



6571

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 1833 01188 6352

Henry Deussen

2 Braid Crescent,

Schu.burgh 23<sup>rd</sup> May 1901



*The "May Flower" at Cape Cod*

William Collins, Glasgow & London

THE PILGRIM FATHERS: <sup>c</sup>

OR,

THE JOURNAL OF THE PILGRIMS

AT PLYMOUTH, NEW ENGLAND, IN 1620.

WITH

HISTORICAL AND LOCAL ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

PRINCIPLES, PROVIDENCES, AND PERSONS.

BY

GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D.D.

Author of 'Wanderings of a Pilgrim in the Shadow of Mont Blanc and the Jungfrau Alp,'  
'Lectures on the Pilgrim's Progress, and on the Life and Times of John Bunyan,' etc.

*Moult's Restoration*

PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM COLLINS,  
NORTH MONTROSE STREET, GLASGOW,  
AND PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.

---

**GLASGOW :**  
**WILLIAM COLLINS AND CO., PRINTERS.**

---

Regional - \$5.00  
11/12/64

1288711  
CONTENTS.

JOURNAL OF THE PILGRIMS.

	Page
To the Reader, . . . . .	7
Dedication, . . . . .	9
Preliminary Relation, . . . . .	10
Journal, . . . . .	15
The Journey to Packanokik, . . . . .	48
The Expedition to Nauset, (Eastham,) for the Lost Boy, . . . . .	57
The Expedition to Namaschet, or Middle-Borough, . . . . .	62
Expedition to the Massachusetts, . . . . .	67
Appendix, . . . . .	71

HISTORICAL AND LOCAL ILLUSTRATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

Principles, Providences, Persons.—The Colony of Principle, and the Colony of Gain, . . . . .	97
--	----

CHAPTER II.

The Virginia Company and the Merchant Adventurers, . . . . .	102
--	-----

CHAPTER III.

The Merchant Adventurers.—Articles of Agreement for the Transportation of the Pilgrims—otherwise the Copartnership.—End of the Company, . . . . .	107
---	-----

CHAPTER IV.

The Pilgrim Church in England, and the first Church Compact, . . . . .	116
--	-----

CHAPTER V.

Comparison of God's preparatory Providences.—The Plague among the Savages.—Squanto, and the Pilgrim's Welcome, . . . . .	121
--	-----

CHAPTER VI.

The Pilgrim Church at Leyden, and the Pastor Robinson.—The Vine brought out of Egypt, but not yet planted in the Wilderness, . . . . .	127
--	-----

CHAPTER VII.

The first New England Church and their Elder, William Brewster.—The Vine brought out and planted, . . . . .	140
---	-----

CHAPTER VIII.

Congregational Constitution of the Pilgrim Church.—Correspondence of Brewster and Robinson with the Council in England as to their Principles.—Comparison of Congregationalism and Hierarchism, . . . . .	158
---	-----

CHAPTER IX.

The first Civil Compact.—Toleration, Connivance, Liberty of Conscience.—Foundations of the State.—Repetition of the free Covenants, . . . . .	166
---	-----

## CHAPTER X.

- The first Settlement, following the first Compact.—Discovery of Plymouth.—The Harbour, the Localities, the Associations.—Plymouth Rock, and the beauty of the high-tide scenery, . . . 173

## CHAPTER XI.

- Instructive Discipline of the Pilgrim Church at Amsterdam.—Original Order and Beauty of the Churches there.—Evils of Dissension, and of Minute Legislation.—The forbearing and kindly spirit of the Pilgrim Church, . . . 180

## CHAPTER XII.

- The Life, Character, and Administration of Governor Bradford, . . . 186

## CHAPTER XIII.

- The first New England Sabbath, . . . 203

## CHAPTER XIV.

- The first New England Meeting-House, . . . 212

## CHAPTER XV.

- The first Deaths and Burials, . . . 220

## CHAPTER XVI.

- The first Fast Day and Thanksgiving, . . . 231

## CHAPTER XVII.

- The first New England Council, Church Organization, and Ordination, . . . 243

## CHAPTER XVIII.

- The first attempt at Schism.—Recalcitration of the Establishment, 252

## CHAPTER XIX.

- Slanders against the Colony.—Laud's High Commission to overturn its Church and Government.—The case of Mr. Winslow's Imprisonment.—The case of Mr. Endicott and the Red Royal Ensign, 260

## CHAPTER XX.

- The first Imposition of a Minister, and the Character and end of the Man and the Effort.—Conspiracy of Lyford and Oldham.—Energy and Prudence of the Governor, . . . 269

## CHAPTER XXI.

- The first Civil Offence and Punishment.—Mildness, Forbearance, Self-respect, and Kindness of the Pilgrims.—The first Murderer and his end.—Their views of Capital Punishment for Murder.—The Greatness and Wisdom of their Legal Reforms, . . . 276

## CHAPTER XXII.

- The first Town Meeting.—Providential Discipline and Development of Freedom, . . . 283

## CHAPTER XXIII.

- Governor Bradford's Letter Book, . . . 289

## CHAPTER XXIV.

- The Antiquities of Plymouth.—The Houses and Armour of the Pilgrims.—Description of their Mode of Public Worship, . . . 300

A RELATION OR JOURNAL

OF THE BEGINNING AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE

ENGLISH PLANTATION SETTLED AT PLYMOUTH,

NEW ENGLAND,

BY CERTAIN ENGLISH ADVENTURERS, BOTH MERCHANTS  
AND OTHERS.



## TO THE READER.

---

COURTEOUS READER, be entreated to make a favourable construction of my forwardness, in publishing these ensuing discourses. The desire of carrying the Gospel of Christ into those foreign parts, amongst those people that as yet have had no knowledge nor taste of God, as also to procure unto themselves and others a quiet and comfortable habitation, were amongst other things the inducements unto these undertakers of the then hopeful, and now experimentally known good enterprise for plantation, in New England, to set afoot and prosecute the same: and though it fared with them, as it is common to the most actions of this nature, that the first attempts prove difficult, as the sequel more at large expresseth, yet it hath pleased God, even beyond our expectation in so short a time, to give hope of letting some of them see (though some he hath taken out of this vale of tears) some grounds of hope of the accomplishment of both these ends by them at first propounded.

And as myself then much desired, and shortly hope to effect, if the Lord will, the putting to of my shoulder in this hopeful business, and in the mean time, these relations coming to my hand from my both known and faithful friends, on whose writings I do much rely, I thought it not amiss to make them more general, hoping of a cheerful proceeding, both of adventurers and planters, entreating that the example of the Honourable Virginia and Bermudas Companies, encountering with so many disasters, and that for divers years together, with an unwearied resolution, the good effects whereof are now eminent, may prevail as a spur of preparation also touching this no less hopeful country though yet an infant, the extent and commodi-

ties whereof, are as yet not fully known; after time will unfold more. Such as desire to take knowledge of things, may inform themselves by this ensuing treatise, and if they please also by such as have been there a first and second time. My hearty prayer to God is, that the event of this and all other honourable and honest undertakings, may be for the furtherance of the kingdom of Christ, the enlarging of the bounds of our sovereign lord, king James, and the good and profit of those who, either by purse or person or both, are agents in the same: so I take leave, and rest,

THY FRIEND,

G. MOURT.

TO HIS MUCH RESPECTED FRIEND, MR. J. P.

---

GOOD FRIEND,—As we cannot but account it an extraordinary blessing of God in directing our course for these parts, after we came out of our native country, for that we had the happiness to be possessed of the comforts we receive by the benefit of one of the most pleasant, most healthful, and most fruitful parts of the world. So must we acknowledge the same blessing to be multiplied upon our whole company, for that we obtained the honour to receive allowance and approbation of our free possession, and enjoying thereof under the authority of those thrice honoured persons, the President and Council for the affairs of New England, by whose bounty and grace, in that behalf, all of us are tied to dedicate our best service unto them, as those under his Majesty, that we owe it unto; whose noble endeavours in these their actions the God of heaven and earth multiply to his glory and their own eternal comforts.

As for this poor relation, I pray you accept it as being writ by the several actors themselves, after their plain and rude manner. Therefore doubt nothing of the truth thereof; if it be defective in any thing, it is their ignorance, that are better acquainted with planting than writing. If it satisfy those that are well affected to the business, it is all I care for. Sure I am the place we are in, and the hopes that are apparent, cannot but suffice any that will not desire more than enough, neither is there want of ought among us, but company to enjoy the blessings so plentifully bestowed upon the inhabitants that are here. While I was a writing this, I had almost forgot, that I had but the recommendation of the relation itself, to your further consideration, and therefore I will end without saying more, save that I shall always rest,

Yours in the way of friendship,

R. G.

*From Plymouth in New England.*

## THE BEGINNINGS OF THE PILGRIMAGE, PRELIMINARY TO THE JOURNAL.

---

THE abrupt commencement of the Journal of the Pilgrims, at the date of their last parting from Plymouth in England, will be best introduced by the simple extract from Governor Bradford, given by Mr. Prince, commencing with the departure of the Pilgrims from Leyden. From that day to the date of their arrival in Cape Cod harbour, the time was 108 days. From August 5th, the date of their first setting sail from Southampton in England, to Nov. 10th, the date of their anchorage in Cape Cod harbour, 98 days, which in truth was the length of their voyage across the Atlantic; but from their last setting sail, after being compelled to put back to Plymouth, Sept. 6th, at which day the Journal of the Pilgrims commences, the voyage occupies 66 days, from port to port.

It was a boisterous passage; their first experience of the equinoctial storms between England and America, of which no record remains, save in the few lines from Governor Bradford, under date of September 6th. They were in great peril, obliged to beat about for days, unable, through the violence of the gale, to carry a single sail. We should have been glad of some record of those days and nights of anxiety and prayer, in which they were sometimes in such serious question of the possibility of the ship enduring, as to ask whether they ought not again to put back to England. Thus their various delays, under Divine Providence, threw them upon our coast on the verge of winter, which, had it not been by the same Divine Providence, unusually mild and open, must have destroyed them utterly. Their experience was to be an illustration of God's discipline in all great enterprises, life out of death. "The Lord hath chastened me sore, but he hath not given me over unto death. Thou, which hast showed me great and sore

troubles, shalt quicken me again, and shalt bring me up again from the depths of the earth. Thou shalt increase my greatness, and comfort me on every side."

