

Excerpted from
**Leah and Rachel, or the Two Fruitful Sisters
 Virginia, and Maryland**

The Country [Virginia and Maryland] is very full of sober, modest persons, both men and women, and many that truly fear God and follow that perfect rule of our blessed Saviour, to do as they would be done by; and of such a happy inclination is the Country, that many who in England have been lewd and idle, there in emulation or imitation (for example moves more than precept) of the industry of those they finde there, not onely grow ashamed of their former courses, but abhor to hear of them, and in small time wipe off those stains they have formerly been tainted with; yet I cannot but confess, there are people wicked enough (as what Country is free) for we know some natures will never be reformed, but these must follow the Fryers rule, *Si non castre, tamen caute*, 'for if any be known, either to prophane the Lords day or his Name, be found drunk, commit whoredome, scandalize or disturb his neighbour, or give offence to the world by living suspiciously in any bad courses; there are for each of these, severe and whole some laws and remedies made, provided and duly put in execution. I can confidently affirm, that since my being in England, which is not yet four moneths, I have been an eye and ear witness of more deceits and villanies (and such as mod-esty forbids me to utter) then I either ever saw or heard mention made of in Virginia, in my one and twenty years abroad in those parts.

And therefore those that shall blemish Virginia any more, do but like the Dog bark against the Moon, untill they be blind and weary; and Virginia is now in that secure growing condition, that like the Moon so barked at, she will passe on her course, maugre all detractors, and a few years will bring it to that glorious happiness, that many of her calumniators will intercede to procure admittance thither, when it will be hard to be attained to; for in small time, little land will be taken up; and after a while none at all; and as the Mulberry Trees grows up, which are by every one planted, Tobacco will be laid by, and we shall wholly fall to making of Silk (a Sample of 4000. hath already been sent for England, and approved of) which will require little labour; and therefore shall have little use of Servants; besides, Children increase and thrive so well there, that they themselves will sufficiently supply the defect of Servants: And in small time become a Nation of themselves sufficient to people the Country: And this good policy is there used; As the Children there born grow to maturity, and capable (as they are generally very capable and apt) they are still preferred and put into authority, and carry themselves therein civilly and discreetly; and few there are but are able to give some Portions with their daughters, more or lesse, according to their abilities; so that many coming out of England have raised themselves good fortunes there meerly by matching with Maidens born in the Country.

And therefore I cannot but admire, and indeed much pity the dull stupidity of people necessitated in England, who rather then they will remove themselves, live here a base, slavish, penurious life; as if there were a necessity to live and to live so, choosing rather then they will forsake England to stuff New-Gate, Bridewell, and other Jayles with their carcasses, may cleave to yburne; it selfe, and so bring

1. If not chaste, then at any rate, cautiously.
2. The famous place of execution.

confusion to their souls, horror and infamie to their kindred or posterie, others itch out their wearisom lives in reliance of other mens charities, an uncertaine and unmanly expectation; some more abhorring such courses betake themselves to almost pervertuall and restless toyle and druggeries out of which (whilst their strength lasteth) they (observing hard diets, earlie and late hours) make hard shift to subsist from hand to mouth, untill age or sickness take them off from labour and directes them the way to beggerie, and such indeed are to be pittied, relieved and provided for.

I have seriously considered when I have (passing the streets) heard the several Cries, and noting the commodities, and the worth of them they have carried and cryed up and down, how possibly a livelihood could be exacted out of them, as to cry Matches, Small-coal, Blacking, Pen and Ink, Thred-laces, and a hundred more such kinde of trifling merchandizes; then looking on the nastinesse of their limen habits and bodies, I conclude if gain sufficient could be raised out of them for subsistence, yet their manner of living was degenerate and base, and their condition to be far below the meanest servant in Virginia.

The other day, I saw a man heavily loaden with a burden of Faggots on his back, crying, Dry Faggots, Dry Faggots; he travailed much ground, bawled frequently, and sweat with his burthen: but I saw none buy any, neer three hours I followed him, in which time he rested; I entered into discourse with him, offered him drink, which he thankfully accepted of, (as desirous to learn the mystery of his trade) I enquired what he got by each burden when sold? he answered me three pence: I further asked him what he usually got a day? he replied, some days nothing some dayes six pence; some time more, but seldom: me thought it was a pitifull life, and I admired how he could live on it, And yet it were dangerous to advise these wretches to better their conditions by travail, for fear of the cry of, a spirit, a spirit.

The Country is not only plentiful but pleasant and profitable, pleasant in regard of the brightness of the weather, the many delightfull rivers, on which the inhabitants are settled (every man almost living in sight of a lovely river) the abundance of game, the extraordinary good neighbourhood and loving conversation they have one with the other.

Pleasant in their building, which although for most part they are but one story besides the loft, and built of wood, yet contrived so delightfull, that your ordinary houses in England are not so handsome, for usually the rooms are large, daubed and whitelined, glazed and flowered, and if not glazed windows, shutters which are made very pritty and convenient.

Pleasant in observing their stocks and flocks of Cattle, Hogs, and Poultry, grazing, whisking and skipping in their sights, pleasant in having all things of their own, growing or breeding without drawing the penny to send for this and that, without which, in England they cannot be supplied.

3. A kidnapper.

Excerpted from
A Description of New England

All these and diuerse other good things do heere, for want of vse, still increase, and decrease with little diminution: whereby they growe to that abundance [that] you shall scarce finde any Baye, shallow shore, or Cove of sand, where you may not take many Clampes, or Lobsters, or both at your pleasure; and in many places lode your boat if you please: nor lesse where you finde not fruits, birds, crabs, and muskies, or all of them for [the] taking, at a lowe water. And in the harbors we frequented, a little boye might take of Cummers and Pinacks and such delicate fish, at the ships sterne, more then sixe or tenne can eate in a day; but with a casting net, thousands when wee pleased: and scarce any place, but Cod, Cuske, Holybut, Mackerell, Skate, or such like, a man may take with a hooke or line what he will. And in diuers sandy Bays, a man may draw with a net great store of Mullers, Baisjes, and diuers other sorts of such excellent fish, as many as his Net can drawe on shore. [There is] no Riuer where there is not plentie of Sturgeon, or Salmon, or both: all which are to be had in abundance obseruing but their seasons. But if a man will goe at Christmasse to gather Cherries in *Kenil*, he may be deceived, though there be plentie in Summer: so heere, these plenties haue each their seasons, as I haue expressed.

We for the most part had little but bread and vinegar: and though the most part of Iuly when the fishing decayed, they wrought all day, laie abroad in the fies all night, and liued on what they found, yet were [they] not sicke. But I would wish none [to] put himself long to such plunges, except necessitie constraine it. Yet worthy is that person to starue that heere cannot liue; if he haue sense, strength, and health: for, there is no such penury of these blessings in any place, but that a hundred men may, in one houre or two, make their provisions for a day; and hee that hath experience to mannage well these affaires, with fortie or thirtie honest industrious men, might well vndertake (if they dwell in these parts) to subiect the Salvages, and feed daily two or three hundred men, with as good corne, fish, and flesh, as the earth hath of those kinds, and yet make that labor but their pleasure: provided that they haue engine[s] that be proper for their purposes.

Who can desire more content, that hath smal meanes; or but only his merit to aduance his fortune, then to tread, and plant that ground hee hath purchased by the hazard of his life? If he haue but the taste of virtue and magnanimite, what to such a minde can be more pleasant, then planting and building a foundation for his Posteritie, gotte from the rude earth, by Gods blessing and his owne industrie, without prejudice to any? If hee haue any graine of faith or zeale in Religion, what can hee doe lesse hurtfull to any: or more agreeable to God, then to seeke to conuert those poore Salvages to know Christ, and humaanite, whose labors with discretion will triple requite thy charge and paines? What so truly sulijes with honour and honestie, as the discovering things vnknowne? erecting Townes, peeping Countreies, informing the ignorant, reforming things vnjust, teaching virtue; and gaine to our Native mother-countrie a kingdom to attend her: finde employment for those that are idle, because they know not what to doe: so farre from wronging any, as to cause Posteritie to remember thee; and remembering thee, eter honour that remembrance with praise?

