noble, Protestant, and flourishing city of Magdeburg, the fairest ornament in Germany. And, by treachery, or negligence of some in not duly watching a gate, early on *May* 10, his forces enter, and, by his cruel order, set the city in flames; spare no rank, age, or sex; rip up women with child, murder sucking infants before the eyes of their mothers, violate the virgins in the open streets, yea, the young girls even to death, to avoid which, some of them drown themselves, and others ran into the fire before TILLY's eyes; in twenty-four hours, consume this great and magnificent city, with its sixteen churches and chapels by fire; leaving only the Cathedral and 139 poor cottages standing; fill all places with dead bodies. So that of 40,000 citizens in the morning, scarcely 400 escaped at night; and the carcases of men, women, and children thrown into the river to roll into the sea. The Popish General boasting, calls this horrid tragedy, "The Marriage Feast of Magdeburg;" and, in triumph, marches to Saxony, to lay waste that Protestant Electorate also.

Hereupon GUSTAVUS, greatly afflicted, first hastily restores the Protestant Duchy of Mecklenburg to its Duke, unjustly deprived thereof by the Emperor; delivers the rest of the Protestant Electorate of Brandenburg, driving the Popish troops away before him; marches to the Elbe, taking many towns and castles by the way; builds a bridge, passes with his little army of about 8,000 over it, cuts off almost all the foot of several regiments. TILLY sent to oppose him, forms a strong camp on the Elbe, and reduces divers garrisons round about.

TILLY marches towards him, with 26,000 veterans; but 7,000, of his advanced parties, are cut off by stratagem in divers fights. While the King's main body, being much inferior [in numbers], keeps his camp: TILLY marches back to finish the ruin of Saxony. In this distress, the Queen, with 8,000 men, arrives from Sweden; and at the end of *July*, the Marquis of HAMILTON sent by King CHARLES, with 6,000 foot from Great Britain, lands in Pomerania: but the King and HAMILTON disagreeing, the latter returns inglorious. The King, as it seems, leaving the Britons to keep the garrisons, taking those few brave Scots and English who had fought under him in Poland, as with the Swedes, make up 20,000; joins the 14,000 Saxons under their Duke, and hasten to save their country.

Approaching Leipsic, their capital, on *September* 6: he, with his army, keeps it a Day of Fasting and Prayer to GOD for help and victory.

Kings. France, LOUIS 13; *Great Britain,* ‖ CHARLES I.; *Spain,* ‖ PHILIP IV.

Next morning, TILLY, with 44,000 brave men, advances into the field, presenting his army in a dreadful front full two miles in length, to enclose the King's. TILLY's word is "Saint Mary!" but the King's was "GOD with us!" The King, riding from regiment to regiment, crying aloud, "Come on, comrades! Will you fight to-day for the name of JESUS CHRIST?" and the battle joins.

In the beginning of which, the King seeing his men hardly charged, alights from his horse, and with bended knees, prays to GOD again for victory. TILLY's veterans quickly make the Saxon wing to fly, and kill 2,000 of them: then turn, with their main force, on the Swedes and some brave Scots and English under the King; TILLY crying out, "Let us beat the Swedes too, and then all Germany is our own" [*i.e.*, to oppress, to ravish, and massacre, as we please]. And turning even all the Saxon cannon on the Swedes, a most terrible fight ensues—*the fate of the Protestant religion, both in Europe and America, now depending*—for Five hours; until night comes on; when that formidable Popish army (which, for twelve years together, had triumphed over and oppressed the Protestants) is broken to pieces, 15,000 of them slain, and many thousand of them wounded. TILLY, wounded, flies twenty miles that night.

Next day, the King pursuing, slays 2,000 more. 6,000 forsaking the Imperial side, list [*enlist*] under him.

By the end of the month, recovers all Saxony: and as he began with prayer, he ends with praise; appointing, with the Duke, a day of Public Thanksgiving in the army, and through that Electorate. Then goes on, reduces Franconia, Wateravia, and the Palatinate. And in this one year recovers the middle part of Germany; from the Baltic Sea, to Metz and Spires on the Rhine: and wherever he comes, restores their liberties and the Protestant religion, to their unbounded joy.





1632.

January 27. GOVERNOR WINTHROP and others go by Charles river [no doubt, a foot], eight miles above Watertown; ascend the highest hills, and view[a] [the frozen countries and distant ranges of mountains, for forty or fifty miles round about].

February 3. Court of Assistants, at Boston. Present, Governor, Deputy Governor, Master LUDLOW, Captain ENDICOT, Masters NOWELL, PYNCHON, S. BRADSTREET.

ORDER That £60 be levied out of the several Plantations, towards making a *Pallizado* about the Newtown, *viz.*

1 Waterton	£8	0	7 Salem	£4	10
2 The New town	3	0	8 Boston	8	0
3 Charleston	7	0	9 Roxbury	7	0
4 Meadford	3	0	10 Dorchester	7	0
5 Sawgus and 6 Marble Harbour	6	0	11 Wessaguscus	5	0
			12 Winesemet	1	10
			[b] £60	0	

February 17. Governor WINTHROP and Assistants call before then, at Boston, divers of Waterton; the Pastor and Elder, by letter; and the others by Warrant.

The occasion was, that a Warrant being sent to Waterton for levying their [aforesaid] £8 Rate; the Pastor, Elder &c., assembled the people; and delivered their opinion "that it was not safe to pay [the said tax], for fear of bringing themselves and posterity into bondage."

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.* [b] Massachusetts Colony *Records.*

The ground of their error was, They took this Government to be no other, but that of a Mayor and Alderman; who have not power to make laws, or raise taxes without the people.

But understanding that, This Government is rather in the nature of a Parliament; and that no Assistant could be chosen but by the Freemen; who have likewise power to remove the Assistants, and put in others: and therefore, at every General Court, which is to be held once every year, they have free liberty to propound anything concerning the same; and to declare their grievances, without being subject to question, &c.: they are fully satisfied, freely confess they were in an error, acknowledge their fault, and make a *Recantation* and *Submission* under their hands. And their Submission is accepted; and their offence pardoned.[a]

March 6 [1632]. [being Tuesday; and not 5, as Governor WINTHROP]. Court of Assistants, at Boston. Present, Governor, Deputy Governor, Master LUDLOW, Captain ENDICOT, Masters NOWELL, PYNCHON, S. BRADSTREET.

ORDER **1.** That Courts, which before were every three weeks,[a] shall be held every first Tuesday, in every month.

2. Ten more take their *Oath* of Freeman, *viz.*,

Master JOHN ELIOT, | JACOB ELIOT, &c.[b]

March 14. The bark *Warwick* arrives at Natasket, and the 19th, at Winesemet; having been at Pascataquack and Salem, to sell corn which she brought from Virginia.[a]

April 3. Court of Assistants, at Boston. Present, Governor, Deputy Governor, Master LUDLOW, Captain ENDICOT, Masters NOWELL, PYNCHON, S. BRADSTREET.

1. Conant's Island demised to Governor WINTHROP [upon certain terms]; and the name is changed, and is to be called "The Governor's Garden."

2. Four take their *Oath* of Freeman, *viz.*:

Master JOHN WINTHROP *junior*, | JOHN SAMPLEFORD [*or* SAMFORD],
Master WILLIAM ASPINWALL, | WILLIAM HUBBERT.[a]

April 9. The bark *Warwick*, and Master [S.] MAVERICK's pinnace go out, bound to Virginia [a] [no doubt for corn].

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.* [b] Massachusetts Colony *Records.*

Kings. France, LOUIS 13; *Great Britain,*‖CHARLES I.; *Spain,*‖PHILIP IV.

April 12 [1632]. *Governor* WINTHROP *receives letters from Plymouth, signifying, That there had been a broil between their men at Sowams, and the Narraganset Indians; who set upon the English House there, to take* OUSAMEQUIN *the Sagamore of Pacanacot* [since called Bristol], *who fled thither, with all his people, for refuge. And that Captain* STANDISH *being gone thither, to relieve the three English in the House; had sent home, in all haste, for more men, and other provisions: upon intelligence that* CANONICUS, *with a great army, was coming against them. Intreating that some powder may be sent, with all speed possible: for it seems they were unfurnished.*

Upon this, Governor WINTHROP *presently despatches the messenger, with so much powder as he can carry* [doubtless being a foot, there being no horses in New England in those days], *viz., 27 lbs., out of the Governor's own store.*[a]

April 16. *The messenger returns, and brings a letter from Governor* [*BRADFORD*] *signifying, That the Indians are retired from Sowams, to fight with the Pequims* [or Pequots].

Which is probable, because JOHN Sagamore, and CHICKATABOT are gone, with all their men (JOHN with thirty, and CHICKATABOT with ?) to CANONICUS: who had sent for them.[a]

[To this, agrees the testimony of divers ancient Indians inserted in *Westerly Records*. From which, and other ancient testimonies, it seems

1. That there was War between the Pequots and Narragansets, about 1632.

2. That the said War was about the territory between Pacatuck river on the west, and Wecapaug brook on the east: about ten miles wide; and fifteen to twenty long, northerly from the sea.

3. That CANONICUS and MIANTENOMY, Chief Sachems of Narraganset, had conquered it, many years before the English had any war with the Pequots.

4. That those two Sachems maintained the War of 1632; the former being uncle to the latter. And that NINEGRAD was another uncle to MIANTENOMY; but had no hand in the War.

5. That the War began in 1632, and ended in 1635, or about two years before the war between the Pequots and the English.

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*

Kings. France, LOUIS 13; *Great Britain,* ‖CHARLES I.; *Spain,* ‖PHILIP IV.

6. That SOSSOA or SOCHSO, originally a Pequot, but a *renegado* to the Narragansets, was a great Captain in this War, and fought valiantly for them: and, in 1635, CANONICUS and MIANTENOMY pretend to give the said tract to him; but he never holds possession. For

7. The Pequots are now too hard for the Narragansets: and either recover, or obtain the said tract; and hold it to the war between the Pequots and the English, in 1637.]

A weir is erected by the Watertown men on Charles river, three miles above the town; where they take great store of shad.[a]

May 1 [1632]. A Dutch ship brings from Virginia, 2,000 bushels of corn; which sells at 4*s.* 6*d.* [sterling] a bushel [a] [No doubt, a joyful import, though it carried their money away.]

An Indian brings [to Governor WINTHROP] a letter from Captain STANDISH, at Sowams, to this effect, "That the Dutchmen [with them, for trading at Anyganset or Narraganset] *had lately informed him," That many Pequins* [or Pequots], *who are professed enemies to the Anygansets, had been there divers days; and advised us to be watchful, &c.*

May 8[a] [Tuesday, and not 9[b]]. *GENERAL COURT* at Boston. Present, Governor, Deputy Governor, Masters LUDLOW, NOWELL, PYNCHON, S. BRADSTREET.

GENERALLY AGREED **1.** That the Governor, Deputy Governor, and Assistants, shall be chosen by the whole Court of Governor, Deputy Governor, Assistants, and Freemen; and the Governor shall always be chosen out of the Assistants chosen for the year ensuing.

2. JOHN WINTHROP, Esquire, chosen Governor; THOMAS DUDLEY, Esquire, Deputy Governor; Masters LUDLOW, NOWELL, PYNCHON, BRADSTREET, Captain ENDICOT, JOHN HUMFREY, Esquire, Master CODDINGTON (because these two are daily expected[a]), and JOHN WINTHROP, *junior*; Assistants.