The extract from Governor Bradford is entitled by Mr. Prince, *The Voyage of the English people at Leyden, for Virginia.*

"About July 21st, the English voyagers at Leyden leave that city, where they had lived near twelve years, being accompanied by most of their brethren to Delph-haven, where their ship lay ready, and sundry came from Amsterdam to see them shipped and take their leave. They spend that night in friendly entertaining and Christian converse, and July 22nd, the wind being fair, they go aboard, their friends attending them. At their parting, Mr. Robinson falling down on his knees, and they all 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 from London, Mr. Jones, master, with the rest of the company, who had been waiting there with Mr. Cushman seven days. Seven hundred pounds sterling are laid out at Southampton, and they carry about seventeen hundred pounds' venture with them. And Mr. Weston comes thither from London, to see them dispatched.

"July 27th, Mr. Robinson writes to Mr. Carver and 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. 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.

"August 5th, they sail from Southampton, but reach not far, before Mr. Reinolds, master of the lesser ship, complained she was so leaky, that he dare proceed no further. Upon which they both put in to Dartmouth, about August 13th, when they search and mend her, to their great charge and loss of time, and a fair wind; though, had they staid at sea but three or four hours more, she had sunk right down.

"About August 21st they set sail again; but having gone above a hundred leagues from the land's end of England, Mr. Reinolds complained of her leaking again, that they must either

return or sink, for they could scarce free her by pumping. Upon which they both put back to Plymouth, where, finding no defect, they judge her leakiness owing to her general weakness. They therefore agree to dismiss her, and those who are willing, to return to London, though this was very grievous and discouraging; Mr. Cushman and family returning with them. The rest, taking what provision they could well stow in the larger ship, resolve to proceed on the voyage alone.

“Sept. 6th, they make another sad parting, and the greater ship sets sail again; 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 wreck a main beam in the midship, which puts them in such fear, as the chief of the company enters into a serious consultation with the ship officers about returning. But a passenger having brought a great iron screw from Holland, they with it raise the beam into its place, and then, committing themselves to the Divine Will, proceed.

“Nov. 6th, dies at sea, William Butten, a youth and servant to Samuel Fuller, being the only passenger who dies on the voyage.

“Nov. 9th, at break of day 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 the day, they fall among roaring shoals and breakers, and are so entangled with them, as they find themselves in great hazard, and the wind shrinking upon them at the same time, they bear up for the Cape, get out of those dangers before night, and the next day into the Cape harbour, where they ride in safety.

“Nov. 11th, Saturday, being thus arrived, they first fall on their knees and bless the God of heaven. 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, as the basis of their government in this new-found country, choose Mr. John Carver, a pious and well approved gentleman, their governor for the first year, and then set ashore fifteen or sixteen men, well armed, to fetch wood and discover the land.”

Thus far Governor Bradford in Prince's Chronology. This trenches a little upon the beginning of the Journal of the Pilgrims, but with some additional circumstances; and by it we learn that the river which they were in search of, expecting to find it in a day or so of sail from Cape Cod, was the Hudson, that being near the limits of the jurisdiction of the Virginia Company. Had they found that, perhaps New York and New Jersey might have been the New England of America. But God ordered otherwise. Had they found that, they would not probably have entered into the great compact on board the Mayflower, which, whatever may have been their original intention or foresight, constituted them a self-governing republic, although named "The loyal subjects of our dread sovereign lord, King James."

At the bottom of that compact, the names of the signers are not given in the Journal, but they are all known. "Their names corrected," Mr. Prince says, "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 modesty he omits the title of Mr. to his own name, which he ascribes to several others."

The list follows, with the number of persons in their several families set opposite their names. One individual died on the passage, and one was born, whom they named Oceanus. The names in *italics*, indicate those who died before the end of March, 1621.

Mr. JOHN CARVER, . . . . . 8	JOHN HOWLAND, . . . . . *
WILLIAM BRADFORD, . . . . . 2	Mr. STEPHEN HOPKINS, . . . . . 8
Mr. EDWARD WINSLOW, . . . . . 5	<i>Edward Tilly</i> , . . . . . 4
Mr. WILLIAM BREWSTER, . . . . . 6	<i>John Tilly</i> , . . . . . 3
Mr. ISAAC ALLERTON, . . . . . 6	FRANCIS COOK, . . . . . 2
Capt. MILES STANDISH, . . . . . 2	<i>Thomas Rogers</i> , . . . . . 2
JOHN ALDEN, . . . . . 1	<i>Thomas Tinker</i> , . . . . . 3
Mr. SAMUEL FULLER, . . . . . 2	<i>John Ridgdale</i> , . . . . . 2
<i>Mr. Christopher Martin</i> , . . . . . 4	<i>Edward Fuller</i> , . . . . . 3
<i>Mr. William Mullins</i> , . . . . . 5	<i>John Turner</i> , . . . . . 3
<i>Mr. William White</i> , . . . . . 5	FRANCIS EATON, . . . . . 3
Mr. RICHARD WARREN, . . . . . 1	<i>James Chilton</i> , . . . . . 3

\* Howland was of Governor Carver's family.

<i>John Crackston</i> , . . . . . 2	<i>Richard Britteridge</i> , . . . . . 1
JOHN BILLINGTON, . . . . . 4	GEORGE SOULE, . . . . . *
<i>Moses Fletcher</i> , . . . . . 1	<i>Richard Clarke</i> , . . . . . 1
<i>John Goodman</i> , . . . . . 1	RICHARD GARDINER, . . . . . 1
<i>Degory Priest</i> , . . . . . 1	<i>John Allerton</i> , . . . . . 1
<i>Thomas Williams</i> , . . . . . 1	<i>Thomas English</i> , . . . . . 1
GILBERT WINSLOW, . . . . . 1	EDWARD DOTEY, . . . . . *
<i>Edmund Margeson</i> , . . . . . 1	EDWARD LEISTER, . . . . . *
PETER BROWN, . . . . . 1	

The signers of the compact are in all forty-one, and with their families constituted one hundred and one persons. "So there were just 101," remarks Mr. Prince, "who sailed from Plymouth in England, 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 pleasant and native land, and encountered all the toils and hazards of a 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."

\* Soule was of Governor Winslow's family. Dotey and Leister were of Mr. Hopkins' family servants.



# A RELATION OR JOURNAL

OF THE

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE PLANTATION SETTLED AT PLYMOUTH, IN NEW ENGLAND.

---

**W**EDNESDAY, 6th September, the wind coming E.N.E., a fine small gale, we loosed from Plymouth, having been kindly entertained and courteously used by divers friends there dwelling; and, after many difficulties in boisterous storms, at length, by God's providence, upon the 9th November following, by break of the day we espied land, which we deemed to be Cape Cod; and so afterward it proved. And the appearance of it much comforted us, especially seeing so goodly a land, and wooded to the brink of the sea; it caused us to rejoice together, and praise God that had given us once again to see land. And thus we made our course S.S.W., purposing to go to a river ten leagues to the south of the Cape; but at night, the wind being contrary, we put round again for the bay of Cape Cod; and upon the 11th November we came to an anchor in the bay, which is a good harbour and pleasant bay, circled round, except in the entrance, which is about four miles over from land to land, compassed about to the very sea with oaks, pines, juniper, sassafras, and other sweet wood. It is a harbour wherein a thousand sail of ships may safely ride. There we relieved ourselves with wood and water, and refreshed our people, while our shallop was fitted to coast the bay, to search for an habitation. There was the greatest store of fowl that ever we saw.

And every day we saw whales playing hard by us, of which, in that place, if we had instruments and means to take them, we might have made a very rich return, which, to our great

grief, we wanted. Our master and his mate, and others experienced in fishing, professed we might have made three or four thousand pounds worth of oil. They preferred it before Greenland whale-fishing, and purpose the next winter to fish for whale here. For Cod we assayed, but found none; there is good store, no doubt, in their season. Neither got we any fish all the time we lay there, but some few little ones on the shore. We found great mussels, and very fat and full of sea-pearl; but we could not eat them, for they made us all sick that did eat, as well sailors as passengers. They caused to cast and scour, but they were soon well again. The bay is so round and circling, that before we could come to anchor we went round all the points of the compass. We could not come near the shore by three quarters of an English mile, because of shallow water, which was a great prejudice to us; for our people, going on shore were forced to wade a bow-shot or two in going aland; which caused many to get colds and coughs, for it was many times freezing cold weather.

This day, before we came to harbour, observing some not well affected to unity and concord, but gave some appearance of faction, it was thought good there should be an association and agreement, that we should combine together in one body, and to submit to such government and governors as we should by common consent agree to make and choose, and set our hands to this that follows, word for word.

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, etc.

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, constitutions, offices, 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. Cape Cod, 11th November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign lord, King JAMES, of England, France, and Ireland, 18, and of Scotland, 54. *Anno Domino*, 1620.

The same day, so soon as we could, we set ashore fifteen or sixteen men, well armed, with some to fetch wood, for we had none left; as also to see what the land was, and what inhabitants they could meet with. They found it to be a small neck of land; on this side where we lay is the bay, and the further side the sea; the ground or earth, sand hills, much like the Downs in Holland, but much better; the crust of the earth a spit's depth, excellent black earth, all wooded with oaks, pines, sassafras, juniper, birch, holly, vines, some ash, walnut; the wood for the most part open and without under-wood, fit either to go or ride in. At night our people returned, but found not any person nor habitation, and laded their boat with juniper, which smelled very sweet and strong, and of which we burned the most part of the time we lay there.

Monday, 13th November, we unshipped our shallop and drew her on land to mend and repair her, having been forced to cut her down in bestowing her betwixt the decks, and she was much opened with the people lying in her, which kept us long there, for it was sixteen or seventeen days before the carpenter had finished her. Our people went on shore to refresh themselves, and our women to wash, as they had great need. But whilst we lay thus still, hoping our shallop would be ready in five or six days at the furthest, but our carpenter made slow work of it; so that some of our people, impatient of delay, desired for our better furtherance to travel by land into the country, which was not without appearance of danger, not having the shallop with them, nor means to carry provision but on their backs; to see whether it might be fit for us to sit in or no, and the rather because as we sailed into the harbour there seemed to be a river opening itself into the mainland. The willingness of the persons was liked, but the thing itself, in regard of the danger, was rather permitted than approved; and so with cautions, directions, and instructions, sixteen men were set out, with every man his musket, sword, and corslet, under the conduct of Captain Miles Standish, unto whom was adjoined,

for counsel and advice, William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Tilley.