Consider: What were the beginnings and endings of the Monarkies of the *Chaldeans*, the *Syrians*, the *Grecians*, and *Romanes*, but this one rule: What was it they would not doe, for the good of the commonwealth, or their Mother-citie? For example: *Rome*. What made her such a Monarchesse, but onely the adventures of her youth, not in riots at home; but in dangers abroad? And the iustice and judgement out of their experience, when they grew aged? What was their ruine and hurt, but this: The excesse of idleness, the fondnesse of Parents, the want of experience in Magistrates, the admiration of their vndererued honours, the contempt of true merit, their vnust iudicijes, their politicke incredulities, their hypocriticall seeming goodness, and their deeds of secret lewdnesse? finally, in fine, growing onely formall temporists, all that their predecessors got in many years, they lost in few daies. Those by their pain and vertues became Lords of the world; they by their ease and vices became slaues to their seruants. This is the difference betwixt the use of Armes in the field, and on the monuments of stones: the golden age and the leaden age, prosperity and miserie, iustice and corruption, substance and shadowes, words and deeds, experience and imagination, making Commonwealths and marring Commonwealths, the fruits of vertue and the conclusions of vice.

Then, who would liue at home idly (or thinke in himselfe any worth to liue) onely to eate, drink, and sleepe, and so die? Or by consuming that carelesly, his friends got worthily? Or by vsing that miserably, that maintained vertue honestly? Or for being descended nobly, pine with the vaine vaunt of great kindred, in penurie? Or (to maintaine a stilly shewe of brauery) toyle out thy heart, soule, and time, basely; by shifts, tricks, cards, and dice? Or by relating newes of others actions, sharke here or there for a dinner, or supper; deceive thy friends, by faire promises and dissimulation, in borrowing where thou neuer intendest to pay; offend the lawes, surfeit with excesse, burden thy Countrey, abuse thy selfe, despare in want, and then couzen thy kindred, yea even thine owne brother, and wish thy parents death (I will not say damnation) to haue their estates? though thou seest what honours, and rewards, the world yet hath for them [who] will seeke them and worthily deserve them.

I would be softly to offend, or that any should mistake my honest meaning: for I wish good to all, hurt to none. But rich men for the most part are growne to that dotage, through their pride in their wealth, as though there were no accident could end it, or their life.

And what hellish care do such take to make it their owne miserie, and their Countreies spoile, especially when there is most neede of their imployment? drawing by all manner of inuentions, from the Prince and his honest subiects, even the vitall spirits of their powers and estates: as if their Bagges, or Bragges, were so powerfull a defence, the malicious could not assault them; when they are the onely baile, to cause vs not to be onely assaulted; but betrayed and murdered in our owne security, ere we well perceiue it.

May not the miserable ruine of *Constantinople*, their impregnable walles, riches, and pleasures [at] last taken by the *Turke* (which are but a bit, in comparison of their now mightines) remember vs of the effects of priuate *conceituousness*? at which time the good *Emperour* held himselfe rich enough, to haue such rich subiects, so formall in all excesse of vanity, all kinde of delicate and prodigalitie. His pouertie when the *Turke* besieged, the citizens (whose marchandizing thoughts were onely to get wealth, little conceiting the desperate resolution of a valiant expert enemy) left the *Emperour* so long to his conclusions, hauing spent all he had to pay his young, raw, discontented Souldiers; that sodainly he, they, and their cite were all a prey to the

Cypher John Smith

Excerpted from
The General History of Virginia (1624)

To the most high and vertuous Princesse,
Queene Anne of Great Brittainie.

Most admired Queene,

The loue I beare my God, my King and Countrie, hath so oft emboldened mee in the worst of extreme dangers, that now honeste doth constraime mee [to] presume thus farre beyond my selfe, to present your Maestie this short discourse: if ingratitude be a deadly poyson to all honest vertues, I must bee guiltie of that crime if I should omit any meanes to bee thankfull.

So it is,

That some ten yeeres agoe [i. e., Jan. 1608] being in *Virginia*, and taken prisoner by the power of *Powhatan* their chiefe King, I receiued from this great *Saluage* exceeding great courtesie, especially from his sonne *Nan-A-relation to Queene Anne*, *Saluage*, and his sister *Pocahontas*, the Kings most deare and wel-beloued daughter, being but a childe of twelue or thirteene yeeres of age whose compassionate pitifull heart, of my desperate estate, gaue me much cause to respect her: I being the first Christian this proud King and his grim attendants euer saw: and thus intrahled in their barbarous power, I cannot say I felt the least occasion of want that was in the power of those my mortall foes to prevent, notwithstanding al their threats. After some six weeks fasting amongst those *Saluage* Courtiers, at the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her owne braines to saue mine; and not onely that, but so preuailed with her father, that I was safely conducted to *Lanes* towne: where I found about eight and thirtie miserable poore and sicke creatures, to keepe possession of all those large territories of *Virginia*: such was the weakness of this poore Commonwealth, as had the *Saluages* not fed vs, we directly had starued. And this reliefe most gracious Queene, was commonly brought vs by this Lady *Pocahontas*.

Notwithstanding all these passages, when inconstant Fortune turned our peace to warre, this tender Virgin would still not spare to dare to visit vs, and by her our iarres haue bene oft appeased, and our wants still supplied; were it the policie of her father thus to imploie her, or the ordinance of God thus to make her his instrument, or her extraordinarie affection to our Nation, I know not: but of this I am sure; when her father with the vtmost of his policie and power, sought to surprize mee, hauing but eigheteene with mee, the darke night could not affright her from coming through the irkesome woods, and with watered eyes gaue me intelligence, with her best aduice to escape his furie; which had hee knowne, hee had surely slaine her.

Lanes towne with her wild traine she as freely frequented, as her fathers habitation; and during the time of two or three yeeres [1608-9], she next vnder God, was still the instrument to preserue this Colonie from death, famine and vltter confusion; which if in those times, [it] had once bene dissolved, *Virginia* might haue bene [lain] as it was at our first arruall to this day.

Since then, this businesse hauing bene turned and varied by many accidents from that I left it at [on 4 Oct. 1609]: it is most certaine, after a long and troublesome warre after my departure, betwixt her father and our Colonie; all which time shee was not heard of.

denouncing *Turke*. And what they would not spare for the maintenance of them who aduentured their liues to defend them, did serue onely their [35] enemies to torment them, their friends, and countrey, and all Christendome to this present day. Let this lamentable example remember you that are rich (seeing there are such great theues in the world to robbe you) not [to] grudge to lend some proportion, to breed them that haue little, yet [are] willing to learne how to defend you: for, it is too late when the deede is a-doing.

The *Romans* estate hath bene worse then this: for, the meere coueteousnesse and extortion of a few of them, so moued the rest, that not hauing any employment but contemplation; their great iudgements grew to so great malice, as themselves were sufficient to destroy themselves by faction: Let this moue you to embrace employment for those whose educations, spirits, and iudgements want but your purses: not onely to prevent such accustomed dangers, but also to gaine more thereby then you haue.

And you fathers, that are either so foolishly fond, or so miserably coueteous, or so willfully ignorant, or so negligently carelesse, as that you will rather maintaine your children in idle wantonness, till they grow your masters; or become so basely vnkinde, as they wish nothing but your deaths; so that both sorts grow dissolute: and although you would wish them any where to escape the gallowes, and ease your cares; though they spend you here one, two, or three hundred pound[s] a yeer; you would grudge to giue halfe so much in aduenture with them, to obtaine an estate, which in a small time, but with a little assistance of your prouidence, might be better then your owne. But if an Angell should tell you, [that] any place yet vnknowne can afford such fortunes; you would not beleuee him, no more then *Columbus* was beleueed there was any such Land as is now the well knowne abounding *America*; much lesse such large Regions as are yet vnknowne, as well in *America*, as in *Affrica*, and *Asia*, and *Terra incognita*; where were courses for gentlemen (and them that would be so reputed) more suiting their qualities, then begging from their Princes generous disposition, the labours of his subiects, and the very marrow of his maintenance.