ORDER **3.** There shall be Two of every Plantation to

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.* [b] As in Massachusetts Colony *Records.*

confer with the Court, about raising a Public Stock.[a]

Every town chose Two,[b] *viz.*,

1. Master OLDHAM and Master MASTERS, for Watertown.
2. ROBERT COLES and JOHN JOHNSON, for Roxbury. [Boston.
3. Master WILLIAM COLBRON and, WILLIAM CHEESBROUGH, for
4. RICHARD WRIGHT and ————————, for Sawgus.
5. Master LOCKWOOD and Master SPENCER, for Newton.
6. Master GIBBONS and Master PALMER, for CHARLSTON.
7. Master CONANT and PETER PALFREY, for Salem.
8. Master FELPS and JOHN GALLARD, for Dorchester.[a]

[Here is no mention of Wessaguscus, Meadford, Winisemet, nor Marble Harbour.]

All things are carried very lovingly, and the People carry themselves with much silence and modesty.[b]

[And this seems to pave the way for a House of Representatives in the General Courts.]

Governor [WINTHROP], among other things, used this speech to the People. "That he had received gratuities from divers towns, which he received with much comfort and content. He had also received many kindnesses from particular persons; which he could not refuse, lest he should be accounted uncourteous, &c. But he professed he received them with a trembling heart, in regard to GOD's rule, and with the consciousness of his own infirmity: and therefore desired that, hereafter, they would not take it ill, if he [should] refuse presents from particular persons; except the Assistants and some special friends." To which, no answer is made: but he is told after, that many good people were grieved at it, for that [*because*] "he never had any allowance towards the Charge of his Place."[b]

May 24. The fortification on the Corn Hill [I suppose since called Fort Hill] at Boston, [now] begins. The 25th, Charlestown men come and work on the fortification, Roxbury next, and Dorchester the next.[b]

May 26. The *Whale* arrives [at Boston], with [the Reverend Master WILSON], Master [RICHARD] DUMMER, and

[a] Massachusetts Colony *Records*. [b] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal*.

about thirty passengers; all in health. And of seventy cows, lost but two. She came from Hampton [*Southampton*], *April* 6. Master GRAVES, Master.[a]

[And, no doubt, brings the joyful news of the King of Sweden's wonderful success in Germany (*of the previous September* 7; *see p.* 612)].

June 5. Court of Assistants at Boston. Present, Governor, Deputy Governor, Masters NOWELL, PYNCHON, LUDLOW, WINTHROP *junior*, S. BRADSTREET.

1. The Court taking into consideration the great mercy of GOD to the [Reformed] Churches in Germany, and [especially] the Palatinate, &c.; appoints the 13th of this month to be kept as a Day of public Thanksgiving throughout the several Plantations. And
2. Agree there shall be a Trucking House in every Plantation, whither the Indians may resort to trade; to avoid their coming to the several houses.[b]

June 5. Arrives [at Boston], the *William and Francis*, Master THOMAS, Master, with about sixty passengers; whereof are Master [THOMAS] WELD; and old Master [STEPHEN] BATCHELOR (being aged 71), with their families; and many other honest men. Also, the *Charles* of Barnstaple, with Master [TIMOTHY] HATHERLY, the Merchant, about twenty passengers; nearly eighty cows and six mares; all safe and in health. They set sail, *viz.*, the *William and Francis*, from London, *March* 9; the *Charles* from Barnstaple, *April* 10: and they met near Cape Ann.[a]

Master [*EDWARD*] *WINSLOW* [*of Plymouth*] *comes in the* William and Francis: *and Master HATHERLY comes in the* Charles,[a] *to dwell and plant in the country.*[c]

June 12. Arrives [at Boston], the *James*, Master GRANT, Master. Her passage nearly eight weeks from London; with with twelve passengers; and sixty-one heifers, and lost forty [of them].

June 13. A Day of Thanksgiving through all the Plantations [of the Massachusetts], by public authority, for the success of the King of SWEDEN and Protestants in Germany

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal*. [b] Massachusetts *Colony Records*.
[c] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.

against the Emperor: and for the safe arrival of all the ships; they having not lost one person, nor one sick among them.[a]

The French came in a pinnace to Penobscut, and rifle a Trucking House belonging to [New] Plymouth; carrying thence Three hundredweight of beaver, and other goods.[a]

[Of which, Governor BRADFORD gives the account following.]

This year, their house at Penobscut is robbed by the French, in this manner. While the Master of the house, and part of the company with him, are come, with our vessel, to the Westward; to fetch a supply of goods brought over for us: a small French ship, having a false Scot [I suppose, a Papist] *aboard, goes into the harbour; pretend they are newly come from sea, know not where they are, that their vessel is very leaky, and desire they may haul her ashore, and stop her leaks; making many French compliments and congees. And seeing but three or four simple men, who are servants; and, by the Scotsman understanding the Master and rest of the Company are gone from home: fall a commending their guns and muskets, which lie on the racks by the wall side; take them down to look on them, asking if they are charged. And when possessed of them, one presents a loaded piece against the servants; another a pistol: then bid them, "not to stir! but to deliver their goods!" And make them help in carrying them all aboard, to the value of £400 to £500 [sterling] prime cost. Three hundredweight of beaver; the rest in trading goods, as coats, rugs, blankets, biscuits, &c. Then set the servants at liberty: and go away, with this taunting message, "Tell your Master, when he returns, that some of the Ile de Rhè gentlemen have been here."* [b]

[But Governor BRADFORD has misplaced this in 1631.]

June. ABRAHAM SHURD [or SHURT] of Pemaquid, and Captain WRIGHT and others, coming to Pascataquack, being bound for this bay [*i.e., the bay within Pullen Point on the north, and Point Allerton on the south*], in a shallop, with £200 of commodities: one of the men going to light a pipe of tobacco [near the powder]; being wished by another to forbear, answered, "That if the Devil should carry him

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.* [b] Governor BRADFORD's *History.*

Kings. France, LOUIS 13; *Great Britain,*‖ CHARLES I.; *Spain,*† PHILIP IV.

away quick, he would take one pipe," set fire on a barrel of powder, which tore the boat in pieces.

That man was blown away, [and] never seen [till he was, some time] after found with his hands and feet torn off. The rest all saved; but the goods lost.[a]

A shallop of one HENRY WAY, of Dorchester, having been missing all the winter; it was found that the men in her, being five, were all secretly killed by the Eastern Indians. Another shallop of his, being sent to seek out the other, was cast away at Agamenticus, and two of the men drowned. A fishing shallop at the Isle of Shoals, was overset. And one NODDLE, an honest man of Salem, carrying wood in a canoe in the South river, was overturned and drowned.[a]

July [I suppose, Monday the 2nd]. At a Training at Watertown, a man of JOHN OLDHAM's, having a musket which had been long charged with pistol bullets; not knowing it, gave fire, and shot three men: two into their bodies and one into his head, but so far off as the shot entered the skin, and stayed there; and they all recovered.[a]

July 3. Court at Boston. Present, Governor, Deputy Governor, Master LUDLOW, Captain ENDICOT, Masters PYNCHON, WINTHROP, S. BRADSTREET, Master NOWELL.

ORDER **1.** That the Captain and other Officers take a special care to search all pieces brought into the field, for [*from*] being charged with shot or bullets. And that no person whatever shall, at any time, charge any piece of service with bullets or shot; other than for defence of their houses, or at command from their Captain: upon such penalty as the Court shall think meet to inflict.

2. A man fined 40s. [sterling], and bound to his good behaviour to the next Court, for his misdemeanour and drunkenness aboard the Virginia ship.

3. Seven take their *Oath* of Freeman, *viz.*—

Master NATHANIEL TURNER,	Master SAMUEL SHARP,
JOHN RUGGLES,	Master JOHN WILSON,
Master WILLIAM DENNISON,	&c.[b]

The Congregation [*i.e.*, the Church] at Boston wrote to the Elders and brethren of the Churches of Plymouth, Salem, &c., for their opinion in three questions.

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.* [b] Massachusetts Colony *Records.*

Kings. France, LOUIS 13; *Great Britain,* ‖ CHARLES I.; *Spain,* † PHILIP IV.

1. Whether one person might be a Civil Magistrate, and a Ruling Elder at the same time?
2. If not, then which should he lay down?
3. Whether there might be divers Pastors in the same Church?

The **1st** was agreed, by all; Negatively: the **2nd** and **3rd**; Doubtful.[a]

After many days of [prayer] by those of Boston and Roxbury for [the Reverend] Master WELD; and the advice of those of Plymouth being taken, &c.: at length, he resolves to set down with those of Roxbury.[a,b]

August 3 [not 5, as Master S. DANFORTH and Master HUBBARD]. The Sachim, (who is, joined with CANONICUS, the great Sachim of Narraganset) called MECUMEH, after-[wards], MIANTONMOEH, comes to Boston, with his squaw, and about twelve sannups.

August 5 [Lord's Day]. Being present at the sermon, three of his sannups go, in the meantime, and break into a neighbour's house, &c. Complaint being made thereof to Governor [WINTHROP],

[*Continued* at *p.* 625.]

---

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*

[b] By which, I perceive he is the first Minister and Pastor of the People at Roxbury; but *when* the Church is formed, I have not yet discovered. Only in Roxbury Church *Records*, I find the first seventeen Members are all Males; and distinguished from those which follow, in this order. (1) Master WILLIAM PYNCHON, (2) Master THOMAS WELD, (3) WILLIAM DENNISON, (4) THOMAS LAMB, (5) SAMUEL WAKEMAN, (6) WILLIAM PARKE, &c. Which Seventeen seem to be the first constituting Members, and, about this time, *viz.*, in *July* 1632, to form the Church; and invest the said Reverend Master WELD in the pastoral office over them.

After which, are added the names of seventeen women and thirteen men, as joining to the said Church; before the name of Master ELIOT is inserted: who, till *November*, continues his relation to the Church of Boston. [See *November*, *p.* 632].

[And the Roxbury Church *Records* tell us, that] the People at Roxbury [had] joined to the Church at Dorchester; till GOD should give them an opportunity to be a Church themselves: and Master GEORGE ALCOCK, who came in 1630, and lived in a godly sort, was by the Dorchester Church chosen a Deacon, especially to regard the brethren of Roxbury; and, after, he joins to Roxbury Church and is ordained their Deacon [Roxbury Church *Records.*]

[The Cover of this Number is wanting in the British Museum Set. See *p.* 552. It is reproduced here, from the Reprint in *Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, Second Series, Vol.* vii. 1826. Which Reprint apparently does not include the Fourth page of the Cover, probably devoted to advertisements, as on *pp.* 554 and 592. The *fresh* matter of this Third Cover will be found on *pp.* 624, 625.]

ANNALS

OF

NEW ENGLAND.

By Thomas Prince, A.M.

VOL. II.

NUMB. III.

Deut. i. 6, 7, 8, 19, 20, 21. *The LORD our GOD spake unto us, saying, Take your journey! and go to the Mount of the Amorites and to all the places nigh thereto, in the plain, in the hills, in the vale, in the South, and by the sea side to the Land of the Canaanites, and unto Lebanon; unto the great river, the river Euphrates! Behold, I have set the land before you, go in, and possess the land!*

And we went, through all that great and terrible wilderness, which you saw by the way of the Mountain of the Amorites; as the LORD our GOD commanded us. And ye are come to the Mountain of the Amorites which the LORD our GOD doth give us. Behold, the LORD thy GOD hath set the land before thee! Go up, and possess it! as the LORD GOD of thy fathers hath said unto thee. Fear not! neither be discouraged!

BOSTON: Printed by B. EDES and T. GILL in King Street for S. KNEELAND in Queen Street, and for J. and T. LEVERETT in Cornhill.

[Price *Sixpence* lawful money, each number.]

[Reprinted from *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Second Series, Vol.* vii.]

Advertisement.

WANTING yet Accounts of these ancient towns. *viz.*:

Newtown	Woburn	in the Massachusetts.
Groton	Dunstable	
Chelmsford	Manchester	
Billerica		
Saybrook	Fairfield	in Connecticut.
New Haven	Stamford	
Bristol		in Plymouth *Patent*.