Wednesday, 15th November, they were set ashore; and when they had ordered themselves in the order of a single file, and marched about the space of a mile by the sea, they espied five or six people, with a dog, coming towards them, who were savages; who, when they saw them, ran into the wood and whistled the dog after them, etc. First, they supposed them to be Mr. Jones, the master, and some of his men, for they were ashore, and knew of their coming; but after they knew them to be Indians they marched after them into the woods, lest other of the Indians should lie in ambush; but when the Indians saw our men following them, they ran away with might and main, and our men turned out of the wood after them, for it was the way they intended to go, but they could not come near them. They followed them that night about ten miles by the trace of their footings, and saw how they had come the same way they went, and at a turning perceived how they ran up an hill to see whether they followed them. At length, night came upon them, and they were constrained to take up their lodging; so they set forth three sentinels, and the rest, some kindled a fire, and others fetched wood, and there held our rendezvous that night. In the morning, (16th November,) as soon as we could see the trace, we proceeded on our journey, and had the track until we had compassed the head of a long creek, and there they took into another wood, and we after them, supposing to find some of their dwellings; but we marched through boughs and bushes, and under hills and valleys, which tore our very armour in pieces, and yet could meet with none of them, nor their houses, nor find any fresh water which we greatly desired and stood in need of, for we brought neither beer nor water with us, and our victuals was only biscuit and Holland cheese, and a little bottle of aquavite, so as we were sore athirst. About ten o'clock we came into a deep valley, full of brush, wood-gall, and long grass, through which we found little paths or tracts, and there we saw a deer, and found springs of fresh water, of which we were heartily glad, and sat us down and drank our first New England water with as much delight as ever we drank drink in all our lives. When we had refreshed ourselves, we directed our course full south, that we might come to the shore, which within a short while after we did, and

there made a fire, that they in the ship might see where we were, (as we had direction,) and so marched on towards this supposed river; and as we went in another valley we found a fine clear pond of fresh water, being about a musket-shot broad and twice as long. There grew also many small vines, and fowl and deer haunted there; there grew much sassafras. From thence we went on and found much plain ground, about fifty acres, fit for the plough, and some signs where the Indians had formerly planted their corn.

After this, some thought it best for nearness of the river to go down and travel on the sea sands, by which means some of our men were tired, and lagged behind; so we stayed and gathered them up, and struck into the land again, where we found a little path to certain heaps of sand, one whereof was covered with old mats, and had a wooden thing like a mortar whelmed on the top of it, and an earthen pot laid in a little hole at the end thereof. We, musing what it might be, digged and found a bow, and, as we thought, arrows, but they were rotten. We supposed there were many other things, but because we deemed them graves, we put in the bow again and made it up as it was, and left the rest untouched, because we thought it would be odious unto them to ransack their sepulchres. We went on further and found new stubble, of which they had gotten corn this year, and many walnut trees full of nuts, and great store of strawberries, and some vines. Passing thus a field or two, which were not great, we came to another, which had also been new gotten, and there we found where an house had been, and four or five old planks laid together; also we found a great kettle, which had been some ship's kettle and brought out of Europe; there was also an heap of sand, made like the former, but it was newly done, (we might see how they had paddled it with their hands,) which we digged up, and in it we found a little old basket full of fair Indian corn, and digged further and found a fine great new basket full of very fair corn of this year, with some thirty-six goodly ears of corn, some yellow, and some red, and others mixed with blue, which was a very goodly sight; the basket was round, and narrow at the top, it held about three or four bushels, which was as much as two of us could lift up from the ground, and was very handsomely and cunningly made. But whilst we were busy about these things, we set our men sentinel in a round ring, all but

two or three which digged up the corn. We were in suspense what to do with it and the kettle, and at length after much consultation we concluded to take the kettle, and as much of the corn as we could carry away with us; and when our shallop came, if we could find any of the people and come to parley with them, we would give them the kettle again, and satisfy them for their corn. So we took all the ears and put a good deal of the loose corn in the kettle for two men to bring away on a staff; besides, they that could put any into their pockets filled the same; the rest we buried again, for we were so laden with armour that we could carry no more.

Not far from this place we found the remainder of an old fort, or palisade, which as we conceived had been made by some Christians: this was also hard by that place which we thought had been a river, unto which we went and found it so to be, dividing itself into two arms by an high bank, standing right by the cut or mouth which came from the sea; that which was next unto us was the less, the other arm was more than twice as big, and not unlike to be an harbour for ships; but whether it be a fresh river, or only an indraught of the sea, we had no time to discover, for we had commandment to be out but two days. Here also we saw two canoes, the one on the one side, the other on the other side; we could not believe it was a canoe, till we came near it. So we returned, leaving the further discovery hereof to our shallop, and came that night back again to the fresh water pond, and there we made our rendezvous that night, making a great fire, and a barricade to windward of us, and kept good watch with three sentinels all night, every one standing when his turn came, while five or six inches of match was burning. It proved a very rainy night. In the morning, 17th November, we took our kettle and sunk it in the pond, and trimmed our muskets, for few of them would go off because of the wet, and so coasted the wood again to come home, in which we were shrewdly puzzled, and lost our way. As we wandered we came to a tree, where a young sprout was bowed down over a bough, and some acorns strewed underneath: Stephen Hopkins said it had been to catch some deer, so, as we were looking at it, William Bradford being in the rear, when he came, looked also upon it, and as he went about it gave a sudden jerk up, and he was immediately caught by the leg. It was a very pretty device, made with a rope of their own

making, and having a noose as artificially made as any roper in England can make, and as like ours as can be, which we brought away with us. In the end we got out of the wood, and were fallen about a mile to high above the creek, where we saw three bucks, but we had rather have had one of them. We also did spring three couple of partridges; and as we came along by the creek we saw great flocks of wild geese and ducks, but they were very fearful of us. So we marched some while in the woods, some while on the sands, and other while in the water up to the knees, till at length we came near the ship, and then we shot off our pieces, and the long boat came to fetch us; master Jones, and master Carver being on the shore, with many of our people, came to meet us.

And thus we came both weary and welcome home, and delivered in our corn into the store, to be kept for seed; for we knew not how to come by any, and therefore were very glad, purposing, so soon as we could meet with any of the inhabitants of that place, to make them large satisfaction. This was our first discovery whilst our shallop was in repairing. Our people did make things as fitting as they could, and time would, in seeking out wood, and helving of tools, and sawing of timber to build a new shallop; but the discommodiousness of the harbour did much hinder us, for we could neither go to, nor come from the shore but at high water, which was much to our hindrance and hurt; for oftentimes they waded to the middle of the thigh, and often to the knees, to go and come from land. Some did it necessarily, and some for their own pleasure; but it brought to the most, if not to all, coughs and colds, the weather proving suddenly cold and stormy, which afterward turned to the scurvy, whereof many died.

November 27. When our shallop was fit, (indeed, before she was fully fitted, for there was two days' work after bestowed on her,) there was appointed some twenty-four men of our own, and armed, then to go and make a more full discovery of the rivers before mentioned. Master Jones was desirous to go with us, and took such of his sailors as he thought useful for us; so as we were in all about thirty-four men. We made master Jones our leader, for we thought it best herein to gratify his kindness and forwardness. When we were set forth, it proved rough weather and cross winds, so as we were constrained, some in the shallop and others in the long-boat, to row to the

nearest shore the wind would suffer them to go unto, and then to wade out above the knees. The wind was so strong as the shallop could not keep the water, but was forced to harbour there that night; but we marched six or seven miles further, and appointed the shallop to come to us as soon as they could. It blowed and did snow all that day and night, and froze withal. Some of our people that are dead took the original of their death here. The next day, 28th November, about eleven o'clock, our shallop came to us, and we shipped ourselves, and the wind being good, we sailed to the river we formerly discovered, which we named *Cold Harbour*; to which when we came, we found it not navigable for ships; yet we thought it might be a good harbour for boats, for it flows there twelve feet at high water. We landed our men between the two creeks, and marched some four or five miles by the greater of them, and the shallop followed us. At length night grew on; and our men were tired with marching up and down the steep hills and deep valleys, which lay half a foot thick with snow. Master Jones, wearied with marching, was desirous we should take up our lodging, though some of us would have marched further; so we made there our rendezvous for that night, under a few pine trees. And as it fell out, we got three fat geese and six ducks to our supper, which we eat with soldier's stomachs, for we had eaten little all that day. Our resolution was next morning to go up to the head of this river, for we supposed it would prove fresh water; but in the morning, 29th November, our resolution held not, because many liked not the hilliness of the soil and badness of the harbour; so we turned towards the other creek, that we might go over and look for the rest of the corn that we left behind when we were here before. When we came to the creek we saw the canoe lie on the dry ground, and a flock of geese in the river, at which one made a shot, and killed a couple of them, and we launched the canoe and fetched them; and when we had done, she carried us over by seven or eight at once. This done, we marched to the place where we had the corn formerly, which place we called *Corn-hill*; and digged and found the rest, of which we were very glad. We also digged in a place a little further off, and found a bottle of oil. We went to another place which we had seen before, and digged, and found more corn, namely, two or three baskets full of Indian wheat, and a bag of beans, with a good many of fair



wheat ears. While some of us were digging up this, some others found another heap of corn, which they digged up also; so as we had in all about ten bushels, which will serve us sufficiently for seed. And sure it was God's good providence that we found this corn, for else we know not how we should have done, for we know not how we should find, or meet with any of the Indians, except it be to do us a mischief. Also, we had never in all likelihood seen a grain of it if we had not made our first journey; for the ground was now covered with snow, and so hard frozen that we were fain with our cutlasses and short swords to hew and carve the ground a foot deep, and then wrest it up with levers, for we had forgot to bring other tools. Whilst we were in this employment, foul weather being towards, master Jones was earnest to go a-board; but sundry of us desired to make further discovery, and to find out the Indians' habitations, so we sent home with him our weakest people, and some that were sick, and all the corn. And eighteen of us staid still, and lodged there that night, and desired that the shallop might return to us next day, and bring us some mattocks and spades with them.

The next morning, 30th November, we followed certain beaten paths and tracks of the Indians into the woods, supposing they would have led us into some town, or houses. After we had gone a while, we lighted upon a very broad beaten path, well nigh two feet broad. Then we lighted all our matches, and prepared ourselves, concluding we were near their dwellings; but in the end we found it to be only a path made to drive deer in, when the Indians hunt, as we supposed. When we had marched five or six miles into the woods, and could find no signs of any people, we returned again another way; and as we came into the plain ground, we found a place like a grave, but it was much bigger and longer than any we had yet seen; it was also covered with boards. So as we mused what it should be, and resolved to dig it up, where we found, first a mat, and under that a fair bow, and there another mat, and under that a board about three quarters long, finely carved and painted, with three tins or brooches on the top, like a crown. Also, between the mats we found bowls, trays, dishes, and such like trinkets. At length we came to a fair new mat, and under that two bundles, the one bigger, the other less. We opened the greater and found in it a great quantity of fine and perfect red

powder, and in it the bones and skull of a man. The skull had fine yellow hair still on it, and some of the flesh unconsumed. There was bound up with it a knife, a packing-needle, and two or three old iron things. It was bound up in a sailor's canvass cassock, and a pair of cloth breeches. The red powder was a kind of embalment, and yielded a strong, but no offensive smell. It was as fine as any flour. We opened the less bundle likewise, and found of the same powder in it, and the bones and head of a little child. About the legs, and other parts of it, were bound strings and bracelets of fine white beads; there was also by it a little bow, about three quarters long, and some other odd knacks. We brought sundry of the prettiest things away with us, and covered the corpse up again. After this, we digged in sundry like places, but found no more coru, nor any thing else but graves. There was variety of opinions amongst us about the embalmed person. Some thought it was an Indian lord and king; others said, The Indians have all black hair, and never any was seen with brown or yellow hair. Some thought it was a Christian of some special note, which had died amongst them, and they thus buried him to honour him; others thought they had killed him, and did it in triumph over him.