About two yeeres after [April 1613] shee her selfe was taken prisoner, being so detained neere two yeeres longer, the Colonic by that meanes was relieued, peace concluded; and at last rectifying her barbarous condition, [she] was married [1 April 1614] to an *English* Gentleman, with whom at this present she is in *England*; the first Christian euer of that Nation, the first *Virginian* euer spake *English*, or had a childe in marriage by an *Englishman*: a matter surely, if my meaning bee truly considered and well understood, worthy a Princes understanding.

Thus, most gracious Lady, I haue related to your Maestie, what at your best pleasure our approued Histories will account you at large, and done in the time of your Maesties life; and howeuer this might bee presented you from a more worthy pen, it cannot from a more honest heart, as yet I neuer begged any thing of the state, or any: and it is my want of abilitie and her exceeding desert; your birth, meanes and authority; hir birth, vertue, want and simplicitie, doth make mee thus bold, humbly to beseech your Maestie to take this knowledge of her, though it be from one so unworthy to be the reporter, as my selfe, her husbands estate not being able to make her fit to attend your Maestie. The most and least I can doe, is to tell you this, because none so oft hath tried it as my selfe, and the rather being of so great a spirit, how euer her stature [*Pocahontas was therefore not a tall woman*]: if she should not be well receiued, seeing this Kingdome may rightly haue a Kingdome by her meanes; her present loue to vs and Christianitie might turne to such a Queene should doe her some honour more than she can imagine, for being so kinde to your seruants an subjects, would so rauish her with content, as endeaure her dearest blood to effect that, your Maestie and all the Kings honest subjects most earnestly desire.

And so I humbly kisse your gracious hands.

Being about this time preparing to set saile for *New-England*, I could not stay to doe her that seruice I desired, and she well deserned; but hearing shee was at *Bronford* with diuers of my friends, I went to see her. Pocahontas meeting in England with Captain Smith. After a modest salutation, without any word, she turned about, obscured her face, as not seeming well contented; and in that humour her husband, with diuers others, we all left her two or three houres, repenting my selfe to haue writ she could speake *English*. But not long after, she began to talke, and remembered mee well what courtesies shee had done: saying, You did promise *Powhatan* what was yours should bee his, and he the like to you; you called him father being in his land a stranger, and by the same reason so must I doe you:

which though I would haue excused, I durst not allow of that title, because shee was a Kings daughter, with a well set countenance shee said,

Were you not afraid to come into my fathers Countrie, and caused feare in him and all his people (but mee), and feare you here I should call you *Viamacmack*, father; I tell you then I will, and you shall call mee childe, and so I will bee for euer and euer your Countrieman. They did tell vs observations of his voyage alwaies you were dead, and I knew no other till I came to *Plimoth*, yet *Powhatan* did command *Viamatomakkin* to seeke you, and know the truth, because your Countriemen will lie much.

This *Saluage*, one of *Powhatans* Councell, being amongst them held an understanding fellow, the King purposely sent him, as they say, to number the people here, and informe him well what wee were and our state. Arriving at *Plimoth*, according to his directions, he got a long sticke, whereon by notches hee did thinke to haue kept the number of all the men hee could see, but he was quickly wearie of

that taske.

Coming to *London*, where by chance I met him, hauing renewed our acquaintance, where many were desirous to heare and see his behaviour, hee told me *Powhatan* did bid him to finde me out, to shew him our God, the King, Queene, and Prince, I so much had told them of.

Concerning God, I told him the best I could, the King I heard he had scene, and the rest hee should see when he would; he denied euer to haue scene the King, till by circumstances he was satisfied he had: Then he replied very sadly,

You gaue *Powhatan* a white Dog, which *Powhatan* fed as himselfe; but your King gaue me nothing, and I am better than your white Dog.

The small time I staid in *London*, diuers Courtiers and others, my acquaintances, hath gone with mee to see her, that generally concluded, they did thinke God had a great hand in her conuersion, and they haue scene many *English* Ladies worse fauoured, proportioned, and behauioured; and as since I haue heard, it pleased both the King and Queenes Maestie honourably to esteeme her, accompanied with that honourable Lady the Lady *De la Ware*, and that honourable Lord her husband, and diuers other persons of good qualities, both publicly at the masks and otherwise, to her great satisfaction and content, which doubtlesse she would haue deserved, had she liued to arrive in *Virginia*.

Captn John Smith (1612)

Excerpted from
A Map of Virginia
Of such things which are natural in Virginia and How They Use Them

Virginia doth afford many excellent vegetables and living Creatures, yet grasse there is little or none but what groweth in lowe Marshes: for all the Country is overgrowne with trees, whose droppings continually turneth their grasse to weeds, by reason of the rancknesse of the ground: which would soone be amended by good husbandry. The wood that is most common is Oke and Walnut: many of their Okes are so tall and straight, that they will beare two foot and a halfe square of good timber for 20 yards long. Of this wood there is 2 or 3 severall kinds. The Acornes of one kind, whose barke is more white then the other, is somewhat sweetish: which being boyled halfe a day in severall waters, at last afford a sweete oyle, which they keep in goards to annoint their heads and joints. The fruit they eate, made in bread or otherwise:

There is also some Elme, some black walnut tree, and some Ash: of Ash and Elme they make sope Ashes. If the trees be very great, the ashes will be good, and melt to hard lumps: but if they be small, it will be but powder, and not so good as the other.

Of walnuts there is 2 or 3 kinds: there is a kinde of wood we called Cypres, because both the wood, the fruit, and leafe did most resemble it; and of those trees there are some neere 3 fadome about at the root, very straight, and 50, 60, or 80 foot without a branch.

By the dwelling of the *Savages* are some great Mulberry trees; and in some parts of the Country, they are found growing naturally in prettie groues. There was an assay made to make silke, and surely the wormes prospered excellent well, till the master workman fell sicke: during which time, they were eaten with rats.

In some parts, were found some Chestnuts whose wild fruit equalize the best in *France, Spaine, Germany, or Italy*, to their tastels that had tasted them all.

Plumbs there are of 3 sorts. The red and white are like our hedge plumbs: but the other, which they call *Putchamins*, grow as high as a *Palmeto*. The fruit is like a medler; it is first greene, then yellow, and red when it is ripe: if it be not ripe it will drawe a mans mouth awrie with much torment; but when it is ripe, it is as delicious as an Apricock.

They have Cherries, and those are much like a Damascen; but for their tastes and colour, we called them Cherries. We see some few Crabs, but very small and bitter.

Of vines, [there is] great abundance in many parts, that climbe the toppes of the highest trees in some places, but these beare but fewe grapes. But by the riviers and *Savages*'s habitations where they are not overshadowed from the sunne, they are covered with fruit, though never pruned nor manured. Of those hedge grapes, wee made neere 20 gallons of wine, which was neare as good as your French British wine, but certainly they would proue good were they well manured.

There is another sort of grape neere as great as a Cherry, this they call *Messaminers*; they bee fatte, and the iuyce thicke: neither doth the last so well please when they are made in wine.

They have a small fruit growing on little trees, husked like a Chestnut, but the fruit most like a very small acorne. This they call *Chechinguamins*, which they esteeme a great daintie. They have a berry much like our gooseberry, in greatnesse, colour, and taste; those they call *Rawcomens*, and doe eat them raw or boyled.

Of these naturall fruits they live a great part of the yeare, which they use in this manner. *The walnuts, Chestnuts, Acornes, and Chechinguamins* are dried to

keepe. When they need them, they breake them betwene two stones, yet some part of the walnut shels will cleave to the fruit. Then doe they dry them againe vpon a mat ouer a hurdle. After, they put it into a mortar of wood, and beat it very small: that done, they mix it with water, in that the shels may sink to the bottoome. This water will be coloured as milke; which they cal *Pawwobiskora*, and keepe it for their vse.

The fruit like medlers, they call *Pawchannis*, they cast vppon hurdles on a mat, and present them as *Prunes*. *Of their Chesnuts* and *Chechinguamens* boyled 4 hours, they make both broath and bread for their chiefe men, and at their greatest feasts.