The Reverend Ministers or other gentlemen of those towns are earnestly entreated to inquire of their records, grave stones, and ancient people: and send the Remarkables of their history from the beginning, in a chronological order, to the Compiler of these *Annals*; with all convenient expedition.

Sir,— Boston, May 28, 1755.

THE *New England Annals* wanting the Remarkables of your place, and the Composer being loath to omit them; that so the Work may be as complete as possible. You are therefore desired to send your Communications, as soon as may be, under the following heads.

1. When your town was granted and settled? What its original Indian name? To what County first laid? and if there has been any alteration; what, and when it was?
2. What the number of original shares and settlers? and from whence they chiefly came? and what your present number of families?
3. When the Church was first gathered? and what their first and present number of Males?
4. Whether you are yet divided into precincts? How many, when and what their names? both ancient Indian, and present English.
5. Who have been your Teaching or Ruling Elders? and when called, ordained, removed; and died, at what age, and where?
6. Whether you have a Grammar School? and when first set up?
7. How many of your town have taken their first degree at College? whether at Cambridge, or New Haven? How many at each? and what their names?
8. The decease of other Gentlemen of note among you, as Counsellors, Assistants, Justices, Graduates, &c.
9. Whether any have deceased among you of one hundred years of age, or upwards? whether English or Indians? When, and what their names?
10. Those who have been remarkable for a great increase of posterity, their names, age; when they died, and the number of their offspring then, of each generation?
11. What remarkable works have been among you, as the building meeting houses, great bridges, forts, &c.? and when?
12. The remarkable Providences that have befallen your town or the people in it, from the beginning to the present time; as earthquakes, tempests, inundations, extraordinary floods, droughts, fires, epidemical sicknesses, awful deaths; or any other strange occurrences, as far as can be recollected.

You are desired to be as precise as possible in the dates, both as to year, month, and day, of all your articles; as well as certain in the facts related: that so the Public may depend upon the truth and accuracy of these Collections.

In doing which, you will oblige the public, as well as

The Composer,

T. PRINCE.

CORRECTIONS.

[*These have all been applied to the Text.*]

FURTHER EXPLANATIONS OF LETTERS.

[In *continuation of pp.* 555, 593.]

Cc Connecticut Colony.
ih JAMES Howell's *Letters* [*Epistolæ Ho-Elianæ.*]
Mb Massachusetts Bay.
Mc Massachusetts Colony.
N.E. New England.
Pc Plymouth Colony.
Rc Rhode Island Colony.
sc JOSHUA SCOTTOW Esquire, in MS.

Kings. France, LOUIS 13; *Great Britain,*‖ CHARLES I.; *Spain,*‖ PHILIP IV.

after Evening Exercise, he tells the Sachem of it; and, with some difficulty, causes him to make one of his sannups to beat them; and then sends them out of the town: but brings the Sachem and the rest of [his] company to his house, and makes much of him (as he had done, before); which he seems to be well pleased with; but, this evening, he departeth.[a]

At a Court, not long before, two of CHICKATABUT's men were convented, and convicted for assaulting some English at Dorchester, in their houses, &c.; were put in the bilboes; and CHICKATABUT required to beat them, which he did.[a]

The Congregation of Boston and Charlestown begin the Meeting House at Boston: for which, and Master WILSON's house, they had made a voluntary contribution of about £120.[a]

August 7 [1632]. Court at Boston. Present [, same as *June* 5].

1. On further consideration of justice to be done upon the murder of WALTER BAGNALL; and on reading a letter from those of Plymouth, in answer to a letter sent to them about it, *ORDER* that a boat be sent,

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*

sufficiently manned, with Commission to deal with the Plantation to the Eastward; and to join with such as shall be willing thereto, for the examination of the murder of the said BAGNAL; and for apprehending of such as shall be found guilty thereof; and to bring the prisoners to the Bay. Referred to the Governor to take order therein. [*See pp.* 596, 643.]

2. Master WILLIAM PYCHON chosen Treasurer for the year ensuing; and till a new one be chosen.

3. Four take their *Oath* of Freeman, *viz.*,
SAMUEL WAKEMAN, &c.[a]

August 14 [1632]. This summer is very wet and cold (except, now and then, a hot day or two) which causes great store of mosquitos and rattlesnakes. The corn, in dry sandy ground, is much better than other years; but in the fatter grounds, much worse; and in Boston &c., much shorn down close by the ground with worms. [b]

The summer proving short and wet, our crops of Indian corn (for we have no other) are very small, and great want threatens us.[c]

Master OLDHAM has a small house at Waterton, made all of clapboard, burnt down.[b]

The Braintree Company (which had begun to set down at Mount Wollaston), by order of Court, removes to Newtown. These are Master HOOKER's Company.[b]

August 20. Governor [WINTHROP]'s wife delivered of a son: who is (on *August* 26[d]) baptized by the name of WILLIAM. The Governor himself holds the child to baptism, as others in the Congregation did use. [b]

August 30. Notice being given of ten Sagamores and many Indians assembling at Muddy river; Governor [WINTHROP] sends Captain UNDERHILL with twenty musketeers, to discover, &c.; but, at Roxbury, they hear they are broken up.[b]

September 4. Court at Boston. Present, Governor, Deputy Governor, Master LUDLOW, Captain ENDICOT, Masters Treasurer [PYNCHON], NOWELL, WINTHROP [*junior*], S. BRADSTREET.

---

[a] Massachusetts Colony *Records.*
[b] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*
[c] Charlestown *Records.*
[d] Boston Church *Records.*

1. Sagamore JOHN, &c., promise the next year, and for ever after, to fence their corn against all kind of cattle.

ORDER 2. A man to be severely whipt for cursing, swearing; justifying the same, and glorying in it. [And
3. another] man to be whipt, and branded with a hot iron on one of his cheeks, for selling[a] a piece, a pistol, with powder and shot, to JAMES Sagamore.[b]

By the mediation of the Reverend Masters MAVERICK, WARHAM, and WILSON; Governor WINTHROP and Deputy Governor DUDLEY [are now happily reconciled]. Notwithstanding the heat of contention [*p.* 597] which had been between them, yet they usually [had] met about their affairs; and that without any appearance of any breach or discontent. And, ever after, keep peace and good correspondence together, in love and friendship.[b]

One JENKINS, late [of] Dorchester, [since] removed to Cape Porpus, went with an Indian up into the country with a store of goods to truck; and, being asleep in a wigwam of one of PASSACONOMY's men, was killed in the night by an Indian dwelling near the Mohawk country.[a]

In autumn, 1632, the Indians, who had all this time held good correspondency with the English, begin to quarrel with us [in the Massachusetts] about their bounds of land: [though] we purchased all we have of them.

But the LORD [soon] puts an end to this quarrel: by smiting the Indians with a sore disease, even the small-pox; of which great numbers of them die [at the end of 1633, which see[c]]

There is much suspicion that the Indians have some plot against the English: both for that many Narragansets, &c., gather together; who, with [others] of these parts pretend to make war with the Nipnets; and divers insolent speeches are used by some of them; and they do not frequent our houses, as they were wont: and one of the Powaws tell us, there is a conspiracy to cut us off.

Upon this, a camp is pitched at Boston. In the night, to

[a] Massachusetts Colony *Records.* [b] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*
[c] It will be seen at *p.* 656, that these *Annals* were not published beyond 5 *August,* 1633. E. A. 1879.

exercise the soldiers (apprehending need might be), and to try how they would behave themselves, Captain UNDERHILL causes an alarm to be given on their quarters; which discovers the weakness of our people, who knew not how to behave themselves [not being used to military discipline]. All the rest of the Plantations take the alarm, and answer it. But it raises many fears and distractions among the common sort: and we keep watch both day and night.[a]

September 14 [1632]. The rumours still increasing; the three next Sagamores are sent for, who come presently to the Governor[a] [at Boston].

September 18, being Lord's Day evening. Master PIERCE in the ship *Lion*, arrives [at] Boston: brings one hundred and twenty-three passengers, whereof fifty are children, all in health; and lost not one by the way, save the Carpenter, who fell overboard as he was caulking a port. Had been twelve weeks aboard, and eight from the Land's End.[a]

September 22. The Barnstaple ship [which had arrived on *June* 5] goes out at Pullen Point to Marble Harbour.[a]

September 27. A Day of Thanksgiving at Boston, for the good news of the prosperous success of the King of Sweden, &c.; and for the safe arrival of the last ship, and all the passengers.[a]

October 3 [rather Tuesday, *October* 2; see *March* 6, last] Court at Boston. Present [, same as *September* 4].

1. Master BACHELOR [of Lynn] is required to forbare exercising his gifts as a Pastor or Teacher publicly in our *Patent*, unless it be to those he brought with him; for contempt of authority, and till some scandals be removed.[b] [*Rescinded on March* 4, 1633, *p.* 645.]

[b] The Reverend Master BACHELOR arriving with the Reverend Master WELDE and about sixty passengers, on *June* 5 last; and Captain JOHNSON telling us, that the Church at Lynn was gathered *next* after the Church at Roxbury; and that Master BACHELOR was the first Feeder of the flock at Lynn; and this "Court" represented Master BACHELOR as having exercised his gifts as Pastor or Teacher before *October* 2: all make me think that the People he brought with him, set down at Lynn; and, about *August*, formed into a Church, and entertained him as their Minister, to whom he seems to have been long before in a ministerial relation in England, being 71 years old. [a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal*.

2. It is thought, by general consent, that Boston is the fittest place for public meetings, of any in the Bay.
3. That there be a House of Correction, and a house for the Beadle built at Boston, with speed.
4. That a man, for theft on the Indians at Damaril's Cove, for drunkenness and fornication; be fined £5 [sterling] to the Court, £10 to HENRY WAY and JOHN HOLMAN; severely whipt; branded on the hand with a hot iron: and banished out of this *Patent,* with penalty that if he be ever found within [it], he shall be put to death.
5. That no person shall take any tobacco publicly; and that every one shall pay a penny [sterling] for every time of taking tobacco, in any place.
6. One takes his *Oath* of Freeman, *viz.*,

Master SAMUEL MAVERICK.[a]

October 10 [1632]. From *July* 30, 1630, to this day, 151 members had joined in full Communion with the Church which began at Charlestown, and mostly removed to Boston: some of the chief of whom were these, in order.

1 JOHN WINTHROP, Governor.
2 THOMAS DUDLEY, Deputy Governor[and, after, Governnor].
3 ISAAC JOHNSON, [Assistant].
4 JOHN WILSON, [Pastor].
‡5 INCREASE NOWELL, [Assistant, and Ruling Elder].
6 THOMAS SHARP, [Assistant].
7 SIMON BRADSTREET, [Assistant; and, after, Governor].
8 WILLIAM GAGER, [Surgeon, and first Deacon].
9 WILLIAM COLBORN, [after, Ruling Elder.]
10 WILLIAM ASPINWALL, [after, first Secretary of Rhode Island Colony].
‡18 ROBERT HALE.
31 JAMES PENN, [after, Ruling Elder].
38 WILLIAM BALSTON.
44 WILLIAM CHEESBROUGH.
48 HENRY BRIGHT, [suppose a Minister, who went back].
52 THOMAS HUTCHINSON.
‡53 GEORGE HUTCHINSON.
57 JOHN UNDERHILL, [Captain].
60 EDMUND BELCHER.
62 EDWARD RAINSFORD, [after, Ruling Elder of the South Church].
‡66 EDWARD CONVERSE.
77 EDWARD BENDAL.
‡79 RICHARD SPRAGUE.

[a] Massachusetts Colony *Records.*

Kings. France, LOUIS 13; *Great Britain*, || CHARLES I.; *Spain*, || PHILIP IV.

92 WILLIAM CODDINGTON, [Assistant; and, after, first Governor of Rhode Island Colony.]

101 THOMAS FAYRWEATHER.

‡102 RALPH SPRAGUE.