Whilst we were thus ranging and searching, two of the sailors, which were newly come on the shore, by chance espied two houses, which had been lately dwelt in, but the people were gone. They, having their pieces and hearing nobody, entered the houses and took out some things, and durst not stay, but came again and told us; so some seven or eight of us went with them, and found how we had gone within a slight shot of them before. The houses were made with long young sapling trees, bended, and both ends stuck into the ground. They were made round, like unto an arbour, and covered down to the ground with thick and well wrought mats, and the door was not over a yard high, made of a mat to open. The chimney was a wide open hole in the top, for which they had a mat to cover it close when they pleased. One might stand and go upright in them. In the midst of them were four little trunches, knocked into the ground, and small sticks laid over, on which they hung their pots, and what they had to seethe. Round about the fire they lay on mats, which are their beds. The houses were double matted; for as they were matted without, so were they within,

with newer and fairer mats. In the houses we found wooden bowls, trays, and dishes; earthen pots; hand baskets, made of crab shells, wrought together; also, an English pail or bucket, it wanted a bayle, but it had two iron ears. There was also baskets of sundry sorts, bigger and some lesser, finer and some coarser; some were curiously wrought with black and white, in pretty works, and sundry other of their household stuff. We found also two or three deer's heads, one whereof had been newly killed, for it was still fresh. There was also a company of deer's feet stuek up in the houses, hart's herns, and eagle's claws, and sundry such like things there was; also, two or three baskets full of parched acorns, pieces of fish, and a piece of a broiled herring. We found also a little silk grass, and a little tobacco seed, with some other seeds which we knew not. Without was sundry bundles of flags, and sedge, bulrushes, and other stuff to make mats. There was thrust into an hollow tree two or three pieces of venison, but we thought it fitter for the dogs than for us. Some of the best things we took away with us, and left the houses standing still as they were; so, it growing towards night, and the tide almost spent, we hasted with our things down to the shallop, and got aboard that night, intending to have brought some beads and other things to have left in the houses in sign of peace, and that we meant to truck with them, but it was not done, by means of our hasty coming away from Cape Cod; but so soon as we can meet conveniently with them we will give them full satisfaction. Thus much of our second discovery.

Having thus discovered this place, it was controversial amongst us what to do touching our abode and settling there. Some thought it best, for many reasons, to abide there.

As, first, that there was a convenient harbour for boats, though not for ships.

Secondly, good corn ground, ready to our hands, as we saw by experience in the goodly corn it yielded, which would again agree with the ground, and be natural seed for the same.

Thirdly, Cape Cod was like to be a place of good fishing, for we saw daily great whales of the best kind for oil and bone come close aboard our ship, and in fair weather swim and play about us. There was once one when the sun shone warm came and lay above water, as if she had been dead, for a good while together, within half a musket-shot of the ship, at which two

were prepared to shoot, to see whether she would stir or no. He that gave fire first, his musket flew in pieces, both stock and barrel, yet thanks be to God, neither he nor any man else was hurt with it, though many were there about, but when the whale saw her time she gave a snuff and away.

Fourthly, the place was likely to be healthful, secure, and defensible.

But the last and especial reason was that now the heart of winter and unseasonable weather was come upon us, so that we could not go upon coasting and discovery, without danger of losing men and boat, upon which would follow the overthrow of all, especially considering what variable winds and sudden storms do there arise. Also cold and wet lodging had so tainted our people, for scarce any of us were free from vehement coughs, as if they should continue long in that estate, it would endanger the lives of many, and breed diseases and infection amongst us. Again we had yet some beer, butter, flesh, and other such victuals left, which would quickly be all gone, and then we should have nothing to comfort us in the great labour and toil we were like to undergo at the first. It was also conceived, whilst we had competent victuals, that the ship would stay with us, but when that grew low they would be gone, and let us shift as we could.

Others again urged greatly the going to Anguam, or Angoum, (Aggawam, Ipswich,) a place twenty leagues off to the northwards, which they had heard to be an excellent harbour for ships, better ground and better fishing. Secondly, for any thing we knew, there might be hard by us a far better seat, and it should be a great hindrance to seat where we should remove again. Thirdly, the water was but in ponds, and it was thought there would be none in Summer, or very little. Fourthly, the water there must be fetched up a steep hill. But to omit many reasons and replies used hereabouts, it was in the end concluded to make some discovery within the bay, but in no case so far as Angoum: besides, Robert Coppin, our pilot, made relation of a great navigable river and good harbour in the other head-land of this bay, almost right over against Cape Cod, being a right line, not much above eight leagues distant, in which he had been once; and because that one of the wild men with whom they had some trucking stole a harping-iron from them, they called it *Thievish Harbour*; and beyond that place they were

enjoined not to go. Whereupon a company was chosen to go out upon a third discovery. Whilst some were employed in this discovery, it pleased God that Mrs. White was brought to bed of a son, which was called Peregrine.

The fifth day, we through God's mercy escaped a great danger by the foolishness of a boy, one of Francis Billington's sons, who in his father's absence had got gunpowder, and had shot off a piece or two, and made squibs; and there being a fowling-piece charged in his father's cabin, shot her off in the cabin, there being a little barrel of powder half full, scattered in and about the cabin, the fire being within four feet of the bed between the decks, and many flints and iron things about the cabin, and many people about the fire, and yet by God's mercy no harm done.

Wednesday, 6th December, it was resolved our discoverers should set forth, for the day before was too foul weather; and so they did, though it was well over the day ere all things could be ready. So ten of our men were appointed, who were of themselves willing to undertake it, to wit, Captain Standish, Master Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, John Tilly, Edward Tilly, John Howland; and three of London, Richard Warren, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Dotey; and two of our seamen, John Allerton and Thomas English; of the ship's company there went two of the master's mates, Master Clarke and Master Coppin, the master gunner, and three sailors. The narration of which discovery follows, penned by one of the company.

Wednesday, 6th December, we set out, being very cold and hard weather, we were a long while after we launched from the ship, before we could get clear of a sandy point, which lay within less than a furlong of the same. In which time, two were very sick, and Edward Tilly had like to have sounded with cold; the gunner was also sick unto death, (but hope of trucking made him to go,) and so remained all that day, and the next night. At length we got clear of the sandy point, and got up our sails, and within an hour or two we got under the weather shore, and then had smoother water and better sailing; but it was very cold, for the water froze on our clothes, and made them many times like coats of iron. We sailed six or seven leagues by the shore, but saw neither river nor creek. At length we met with a tongue of land, being flat off from the

shore, with a sandy point, we bore up to gain the point, and found there a fair income or road of a bay, being a league over at the narrowest, and some two or three in length; but we made right over to the land before us, and left the discovery of this income till the next day. As we drew near to the shore we espied some ten or twelve Indians, very busy about a black thing, what it was we could not tell, till afterwards they saw us, and ran to and fro, as if they had been carrying some thing away. We landed a league or two from them, and had much ado to put ashore any where, it lay so full of flat sands. When we came to shore, we made us a barricade, and got fire wood, and set out our sentinels and betook us to our lodging, such as it was. We saw the smoke of the fire which the savages made that night, about four or five miles from us.

In the morning, (7th Dec.) we divided our company, some eight in the shallop, and the rest on the shore went to discover this place, but we found it only to be a bay, without either river or creek coming into it; yet we deemed it to be as good a harbour as Cape Cod, for they that sounded it found a ship might ride in five fathom water. We on the land found it to be a level soil, but none of the fruitfulest; we saw two becks of fresh water, which were the first running streams that we saw in the country, but one might stride over them. We found also a great fish called a grampus, dead on the sands; they in the shallop found two of them also in the bottom of the bay, dead in like sort; they were cast up at high water, and could not get off for the frost and ice; they were some five or six paces long, and about two inches thick of fat, and fleshed like a swine; they would have yielded a great deal of oil, if there had been time and means to have taken it. So we, finding nothing for our turn, both we and our shallop returned. We then directed our course along the sea-sands, to the place where we first saw the Indians: when we were there, we saw it was also a grampus which they were cutting up; they cut it into long rands or pieces, about an ell long, and two handful broad; we found here and there a piece scattered by the way, as it seemed, for haste; this place the most were minded we should call the Grampus Bay, because we found so many of them there. We followed the tract of the Indians' bare feet a good way on the sands; at length we saw where they struck into the woods by the side of a pond. As we went to view the place, one

said he thought he saw an Indian house among the trees, so went up to see; and here we and the shallop lost sight one of another till night, it being now about nine or ten o'clock; so we lighted on a path, but saw no house, and followed a great way into the woods. At length we found where corn had been set, but not that year; anon we found a great burying-place, one part whereof was encompassed with a large palisade, like a church-yard, with young spires four or five yards long, set as close one by another as they could, two or three feet in the ground: within it was full of graves, some bigger and some less, some were also paled about, and others had like an Indian house made over them, but not matted. Those graves were more sumptuous than those at Cornhill, yet we digged none of them up, but only viewed them, and went our way; without the palisade were graves also, but not so costly. From this place we went and found more corn ground, but not of this year. As we ranged, we lighted on four or five Indian houses, which had been lately dwelt in, but they were uncovered, and had no mats about them; else they were like those we found at Cornhill, but had not been so lately dwelt in; there was nothing left but two or three pieces of old mats, a little sedge, also a little further we found two baskets full of parched acorns hid in the ground, which we supposed had been corn when we began to dig the same; we cast earth thereon again, and went our way.