Besides those fruit trees, there is a *white populer*, and another tree like vnto it, that yeeldeth a very cleere and an odoriferous *Gumme like Turpentine*, which some called *Balsom*. There are also *Cedars* and *Saxifras trees*. They also yeeld gummes in a small proportion of themselves. Wee tryed conclusions to extract it out of the wood, but nature afforded more then our arts.

In the watley valleys groweth a *berry*, which they call *Ocoughanannis*, very much like vnto *Capers*. These they dry in sommer. When they will eat them, they boile them neare halfe a day: for otherwise they differ not much from *poyson*. *Mattoume* groweth as our *beans* do in meddows. The seede is not much vnlike to rie, though much smaller. This they vse for a dainary bread buttered with deare suet. During Sommer there are either *strawberries* which ripen in April; or mulberries which ripen in May and Iune. *Raspiaes* hurres; or a fruit that the Inhabitants call *Maracocks*, which is a pleasant wholesome fruit much like a lemond.

Many *herbes* in the spring time there are commonly dispersed throughout the woods, good for brothes and sallets, as *Violets*, *Purslin*, *Sorrell*, &c. Besides many we used whose names we know not.

The chiefe roote they haue for roode is called *Tockawhough*. It groweth like a flagge in low muddy freshes. In one day a *Savage* will gather sufficient for a weeke. These rootes are much of the greenes and taste of *Potatoes*. They vse to couer a great many of them with oke leaues and ferne, and then couer all with earth in the manner of a colepit; over it, on each side, they continue a great five 24 hours before they dare eat it. Raw it is no better then *poison*, and being roasted, except it be tender and the heat abated, or sliced and dried in the sun, mixed with *sorrell* and meale or such like, it will prickle and torment the throat extremely, and yet in sommer they vse this ordinarily for bread.

They haue an other roote which they call *wighsacan*: as th[e] other feedeth the body, so this cureth their hurts and diseases. It is a small root which they bruise and apply to the wound. *Pocomes* is a small roote that groweth in the mountaines, which being dried and beate in powder turneth red: and this they vse for swellings, aches, annointing their ioints, painting their heads and garments. They account it very precious and of much worth. *Musquaspeme* is a roote of the bignesse of a finger, and as red as bloud. In drying, it will wither almost to nothing. This they vse to paint their *Males*, *Targets*, and such like.

There is also *Pellitory of Spaine*, *Saxifrage*, and diuers other simples, which the Apothecaries gathered, and commended to be good and medicinable.

In the low Marshes, *growe plots of Onions* containing an acre of ground or more in many places; but they are small, not past the bignesse of the *Toppe* of ones *Thumb*. *Of beastes the chiefe are Deare*, nothing differing from ours. In the deserts towards the heads of the riuers, th[er]e are many, but amongst the riuers few.

There is a beast they call Aronghuan, much like a *badger*, but vseth to lye on trees as *Squirrels* doe. *Their Squirrels* some as neare as *gratee* as our smallest sort of wilde rabbits; some blackish or blacke and white, but the most are *gray*.

A small beast they haue, they call *Assapanick*, but we call them flying squirrels; because spreading their legs, and so stretching the largenesse of their skins that they haue bin scene to fly 30 or 40 yards. An *Opasom* hath an head like a *Swine*, and a tail like a *Rat*, and is of the bignes of a *Cat*. Vnder her belly shee hath a bagge, wherein shee lodgeth, carrieth, and sucketh her young. *Mussascus* is a beast of the forme and nature of our water *Rars*, but many of them smell exceeding strong of muske. Their *Hares* [are] no bigger than our *Conies*, and few of them to be found.

Their *Beures* are very little in comparison of those of *Muscovia* and *Tartaria*. The *Beauer* is as bigge as an ordinary water dogge, but his legges exceeding short. His fore feece like a dogs, his hinder feet like a *Swans*. His talle somewhat like the forme of a *Racket* bare without haire; which to eate, the *Sauages* esteeme a great delicate. They haue many *Oiers*, which, as the *Beavers*, they take with snares, and esteeme the skines great ornaments; and of all those beastes they vse to feede, when they catch them.

There is also a beast they call *Vetchungoyes* in the forme of a wilde *Cat*. Their *Foxes* are like our silver haired *Conies*, of a small proportion, and not smelling like those in England. Their *Dogges* of that country are like their *Wolues*, and cannot bark but howle; and their *wolues* [are] not much bigger then our English *Foxes*. *Martins*, *Powletcars*, *weessels* and *Minkes* we know they haue, because we haue seen many of their skines, though very seldome any of them alitue.

But one thing is strange, that we could never perceiue their vermine destroy our *henes*, *egges*, nor *chickens*, nor do any hurt: nor their flies nor serpents [to be] a me waie pernicious; where [as] in the South parts of *America*, they are alwaies dangerous and often deadly.

Of birds, the Eagle is the greatest devourer. Hawkes there be of diuerse sorts as our *Falconers* called them, *Sparrowhawkes*, *Lanarets*, *Goshawkes*, *Falcons* and *Opyerres*; but they all pray most vpon fish. *Partridges* there are little bigger then our *Quailes*, wilde *Turkies* are as bigge as our *tame*. There are woosels or black-birds with red shoulders, thushes, and diuerse sorts of small birds, some red, some blew, scarce so bigge as a *wrenne*, but few in Sommer. In winter there are great plenty of *Swans*, *Craynes* gray and white with blacke wings, *Herons*, *Geese*, *Brams*, *Ducke*, *Wigeon*, *Dotterell*, *Oxetes*, *Parrats*, and *Pigeons*. Of all those sorts great abundance, and some other strange kinds, to vs unknowne by name. But in sommer not any, or a very few to be scene.

Of fish we were best acquainted with *Sturgeon*, *Grampus*, *Porpus*, *Seales*, *Singraies* whose talles are very dangerous. *Brettes*, *mulletts*, white *Salmonds*, *Trowts*, *Soles*, *Plaice*, *Herrings*, *Conyfish*, *Rockfish*, *Eeles*, *Lampreyes*, *Catfish*, *Shades*, *Pearch* of 3 sorts, *Crabs*, *Shrimps*, *Creuises*, *Oysters*, *Cocles*, and *Muscles*. But the most strange fish is a small one so like the picture of *S. George* his *Dragon*, as possible can be, except his legs and wings; and the *Tolajefish* which will swell till it be like to *brust*, when it commeth into the aire.

Concerning the entrails of the earth little can be saide for certainty. There wanted good *Reliners*: for these that tooke vpon them to haue skill this way, tooke vp the washings from the mountaines and some moskered shining stones and spangles which the waters brought down, flattering themselves in their own vaine conceits to haue bin supposed that they were not, by the means of that ore, if it proued as their arts and iudgements expected. Only this is certaine, that many regions lying in the same latitude, afford mines very rich of diuerse natures. The crust also of these rockes would easily perswade a man to beleue there are other mines then yron and Steele, if there were but means and men of experience that knew the mine from *spare*.

John Nathaniel
(1693)

Excerpt from
Wonders of the Invisible World

The Trial of Bridget Bishop, 'alias Oliver, At the Court of Oyer and Terminer Held at Salem, June 2, 1692.

I She was Indicted for Bewitching of several persons in the Neighbourhood, the Indictment being drawn up, according to the Form in such Cases usual. And pleading, Not Guilty, there were brought in several persons, who had long undergone many kinds of Miseries, which were preternaturally Inflicted, and generally ascribed unto an horrible Witchcraft. There was little Occasion to prove the Witchcraft, it being Evident and Notorious to all Beholders. Now to fix the Witchcraft on the Prisoner at the Bar, the first thing used, was the testimony of the Bewitched; whereof several Testify'd, That the Shape of the Prisoner did oftentimes very grievously pinch them, choke them, Bite them, and Afflict them; urging them to write their Names in a Book, which the said Spectre called, Ours. One of them did further Testify, that it was the Shape of this Prisoner, with another, which one Day took her from her Wheel, and carrying her to the River side, threatened there to Drown her, if she did not Sign to the Book mentioned: which yet she refused: Others of them did also Testify, that the said Shape did in her Threats brag to them that she had been the Death of sundry persons, then by her Named; that she had Ridden a man then likewise Named. Another Testify'd the Apparition of Ghosts unto the Spectre of Bishop, crying out, You Murdered us! About the Truth whereof, there was in the matter of Fact but too much Suspicion.