110 JOHN ELIOT, [Minister].

133 EDWARD GIBBONS, [after, Major General].

114 JACOB ELIOT, [after, Elder].

115 JOHN SAMPFORD, [*or* SANFORD, after, Secretary, and Treasurer of Rhode Island Colony].

121 JOHN WINTHROP, *junior*, [after Assistant, and first Governor of Connecticut Colony.]

129 JOHN RUGGLES.

132 THOMAS OLIVER, [after, Ruling Elder].

135 JOHN WILLIS.

145 GILES FORMAN, *junior*, [or FIRMIN; after, Minister in England].

‡149 THOMAS JAMES, [Minister].

151 WILLIAM PIERCE [Captain of the *Lion*; and ancestor of the Reverend Master JAMES PIERCE, of Cambridge and Exeter, in England].[a]

October 11 [1632]. [Thursday]. Eighteen men and fifteen women: of whom are Master INCREASE NOWELL and Master THOMAS JAMES with those marked thus ‡, in the List above, and others—all of the Church first [formed] at Charlestown, [but, since *August*, 1630] chiefly removed to Boston (in regard of the difficulties of passage [over the ferry] in the winter; and having opportunity of a Pastor [*viz.*] Master JAMES, who came over at this time)[b] desiring a Dismission from the said Church at Boston, in order to form a New Church at Charlestown: the whole Church, this day, solemnly seek to GOD for direction in this matter; and the Lord's Day following [*i.e.*, *October* 14] the said thirty-three Petitioners are accordingly dismissed.[a]

[And I conclude, that Lord's Day, the 21st of this month, is the first day of their worshipping in public, as a distinct and new Congregation at Charlestown; and that the Reverend Master THOMAS JAMES then preaches to them constantly. See *November* 2, *p.* 632.]

Between this and *September* 8, 1633; there are admitted into the Church at Boston, thirteen more: of whom, are JOHN PEMBERTON, JOHN OLIVER, GILES FORMAN [or FIRMIN] *senior*.[a]

October 18. Captain CAMOCK, and Master VESY a merchant come from Piscataqua, in Master NEAL's pinnace;

[a] Boston Church *Records*. [b] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal*.

Kings. France, LOUIS 13; *Great Britain,* || CHARLES I.; *Spain,* || PHILIP IV.

and bring sixteen hogsheads of corn to the [Wind-]Mill at Boston. They go away in *November.*[a]

October 25 [1632]. [Thursday]. *Governor* [*WINTHROP*], *with Master WILSON, Pastor of Boston, and the two Captains, &c., go aboard the* Lion; *and thence Master PIERCE carries them in his shallop to Wessagusgus.*

Next morning, Master PIERCE returns to his ship: and the Governor and his company go a foot to Plymouth; and come thither, in the evening.

The Governor of Plymouth, Master WILLIAM BRADFORD, a very discreet and grave man; with Master BREWSTER, the [*Ruling*] *Elder, and some others, come forth and meet us without the town: and conduct us to the Governor's house, where we are together entertained; and feasted every day, at several houses.*

On Lord's Day [*the 28th*] *is a Sacrament; which we partake in.*

And in the afternoon, Master ROGER WILLIAMS [*pp.* 583, 586, 606], *according to their custom, proposes a Question: to which the Pastor, Master SMITH* [*p.* 493] *speaks briefly.*

Then Master WILLIAMS prophecies [or explains]*: and after, the Governor of Plymouth* [*who had studied the Hebrew languages and antiquities*] *speaks to the question. After him, the Elder* [*a man of learning*]. *Then, two or three more of the Congregation.*

Then the Elder [*agreeable to* Acts xiii., 14, 15, *&c.*] *desires Governor* [*WINTHROP*] *and Master WILSON to speak to it: which they do.*

When this is ended; the Deacon, Master FULLER, puts the Congregation in mind of their duty of Contribution: whereupon the Governor and all the rest, go down to the Deacon's seat, and put it in the bag; and then return.[a]

[N.B. This Religious Exercise in public, they had (under the conduct of Master ROBINSON at Leyden) grounded on the primitive practice of the Church of Corinth, as described and regulated by the Apostle PAUL, in 1 *Cor.* xii. and xiv.: but, growing in knowledge; and, I suppose in the apprehension that such a practice was peculiarly accommodate to the Age of Inspiration (1 *Cor.* xiv. 30), which they never pretended to; they, after, gradually lay it down.]

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*

October 27 [1632]. Master PIERCE sets sail for Virginia.[a] [*p* 647.]

October 31, being Wednesday. About five in the morning, Governor WINTHROP and company come out of Plymouth. The Governor of Plymouth, with the Pastor, &c., accompany us nearly half a mile out of the town, in the dark. Lieutenant HOLMES, with others, come with us to the Great Swamp, about ten miles. When we come to the Great River [I suppose, after, called North river, between Pembroke and Hanover]; we are carried [? *ferried*] over by one LUDHAM, as we had been, when we [went].

So we come, this evening, to Wessaguscus; where we are comfortably entertained, as before, with store of turkeys, geese, ducks, &c. And, next day, we come safe to Boston.[a]

About this time, Master DUDLEY's house at Newtown, and all his family, are preserved from being destroyed by gunpowder, by a marvellous deliverance: the hearth of the Hall chimney burning all night on a principal beam, and the store of gunpowder being near; and it is not discerned till they rise in the morning, and then it begins to flame out.[a]

November 2, [Friday]. Master INCREASE NOWELL, Master THOMAS JAMES, and other Church Members at Charlestown, who had been dismissed from the Church at Boston; [now] embody into a [new] distinct [Congregational] Church; enter into Covenant[a]; and [the said] Master JAMES is elected, and ordained [their] Pastor.[b,c] [*See p.* 630.]

Master JOHN ELIOT, a Member of Boston Congregation, and one whom the Congregation intended presently to call to the office of a Teacher; was called to be a Teacher to the Church at Roxbury: and though Boston laboured all they could, both with the Congregation of Roxbury and with Master ELIOT himself, alleging their want of him, and the covenant between him and them; yet he could not be diverted from the call at Roxbury. [*See p.* 622.]

---

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal*. [b] A Manuscript letter.

[c] *Their Church Covenant is in these terms:*

In the name of our LORD GOD, and in obedience to His holy will and Divine ordinance; We, whose names are here written, (being by His most wise and good Providence, brought together; and desirous to unite ourselves into one Congregation or Church, under our LORD JESUS CHRIST

So, *November* 5, he was dismissed to [them].[a,b]

November 6 [1632], [Tuesday]. Eighteen take their *Oath* of Freeman, *viz.*:

1. Master THOMAS WELD.
2. Master THOMAS JAMES.
3. Master JOHN COGGESHAL.
4. Master RICHARD DUMMER.
5. Master THOMAS OLIVER.
6. JOHN TALCOT.
7. WILLIAM WADSWORTH.

&c.[c]

November 7. Court, at Boston. Present [, the same, as *June* 5.]

ORDERED **1.** That the Captains shall train their Companies, but once a month.

2. That Sir R. SALTONSTALL shall give Sagamore JOHN a hogshead of corn, for the hurt his cattle did his corn.

3. That the Neck of land between Powder Hill and Pullen Point shall belong to Boston; to be enjoyed by the inhabitants thereof for ever.[a]

November 21. Governor WINTHROP receives a letter from Captain NEAL, that DIXY BULL and fifteen more of the English, who kept about the East, are turned pirates; had taken divers boats; and rifled Pemaquid [*p.* 651]. Hereupon the Governor calls a Council, and it is agreed to send his

---

our Head, in such sort as becometh all those whom He hath redeemed and sanctified unto Himself) Do, here, solemnly and religiously, as in His most holy presence, Promise and Bind Ourselves to walk in all our ways, according to the rules of the Gospel; and in all sincere conformity to His holy ordinances; and in mutual love and respect to each other, so near as GOD shall give us grace. INCREASE NOWELL [and eighteen more]. (*A Manuscript Letter.*)

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*

[b] The Roxbury Church *Records* say,

By that time the Church at Boston was intended to call him to Office, his friends were come over [it is likely among those 123 who arrived on *September*, 16], and settled at Roxbury; to whom he was fore-engaged, that if he were not called to Office before they came, he was to join with them. Whereupon the Church at Roxbury called him to be Teacher, in the end of the summer [1632]; and, soon after, he was ordained to that Office in the Church. His intended wife also coming with the rest of his friends, they were, soon after coming, married, *viz.*, in *October* 1632 [Roxbury Church *Records*].

[But he was not ordained their Teacher till *November* 5, perhaps on Friday, *November* 9].

[c] Massachusetts Colony *Records.*

bark, with twenty men, to join with those of Piscataqua [to] take said pirate: but snow, frost, and contrary winds prevent them.[a] [See *pp.* 643, 651.]

[The first pirates on the coast of New England.]

November 22 [1632]. A Fast held by the Congregation at Boston; and Master WILSON formerly their Teacher, is chosen Pastor; and Master [THOMAS] OLIVER, a Ruling Elder; and are both ordained, by the imposition of hands: first by the Teacher and the two Deacons, in the name of the Congregation, upon the Elder: and then, by the Elder and Deacons upon the Pastor.[a]

December. By letters from Captain NEAL, Master HILTON, &c., of Piscataqua it is certified, That they had sent out all the forces they could make against the pirates, *viz.*, four pinnaces and shallops, and forty men; who, coming to Pemaquid, were there wind bound three weeks.[a,b] [*See pp.* 633, 643, 651.]

Articles of uncertain and various dates.

[*In the spring of* 1632.] MASTER ALLERTON [*being in England*] *hires, on his own account, of Master* SHERLEY, *the* White Angel *again; comes late into the country; sets up a Company to run into the river of Kenne-*

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*

[b] *It is further advertised by, some who came from Penobscut,* that the pirates lost one of their chief men by a musket-shot from Pemaquid; and that there remained but fifteen; whereof four or five were detained against their wills. That they had been at some English Plantations, and taken nothing but what they paid for; had given another pinnace in exchange for that of Master MAVERICK, and as much beaver and otter [skins] as it was worth more; had made a law against excessive drinking. That their Order was, at such times as other ships use to have prayer, they would assemble on the deck: and one sing a song, or speak a few senseless sentences. They also send a writing to all the Governors, signifying their intent not to do harm to any more of their countrymen; but to go to the southward; and advise them not to send against them, for they were resolved to sink themselves, rather than be taken; signed *Fortune le Garr,* and no name to it. (Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*)

beck, to glean away the trade from the House there [I suppose, at Cushenock, above Cobbiseconte], *about the* Patent *and Privilege whereof, he had dashed away so much money. Yea, being deprived of* ASHLEY [*p.* 594], *joins with some consorts; and sets up a Trading House beyond Penobscut, to cut off the trade from thence also. But the French, perceiving that would be greatly to their damage also; come, in their beginning, before they are well settled, and displant them; slay two of them; take all their goods to a great value; send the rest of their men into France. And this is the end of that project.*[a,b]

This year, 1632, *the People of* [*Plymouth*] *begin to grow in their outward estate; by the flowing of many people into the country, especially in the Massachusetts Colony: by which means, cattle and corn rise to a great price, goods grow plentiful, and many are enriched.*

And now their stock [cattle] *increasing, the increase vendible; there is no longer holding them together. They must go to their great lots, they can no otherwise keep their cattle; and having oxen grown, they must have more land for ploughing and tillage. By this means, they scatter round the Bay* [*of Plymouth*] *quickly: and the town, wherein they lived till now compactly, is soon left very thin; and, in a short time, almost desolate.*

The Church also comes to be divided; and those who had held so long together in Christian and comfortable Fellowship, must now part.