All this while we saw no people; we went ranging up and down till the sun began to draw low, and then we hasted out of the woods, that we might come to our shallop, which when we were out of the woods, we espied a great way off, and called them to come unto us, the which they did as soon as they could, for it was not yet high water. They were exceeding glad to see us, (for they feared, because they had not seen us in so long a time,) thinking we would have kept by the shoreside; so being both weary and faint, for we had eaten nothing all that day, we fell to make our rendezvous, and get fire wood, which always cost us a great deal of labour. By that time we had done, and our shallop come to us, it was within night, and we fed upon such victuals as we had, and betook us to our rest, after we had set out our watch. About midnight we heard a great and hideous cry, and our sentinel called, Arm! Arm! So we bestirred ourselves, and shot off a couple of muskets, and the noise ceased; we concluded that it was a company of wolves or

foxes, for one told us he had heard such a noise in Newfoundland. About five o'clock in the morning, (8th Dec.) we began to be stirring, and two or three which doubted whether their pieces would go off or no, made trial of them, and shot them off, but though at nothing at all.

After prayer we prepared ourselves for breakfast, and for a journey; and it being now the twilight in the morning, it was thought meet to carry the things down to the shallop: some said it was not best to carry the armour down, others said they would be readier; two or three said they would not carry theirs till they went themselves, but mistrusting nothing at all: as it fell out, the water not being high enough, they laid the things down upon the shore, and came up to breakfast. Anon, all upon a sudden, we heard a great and strange cry, which we knew to be the same voices, though they varied their notes. One of our company being abroad, came running in, and cried, They are men, Indians! Indians! and withal their arrows came flying amongst us; our men ran out with all speed to recover their arms, as by the good providence of God they did. In the meantime, Captain Miles Standish, having a snaphance ready, made a shot, and after him another; after they two had shot, other of us were ready, but he wished us not to shoot till we could take aim, for we knew not what need we should have, and there were four only of us which had their arms there ready, and stood before the open side of our barricade, which was first assaulted; they thought it best to defend it, lest the enemy should take it and our stuff, and so have the more vantage against us. Our care was no less for the shallop, but we hoped all the rest would defend it; we called unto them to know how it was with them, and they answered, Well, well, every one, and be of good courage! We heard three of their pieces go off, and the rest called for a fire-brand to light their matches; one took a log out of the fire on his shoulder, and went and carried it unto them, which was thought did not a little discourage our enemies. The cry of our enemies was dreadful, especially when our men ran out to recover their arms; their note was after this manner, *Woath woach ha ha hach woach!* Our men were no sooner come to their arms, but the enemy was ready to assault them.

There was a lusty man, and no whit less valiant, who was thought to be their captain, stood behind a tree within half a musket shot of us, and there let his arrows fly at us. He was



seen to shoot three arrows, which were all avoided, for he at whom the first arrow was aimed, saw it, and stooped down, and it flew over him, the rest were avoided also. He stood three shots of a musket; at length one took as he said full aim at him, after which he gave an extraordinary cry, and away they went all. We followed them about a quarter of a mile, but we left six to keep our shallop, for we were careful of our business; then we shouted all together two several times, and shot off a couple of muskets, and so returned: this we did that they might see we were not afraid of them nor discouraged.

Thus it pleased God to vanquish our enemies and give us deliverance. By their noise we could not guess that they were less than thirty or forty, though some thought that they were many more; yet in the dark of the morning we could not so well discern them among the trees, as they could see us by our fire-side. We took up eighteen of their arrows, which we have sent to England by Mr. Jones, some whereof were headed with brass, others with hart's horn, and others with eagle's claws: many more no doubt were shot, for those we found were almost covered with leaves; yet by the special providence of God none of them either hit or hurt us, though many came close by us and on every side of us, and some coats which hung up in our barricade were shot through and through. So after we had given God thanks for our deliverance, we took our shallop and went on our journey, and called this place, *The First Encounter*: from hence we intended to have sailed to the aforesaid Thievish Harbour, if we found no convenient harbour by the way. Having the wind good, we sailed all that day along the coast about fifteen leagues, but saw neither river nor creek to put into. After we had sailed an hour or two, it began to snow and rain, and to be bad weather; about the midst of the afternoon the wind increased, and the seas began to be very rough, and the hinges of the rudder broke, so that we could steer no longer with it, but two men with much ado were fain to serve with a couple of oars. The seas were grown so great, that we were much troubled and in great danger, and night grew on; anon Mr. Coppin bade us be of good cheer, he saw the harbour. As we drew near, the gale being stiff, and we bearing great sail to get in, split our mast in three pieces, and were like to have cast away our shallop; yet by God's mercy recovering ourselves, we had the flood with us, and struck into the harbour.

Now, he that thought that had been the place was deceived, it being a place where not any of us had been before; and coming into the harbour, he that was our pilot did bear up northward, which if we had continued we had been cast away. Yet still the Lord kept us, and we bore up for an island before us; and, recovering of that island, being compassed about with many rocks, and dark night growing upon us, it pleased the Divine providence that we fell upon a place of sandy ground, where our shallop did ride safe and secure all that night; and, coming upon a strange island, kept our watch all night in the rain upon that island. And in the morning we marched about it, and found no inhabitants at all; and here we made our rendezvous all that day, being Saturday.

On the Sabbath day we rested, and on Monday, 11th December, (Forefathers' day,) we sounded the harbour, and found it a very good harbour for our shipping. We marched also into the land, and found divers corn fields, and little running brooks, a place very good for situation; so we returned to our ship again with good news to the rest of our people, which did much comfort their hearts.

On Friday, the 15th, we weighed anchor to go to the place we had discovered; and coming within two leagues of the land, we could not fetch the harbour, but were fain to put room again towards Cape Cod, our course lying west and the wind was at north-west. But it pleased God that the next day, being Saturday, the 16th, the wind came fair, and we put to sea again, and came safely into a safe harbour; and within half an hour the wind changed, so as if we had been let but a little, we had gone back to Cape Cod. This harbour is a bay greater than Cape Cod, compassed with a goodly land, and in the bay two fine islands uninhabited, wherein are nothing but wood, oaks, pines, walnut, beech, sassafras, vines, and other trees which we know not. This bay is a most hopeful place; innumerable store of fowl, and excellent good, and cannot but be of fish in their season. Skate, cod, turbot, and herring, we have tasted of; abundance of mussels, the greatest and best that ever we saw; crabs and lobsters, in their time infinite. It is in fashion like a sickle or fish-hook.

Monday, 18th December, we went aland, manned with the master of the ship and three or four of the sailors. We marched along the coast in the woods some seven or eight miles, but

saw not an Indian nor an Indian house; only we found where formerly had been some inhabitants, and where they had planted their corn. We found not any navigable river, but four or five small running brooks of very sweet fresh water, that all ran into the sea. The land for the crust of the earth is a spit's depth, excellent black mould, and fat in some places; two or three great oaks, but not very thiek; pines, walnuts, beech, ash, birch, hazel, holly, asp, sassafras, in abundance, and vines every where; cherry-trees, plum-trees, and many other which we know not. Many kinds of herbs we found here in winter, as strawberry leaves innumerable, sorrel, yarrow, carvel, brooklime, liverwort, water-cresses, great store of leeks and onions, and an excellent strong kind of flax and hemp. Here is sand, gravel, and excellent clay, no better in the world, excellent for pots, and will wash like soap; and great store of stone, though somewhat soft; and the best water that ever we drank; and the brooks now begin to be full of fish. That night, many being weary with marching, we went aboard again.

The next morning, being Tuesday, 19th December, we went again to discover farther. Some went on land, and some in the shallop. The land we found as the former day we did, and we found a creek, and went up three English miles a very pleasant river. At full sea, a barque of thirty tons may go up, but at low water scarce our shallop could pass. This place we had a great liking to plant in, but that it was so far from our fishing, our principal profit, and so encompassed with woods that we should be in much danger of the savages; and our number being so little, and so much ground to clear, so as we thought good to quit and clear that place till we were of more strength. Some of us having a good mind, for safety, to plant in the greater isle, we crossed the bay, which there is five or six miles over, and found the isle about a mile and a half or two miles about, all wooded, and no fresh water but two or three pits, that we doubted of fresh water in summer; and so full of wood as we could hardly clear so much as to serve us for corn; besides, we judged it cold for our corn, and some part very rocky, yet divers thought of it as a place defensible and of great security.

That night we returned again a-ship-board, with resolution the next morning to settle on some of these places. So in the

morning, after we had called on God for direction, we came to this resolution: to go presently ashore again, and to take a better view of two places which we thought most fitting for us, for we could not now take time for further search or consideration, our victuals being much spent, especially our beer, and it being now the 19th of December. After our landing and viewing of the places so well as we could, we came to a conclusion by most voices to set on the mainland, on the first place, on a high ground, where there is a great deal of land cleared, and hath been planted with corn three or four years ago; and there is a very sweet brook runs under the hill-side, and many delicate springs of as good water as can be drank, and where we may harbour our shallops and boats exceeding well, and in this brook much good fish in their season. On the further side of the river also much corn ground is cleared. In one field is a great hill, on which we point to make a platform and plant our ordnance, which will command all round about; from thence we may see into the bay, and far into the sea, and we may see thence Cape Cod. Our greatest labour will be fetching of our wood, which is half a quarter of an English mile; but there is enough so far off. What people inhabit here we yet know not, for as yet we have seen none. So there we made our rendezvous, and a place for some of our people, about twenty, resolving in the morning to come all ashore, and to build houses; but the next morning, being Thursday, the 21st December, it was stormy and wet, that we could not go ashore, and those that remained there all night could do nothing, but were wet, not having daylight enough to make them a sufficient court of guard to keep them dry. All that night it blew and rained extremely. It was so tempestuous that the shallop could not go on land so soon as was meet, for they had no victuals on land. About eleven o'clock the shallop went off with much ado with provision, but could not return. It blew so strong, and was such foul weather, that we were forced to let fall our anchor and ride with three anchors a-head.

Friday, 22nd, the storm still continued, that we could not get aland nor they come to us aboard. This morning, goodwife Allerton was delivered of a son, but dead-born.

Saturday, 23rd, so many of us as could went on shore, felled and carried timber, to provide themselves stuff for building.

Sunday, 24th, our people on shore heard a cry of some

savages, (as they thought,) which caused an alarm, and to stand on their guard, expecting an assault, but all was quiet.

Monday, 25th, we went on shore, some to fell timber, some to saw, some to rive, and some to carry; so no man rested all that day. But towards night, some as they were at work heard a noise of some Indians, which caused us all to go to our muskets; but we heard no further, so we came aboard again, and left some twenty to keep the court of guard. That night we had a sore storm of wind and rain.

Monday, 25th, being Christmas day, we began to drink water aboard, but at night the master caused us to have some beer; and so on board we had divers times now and then some beer, but on shore none at all.

Tuesday, 26th, it was foul weather, that we could not go ashore.

Wednesday, 27th, we went to work again.