II. It was Testify'd, That at the Examination of the Prisoner before the Magistrates, the Bewitched were extremely Tortured. If she did but cast her Eyes on them, they were presently struck down; and this in such a manner as there could be no Collusion in the Business. But upon the Touch of her Hand upon them, when they lay in their Sworns, they would immediately Revive; and not upon the Touch of any ones else. Moreover, upon some Special Actions of her Body as the shaking of her Head, or the Turning of her Eyes, they presently and painfully fell into the like postures. And many of the like Accidents now fell out, while she was at the Bar. One at the same time testifying, That she said, She could not be Troubled to see the Afflicted thus Tormented.

III. There was Testimony likewise brought in, that a man striking once at the place, where a Bewitched person said, the Shape of this Bishop stood, the Bewitched cried out, that he had Tore her Coat, in the place then particularly specify'd; and the Womans Coat was found to be Torn in that very place.

IV. One Deliverance Hobbs, who had Confessed her being a Witch, was now Tormented by the Spectres, for her Confession. And she now Testify'd, That this Bishop tempted her to Sign the Book again, and to Deny what she had Confess'd. She affirmed, that it was the Shape of this Prisoner, which whipped her with Iron Rods, to compel her therunto. And she affirmed, that this Bishop was at a General

1. Bridget Bishop was of Salem Village, where she kept a sort of wayside tavern, but had long lived in the town, and still held property there. She was the first witch to be tried (June 2) and executed (June 10)—perhaps because she had so long been under suspicion. The records of her case are printed in *Records of Salem Witchcraft*, I. 135-172.

Meeting of the Witches, in a Field at Salem-Village, and there partook of a Diabolical Sacrament in Bread and Wine then Administered!

V. To render it further Unquestionable, that the prisoner at the Bar was the Person truly charged in *this* Witchcraft, there were produced many Evidences of *other* Witchcrafts, by her perpetrated. For Instance, John Cook testify'd, that about five or six years ago, One morning, about Sun-Rise, he was in his Chamber assaulted by the Shape of this prisoner: which Look'd on him, grin'd at him, and very much hurt him with a Blow on the side of the Head: and that on the same day, about Noon, the same Shape walked in the Room where he was, and an Apple strangely flew out of his Hand, into the Lap of his Mother, six or eight foot from him.

VI. Samuel Gray testify'd, That about fourteen years ago, he wak'd on a Night, and saw the Room where he lay full of Light; and that he then saw plainly a Woman between the Cradle and the Bed-side, which look'd upon him. He Rose, and it vanished; tho' he found the Doors all fast. Looking out at the Entry-Door, he saw the same Woman, in the same Garb again; and s^uc. In Gods Name, what do you come for? He went to Bed, and had the same Woman again assaulting him. The Child in the Cradle gave a great schreech, and the Woman Disappeared. It was long before the Child could be quieted; and tho' it were a very likely thriving Child, yet from this time it pined away, and after divers months dy'd in a sad Condition. He knew not Bishop, nor her Name; but when he saw her after this, he knew by her Countenance, and Apparel, and all Circumstances, that it was the Apparition of this Bishop which had thus troubled him.

VII. John Bly and his Wife testify'd, that he bought a sow of Edward Bishop, the Husband of the prisoner; and was to pay the price agreed, unto another person. This Prisoner being Angry that she was thus hindered from fingering the money, Quarrell'd with Bly. Soon after which, the Sow was taken with strange Fits, Jumping, Leaping, and knocking her head against the Fence; she seem'd Blind and Deaf, and would neither eat nor be suck'd. Whereupon a neighbour said, she believed the Creature was Over-Looked; and sundry other circumstances concurred, which made the Deponents Believe that Bishop had Bewitched it.

VIII. Richard Coman testify'd, that eight years ago, as he lay Awake in his Bed, with a Light Burning in the Room, he was annoy'd with the Apparition of this Bishop, and of two more that were strangers to him, who came and oppressed him so, that he could neither stir himself, nor wake any one else, and that he was the night after molested again in the like manner; the said Bishop taking him by the Throat, and pulling him almost out of the Bed. His kinsman offered for this cause to lodge with him; and that Night, as they were Awake, Discoursing together, this Coman was once more visited by the Ghosts which had formerly been so troublesome; his kinsman being at the same time strook speechless and unable to move Hand or Foot. He had laid his sword by him, which these unhappy spectres did strive much to wrest from him; only he held too fast for them. He then grew able to call the People of his house; but altho' they heard him, yet they had not power to speak or stir; until at last, one of the people crying out, what's the matter? the spectres all vanished.

IX. Samuel Shattock testify'd, That in the Year 1680, this Bridget Bishop

often came to his house upon such frivolous and foolish errands, that they suspected she came indeed with a purpose of mischief. Presently whereupon his eldest child, which was of as promising Health and Sense as any child of its Age, began to droop exceedingly; and the offender that Bishop came to the House, the worse grew the Child. As the Child would be standing at the Door, he would be thrown and bruised against the Stones, by an Invisible Hand, and in like sort knock his Face against the sides of the House, and bruise it after a miserable manner. Afterwards this Bishop would bring him things to Dy, whereof he could not Imagine any use; and when she paid him a piece of Money, the Purse and Money were unaccountably conveyed out of a Look'd box, and never seen more. The Child was immediately hereupon taken with terrible fits, whereof his Friends thought he would have dyed: indeed he did almost nothing but cry and Sleep for several Months together; and at length his understanding was utterly taken away. Among other Symptoms of an Inchantment upon him, one was, that there was a Board in the Garden, whereon he would walk; and all the invitations in the world could never fetch him off. About Seventeen or Eighteen years after, there came a Stranger to Shattocks House, who seeing the Child, said, "This poor Child is Bewitched; and you have a Neighbour living not far off, who is a Witch." He added, "Your Neighbour has had a falling out with your Wife; and she said in her Heart, your Wife is a proud Woman, and she would bring down her Pride in this Child." He then Remembered, that Bishop had parted from his Wife in muttering and menacing Terms, a little before the Child was taken Ill. The above-said Stranger would needs carry the Bewitched Boy with him to Bishops House, on pretence of buying a pot of Oyler. The Woman Entertained him in furious manner; and flew also upon the Boy, scratching his Face till the Blood came; and saying, "Thou Rogue, what dost thou bring this Fellow here to plague me?" Now it seems the Man had said, before he went, that he would fetch Blood of her. Ever after the Boy was follow'd with grievous Fits, which the Doctors themselves generally ascribed unto Witchcraft, and wherein he would be thrown still into the Fire or the Water, if he were not constantly look'd after; and it was verily believed that Bishop was the cause of it.

X. John Louder testify'd, that upon some little controversy with Bishop about her fowles, going well to Bed, he did awake in the Night by moonlight, and did see clearly the likeness of this woman grievously oppressing him; in which miserable condition she held him, unable to help him self, till near Day. He told Bishop of this; but she deny'd it, and threatened him very much. Quickly after this, being at home on a Lords day, with the doors shut about him, he saw a Black Pig approach him; at which he going to kick, it vanished away. Immediately after, sitting down, he saw a Black thing Jump in at the Window, and come and stand before him. The Body was like that of a Monkey, the Feet like a Cocks, but the Face much like a mans. He being so extremely affrighted, that he could not speak, this Monster spoke to him, and said, "I am a Messenger sent unto you, for I understand that you are in some Trouble of Mind, and if you will be ruled by me, you shall want for nothing in this world." Whereupon he endeavoured to clap his hands upon it; but he could feel no substance, and it jumped out of the window again, but immediately came in by the Porch, though the Doors were shut, and said, "You had better take my Counsel!" He then struck at it with a stick, but struck only the Groundsel, and broke the Stick. The Arm with which he struck was presently Disabled, and it vanished away. He presently went out at the Back-Door, and spied this Bishop, in her Orchard, going toward her House; but he had not power to set one foot forward unto her. Whereupon returning into the House, he was imme-

diately accosted by the Monster he had seen before, which Goblin was now going to Fly at him; whereat he cry'd out, "The whole Armour of God be between me and you!" So it sprang back, and flew over the Apple Tree, shaking many Apples off the Tree, in its flying over. At its Leap, it flung Dirt with its Feet against the Stomach of the Man; whereon he was then struck Dumb, and so continued for three Days together. Upon the producing of this Testimony, Bishop deny'd that she knew this Deponent: yet their two Orchards joined, and they had often had their Little Quarrels for some years together.