First, those who lived on their lots on the other side the bay, called Duxbury, can no longer bring their families to the Public Worship at Plymouth; growing to a competent number, and suing to be dismissed; are, about this time, dismissed, though very unwillingly, and become a Body of themselves.[a]

[So that Duxbury seems to be the Second Town and Church in Plymouth Colony; and the next town settled after Newtown, *i.e.*, Cambridge, in New England.]

To prevent any further scattering from Plymouth, and weakening the same, it is thought best to give out some good farms to

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.

[b] Governor BRADFORD has misplaced all this in 1631. But though Master ALLERTON seems to have set up his new Trading House in the summer of 1632; yet it seems to be the summer of 1633, when the French take it (see *November* 13, 1633). [See Note [c] *p.* 627.]

special persons that would promise to live at Plymouth, and likely to be helpful to the Church or Commonwealth; and so tie the lands to Plymouth as farms for the same; and there they might keep their cattle and tillage by servants, and retain their dwellings here.

And so, some lands are granted at a place called Green's Harbour, where no allotments had been; a place very well meadowed; and fit to keep and rear cattle [*in*] *good store.*[a]

[This seems to be the beginning of Marshfield.]

This year the General Court of Plymouth Colony make an extraordinary Act, That whoever refuses the Office of Governor, shall pay £20 sterling; unless he were chosen two years going [*in succession*]: and whoever refuses the Office of Counsellor or Magistrate, £10 sterling.[b]

This year [1632], is built the first House for Public Worship at Newtown [,after, called Cambridge], with a bell upon it.[b]

And Captain JOHNSON says, This year was the first choice of Magistrates by Freemen, whose number was now increased 53 or thereabouts.[c]

[By which he means the choice of Magistrates in the Massachusetts Colony, at the General Court on *May* 9 last.

But by "number of Freemen," he means those who were added this *whole year*, 1632, beginning the year with *March* 25, which are 53: whereas, beginning the year with *January* 1, as is the way of our *Annals*; the number added, this year, is but 44; as we have accounted already, from the Massachusetts Colony *Records*.

This year of sad distresses ends with a terribly cold winter: with weekly snows, and fierce frosts between; congealing Charles river, as well from the town towards the sea, as above; so that men may frequently pass from one island to another on the ice.[c]

---

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*.
[b] Manuscript Letter. [c] Captain EDWARD JOHNSON's *History*.

Kings. France, LOUIS 13; *Great Britain,* ‖CHARLES I.; *Spain,* ‖PHILIP IV.

APPENDIX TO 1632.

I. *Account of the three Ministers, who arrived this year.*

1. The Reverend Master STEPHEN BACHILOR.

FROM Governor WINSLOW and Captain JOHNSON, we learn, That he was an ancient Minister in England; had been a man of fame in his day; was seventy-one years of age when he came over; and soon became the first Feeder of the flock of CHRIST at Lynn.

And by several original letters I have seen, in his own writing to the Reverend Master COTTON, of Boston; I find he was a gentleman of learning and ingenuity, and wrote a fine and curious hand.

2. The Reverend Master THOMAS WELD.

From Captain JOHNSON, and Doctor E. CALAMY, we learn, That he was born and educated in England, had been a Minister of Terling in Essex; but not submitting to the ceremonies, the place was too hot for him, and he was forced to quit it, and come over to New England. That upon his arrival, the Church of Roxbury, being a diligent People, early prevented [*forestalled*] their brethren of other Churches, by calling him to be their first Pastor, That he was valiant in the faith, both in the pulpit and by his pen, maintains the truth, and clears Christ's Churches here from scandalous reproaches: and wading through the cares and toils of this wilderness for seven years, he, with advice, returns.

3. The Reverend Master THOMAS JAMES.

From Captain JOHNSON, we also learn, That he was born and educated in England, and approved by his native country; had been a Minister in Lincolnshire, and especially commended by GOD'S people there, for his courteous speech and work of Christian love. Has learned skill to unfold the Mind of GOD in Scripture. Is valiant in faith, and arriving here, is soon welcomed by the people of CHRIST in Charlestown, and called to the Office of Pastor of their Second gathered Church, where he continues some years, till some seed of prejudice [being] sown by the enemies of this work, he, for love of peace and to avoid contention, removes to New Haven.

Afterwards, he seems to return to England. For when I lived at Combes, in Suffolk, [in England] from 1711 to 1716, Mr. THOMAS DENNY, a pious and ancient gentleman there, informed me, "That he knew the Reverend Master THOMAS JAMES, Minister of Needham, about four miles off; who," he said, "came from New England."

Doctor EDMUND CALAMY says, He was a very holy good man, of the Congregational persuasion; resigned the parochial church of Needham, *August* 24, 1662, because he could not in conscience approve of the instituted ceremonies; and had a pretty numerous Society, after his being silenced."

And Mr. DENNY told me, That though he was much beloved and esteemed; yet when he died, the clergyman who came in his place, would

not allow him to be buried in any other part of the churchyard but that unconsecrated corner left for rogues, whores, and excommunicates: though the clergyman owed his benefice to the noble uprightness of Mr. JAMES's heart.

II. *The most material events in England.*

THE Annual Feast of Dedication of Churches prescribed, at first, by Popes FELIX and GREGORY: turned by the people into mere bacchanals, were by the *Injunctions* [even] of King HENRY VIII. (as the occasion of much idleness, excess, riot; and pernicious to the souls of men) all restrained to the 1st [Lord's Day] in *October* [1631]; and, after being totally abolished by the statute 5 *and* 6 *Edw. VI.*; being revived again, with their Bacchanalian disorders, under the names of Wakes or Revels, for the most part on Sundays: Sir THOMAS RICHARDSON, Lord Chief Justice of England, and Baron DENHAM, being at the Assizes in the County of Somerset, and many indicted for murdering bastard children begotten at Wakes and Revels, with sundry other grand disorders occasioned by those meetings; the Justices of that County earnestly importune the Judges to make a severe Order for the suppressing of those Wakes and Revels, as divers of their predecessors had done; without which they could never keep the country in good order, nor prevent the multitude of bastards, drunkenness, quarrells, bloodshed, murder, and other disorders occasioned by them;

Whereupon those Judges make the ensuing *Order* in the public Assizes. *March* 19 [1631-2]. *An Order made by the Judges of the Assizes, for suppressing all Ales and Revels.*

Whereas divers *Orders* have been made, heretofore, by the Judges of the Assize, for the suppressing of all Ales and Revels; the same *Orders* are now confirmed at this Assize, and again Ordered by the Court, in regard of the infinite number of inconveniences daily arising by means of Revels, that such Revels be henceforth utterly suppressed; and that the Justices take course for the speedy apprehending and punishing idle and lewd persons drawing together at such places, *&c.*

But Bishop LAUD being informed of this good *Order*, is very much nettled, and vexed at it; complains of the Judges and it, to His Majesty; and procures a Commission to Bishop PIERCE and some Divines of that County, to inquire of the manner of publishing this *Order* in churches; and what was done therein; and of the Lord Chief Justice RICHARDSON's carriage in this business.[1] [FULLER wrongly places this in 1633].

March 29. Sir ISAAC WAKE and Sieur BOUILLION sign the treaty between King CHARLES I. and the French King, LOUIS XIII. The title of which is, *Articles settled between Sir ISAAC WAKE, Knight, and Ambassador of the King of Great Britain, commissioned by the said King; and Messieurs BOUILLON, Councillor to the Most Christian King in his Privy Chamber and Council of State; and BOUTHILLIER, His Majesty's Councillor in the said Councils, and Secretary of his Orders, Com-*

[1] *Bishop LAUD's Trial.*

missaries appointed by His said Majesty: for the restitution of the things taken since the Treaty made between the two Crowns, on the 24th of April, 1629. (*See p.* 609.)

And in this new Treaty, King CHARLES resigns to the French King all the places the English possessed in Canada and L'Accadie [the latter then including Nova Scotia]: in particular, Fort Kebeck [*i.e. Quebec*], Port Royal, and Cape Breton; with the merchandise found in Fort Kebeck by the English in 1629.[1]

Which puts an end to the difference. The fort is delivered; and the money [*i.e.*, the remaining Half of the Queen's portion] paid.[2]

[But how faithful is King CHARLES's Ministry to the British interest, both in America and Europe! When he had both Canada and L'Accadie in possession; his navy vastly superior to that of France, which had then scarce any, and no other to help her: yet, without any necessity to quit to the French, even L'Accadie! a most important branch of the British Empire, which, even in 1613, in the peacable reign of his father, Sir SAMUEL ARGAL, like a true Englishman, had recovered. One of the finest Provinces in the known world for fishery, masts, and harbours; intercepting between our others of Newfoundland and New England; and lying in the way of all our trade from the British Colonies and West Indies to Great Britain! To the continual and most dangerous growth of the French fishery, navigation, trade, wealth, and naval power; and the infinite injury of the British interest over all! And all this, only for Half the Queen's portion, due six years before![3] So that they properly sold this territory to our national enemies, for what the French had agreed to pay in 1626. A territory as large as Ireland, and of vastly greater moment than all the Queen's portion ten times over.

But the British Ministry are Bishop LAUD, who governs without a rival in Church and State; with Lord Treasurer WESTON, next highest in the royal favour, who soon after dies a Papist: under an active Popish Queen, the French King's sister, in King CHARLES's bosom; of whom he is so exceedingly fond as hardly to deny her anything. And the more subtle Cardinal RICHELIEU, Prime Minister of France, knew how to improve them all for his master's interest. And thus while the French Ministry are adding to their King's dominions: the British are giving up theirs; and are chiefly busied in *adding* new Popish ceremonies to the Worship of the Church of England, to the great disturbance of the Nation; and violently persecuting her pious Ministers, who faithfully oppose them. In short, acting as if they could more easily part with an important Province than not introduce a Popish ceremony.]

May 6. Master NATHANIEL BERNARD, Lecturer at St. Sepulchre's in London, preaching at St. Mary's Church, in Cambridge, against "bringing the Pelagian errors in our Church; and the superstitions of the Church of Rome into our Worship, as high altars, crucifixes, bowings to them, *i.e.*, in plain English, *worshipping them*; whereby they symbolise

[1] DENNIS. [2] *Continuation* of Sir R. BAKER.

[3] At the time PRINCE wrote this, Canada had not been won back again from the French by General WOLFE. E.A. 1879.

with the Church of Rome very shamefully;" Doctor CUMBER, Vice Chancellor, informs Bishop LAUD thereof. Who [gets] him into the High Commission Court, [where] he is most severely sentenced, suspended his Ministry, excommunicated, fined £1,000, condemned in the costs of the suit, committed to prison: where he lies sundry months, being most barbarously used, and almost starved for want of necessaries.

Of which he complains to the Bishop by sundry petitions; but can find no relief, unless he will make a strange Recantation sent him by the Bishop: but refusing to make it, though in his petitions he professed his sincere penitence for any oversights and unbeseeming expressions in his Sermon; this godly Minister is a long time detained in prison, miserably abused by the keepers, of which he oft complains without redress, and, in conclusion, is utterly ruined for speaking out the truth.[1]

May 26. "I," *i.e.*, Bishop LAUD, "consecrate the Lord Treasurer's Chapel at Roehampton; and, *June* 18, at Roehampton, I marry my Lord Treasurer WESTON's eldest son to the Lady FRANCES, daughter to the Duke of LENNOX[2];" and that with His Majesty's consent.[3]

[By Bishop LAUD's *Diary*, Lord Treasurer WESTON dies within two years after; and RUSHWORTH tells us, he died a Papist.]