Thursday, 28th, so many as could went to work on the hill, where we purposed to build our platform for our ordnance, and which doth command all the plain and the bay, and from whence we may see far into the sea, and might be easier impailed having two rows of houses and a fair street. So in the afternoon we went to measure out the grounds; and first we took notice how many families they were, willing all single men that had no wives to join with some family as they thought fit, that so we might build fewer houses, which was done, and we reduced them to nineteen families. To greater families we allotted larger plots, to every person half a pole in breadth, and three in length; and so lots were cast where every man should lie, which was done, and staked out. We thought this proportion was large enough at the first for houses and gardens, to impale them round, considering the weakness of our people, many of them growing ill with colds; for our former discoveries in frost and storms, and the wading at Cape Cod, had brought much weakness amongst us, which increased so every day more and more, and after was the cause of many of their deaths.

Friday and Saturday, we fitted ourselves for our labour, but our people on shore were much troubled and discouraged with rain and wet that day, being very stormy and cold. We saw great smokes of fire, made by the Indians, about six or seven miles from us, as we conjectured.

Monday, 1st January, we went betimes to work; we were

much hindered in lying so far off from the land, and fain to go as the tide served, that we lost much time, for our ship drew so much water that she lay a mile and almost a half off, though a ship of seventy or eighty tons at high water may come to the shore.

Wednesday, 3rd January, some of our people being abroad, to get and gather thatch, they saw great fires of the Indians, and were at their corn fields, yet saw none of the savages, nor had seen any of them since we came to this bay.

Thursday, 4th January, Captain Miles Standish, with four or five more, went to see if they could meet with any of the savages in that place where the fires were made; they went to some of their houses, but not lately inhabited, yet could they not meet with any. As they came home, they shot at an eagle and killed her, which was excellent meat; it was hardly to be discerned from mutton.

Friday, 5th January, one of the sailors found alive upon the shore a herring, which the master had to his supper, which put us in hopes of fish, but as yet we had got but one cod; we wanted small hooks.

Saturday, 6th January, Mr. Marten was very sick, and to our judgment, no hope of life; so Mr. Carver was sent for to come aboard to speak with him about his accounts, who came the next morning.

Monday, 8th January, was a very fair day, and we went betimes to work. Mr. Jones sent the shallop as he had formerly done to see where fish could be got; they had a great storm at sea, and were in some danger; at night they returned with three great seals, and an excellent good cod, which did assure us that we should have plenty of fish shortly.

This day Francis Billington, having the week before seen from the top of a tree on a high hill, a great sea, as he thought, went with one of the master's mates to see it: they went three miles, and then came to a great water, divided into two great lakes, the bigger of them five or six miles in circuit, and in it an isle of a cable length square, the other, three miles in compass; in their estimation they are fine fresh water, full of fish and fowl; a brook issues from it: it will be an excellent help for us in time. They found seven or eight Indian houses, but not lately inhabited; when they saw the houses they were in some fear, for they were but two persons and one piece.

Tuesday, 9th January, was a reasonable fair day, and we went to labour that day in the building of our town, in two rows of houses for more safety: we divided by lot the plot of ground whereon to build our town. After the proportion formerly allotted, we agreed that every man should build his own house, thinking by that course men would make more haste than working in common; the common house, in which for the first we made our rendezvous, being near finished, wanted only covering, it being about twenty feet square, some should make mortar, and some gather thatch, so that in four days half of it was thatched. Frost and foul weather hindered us much; this time of the year seldom could we work half the week.

Thursday, 11th, William Bradford being at work, (for it was a fair day,) was vehemently taken with a grief and pain, and so shot to his huckle-bone. It was doubted that he would have instantly died; he got cold in the former discoveries, especially the last, and felt some pain in his ankles by times, but he grew a little better towards night, and in time, through God's mercy in the use of means, recovered.

Friday, 12th January, we went to work, but about noon it began to rain, that it forced us to give over work.

This day, two of our people put us in great sorrow and care. There was four sent to gather and cut thatch in the morning, and two of them, John Goodman and Peter Brown, having cut thatch all the forenoon, went to a farther place, and willed the other two to bind up that which was cut, and to follow them; so they did, being about a mile and a half from our plantation: but when the two came after, they could not find them nor hear any thing of them at all, though they halloed and shouted as loud as they could. So they returned to the company and told them of it; whereupon Mr. Carver and three or four more went to seek them, but could hear nothing of them. So they returning, sent more, but that night they could hear nothing at all of them. The next day they armed ten or twelve men out, verily thinking the Indians had surprised them; they went seeking seven or eight miles, but could neither see nor hear any thing at all, so they returned with much discomfort to us all. These two that were missed, at dinner time took their meat in their hands, and would go walk and refresh themselves; so going a little off they find a lake of water, and having a great mastiff bitch with them and a spaniel. By the

water-side they found a great deer, the dogs chased him, and they followed so far as they lost themselves, and could not find the way back. They wandered all that afternoon being wet, and at night it did freeze and snow; they were slenderly apparelled, and had no weapons but each one his siekle, nor any victuals. They ranged up and down and could find none of the savages' habitations. When it drew to night they were much perplexed, for they could find neither harbour nor meat, but in frost and snow were forced to make the earth their bed, and the element their covering. And another thing did very much terrify them; they heard, as they thought, two lions roaring exceedingly for a long time together, and a third, that they thought was very near them. So not knowing what to do, they resolved to climb up into a tree as their safest refuge, though that would prove an intolerable cold lodging; so they stood at the tree's root, that when the lions came they might take their opportunity of climbing up; the bitch they were fain to hold by the neck, for she would have been gone to the lion; but it pleased God so to dispose, that the wild beasts came not. So they walked up and down under the tree all night; it was an extreme cold night. So soon as it was light they travelled again, passing by many lakes and brooks and woods, and in one place where the savages had burnt the space of five miles in length, which is a fine champaign country, and even. In the afternoon it pleased God from an high hill they discovered the two isles in the bay, and so that night got to the Plantation, being ready to faint with travel and want of victuals, and almost famished with cold. John Goodman was fain to have his shoes cut off his feet, they were so swelled with cold, and it was a long while after ere he was able to go; those on the shore were much comforted at their return, but they on ship-board were grieved as deeming them lost. But the next day, being the 14th of January, in the morning about six o'clock, the wind being very great, they on ship-board spied their great new rendezvous on fire; which was to them a new discomfort, fearing because of the supposed loss of the men that the savages had fired them; neither could they presently go to them for want of water, but after three quarters of an hour they went, as they had purposed the day before to keep the Sabbath on shore, because now there was the greater number of people. At their landing they heard good tidings of the return of the two men, and that the



house was fired occasionally by a spark that flew into the thatch, which instantly burned it all up; but the roof stood, and little hurt. The most loss was Mr. Carver's, and William Bradford's, who then lay sick in bed, and if they had not risen with good speed, had been blown up with powder. But through God's merey they had no harm; the house was as full of beds as they could lie one by another, and their muskets charged, but blessed be God, there was no harm done.

Monday, 15th January, it rained much all day, that they on ship-board could not go on shore, nor they on shore do any labour, but were all wet.

Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, were very fair sunshiny days, as if it had been in April, and our people, so many as were in health, wrought cheerfully.

The 19th day, we resolved to make a shed, to put our common provision in, of which some were already set on shore; but at noon it rained, that we could not work. This day in the evening, John Goodman went abroad to use his lame feet, that were pitifully ill with the cold he had got, having a little spaniel with him. A little way from the plantation two great wolves ran after the dog, the dog ran to him, and betwixt his legs for succour; he had nothing in his hand, but took up a stick and threw at one of them and hit him, and they presently ran both away, but came again: he got a pale-board in his hand, and they sat both on their tails grinning at him a good while, and went their way, and left him.

Saturday, 20th, we made up our shed for our common goods.

Sunday, 21st Jan., we kept our meeting on land.

Monday, 22nd Jan., was a fair day; we wrought on our houses, and in the afternoon carried up our hogsheads of meal to our common store-house.

The rest of the week we followed our business likewise.

Monday, 29th Jan., in the morning cold, frost, and sleet, but after, reasonable fair; both the long boat and the shallop brought our common goods on shore.

Tuesday and Wednesday, 30th and 31st January, cold frosty weather and sleet that we could not work. In the morning, the master and others saw two savages, that had been on the island near our ship. What they came for we could not tell; they were gone so far back again before they were descried that we could not speak with them.

Sunday, 4th February, was very wet and rainy, with the greatest gusts of wind that ever we had since we came forth, that though we rode in a very good harbour, yet we were in danger because our ship was light, the goods taken out, and she unballasted; and it caused much daubing of our houses to fall down.

Friday, 9th; still the cold weather continued, that we could do little work. That afternoon our little house for our sick people was set on fire by a spark that kindled on the roof, but no great harm was done. That evening, the master, going ashore, killed five geese, which he friendly distributed among the sick people. He found also a good deer killed. The savages had cut off the horns and a wolf was eating of him. How he came there we could not conceive.

Friday, 16th, was a fair day, but the northerly wind continued, which continued the frost. This day, after noon, one of our people being afowling, and having taken a stand by a creek side in the reeds, about a mile and a half from our plantation, there came by him twelve Indians, marching towards our plantation, and in the woods he heard the noise of many more. He lay close till they were passed, and then with what speed he could he went home and gave the alarm. So the people abroad in the woods returned and armed themselves, but saw none of them; only toward the evening they made a great fire about the place where they were first discovered. Captain Miles Standish and Francis Cook being at work in the woods, coming home, left their tools behind them, but before they returned their tools were taken away by the savages. This coming of the savages gave us occasion to keep more strict watch, and to make our pieces and furniture ready, which by the moisture and rain were out of temper.

Saturday, 17th; in the morning we called a meeting for the establishing of military orders among ourselves; and we chose Miles Standish our captain, and gave him authority of command in affairs. And as we were in consultation hereabouts, two savages presented themselves upon the top of a hill, over against our plantation, about a quarter of a mile and less, and made signs unto us to come unto them. We likewise made signs unto them to come to us, whercupon we armed ourselves and stood ready, and sent two over the brook towards them, to wit, Captain Standish and Stephen Hopkins, who went towards

them. Only one of them had a musket, which they laid down on the ground in their sight, in sign of peace, and to parley with them, but the savages would not tarry their coming. A noise of a great many more was heard behind the hill, but no more came in sight. This caused us to plant our great ordnance in places most convenient.

Wednesday, 21st, the master came on shore with many of his sailors, and brought with him one of the great pieces called a *Minion*, and helped us to draw it up the hill with another piece that lay on shore, and mounted them, and a saller and two bases. He brought with him a very fat goose to eat with us, and we had a fat crane, and a mallard, and a dried neat's tongue; and so we were kindly and friendly together.