XI. William Stacy Testified, That receiving Money of this Bishop, for work done by him, he was gone but a matter of Three Rods from her, and looking for his money, found it unaccountably gone from him. Some time after, Bishop asked him, whether his Father would grind her grist for her? He demanded why? she Reply'd, "Because Folks count me a Witch." He answered, "No Question, but he will grind it for you." Being then gone about six Rods from her, with a small Load in his Cart, suddenly the Off-wheel slump'd and sunk down into an Hole upon plain ground, so that the Deponent was forced to get help for the Recovering of the wheel. But stepping Back to look for the Hole which might give him this disaster, there was none at all to be found. Some time after, he was waked in the Night; but it seem'd as Light as Day, and he perfectly saw the shape of this Bishop in the Room, Troubling of him; but upon her going out, all was Dark again. He charg'd Bishop afterwards with it, and she deny'd it not; but was very angry. Quickly after, this Deponent having been threatened by Bishop, as he was in a dark Night going to the Barn, he was very suddenly taken or lifted from the ground, and thrown against a stone wall. After that, he was again hoisted up and thrown down a Bank, at the end of his House. After this again, passing by this Bishop, his Horse with a small load, striving to Draw, all his Gears flew to pieces, and the Cart fell down; and this deponent going then to lift a Bag of corn, of about two Bushels, could not budge it with all his might.

Many other pranks of this Bishops this Deponent was Ready to testify. He also testify'd, that he verily Believed, the said Bishop was the Instrument of his Daughter Priscilla's Death; of which suspicion, pregnant Reasons were assigned.

XII. To Crown all, John Bly and William Bly Testify'd, That being Employ'd by Bridget Bishop, to help take down the Cellar-wall of the old House, wherein she formerly Lived, they did in Holes of the said old Wall find several Poppets,² made up of Rags and Hogs Brussels, with Headless Pins in them, the Points being outward. Whereof she could give no Account unto the Court, that was Reasonable or Tolerable.

XIII. One thing that made against the Prisoner was, her being evidently convicted of Gross Lying in the Court, several Times, while she was making her Plea. But besides this, a Jury of Women found a preternatural Teat upon her Body, but upon a second search, within Three or four hours, there was no such thing to be seen. There was also an account of other people whom this woman had afflicted. And there might have been many more, if they had been enquired for. But there was no need of them.

XIV. There was one very strange thing more, with which the Court was newly Entertained. As this Woman was, under a Guard, passing by the Great and Spacious Meeting-House of Salem, she gave a Look towards the House. And immediately a Demon Invisibly Entering the Meeting-house, Tore down a part of it; so that tho' there was no person to be seen there, yet the people at the Noise running in, found a Board, which was strongly fastned with several Nails, transported unto another quarter of the House.

² Supposed, of course, by her accusers to be such "images" as witches were alleged to make of their victims, for the sake of torturing them by proxy.

John Winthrop

Journal

[September 22, 1642]

The court, with advice of the elders, ordered a general fast. The occasions were, ¹. The ill news we had out of England concerning the breach between the king and parliament. ². The danger of the Indians. ³. The unseasonable weather, the rain having continued so long, viz. near a fortnight together, scarce one fair day, and much corn and hay spoiled, though indeed it proved a blessing to us, for it being with warm easterly winds, it brought the Indian corn to maturity, which otherwise would not have been ripe, and it pleased God, that so soon as the fast was agreed upon, the weather changed, and proved fair after.

At this court, the propositions sent from Connecticut, about a combination, etc, were read, and referred to a committee to consider of after the court, who meeting, added some few cautions and new articles, and for the taking in of Plimouth, (who were now willing,) and Sir Ferdinando Gorges' province, and so returned them back to Connecticut, to be considered upon against the spring, for winter was now approaching, and there could be no meeting before, etc.²

The sudden fall of land and cattle, and the scarcity of foreign commodities, and money, etc, with the thin access of people from England, put many into an unsettled frame of spirit, so as they concluded there would be no subsisting here, and accordingly they began to hasten away, some to the West Indies, others to the Dutch, at Long Island, etc., (for the governour there invited them by fair offers,) and others back for England. Among others who returned thither, there was one of the magistrates, Mr. Humfrey, and four ministers, and a schoolmaster. These would needs go against all advice, and had a fair and speedy voyage, till they came near England, all which time, three of the ministers, with the schoolmaster, spake reproachfully of the people and of the country, but the wind coming up against them, they were tossed up and down, (being in rober,) ³ so long till their provisions and other necessaries were near spent, and they were forced to strait allowance, yet at length the wind coming fair again, they got into the Sleeve, but then there arose so great a tempest at S.E. as they could bear no sail, and so were out of hope of being saved (being in the night also). Then they humbled themselves before the Lord, and acknowledged God's hand to be justly out against them for speaking evil of this good land and the Lord's people here, etc.

1. The first engagement of the civil wars was not fought until October, but all the signs were ominous at this time, and news from England was eagerly anticipated with every ship.

2. This was the first step toward what would be ratified the next year as the New England Confederation, a combination that retained the independence of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, New Haven, and Connecticut but provided for management of the common defense, legal disputes, and foreign relations.

3. December (for Winthrop the first month of the year was March).

☞ *Phaenomena quaedam Apocalypticæ*
Some Few Lines towards a Description of the
New Heaven

Not to begin to be, and so not to be limited by the concernments of time and place, is the prerogative of God alone. But as it is the privilege of creatures that God has given them a beginning, so to deny their actions or them the respect they bear to place and successive duration is, under a pretense of promotion, to take away their very being. Yet notwithstanding, some things have had this to glory of: that they have been time out of mind, and their continuance refuses to be measured by the memory of man. Whereas New England and Boston of the Massachusetts have this to make mention of—that they can tell their age, and account it their honor to have their birth and parentage kept in everlasting remembrance. And in very deed, the families and churches which first ventured to follow Christ through the Atlantic Ocean into a strange land full of wild men were so religious, their end so holy, their self-denial in pursuing of it so extraordinary, that I can't but hope that the plantation has thereby gained a very strong crisis,¹ and that it will not be one, or two, or three centuries only, but by the grace of God it will be very long lasting. Some who peremptorily conclude that Asia must afford situation for New Jerusalem, are of the mind [that] when that divine city comes to be built, the commodities of it will be so inviting as will drain disconsolate America of all its Christian inhabitants, as not able to brook so remote a distance from the beloved city. But if Asia should be again thus highly favored, and the eldest daughter be still made the darling, yet 'tis known there will be a river, the streams whereof shall make glad the city of God (Psalms 46:4). The correspondence and commerce of the little cities and villages in the three kingdoms² and plantations do make London glad. And so it will be with New Jerusalem: *The nations of them which are saved, shall walk in the light of it: and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honor into it* (Revelation 21:24) . . .