June 15. Bishop LAUD says, "Master FRANCIS WINDEBANK, my old, most dear friend, is sworn Secretary of State; which place I obtained for him, of my gracious master, King CHARLES."[2]

WINDEBANK is a furious Papist; and is no sooner settled in his place, but he falls to release and protect priests, Jesuits, recusants more than any of his predecessors and all the Council besides; becoming their especial patron, as appears by Father JOSEPH's letter from Paris, *November* 23, 1634, &c.[1]

June 20. King CHARLES I. gives, by *Patent*, the Province of Maryland, in North America, to CŒCILIUS, Baron BALTIMORE [a zealous Papist], and his heirs and assigns. Bounding the said Province, "northerly to 40° N. Lat. from the Equinoctial, where," the said *Patent* says, "New England," *i.e.*, the south side line thereof, "is bounded," *i.e.*, according to the Grand *Patent* of New England, dated *November* 3, 1620. So that then, New England and Maryland joined one another; New England then reaching from the 40° to the 48° N. Lat., and from the Atlantic to the South Sea [*the Pacific*].

And as the known design of Maryland is for settling Papists, under an hereditary sort of Sovereign of their own Communion; the King gives the name of the Province in honour of "his dearest Consort," as he is wont to call her; and in the *Patent* gives much higher powers and prerogatives to this Popish Lord than, as far as I find, the Crown ever bestowed on any other person.

October 3, 1632. The Reverend, and eminently pious and learned Master JOHN COTTON, B.D., of Boston, in England; being forced, for his nonconformity, to hide from Bishop LAUD's pursuivants, writes thus to his consort.

Dear &c. If our heavenly Father be pleased to make our yoke

[1] *Bishop LAUD's Trial.* [2] Bishop LAUD's *Diary.* [3] JAMES HOWELL's *Letters*

more heavy than we did so soon expect; remember, I pray thee, what we have heard, That our heavenly husband, the Lord JESUS, when He first called us to fellowship with Himself, called us unto this condition; to deny ourselves, and to take up our cross daily, to follow Him. And, truly, though this cup be brackish at the first, yet a cup of GOD'S mingling is doubtless sweet in the bottom to such as have learned to make it their greatest happiness to partake with CHRIST; as in His glory, so in the way that leadeth to it.

Where I am for the present, I am very fitly and welcomely accommodated, I thank GOD! so as I see here I might rest desired enough till my friends at home shall direct further. They desire also to see thee here; but that I think not safe yet: till we see how GOD will deal with our neighbours at home: for if you should now travel this way, I fear you will be watched, and dogged at the heels. But I hope, shortly, GOD will make way for thy safe coming.

The LORD watch over you all, for good! and reveal Himself in the guidance of our affairs!

So with my love to thee, as myself; I rest; desirous of thy rest and peace in Him. J. C.[1]

III. *The most material events among foreign nations.*

WAR continues between the Dutch and the Spaniards.

In Germany. The King of Sweden having wintered at Mayence, TILLY gathers a great army, gets into Bavaria, breaks down the bridges on the Danube, and strongly lines the south side of the river, to stop the King from passing. But in *March* the King, with 24,000 men, marches to the Danube, takes the strong city of Donawert, on the north side of the river, at the entrance of Bavaria: and on *April* 6, in a fierce opposition, passes over; when TILLY receiving a musket shot in his thigh, a few days after, dies.

Upon which, the King reduces Bavaria and Swabia: and, by the beginning of *June*, had either subdued, or drawn to his party, all the lower and middle part of Germany, from the Baltic to the Alps, at the entrance of Italy; nearly five hundred miles together.

But the Emperor's forces all joining under WALLERSTEIN, making an army of 20,000 horse and 40,000 foot, besides 5,000 Croats; and breaking into Saxony; the King collects all his forces, forms an army of nearly 50,000 men; marches to them, finds them most advantageously posted, and strongly intrenched at Lutzen.

Yet, *November* 6, in the morning, after his chaplain praying with him; and other ministers, at the heads of their regiments; he rides from one to another, making animated speeches. "To fight valiantly, this day, in the name of GOD, and for their religion!" The soldiers answering with joyful acclamations: he then calls out, "And now, my hearts! let us on bravely against our enemies! and the GOD of heaven prosper our endeavours!" Then, lifting up his eyes to heaven, cries aloud, "JESUS!

[1] From his original letter in manuscript.

vouchsafe, this day, to be my strong Helper! and give me courage to fight for Thy glory! and for the honour of Thy name!" Then, drawing his sword, waves it over his head, advances the foremost of all his army, most disadvantageously attacks their trenches: and, after the fiercest conflict of nine hours, kills 4,000, wounds as many more, and beats them away.

But, near the end of the battle, an officer of the Cuirassiers, who knew the King, comes up; cries out, "This is the right bird!" and shoots him through the body: of which, he soon falls off his horse, and dies; in the thirty-eighth year of his age, to the inexpressable loss of the Protestant interest.

He had been engaged in successive wars with the Poles, Danes, Musscovites, Poles again, *&c.*; from the eighteenth year of his age, almost continually to the day of his death. In all which, he came off conqueror. And his enemies gave this testimony of him, that "he was the bravest enemy, and the best Captain that ever was in Christendom."

A little before, he told his Chaplain, that "he thought GOD would, ere long, take him away; because the people did so overvalue and deify him."

A soldier wrote the following distich on the field of battle.

Upon this place the Great GUSTAVUS died
While Victory lay bleeding by his side.

1633.

[The reasons why no more come to the Massachusetts in 1631 and 1632, seem to be these:

1. The undertaking being so hazardous, over so great an ocean of three thousand miles, to a hideous wilderness possessed with barbarous Indians: many in England, then oppressed for their pure Scriptural religion and breathing after liberty to enjoy the same, were willing to see how the First Grand Transportation with the Power of Government fared; before they were free to venture themselves and their families.
2. The grievous sickness and mortality, with the extreme straits of the People for want of food and convenient housing, who came in 1630; which they, in England, had intelligence of, was very discouraging.
3. Divers, discouraged, went back to England in the fall of 1630 and spring of 1631, who never returned: and divers discouraging letters were also sent by others, disparaging the country as very cold, sickly, rocky, barren, unfit for culture, and likely to keep the People miserable.
4. Above all, the violent endeavours of MORTON, GARDINER, RATCLIFF, and others: making a very powerful Interest, to prejudice the Court of England against them, overturn their Government, and destroy their liberties [*p.* 649]; which, after all, rendered them very precarious.

Nevertheless, by the health and produce of the earth in 1632, though they have yet no other means to tare up the bushy lands but their hands and hoes,[1] with Vindications of the country and Government; and by the oppressions growing in England, through the rising power of the young

[1] Captain EDWARD JOHNSON.

Kings. France, LOUIS 13; *Great Britain*, ‖ CHARLES I.; *Spain*, ‖ PHILIP IV.

Queen, a very zealous and active Papist, the extreme fondness of the King for her, and the persecuting spirit of Bishop LAUD under her: there come over in 1631, about ninety: and in 1632, about two hundred and fifty more.

But on *January* 19, 1632–3, the Privy Council in England make an *Order* in favour of the New England Patentees, and their continued liberties [*p.* 649]; far greater numbers are encouraged to come in 1633; and every year, for seven years after: not only increasing the former towns, Churches, and Colonies; but also swarming into others in divers parts of the land, as we may see hereafter.]

January 1, *Tuesday.*  *ASTER EDWARD WINSLOW chosen Governor of Plymouth Colony, Master BRADFORD having been Governor about ten [indeed nearly twelve] years: and now by importunity gets off*[a]. *Masters WILLIAM BRADFORD, Captain MILES STANDISH, Master JOHN HOWLAND, Master JOHN ALDEN, Master JOHN DOAN,*[b] *Master STEPHEN HOPKINS, and Master WILLIAM GILSON chosen Assistants.*[c] The first time of Seven Assistants in Plymouth Colony[d] [which number continues, as long as their Government subsists].

About the beginning of this month, the pinnaces which went after the pirate return; the cold being so great, they could not pursue him [*pp.* 633, 634, 651]: but, in their return, hanged up at Richmond's Isle, Black WILL, an Indian, one of those who had there murdered WALTER BAGNAL [*pp.* 596, 626]. Three of the pirate's company run from them, and come home.[a]

January 9. Master [THOMAS] OLIVER, a right godly man, and [Ruling] Elder of the Church of Boston; having three or four of his sons, all young, cutting wood on the "Neck": one of them, being fifteen years old, has his brains beat out with the fall of a tree he had felled. The good old father hearing the news in as awful a manner as might be, by another boy, his brother; calls his wife, being also a very

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*
[b] The Printer of Mr. Secretary MORTON, by mistake, printing DOVE.
[c] MORTON's *Memorial.* [d] Rev. W. HUBBARD's *History.*

godly woman, and goes to prayer: and bares it with much patience and honour.[a]

January 17 [1633]. Governor WINTHROP, having intelligence from the East, that the French had bought the Scots' Plantation [*i.e.*, Port Royal] near Cape Sable; the fort and ammunition delivered to them: and that the Cardinal [RICHELIEU] having the managing thereof, had sent some Commanders already, and preparations made to send many more next year [*i.e.*, *next spring*]; and divers priests and Jesuits among them: he calls the Assistants to Boston, with the Ministers, Captains, and some other chief men, to advise what is fit to be done for our safety, in regard the French are likely to prove ill neighbours, being Papists. At which meeting, it is

AGREED **1.** That a Plantation and Fort be forthwith begun at Natasket: partly to be some block in an enemy's way, though it could not bar his entrance; and especially, to prevent an enemy from taking that passage from us.

2. That the Fort begun at Boston, be finished.

3. That a Plantation be begun at Agawam, being the best place in the land for tillage and cattle; lest an enemy finding it, should possess and take it from us.

The Governor's son, being one of the Assistants, is to undertake this ["new Plantation"]; and to take no more out of the Bay than twelve men: the rest to be supplied at the coming of the next ships.

February 21. Governor [WINTHROP] and four Assistants, with three Ministers and eighteen others, go, in three boats, to view Natasket: the wind westerly, and fair weather. But the wind rises, at north-west, so sharp and extremely cold, that they are kept two nights: being forced to lodge on the ground in an open [? *roofless*] cottage, on a little old straw, which they pulled from the thatch. Their victuals also grow short; so that they are forced to eat mussels. Yet through the LORD's special Providence, they come all safe home, the third day after.

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*

Kings. France, LOUIS 13; *Great Britain,*‖CHARLES I.; *Spain,*‖PHILIP IV.

On view of the place, it is agreed by all; that to build a Fort there, would be of too great charge, and of little use: whereupon, the planting of that place is deferred.

February 22. *The ship* William *arrives at Plymouth, with some passengers and goods for the Massachusetts: but she comes to set up a fishing at Scituate; and so, to go to trade at Hudson's river.*[a]

By this ship, we have intelligence from our friends in England, that Sir F. GORGES and Captain MASON, upon the instigation of Sir C. GARDINER, MORTON, and RADCLIFF, had presented a *Petition* to the Privy Council against us; charging us with very false accusations: but through the LORD's good Providence; and the care of our friends in England, especially Master EMANUEL DOWNING, who had married the Governor's sister; and the good testimony of Captain WIGGEN, who dwelt at Piscataqua, and had been divers times among us: their malicious practices took not effect.

The principal matter they had against us, was the letters of some indiscreet persons among us, who had written against the Church Government in England, &c., which had been intercepted.[a] [*See p.* 649.]

March 4 [1633]. Court at Boston. Present [,same as on *September* 4 last.]

1. The Court reverses the last *Act* against Master BACHELOR [*p.* 628], which restrained him from furthering gathering a Church, within this *Patent.*
2. A man ordered to be set in the bilboes, disfranchised, and fined £10; for speaking reproachful and seditious words against the Government, &c.
3. For maintenance of Captain PATRICK and Captain UNDERHILL for half a year; cessed [*assessed*]

1 Boston	£5	4 Waterton	£6
2 Charleston	4	5 Newtown	6
3 Roxbury	6	6 Medford	3
			£30

4. A man convicted of taking corn and fish, from divers, last year and this, as clapboards, &c. [The first

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*

notorious thief in the Massachusetts[a]] is censured [thus]. All his estate is forfeited, out of which double restitution shall be made to those whom he hath wronged; shall be whipped; and bound as a servant to any that shall retain him, for three years: and, after that, to be disposed of by the Court as they shall think meet."