Saturday, 3rd March, the wind was south, the morning misty; but towards noon warm and fair weather. The birds sang in the woods most pleasantly. At one o'clock it thundered, which was the first we heard in that country. It was strong and great claps, but short; but after an hour it rained very sadly till midnight.

Wednesday, 7th, the wind was full east; cold, but fair. That day, Mr. Carver, with five others, went to the great ponds, which seem to be excellent fishing places. All the way they went they found it exceedingly beaten and haunted with deer, but they saw none. Amongst other fowl they saw one, a milk-white fowl, with a very black head. This day some garden seeds were sown.

Friday, 16th, a fair warm day towards. This morning we determined to conclude of the military orders, which we had begun to consider of before, but were interrupted by the savages, as we mentioned formerly; and whilst we were busied hereabout, we were interrupted again, for there presented himself a savage, which caused an alarm. He very boldly came all alone and along the houses straight to the rendezvous, where we intercepted him, not suffering him to go in, as undoubtedly he would, out of his boldness. He saluted us in English, and bade us welcome, for he had learned some broken English amongst the Englishmen that came to fish at Monchiggon, and knew by name the most of the captains, commanders, and masters, that usually come. He was a man free in speech, so far as he could express his mind, and of a seemly carriage. We questioned him of many things. He was the

first savage we could meet withal. He said he was not of these parts, but of Morattiggon, and one of the *Sagamores* or lords thereof, and had been eight months in these parts; it lying hence a day's sail with a great wind, and five days by land. He discoursed of the whole country, and of every province, and of their *Sagamores*, and their number of men, and strength. The wind beginning to rise a little, we cast a horseman's coat about him, for he was stark naked, only a leather about his waist, with a fringe about a span long, or little more. He had a bow and two arrows, the one headed and the other unheaded. He was a tall straight man, the hair of his head black, long behind, only short before, none on his face at all. He asked some beer, but we gave him strong water, and biscuit, and butter, and cheese, and pudding, and a piece of a mallard; all which he liked well, and had been acquainted with such amongst the English. He told us the place where we now live is called *Patuxet*, and 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 have found none; so as there is none to hinder our possession, or lay claim to it. All the afternoon we spent in communication with him. We would gladly have been rid of him at night, but he was not willing to go this night; then we thought to carry him on ship board, wherewith he was well content, and went into the shallop; but the wind was high and water scant, that it could not return back. We lodged him that night at Stephen Hopkins' house, and watched him. The next day he went away back to the *Masa-soits*, from whence he said he came, who are our next bordering neighbours. They are sixty strong, as he saith. The *Nausites* are as near south-east of them, and are a hundred strong; and those were they of whom our people were encountered, as we before related. They are much incensed and provoked against the English, and about eight months ago slew three Englishmen, and two more hardly escaped by flight to *Monbiggon*. They were Sir Ferdinando Gorge's men, as this savage told us, as he did likewise of the *huggerie*, that is, *fight*, that our discoverers had with the *Nausites*, and of our tools that were taken out of the woods, which we willed him should be brought again, otherwise we would right ourselves. These people are ill affected towards the English, by reason of one Hunt, a master of a ship, who deceived the people, and got them under

colour of trucking with them, twenty out of this very place where we inhabit, and seven men from the Nausites, and carried them away, and sold them for slaves, like a wretched man (for £20 a man,) that cares not what mischief he doth for his profit.

Saturday, in the morning we dismissed the savage, and gave him a knife, a bracelet, and a ring. He promised within a night or two to come again, and to bring with him some of the Massasoyts, our neighbours, with such beavers' skins as they had to truck with us.

Saturday and Sunday, reasonable fair days. On this day came again the savage, and brought with him five other tall proper men. They had every man a deer's skin on him, and the principal of them had a wild cat's skin, or such like, on the one arm. They had most of them long hose up to their groins, close made; and above their groins to their waist another leather; they were altogether like the Irish trousers. They are of complexion like our English gypsies; no hair, or very little, on their faces; on their heads long hair to their shoulders, only cut before, some trussed up before with a feather, broad wise, like a fan, another a fox's tail hanging out. These left (according to our charge given him before,) their bows and arrows a quarter of a mile from our town. We gave them entertainment as we thought was fitting them. They did eat liberally of our English victuals; they made semblance unto us of friendship and amity; they sung and danced after their manner like anties. They brought with them in a thing like a bow-case (which the principal of them had about his waist,) a little of their corn pounded to powder, which, put to a little water, they eat. He had a little tobacco in a bag, but none of them drank but when he listed. Some of them had their faces painted black, from the forehead to the chin, four or five fingers broad; others after other fashions as they liked. They brought three or four skins, but we would not truck with them at all that day, but wished them to bring more, and we would truck for all, which they promised within a night or two, and would leave these behind them, though we were not willing they should, and they brought us all our tools again which were taken in the woods in our men's absence; so because of the day we dismissed them so soon as we could. But Samoset, our first acquaintance, either was sick or feigned himself so, and

would not go with them, and staid with us till Wednesday morning. Then we sent him to them, to know the reason they came not according to their words; and we gave him a hat, a pair of stockings and shoes, a shirt, and a piece of cloth to tie about his waist.

The Sabbath day, when we sent them from us, we gave every one of them some trifles, especially the principal of them. We carried them along with our arms to the place where they left their bows and arrows, whereat they were amazed, and two of them began to slink away, but that the other called them. When they took their arrows we bade them farewell, and they were glad; and so with many thanks given us they departed, with promise they would come again.

Monday and Tuesday proved fair days. We digged our grounds and sowed our garden seeds.

Wednesday, a fine warm day, we sent away Samoset.

That day we had again a meeting, to conclude of laws and orders for ourselves, and to confirm those military orders that were formerly propounded, and twice broken off by the savages coming. But so we were again the third time; for after we had been an hour together, on the top of the hill over against us two or three savages presented themselves, that made semblance of daring us, as we thought; so Captain Standish, with another, with their muskets went over to them, with two of the master's mates that followed them without arms, having two muskets with them. They whetted and rubbed their arrows and strings, and made show of defiance; but when our men drew near them they ran away. Thus we were again interrupted by them. This day, with much ado, we got our carpenter, that had been long sick of the scurvy, to fit our shallop, to fetch all from aboard.

Thursday, 22nd March, was a very fair warm day. About noon we met again about our public business, but we had scarce been an hour together but Samoset came again, and Squanto, the only native of Patuxat, where we now inhabit, who was one of the twenty captives that by Hunt were carried away, and had been in England, and dwelt in Cornhill with Mr. John Slanie, a merchant, and could speak a little English, with three others. And they brought with them some few skins to truck, and some red herrings newly taken and dried, but not salted, and signified unto us that their great Sagamore, Masasoyt, was hard by, with Quadequina his brother, and all their men. They could not

well express in English what they would, but after an hour the king came to the top of a hill over against us, and had in his train sixty men, that we could well behold them, and they us. We were not willing to send our governor to them, and they unwilling to come to us; so Squanto went again unto him, who brought word that we should send one to parley with him, which we did, which was Edward Winslow, to know his mind, and to signify the mind and will of our governor, which was to have trading and peace with him. We sent to the king a pair of knives, and a copper chain with a jewel at it. To Quadequina we sent likewise a knife, and a jewel to hang in his ear, and withal a pot of strong water, a good quantity of biscuit, and some butter, which were all willingly accepted. Our messenger made a speech unto him, that King James saluted him with words of love and peace, and did accept of him as his friend and ally, and that our governor desired to see him, and to truck with him, and to confirm a peace with him, as his next neighbour. He liked well of the speech and heard it attentively, though the interpreters did not well express it. After he had eaten and drank himself, and given the rest to his company, he looked upon our messenger's sword and armour which he had on, with intimation of his desire to buy it, but on the other side our messenger showed his unwillingness to part with it. In the end he left him in the custody of Quadequina his brother, and came over the brook, and some twenty men following him, leaving all their bows and arrows behind them. We kept six or seven as hostages for our messenger. Captain Standish and Mr. Williamson met the king at the brook, with half a dozen musketeers; they saluted him, and he them, so one going over, the one on the one side, and the other on the other, conducted him to a house then in building, where we placed a green rug and three or four cushions, then instantly came our governor with drum and trumpet after him, and some few musketeers. After salutations, our governor kissing his hand, the king kissed him, and so they sat down. The governor called for some strong water, and drank to him, and he drank a great draught that made him sweat all the while after; he called for a little fresh meat, which the king did eat willingly, and did give his followers. Then they treated of peace, which was,

I. That neither he nor any of his should injure or do hurt to any of our people.

II. And if any of his did hurt to any of ours, he should send the offender, that we might punish him.

III. That if any of our tools were taken away when our people were at work, he should cause them to be restored, and if ours did any harm to any of his, we would do the like to them.

IV. If any did unjustly war against him, we would aid him; if any did war against us, he should aid us.

V. He should send to his neighbour confederates, to certify them of this, that they might not wrong us, but might be likewise comprised in the conditions of peace.

VI. That when their men came to us, they should leave their bows and arrows behind them, as we should do our pieces when we came to them.

Lastly, that doing thus, King James would esteem of him as his friend and ally: all which the king seemed to like well, and it was applauded of his followers. All the while he sat by the governor, he trembled for fear. In his person he is a very lusty man, in his best years, an able body, grave of countenance, and spare of speech; in his attire little or nothing differing from the rest of his followers, only in a great chain of white bone beads about his neck, and at it behind his neck hangs a little bag of tobacco, which he drank and gave us to drink; his face was painted with a sad red like murrey, and oiled, both head and face, that he looked greasily. All his followers likewise were in their faces in part or in whole painted, some black, some red, some yellow, and some white, some with crosses and other antic works, some had skins on them, and some naked, all strong tall men in appearance. So after all was done, the governor conducted him to the brook, and there they embraced each other, and he departed, we diligently keeping our hostages. We expected our messenger coming, but anon word was brought us that Quadequina was coming, and our messenger was stayed till his return, who presently came and a troop with him, so likewise we entertained him, and conveyed him to the place prepared. He was very fearful of our pieces, and made signs of dislike that they should be carried away, whereupon commandment was given they should be laid away. He was a very proper tall young man, of a very modest and seemly countenance, and he did kindly like of our entertainment, so we conveyed him likewise as we did the king, but divers of their



people stayed still; when he was returned, then they dismissed our messenger. Two of his people would have stayed all night, but we would not suffer it. One thing I forgot, the king had in his bosom hanging in a string a great long knife. He marvelled much at our trumpet, and some of his men would sound it as well as they could. Samoset and Squanto stayed all night with us, and the king and all his men lay all night in the woods, not above half an English mile from us, and all their wives and women with them. They said that within eight or nine days they would come and set corn on the other side of the brook, and dwell there all summer, which is hard by us. That night we kept good watch, but there was no appearance of danger; the next morning divers of their people came over to us, hoping to get some victuals as we imagined; some of them told us the king would have some of us come to see him; Captain Standish and Isaac Allerton went venturously, who were welcomed of him after their manner: he gave them three or four ground nuts, and some tobacco. We cannot yet conceive but that he is willing to have peace with us, for they have seen our people sometimes alone two or three in the woods, at work and fowling, when as they offered them no harm as they might easily have done; and especially because he hath a potent adversary, the Narowhiganseis, (they are at war with him,) against whom he thinks we may be some strength to him, for our pieces are terrible unto them. This morning they stayed till ten or eleven o'clock, and our governor bid them send the king's kettle, and filled it full of pease, which pleased them well, and so they went their way.