As long as Plum Island shall faithfully keep the commanded post, notwithstanding all the hectoring words and hard blows of the proud and boisterous ocean; as long as any salmon or sturgeon shall swim in the streams of Merrimack; or any perch or pickerel in Crane Pond; as long as the sea-fowl shall know the time of their coming, and not neglect

seasonably to visit the places of their acquaintance; as long as any cattle shall be fed with the grass growing in the meadows, which do humbly bow down themselves before Turkey Hill; as long as any sheep shall walk upon Old Town Hills, and shall from thence pleasantly look down upon the River Parker, and the fruitful marshes lying beneath; as long as any free and harmless doves shall find a white oak or other tree within the township, to perch, or feed, or build a careless nest upon, and shall voluntarily present themselves to perform the office of gleaners after barley harvest; as long as nature shall not grow old and dote,³ but shall constantly remember to give the rows of Indian corn their education, by pairs: So long shall Christians be born there; and being first made meet, shall from thence be translated, to be made partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light.

3. Senile.

1. Bodily constitution.

2. That is, England, Scotland, Ireland.

John Norton

☞ Magnalia Christi Americana (1693-1702)

A General Introduction

Dicam hoc propter utilitatem eorum qui Lecturi sunt hoc opus.¹
Theodoret

1. I WRITE the Wonders of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION, flying from the Depravations of Europe, to the American Strand. And, assisted by the Holy Author of that Religion, I do, with all Conscience of Truth, required therein by Him, who is the Truth itself, Report the Wonderful Displays of His Infinite Power, Wisdom, Goodness, and Faithfulness, wherewith His Divine Providence hath Irradiated an Indian Wilderness.

I Relate the Considerable Matters, that produced and attended the First Settlement of COLONIES, which have been Renowned for the Degree of REFORMATION, Professed and Attained by Evangelical Churches, erected in those Ends of the Earth: And a Field being thus prepared, I proceed unto a Relation of the Considerable Matters which have been acted thereupon.

1. Thus I say for the good of those who shall read the book.

I first introduce the Actors, that have, in a more exemplary manner served those Colonies; and give Remarkable Occurrences, in the exemplary LIVES of many Magistrates, and of more Ministers, who so Lived, as to leave unto Posterity, Examples worthy of Everlasting Remembrance. I add hereunto, the Notables of the only Protestant University, that ever shone in that Hemisphere of the New World: with particular Instances of Criolians,² in our Biography, provoking the whole World, with virtuous Objects of Emulation.

I introduce then, the Actions of a more eminent Importance, that have signalized those Colonies; Whether the Establishments, directed by their Synods; with a Rich Variety of Synodical and Ecclesiastical Determinations; or, the Disturbances, with which they have been from all sorts of Temptations and Enemies Tempestuated; and the Methods by which they have still weathered out each Horrible Tempest.

And into the midst of these Actions, I interpose an entire Book, wherein there is, with all possible Veracity, a Collection made, of Memorable Occurrences, and amazing Judgments and Mercies, befalling many particular Persons among the People of New-England.

Let my Readers expect all that I have promised them, in this Bill of Fare; and it may be they will find themselves entertained with yet many other Passages, above and beyond their Expectation, deserving likewise a room in History: In all which, there will be nothing, but the Author's too mean way of preparing so great Entertainments, to Reproach the Invitation . . .

3. It is the History of these PROTESTANTS, that is here attempted: PROTESTANTS that highly honoured and affected *The Church of ENGLAND*, and humbly Petition to be a Part of it: But by the Mistake of a few powerful Brethren, driven to seek a place for the Exercise of the Protestant Religion, according to the Light of their Consciences, in the Desarts of America. And in this Attempt I have proposed, not only to preserve and secure the Interest of Religion, in the Churches of that little Country NEW-ENGLAND, so far as the Lord Jesus Christ may please to Bless it for that End, but also to offer unto the Churches of the Reformation, abroad in the World, some small Memorials, that may be serviceable unto the Designs of Reformation, whereto, I believe, they are quickly to be awakened . . . Tho' the Reformed Churches in the American Regions, have, by very Injurious Representations of their Brethren (all which they desire to Forget and Forgive!) been many times thrown into a Dung-Cart; yet, as they have been a precious Odour to God in Christ, so, I hope, they will be a precious Odour unto His People; and

2. Persons born in America to parents born in Europe.

not only *Precious*, but *Useful* also, when the *History* of them shall come to be considered. A *Reformation of the Church* is coming on, and I cannot but thereupon say, with the dying *Cyrus* to his Children in *Xenophon* . . . *Learn from the things that have been done already, for this is the best way of Learning.* The Reader hath here an Account of *The Things that have been done already.* *Bernard* upon that Clause in the *Canticles*, [O thou fairest among Women] has this ingenious Gloss, *Pulchrum, non omnimodo quidem, sed pulchram inter mulieres cam dicit, videlicet cum Distinctione, quatenus et ex hoc amplius reprimatur, & sciat quid desit sibi.*³ Thus I do not say, That the Churches of *New-England* are the most *Regular* that can be; yet I do say, and am sure, That they are very like unto those that were in the *First Ages* of Christianity. And if I assert, That in the *Reformation* of the Church, the State of it in those *First Ages*, is to be not a little considered, the Great *Peter Ramus*⁴ among others, has emboldened me . . . In short, The *First Age* was the *Golden Age*: To return unto *That*, will make a Man a *Protestant*, and I may add, a *Puritan*. 'Tis possible, That our Lord Jesus Christ carried some Thousands of *Reformers* into the Retirements of an *American Desert*, on purpose, that, with an opportunity granted unto many of his Faithful Servants, to enjoy the precious *Liberty* of their *Ministry*, tho' in the midst of many *Temptations* all their days, He might there, To them first, and then *By* them, give a *Specimen* of many Good Things, which He would have His Churches elsewhere aspire and arise unto: And *This* being done, He knows whether there be not *All done*, that *New-England* was planted for; and whether the Plantation may not, soon after this, *Come to Nothing*. Upon that Expression in the Sacred Scripture, *Cast the unprofitable Servant into Outer Darkness*, it hath been imagined by some, That the *Regiones Exteræ of America*, are the *Tenebræ Exteriores*,⁵ which the *Unprofitable* are there condemned unto. No doubt, the Authors of those Ecclesiastical Impositions and Severities, which drove the English Christians into the *Dark Regions of America*, esteemed those *Christians* to be a very *unprofitable* sort of Creatures. But behold, ye *European Churches*, There are *Golden Candlesticks* [more than twice *Seven times Seven*]⁶ in the midst of this *Outer Darkness*: Unto the *upright Children of Abraham*, here hath arisen *Light in Darkness*. And let us humbly speak it, it shall be *Profitable* for you to consider the *Light*, which from the midst of this *Outer Darkness*, is now to be Darted over unto the other side of the *Atlantick Ocean*. But we must therewithal ask your Prayers, that these *Golden Candlesticks* may not *quickly* be *Removed out of their place!*

4. But whether *New England* may *Live* any where else or no, it must *Live* in our *History!* . . .

3. She is beautiful, he says, not absolutely, but among women—a distinction that qualifies his praise and tells her what she lacks.

4. A French Protestant philosopher who died in the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre of 1570. The Ramean logic attempted to break down the Aristotelian categories into a series of simple dialectic oppositions by which all experience can be mapped out in reflection of God's intentions.

5. Outer regions.

6. See Revelation 1:12; 2:5.

landed about a league or two from them,⁶⁵ and had much ado to put ashore anywhere—it lay so full of flats. Being landed, it grew late and they made themselves a barricado with logs and boughs as well as they could in the time, and set out their sentinel and betook them to rest, and saw the smoke of the fire the savages made that night. When morning was come they divided their company, some to coast along the shore in the boat, and the rest marched through the woods to see the land, if any fit place might be for their dwelling. They came also to the place where they saw the Indians the night before, and found they had been cutting up a great fish like a grampus,⁶⁶ being some two inches thick of fat like a hog, some pieces whereof they had left by the way. And the shallop found two more of these fishes dead on the sands, a thing usual after storms in that place, by reason of the great flats of sand that lie off.