5. Eighteen take their *Oath* of Freeman

WILLIAM HEATH | WILLIAM BRACKENBURY, &c.[b]

Last summer, the corn in the Massachusetts, through worms, cold and wet weather, greatly failing [see *August* 14 last]; there coming very little, last year, from England; and this winter proving very sharp and long: the people are generally exceedingly pinched for provisions.[a]

And Captain CLAP says, "Many a time, if I could have filled my belly, though with mean victuals; it would have been sweet unto me. Fish was a good help to me and others. Bread was so very scarce, that the crusts of my father's table [in England] would have been sweet to me: and when I could have meal, water, and salt boiled together; it was so good, as who could wish better?"[c]

But it pleased GOD to send us an unexpected and early supply to help us: for, in the beginning of *March*, arrives from Virginia, Master STRETTON in a vessel, with Indian corn; which he sells for 10s. [sterling the bushel.][a]

March [1633]. The Governor's son, JOHN WINTHROP [Esquire] goes with twelve more, to begin a Plantation at Agawam:[d] [afterwards called Ipswich].

April 1. Court at Boston. Present [, same as *September* 4, except WINTHROP *junior*].

ORDER **1.** That no person go to plant or inhabit Aggawam, without leave of the Court, except those already gone, *viz.*:

Master JOHN WINTHROP, *junior*,	JOHN GAGE,
Master CLERK,	THOMAS HARDY,
ROBERT COLES,	WILLIAM PERKINS,
THOMAS HOWLET,	Master THORNDIKE,
JOHN BIGGS,	WILLIAM SERGEANT.

[a] Charlestown *Records*. [b] Massachusetts Colony *Records*.
[c] Captain CLAP's *Memoirs*. [d] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal*.

2. Three take their *Oath* of Freeman.[a]

April 10 [1633]. Arrives at Boston, Master HODGES one of Master PIERCE's Mates, in a shallop from Virginia: and brings news, That master PIERCE's ship [*p.* 632] was cast away on a shoal, four miles from Feak Isle, ten leagues to the north of the mouth of Virginia Bay, *November* 2 [1632], about five in the morning, the wind at south-west: through the negligence of one of his Mates, who had the watch, and kept not his lead [a sounding] as he was appointed.

They had a shallop, and a boat aboard. All who went into the shallop came safe ashore: but the boat sunk by the ship's side; and [twelve] drowned in her; ten being taken up alive into the shallop. There were in the ship, twenty-eight seamen, and ten passengers; of these, were drowned seven seamen and five passengers. All the goods were lost, except one hogshead of beaver.

Next day, the ship was broken in pieces.

They were nine days in much distress: before they found any English.

The Plymouth men lost nine hundredweight of beaver, and 200 otter skins. Governor [WINTHROP] lost in beaver and fish, nearly £100. Many others lost beaver; and Master HUMPHREY, fish.[b,c]

---

[a] Massachusetts Colony *Records.* [b] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*

[c] April 7. *Comes to our hand* [at Plymouth] *Master PIERCE's letter from Virginia, dated* December 25, 1632; [as follows].

Dear Friends, &c. The bruit of this fatal stroke that the LORD hath brought on me, and you all; will come to your ears before this comes to your hand, it is like[ly]; and therefore I shall not need to enlarge. My whole estate, for the most part, is taken away: and yours, in a great measure, by this and your former losses. [*He means, by the French and Master ALLERTON (BRADFORD)*]. It is time to look about us, before the wrath of the LORD break forth to utter destruction. The good LORD give us all grace to search our hearts and try our ways, and turn to the LORD, and humble ourselves under His mighty hand, and seek atonement &c.

Dear Friends! You may know that all your beaver [*the first loss we sustain in this kind (BRADFORD)*] and the Book of your Accounts are swallowed up by the sea. But what should I more say? Have we lost our outward estates? Yet a happy loss, if our souls may gain! There is

Kings. France, LOUIS 13; *Great Britain,*‖CHARLES I.; *Spain,*‖PHILIP IV.

The winter's frost being extracted forth of the earth; they fall to tearing up the roots and bushes with their hoes. Even such men as scarcely ever set hand to labour before, men of good birth and breeding, but coming through the strength of CHRIST, readily rush through all the difficulties, cutting down the woods, enclose corn fields. The corn they chiefly plant, before they have ploughs, is Indian corn: whose increase is very much beyond all others, to the great refreshing the poor servants of CHRIST, in their low beginnings.

And here the LORD's mercy appears much; in that those who had been brought up tenderly, can now contentedly feed on bare and mean diet, as pumpkins, till corn and cattle increase.[a]

May [1633]. The *William and Jane*, in six weeks from London, arrives [at Boston]; with thirty passengers and ten cows or more.[b]

The *Mary and Jane* [or *Mary and John*[c]], in seven weeks from London, arrives [at Boston]; brings 196 passengers. Only two children died. Master CODDINGTON, one of the Assistants, with his wife, come in her.[b]

In her return, she is cast away on the isle Sable; but the men are saved.[b]

By these ships, we understand [*see p.* 645].

That Sir C. GARDINER, T. MORTON, and PHILIP RATCLIFF (who had been punished here [*pp.* 548, 585] for their misdemeanours) had petitioned the King and [Privy] Council against us: being set on by Sir F. GORGES and Captain

yet more in the LORD JEHOVAH than ever we had in the world. O that our foolish hearts could yet be weaned from the things here below; which are vanity and vexation of spirit: and yet, we fools! catch after shadows that fly away, and are gone in a moment, *&c.*

Thus, with my continual remembrance of you, in my poor desires to the Throne of Grace; beseeching GOD to renew his love and favour to you all in and through the LORD JESUS CHRIST, both in spiritual and temporal good things, as may be most to the glory and praise of His name and your everlasting good.

So I rest,

Your afflicted brother in CHRIST,

WILLIAM PIERCE.

[a] Captain EDWARD JOHNSON's *History.*

[b] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.* [c] Governor BRADFORD's *History.*

MASON: who had begun a Plantation at Piscataqua, and aimed at the General Government of New England, for their Agent here, Captain NEAL.

The Petition was of many sheets of paper, and contained many false accusations: accusing us "to intend rebellion, to have cast off our allegiance, and to be wholly separated from the Church and laws of England; that our Ministers and People did continually rail against the State, Church, and Bishops there," &c.

Upon which, such of our Company as were then in England, *viz.*, Sir RICHARD SALTONSTALL, Master HUMFREY, and Master CRADOCK [who was the First Governor, in England; and RATCLIFF's master] were called before a Committee of the Council; to whom they delivered an answer in writing.

Upon reading whereof, it pleased the LORD, our most gracious GOD and Protector, so to work with the Lords; and after, with the King, when the whole matter was reported to him by Sir THOMAS JERMIN, one of the Council (but not of the Committee, who yet had been present at the Three Days' hearing; and spake much in commendation of the Governor; both to the Lords, and after to His Majesty): that he [*i.e.*, the King] said "He would have them severely punished; who did abuse his Governor and the Plantation." That the Defenders were dismissed with a favourable *Order*[a] for their encouragement: being assured by some of the Council, that

[a] Master WILLIAM BRADFORD, of Plymouth, writes thus. *I will give [a] hint of GOD's Providence in preventing the hurt that might have come by Sir C. GARDINER's means and malice complying with [that of] others. The intelligence I had by a letter from my much honoured and beloved friend, Master JOHN WINTHROP, Governor of the Massachusetts.*

SIR, Upon a Petition exhibited by Sir CHRISTOPHER GARDINER, Sir FERDINANDO GORGES, Captain MASON, &c., against you and us; the cause was heard before the Lords of the Privy Council; and after, reported to the King. The success whereof, makes it evident to all; that the LORD hath care of his People here. The passages are admirable [*wonderful*], and too long to write. I heartily wish an opportunity to impart them to you; being many sheets of paper. But the conclusion was, against all men's expectation, an *Order* for our encouragement, and much blame and disgrace upon the adversaries: which calls for much thankfulness from us all. Which we purpose, the LORD willing! to express in a day of Thanksgiving to our merciful GOD (I doubt not, but you will consider if it be not fit for you to join in it): who as He hath

Kings. France, LOUIS 13; *Great Britain,* ‖ CHARLES I.; *Spain,* ‖ PHILIP IV.

" His Majesty did not intend to impose the ceremonies of the Church of England upon us: for that it was considered that it was the freedom from such things that made people come over to us. And it was [represented] to the Council, that

humbled us by His late correction [*the loss of Master PIERCE's ship, the* Lion]; so He hath lifted us up, by an abundant rejoicing in our deliverance out of so desperate a danger. So as that which our enemies built their hopes upon, to ruin us; He hath mercifully disposed to our great advantage; as I shall further acquaint you, when occasion shall serve.

The copy of the Order *follows.*

At the Court, at Whitehall, the 19th of January 1632 [*i.e.*, 1633]. *Sigillum crescent.*

Lord Privy Seal [the Earl of MANCHESTER.]
Earl of DORSET.
Lord Viscount FALKLAND.
[W. LAUD.] *Lord Bishop of* LONDON.
Lord COTTINGTON.
Master Tr'r [*i.e., Treasurer of the Household,* who, at this time, was Sir THOMAS EDMUNDS].
Master Vice Chamberlain [? Sir HENRY MAY.]
Master Secretary COOK.
Master Secretary WINDEBANK.

WHEREAS His Majesty hath lately been informed of great distraction and much discord in the Plantation in the parts of America, called New England; which, if it be true, and suffered to run on, would tend to the great dishonour of this Kingdom, and utter ruin of that Plantation: for prevention whereof, and for the orderly settling of Government, according to the intention of those *Patents* which have been granted by His Majesty, and from his late royal father, King JAMES, it hath pleased His Majesty, that the Lords and others of his most honourable Privy Council should take the same into consideration.

Their Lordships, in the first place, thought fit to make a Committee of this Board, to take examinations of the matters informed. Which Committee having called divers of the principal Adventurers in that Plantation, and heard those that are Complainants against them; most of the things informed, being denied, and resting to be proved by parties that must be called from that place, which required a long expense of time: and, at present, their Lordships finding the Adventurers were upon despatch of men, victuals, and merchandise for that place; all which would be at a stand if the State here had no good opinion of that Plantation.

Their Lordships, not laying the fault or fancies, if any be, of some particular men upon the General Government or principal Adventurers; which in due time is further to be inquired into: have thought fit, in the mean time, to Declare that the appearances were so fair, and hopes so great that the country would prove both beneficial to the Kingdom, and profitable to the particular Adventurers; as that the Adventurers had cause to go on cheerfully with their undertaking. And [to] rest assured, that if things were carried, as was pretended [*intended*] when the *Patents* were granted and accordingly as by the *Patents* it is appointed: His Majesty would not only maintain the liberties and privileges heretofore

this country would, in time, be very beneficial to England, for masts, cordage, &c.; if the Sound [*i.e., the Passage to the Baltic*] should be debarred.[a]

We [had] sent a pinnace after the pirate BULL; but [when] she had been forth two weeks, she [now] returns, having not found him.[a,b] [*See pp.* 633, 634, 643.]

May 29 [1633]. *GENERAL COURT* at Boston. Present, Governor, Deputy Governor, Master Treasurer [PYNCHON], Masters NOWELL, CODDINGON, WINTHROP *junior*, S. BRADSTREET.

Choose JOHN WINTHROP *senior* Esq., by general erection of hands, Governor.