So they ranged up and down all that day, but found no people, nor any place they liked. When the sun grew low, they hasted out of the woods to meet with their shallop, to whom they made signs to come to them into a creek hard by,⁶⁷ the which they did at high water; of which they were very glad, for they had not seen each other all that day since the morning. So they made them a barricado as usually they did every night, with logs, stakes and thick pine boughs, the height of a man, leaving it open to leeward, partly to shelter them from the cold and wind (making their fire in the middle and lying round about it) and partly to defend them from any sudden assaults of the savages, if they should surround them; so being very weary, they betook them to rest. But about midnight they heard a hideous and great cry, and their sentinel called "Arni! arni!" So they bestirred them and stood to their arms and shot off a couple of muskets, and then the noise ceased. They concluded it was a company of wolves or such like wild beasts, for one of the seamen told them he had often heard such a noise in Newfoundland.

So they rested till about five of the clock in the morning, for the tide, and their purpose to go from thence, made them be stirring betimes. So after prayer they prepared for breakfast, and it being day dawning it was thought best to be carrying things down to the boat. But some said it was not best to carry the arms down, others said they would be the readier, for they had lapped them up in their coats from the dew; but some three or four would not carry theirs till they went themselves. Yet as it fell out, the water being not high enough, they laid them down on the bank side and came up to breakfast.

But presently, all on the sudden, they heard a great and strange cry, which they knew to be the same voices they heard in the night, though they varied their notes; and one of their company being abroad came running in and cried, "Men, Indians! Indians!" And withal, their arrows came flying amongst them. Their men ran with all speed to recover their arms, as by the good providence of God they did. In the meantime, of those that were there ready, two muskets were discharged at them, and two more stood ready in the entrance of their rendezvous but were commanded

65. Somewhere in the present Eastham, at one of the several beaches (Kingsbury, Campground, Silver Spring), north of the Great Pond. The tide along this shore runs out very far. The barricade where they passed the night was (according to H. M. Dexter's researches) a few hundred yards northwest of the Great Pond.

66. This was probably one of the blackfish (*Globicephala melana*) that frequently get stranded on Cape Cod.

67. The mouth of Herring River, in the present Eastham. The beach north of the river mouth, where the action about to be described took place, is still called First Encounter Beach.

not to shoot till they could take full aim at them. And the other two charged again with all speed, for there were only four had arms there, and defended the barricado, which was first assaulted. The cry of the Indians was dreadful, especially when they saw their men run out of the rendezvous toward the shallop to recover their arms, the Indians wheeling about upon them. But some running out with coats of mail on, and cutlasses in their hands, they soon got their arms and let fly amongst them and quickly stopped their violence. Yet there was a lusty man, and no less valiant, stood behind a tree within half a musket shot, and let his arrows fly at them; he was seen [to] shoot three arrows, which were all avoided. He stood three shots of a musket, till one taking full aim at him and made the bark or splinters of the tree fly about his ears, after which he gave an extraordinary shriek and away they went, all of them. They⁶⁸ left some to keep the shallop and followed them about a quarter of a mile and shouted once or twice, and shot off two or three pieces, and so returned. This they did that they might conceive that they were not afraid of them or any way discouraged.

Thus it pleased God to vanquish their enemies and give them deliverance; and by His special providence so to dispose that not any one of them were either hurt or hit, though their arrows came close by them and on every side [of] them; and sundry of their coats, which hung up in the barricado, were shot through and through. Afterwards they gave God solemn thanks and praise for their deliverance, and gathered up a bundle of their arrows and sent them into England afterward by the master of the ship, and called that place the First Encounter.

From hence they departed and coasted all along but discerned no place likely for harbor; and therefore hasted to a place that their pilot (one Mr. Coppin who had been in the country before) did assure them was a good harbor, which he had been in, and they might fetch it before night; of which they were glad for it began to be foul weather.

After some hours' sailing it began to snow and rain, and about the middle of the afternoon the wind increased and the sea became very rough, and they broke their rudder, and it was as much as two men could do to steer her with a couple of oars. But their pilot bade them be of good cheer for he saw the harbor; but the storm increasing, and night drawing on, they bore what sail they could to get in, while they could see. But herewith they broke their mast in three pieces and their sail fell overboard in a very grown sea, so as they had like to have been cast away. Yet by God's mercy they recovered themselves, and having the flood⁶⁹ with them, struck into the

68. I.e., the English.

69. I.e., the flood tide. The mean rise and fall of tide there is about 9 ft. Plymouth Bay, even today when well buoyed, is a bad place to enter in thick weather with a sea running and night coming on. For if you do not steer for the Gunnet, the high point that marks the northern entrance to Plymouth Bay, you run afoul of Browns Bank, which breaks all over in heavy weather or at low tide; in 1620 a part of this bank was dry at all tides. Coppin, I believe, mistook the Gunnet for Saquish Head; and Saquish for Goose Point; steering between them so as to enter the harbor, he was unnerved by seeing the breakers in Saquish Cove. Mr. Gershon Bradford, late of the U.S. Hydrographic Survey, has a different interpretation: that the storm blew from the NE, not the SE, that the shallop clung to the shoreline and worked through the boat channel between Browns Bank and Long Beach, and that the cove full of breakers was Warrens Cove east of Long Beach. In either case, it is clear that the rowers, encouraged by the "lusty seaman" at the steering oar, managed to weather Saquish Head, behind which they found shelter and good anchorage late in the night of Friday 8 Dec. 1620. They spent Saturday and Sunday 9 and 10 Dec. on Clarks Island, and made the famous "landing" on the 11th.

harbor. But when it came to, the pilot was deceived in the place, and said the Lord be merciful unto them for his eyes never saw that place before; and he and the master's mate would have run her ashore in a cove full of breakers before the wind. But a lusty seaman which steered bade those which rowed, if they were men, about with her or else they were all cast away; the which they did with speed. So he bid them be of good cheer and row lustily, for there was a fair sound before them, and he doubted not but they should find one place or other where they might ride in safety. And though it was very dark and rained sore, yet in the end they got under the lee of a small island and remained there all that night in safety. But they knew not this to be an island till morning, but were divided in their minds; some would keep the boat for fear they might be amongst the Indians, others were so wet and cold they could not endure but got ashore, and with much ado got fire (all things being so wet); and the rest were glad to come to them, for after midnight the wind shifted to the northwest and it froze hard.

But though this had been a day and night of much trouble and danger unto them, yet God gave them a morning of comfort and refreshing (as usually He doth to His children) for the next day was a fair, sunshining day, and they found themselves to be on an island secure from the Indians, where they might dry their stuff, fix their pieces and rest themselves; and gave God thanks for His mercies in their manifold deliverances. And this being the last day of the week, they prepared there to keep the Sabbath.

On Monday they sounded the harbor and found it fit for shipping, and marched into the land and found divers cornfields and little running brooks, a place (as they supposed) fit for situation.⁷⁰ At least it was the best they could find, and the season and their present necessity made them glad to accept of it. So they returned to their ship again with this news to the rest of their people, which did much comfort their hearts.

On the 15th of December they weighed anchor to go to the place they had discovered, and came within two leagues of it, but were fain to bear up again; but the 16th day, the wind came fair, and they arrived safe in this harbor. And afterwards took better view of the place, and resolved where to pitch their dwelling; and the 25th day began to erect the first house for common use to receive them and their goods.⁷¹

70. Here is the only contemporary authority for the "Landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock" on Monday, 11/21 Dec. 1620. It is clear that the landing took place from the shallow, not the *Mayflower*, which was then moored in Provincetown Harbor; that no women were involved in it, and no Indians or anyone else were on the receiving end. Nor is it clear that they landed on the large boulder since called Plymouth Rock. That boulder was identified in 1741 by Elder John Faunce, aged 95, as the "place where the forefathers landed," and although he probably only meant to say that they used it as a landing place, for it would have been very convenient for that purpose at half tide, everyone seems to have assumed that they "first" landed there. The exploring party may have landed anywhere between Captain's Hill and the Rock.

71. *Mourt's Relation*, p. 23 says that after the *Mayflower's* arrival in Plymouth Bay on 16/26 Dec. the men explored the bay again and debated whether to settle at Plymouth, the mouth of Jones River (the present Kingston) or on Clark's Island. They decided on the first because much of the land was already cleared and a fort on the hill—now Burial Hill—could command the surrounding country; and because "a very sweet brook"—the Town Brook—"runs under the hillside."