THOMAS DUDLEY Esquire, Deputy Governor; ROGER LUDLOW Esquire, JOHN ENDICOT Esquire, Master WILLIAM PYNCHON, Master WILLIAM CODDINGTON, Master INCREASE NOWELL, Master JOHN WINTHROP *junior*, Master SIMON BRADSTREET, Sir R. SALTONSTALL, and JOHN HUMFREY Esquire, Assistants for the year ensuing.[c]

This spring, especially all the month of May, there are such

granted; but supply anything further that might tend to the good government, prosperity, and comfort of his people there of that place, &c.

WILLIAM TRUMBULL.

[N.B. I have taken all this exactly as wrote in Governor BRADFORD's manuscript. By which it seems, that by *Master Tr'r* is meant Master Treasurer WESTON, and not TREVERS as printed in Mr. MORTON.]

But both MORTON and PRINCE are wrong on this point. The "Lord High Treasurer" would have come first in the list of Privy Councillors; and the prefix of Master *with the position at the bottom of the list, is conclusive that the "Treasurer of the Household" is the person intended.* E. A. 1879.

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*

[b] Captain CLAP gives this account of the said pirate, "There arose up against us one BULL; who went to the Eastward a trading, turned pirate, took a vessel or two, plundered some planters thereabouts, and intended, to return into the Bay, and do mischief to our Magistrates here in Dorchester and other places. But as they were weighing anchor [at Pemaquid, see last *December*, *p.* 633] one of Master SHORT [or SHURT (*WINTHROP*)] his men shot from the shore; and struck the principal actor dead; and the rest were filled with fear and horror. They having taken one ANTHONY DICKS, Master of a vessel, endeavoured to persuade him to pilot them to Virginia; but he would not. They told him, "They were filled with such fear and horror, that they were afraid of the very rattlings of the ropes." This Master DICKS told me with his own mouth. These men fled Eastward; and BULL got into England: but GOD destroyed this wicked man. Thus the LORD saved us from their wicked device against us.

[c] Massachusetts Colony *Records.*

Kings. France, LOUIS 13; *Great Britain,* ‖ CHARLES I.; *Spain,* ‖ PHILIP IV.

[numbers] *of a great sort of flies like, for bigness, to bumble bees; which come out of holes in the ground* [in Plymouth Colony], *replenish all the woods, eat the green things, and make such a constant yelling noise as all the woods ring of them; and* [deafens] *the hearers. The Indians tell us, that sickness will follow; and so it* [proves] *in* June, July, *and* August. *They have never by the English been heard or seen before, or since.*[a]

[*i.e.*, not to the beginning of 1647, when Governor BRADFORD ends his *History*; but have, in like manner, at distant periods, risen up since; and are known by the name of Locusts.]

June 2 [1633]. Captain STONE arrives with a small ship [at Boston] with cows and salt.[b]

Master JOHN DOAN, being formerly chosen to the Office of a Deacon in the Church [*of Plymouth*]*; at the request of the Church and himself; is freed from the Office of Assistant in the Commonwealth.*[c]

June 11. Court at Boston. Present, Governor, Deputy Governor, Master LUDLOW, Master Treasurer [PYNCHON], Masters NOWELL, CODDINGTON, WINTHROP *junior*, S. BRADSTREET.

1. Appoint the 19th of this month, to be kept as a Day of Thanksgiving through the several Plantations [of the Massachusetts Colony].
2. Eight take their *Oath* of Freeman.[d]

June 15. Master GRAVES, in the ship *Elizabeth*, from Yarmouth, in six weeks, arrives at Boston; with ninety-five passengers, thirty-four Dutch sheep, and two mares. Lost not one person, but above forty sheep.

June 19. A Day of Thanksgiving kept in all the Congregations [of the Massachusetts Colony] for our deliverance from the plots of our enemies, and for the safe arrival of our friends.[c]

June 24. *Master JAMES SHERLEY, of London, Merchant, writes thence, to Governor BRADFORD and other partners at Plymouth in New England, thus, "I pray GOD to bless you! that you may discharge this great and heavy burden; which now lies on me, for your sakes, and I hope, in the end, for the good of you, and many*

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History*. [b] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal*.
[c] Plymouth Colony *Records*. [d] Massachusetts Colony *Records*.

thousands more. For had not you and we joined and continued together [in 1627, p. 479] *New England might yet have been scarce known* [or], *I am persuaded not so replenished with such honest English people, as now it is. The LORD increase and bless them!"* [a]

July 2 [1633]. Court at Boston. Present [, same as *June* 11, with Master ENDICOT.]

ORDER **1.** Give £100 to the Governor, for this present year, towards his public charges and extraordinary expenses.

2. A man fined 30*s.* for drunkenness on the Sabbath Day at Marblehead [till now, in the *Records*, called Marble Harbour.]

3. That no person sell either Wine or Strong Water [*Spirits*], without leave of the Governor or Deputy Governor. And no man shall sell; or, being in a course of trading, give any Strong Water to any Indian.

4. That if any corn-fence shall be, by the inhabitants of the town, judged insufficient; and the owner thereof forbear mending it, more than two days after warning given: the inhabitants shall mend the said fence; and the corn of the owner of the said fence shall be liable to pay the charge of mending.

5. That it shall be lawful for any man to kill any swine that come into his corn: the party that owns the swine is to have them, when killed; and allow recompense for the damage they do. [b]

We [*at Plymouth*] *having had formerly converse and familiarity with the Dutch; they, seeing us seated in a barren quarter, told us of a river, called by them the Fresh River; which they often commended to us for a fine place, both for Plantation and Trade, and wish us to make use of it; but our hands being otherwise full, we let it pass.*

But, afterwards, there coming a company of Indians into these parts, who were driven thence by the Pequents [or Pequots]; *who usurped upon them, they often solicited us to go thither; and we should have much trade, especially if we would keep a House there.*

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History.* [b] Massachusetts Colony *Records.*

And having good store of commodities, we began to send that way, to discover the same, and trade with the natives.

We found it to be a fine place; and tried divers times, not without profit: but saw the most certainty would be by keeping a House there, to receive the trade when it comes down out of the inland [*country*].

These Indians not seeing us very forward to build there, solicited those of the Massachusetts, in like sort; for their end was to be restored to their country again; but they in the Bay, being but lately come, were not fit for the same.[a]

[See *April* 4, 1631, *p.* 582. By which it seems as if the Plymouth Partners had sent *divers times* up Connecticut river, and traded there, before *April* 1631; though they set not up a House till now].

But some of the chief in the Massachusetts Bay made a motion to join with the Partners here [*at Plymouth*] *to trade jointly with them at that river, which we were willing to embrace; and so have built, and put in equal stock together. A time of meeting was appointed at the Massachusetts; and some of the chief here* [*at Plymouth*] *are appointed to treat with them; and go accordingly.*[a]

July 12. *Master EDWARD WINSLOW, Governor of Plymouth, and Master BRADFORD come into the Bay, to confer about joining in a trade to Connecticut for beaver and hemp. There was a motion to set up a Trading House there; to prevent the Dutch, who are about to build one. But in regard the place is not fit for Plantation, there being* 3,000 *or* 4,000 *warlike Indians; and the river not to be gone into, but by small pinnaces; and for that no vessels can get in for seven months in the year, by reason of ice, &c.: we thought not fit to meddle with it.*[b]

The Massachusetts gentlemen casting many fears of danger and loss; they tell us, "they have no mind to it." We then answer, "We hope it will be no offence to them, if we go without them." They said, "There is no reason [*it*] *should." And thus this treaty breaks off; and we come away,*[a] July 18[b] [1633].

And those [*at Plymouth*] *take convenient time to make a beginning there* [*of building*]; *and are the first English that both discovered the place, and built in the same.*[a]

But the Dutch begin now to repent; and hearing of our purpose and preparation, endeavour to prevent us: get in a little before us,

[a] Governor BRADFORD's *History.* [b] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.*

make a slight fort, and plant two pieces of ordnance; threatening to stop our passage. But we, have a great new bark; and a frame of a house, [*with*] *boards, nails, &c., ready, that we might have a defence against the Indians; who are much offended that we bring home, and restore the right Sachems of the place, called* NATAWANUTE: *so as we are to encounter with a double danger in this Attempt, both the Dutch and Indians.*

When we come up the river, the Dutch demand, "What we intend, and whither we would go?" We answer, "Up the river, to trade." Now our order was to go and seat [settle] *above them. They bid us "Strike and stay; or they would shoot us!" and stood by their ordnance ready fitted. We answer, "We have a commission from the Governor of Plymouth to go up the river to such a place; and if they shoot, we must obey our order, and proceed. We would not molest them; but would go on." So we pass on; and the Dutch threaten us hard, but shoot not.*

Coming to our place, about a mile above the Dutch [since called Windsor,[a] and below the south-side line of the Massachusetts *Patent*] *we quickly clap up our house, land our provisions, leave the company appointed, send the bark home; and, afterwards,* pallisado *our house about, and fortify better. The Dutch send word home to the Monhatos, what was done. And, in process of time, they send a band of about seventy men, in warlike manner, with colours displayed, to assault us: but seeing us strengthened, and that it would cost blood; they come to a parley, and return in peace.*

And this was our entrance here. We did the Dutch no wrong; for we took not a foot of any land they bought: but went to the place above them; and bought that tract of land which belonged to the Indians we carried with us and our friends, with whom the Dutch had nothing to do.[b]

July 24 [1633]. A ship from Weymouth arrives [at Boston] with eighty passengers [and twelve kine]; who set down at Dorchester. They were twelve weeks coming; being forced into the Western Isles by a leak: where they stayed three weeks, and were very courteously used by the Portuguese; but the extremity of the heat there, and the continual rains brought sickness upon them, so as [several died].[b]

June, July, *and* August. *It pleases GOD to visit us* [*at Plymouth*] *with an infectious fever; of which many fall very sick, and upwards of twenty die; men and women, besides children.*

[a] Governor WINTHROP's *Journal.* [b] Governor BRADFORD's *History.*

Kings. France, LOUIS 13; *Great Britain,*‖ CHARLES I.; *Spain,*‖ PHILIP IV.

And of them, sundry [who were] our ancient friends in Holland; as THOMAS BLOSSOM, *with others. And in the end,* SAMUEL FULLER, *our Surgeon and Physician, who has been a great help and comfort to us, as in his faculty so otherwise, being a Deacon of the Church, godly, and forward to do good, much missed after his death.*

All which, cause much sadness and mourning among us; [and move] us to humble ourselves, and seek the LORD by Fasting and Prayer. Who was intreated of us.[a] *For towards winter, it pleased the LORD, the sickness ceased. The disease also swept away many of the Indians from all the places near [us].*[b]

August 5 [1633]. Two men servants to JOHN MOODY of Roxbury, that were ungodly; especially one, who, in his passion, would "wish himself in hell!" and use desperate words, yet had a good measure of knowledge; against the counsel of their [Master] would go in a boat, to the Oyster Bank: where they lie all night. In the morning, early, *August* 6,[c] when the tide is out, they, gathering oysters, leave their boat [unfastened] on the verge of the channel; and quickly the tide carries it so far into the channel, that[d]

Here (at the bottom of the last page, numbered 96, of the Third sixpenny Number) ends all that appears to have been ever published of these Annals of New England, *by that most worthy Colonial Author, the Reverend* THOMAS PRINCE, *who died on 22nd October,* 1758, *æt.* 72. E. A. 1879.

[a] MORTON'S *Memorial.* [b] Governor BRADFORD'S *History.*

[d] The sentence is thus completed in Governor WINTHROP'S *Journal:* "they cannot recover it; and they are both drowned although they might have waded out on either side: but it was an evident judgement of GOD on them." [c] Governor WINTHROP'S *Journal.*

THE END OF THE

Second Volume

OF AN ENGLISH GARNER.