Friday was a very fair day; Samoset and Squanto still remained with us. Squanto went at noon to fish for eels; at night he came home with as many as he could well lift in one hand, which our people were glad of; they were fat and sweet; he trod them out with his feet, and so caught them with his hands, without any other instrument.

This day we proceeded on with our common business, from which we had been so often hindered by the savages coming, and concluded both of military orders, and of some laws and orders as we thought behooveful for our present estate and condition, and did likewise choose our governor for this year, which was Mr. John Carver, a man well approved amongst us.

## THE JOURNEY TO PACKANOKIK.

---

THE preceding journal ends March 23, 1621, with a record of the last business transacted that day, in the re-election of Mr. Carver for governor. It was little more than a fortnight after this when the governor, so beloved and venerated by the colony, suddenly, in the midst of his work, sickened and died. They then chose Mr. Bradford governor, and Mr. Isaac Allerton as his assistant.

The next grand colonial business is that of the embassy to Massasoit at Packanokik, the account of which, by one of the ambassadors, follows immediately upon the journal. It will be seen, as stated in the account of their proceedings, that they set forward on the tenth of June, a date which is demonstrated to be a mistake, by comparison with the after record, and with the journal of Governor Bradford, as given by Mr. Prince. It may have been a mistake of the printers, or of Mr. Morton. At any rate, the account of the journey, as will be seen on examination, dating back from Saturday, the day on which they returned to Plymouth, shows that it must have commenced on Tuesday morning, occupying from Tuesday morning till Saturday night. This Tuesday, according to Prince's Chronology of the period, gathered from Governor Bradford's History and Register, must have been July 3, 1621.

The reader has already been introduced to "the great King Massasoit," in the previous account of the treaty of peace between him and Governor Bradford. The interview was brought about and managed through the friendship of Samoset and Squanto, especially the last, who perhaps had taught Samoset the use of that English word, *welcome*, with which the savage man, in such strange unexpected kindness, had saluted the civilized. The treaty with Massasoit was a simple and

primitive league of peace and friendship, and nothing had occurred for three months to interrupt it; and now the cause, in part, of this new ambassage was the desire of the Pilgrims to make just restitution for the taking of the corn which they had discovered and appropriated on their first landing at Cape Cod, intending at that time to pay for it as soon as they could find the owner. Massasoit, the great Sagamore, seems to have been a friendly man, and he had great cause to be thankful for the friendship of the Pilgrims, as well as they for his; but in the first interview he seems to have made but a "greasy" impression upon the spectators, though "an able body, grave of countenance, and spare of speech." Quadequina, his brother, is presented as "a very proper, tall young man, of a very modest and seemly countenance." The warlike tribe of the Narragansetts were enemies of Massasoit, for which reason he was the more glad to keep friendship with the Pilgrims, "their pieces being terrible unto them." Massasoit's sovereignty ran over a wide extent of country in Rhode Island and Massachusetts; in some places from bay to bay. He was the "sachem of the tribe possessing the country north of Narragansett Bay, and between the rivers of Providence and Taunton."<sup>1</sup> The present townships of Bristol, Warren, and Barrington, were under Massasoit. Namasket, the first town of his sovereignty through which the ambassadors passed, was the region of Middleborough and Bridgewater. Packanokik is described by Governor Bradford as about forty miles westward from Plymouth; "sometimes called Sowams and sometimes Pacanokik," says Mr. Prince, "which I suppose is afterwards called Mount Hope, and since named Bristol."<sup>2</sup>

Thus much for the characters and localities in the following narrative, which itself is one of the most interesting in the little collection of authentic and extraordinary pictures of savage and colonial life presented in this volume.

<sup>1</sup> Bancroft's Hist. United States, vol. i, p. 317.

<sup>2</sup> Prince's New England Chronology, vol. i, p. 102.

# A JOURNEY TO PACKANOKIK,

THE HABITATION OF

## THE GREAT KING, MASSASOIT,

AS ALSO OUR MESSAGE, THE ANSWER AND ENTERTAINMENT WE HAD OF HIM.

---

IT seemed good to the company, for many considerations, to send some amongst them to Massasoit, the greatest commander amongst the savages bordering about us; partly to know where to find them, if occasion served, as also to see their strength, discover the country, prevent abuses in their disorderly coming unto us, make satisfaction for some conceived injuries to be done on our part, and to continue the league of peace and friendship between them and us. For these, and the like ends, it pleased the governor to make choice of Stephen Hopkins and Edward Winslow to go unto him, and having a fit opportunity, by reason of a savage, called Tisquantum, (that could speak English,) coming unto us, with all expedition provided a horseman's coat, of red cotton, and laced with a slight lace, for a present, that both they and their message might be the more acceptable amongst them. The message was as follows: That forasmuch as his subjects came often and without fear upon all occasions amongst us, so we were now come unto him; and in witness of the love and goodwill the English bear unto him, the governor hath sent him a coat, desiring that the peace and amity that was between them and us might be continued, not that we feared them, but because we intended not to injure any, desiring to live peaceably; and as with all men, so especially with them, our nearest neighbours. But whereas his people came very often, and very many together

unto us, bringing for the most part their wives and children with them, they were welcome; yet we, being but strangers as yet at Patuxet, *alias* New Plymouth, and not knowing how our corn might prosper, we could no longer give them such entertainment as we had done, and as we desired still to do; yet if he would be pleased to come himself, or any special friend of his desired to see us, coming from him, they should be welcome. And to the end we might know them from others, our governor had sent him a copper chain, desiring if any messenger should come from him to us, we might know him by bringing it with him, and hearken and give credit to his message accordingly. Also requesting him that such as have skins should bring them to us, and that he would hinder the multitude from oppressing us with them. And whereas at our first arrival at Paomet, (called by us Cape Cod,) we found there corn buried in the ground, and finding no inhabitants, but some graves of dead new buried, took the corn, resolving if ever we could hear of any that had right thereunto, to make satisfaction to the full for it; yet since we understand the owners thereof were fled for fear of us, our desire was either to pay them with the like quantity of corn, English meal, or any other commodities we had to pleasure them withal; requesting him that some one of his men might signify so much unto them, and we would content him for his pains. And, last of all, our governor requested one favour of him, which was, that he would exchange some of their corn for seed with us, that we might make trial which best agreed with the soil where we live.

With these presents and message we set forward on the tenth of June, about nine o'clock in the morning, our guide resolving that night to rest at Namaschet, a town under Massasoit, and conceived by us to be very near, because the inhabitants flocked so thick upon every slight occasion amongst us, but we found it to be some fifteen English miles. On the way we found some ten or twelve men, women, and children, which had pestered us till we were weary of them; perceiving that (as the manner of them all is,) where victual is easiest to be got, there they live, especially in the summer; by reason whereof, our bay affording many lobsters, they resort every spring-tide thither, and now returned with us to Namaschet. Thither we came about three o'clock afternoon, the inhabitants entertaining us with joy, in the best manner they could, giving us a kind of bread called by

them *Maixium*, and the spawn of shads, which then they got in abundance, insomuch as they gave us spoons to eat them. With these they boiled musty acorns, but of the shads we ate heartily. After this they desired one of our men to shoot at a crow, complaining what damage they sustained in their corn by them, who shooting some fourscore off and killing, they much admired it, as other shots on other occasions. After this Tisquantum told us we should hardly in one day reach Pakanokik, moving us to go some eight miles farther, where we should find more store and better victuals than there: being willing to hasten our journey we went, and came thither at sun-setting, where we found many of the Namascheucks (they so calling the men of Namaschet) fishing upon a weir which they had made on a river which belonged to them, where they caught abundance of bass. These welcomed us also, gave us of their fish, and we them of our victuals, not doubting but we should have enough where ever we came. There we lodged in the open fields; for houses they had none, though they spent the most of the summer there. The head of this river is reported to be not far from the place of our abode; upon it are, and have been many towns, it being a good length. The ground is very good on both sides, it being for the most part cleared; thousands of men have lived there, who died in a great plague not long since; and pity it was and is to see so many goodly fields, and so well seated, without men to dress and manure the same. Upon this river dwelleth Massasoyt. It cometh into the sea at the Narrohigganset bay, where the Frenchmen so much use. A ship may go many miles up it, as the savages report, and a shallop to the head of it; but so far as we saw, we are sure a shallop may.

But to return to our journey: the next morning we broke our fast, took our leave and departed, being then accompanied with some six savages. Having gone about six miles by the river-side, at a known shoal place, it being low water, they spake to us to put off our brecches, for we must wade through. Here let me not forget the valour and courage of some of the savages on the opposite side of the river; for there were remaining alive only two men, both aged, especially the one being above threescore; these two espying a company of men entering the river, ran very swiftly and low in the grass to meet us at the bank, where with shrill voices and great courage standing

charged upon us with their bows; they demanded what we were, supposing us to be enemies, and thinking to take advantage on us in the water; but seeing we were friends, they welcomed us with such food as they had, and we bestowed a small bracelet of beads on them. Thus far we are sure the tide ebbs and flows.

Having here again refreshed ourselves, we proceeded in our journey, the weather being very hot for travel, yet the country so well watered that a man could scarce be dry but he should have a spring at hand to cool his thirst, besides small rivers in abundance; but the savages will not willingly drink but at a spring-head. When we came to any small brook where no bridge was, two of them desired to carry us through of their own accord; also fearing we were or would be weary, offered to carry our pieces, also if we would lay off any of our clothes, we should have them carried; and as the one of them had found more special kindness from one of the messengers, and the other savage from the other, so they showed their thankfulness accordingly in affording us all help and furtherance in the journey.

As we passed along, we observed that there were few places by the river but had been inhabited, by reason whereof much ground was clear, save of weeds which grew higher than our heads. There is much good timber, both oak, walnut-tree, fir, beech, and exceeding great chestnut-trees. The country in respect of the lying of it is both champaign and hilly, like many places in England. In some places it is very rocky, both above ground and in it; and though the country be wild and over-grown with woods, yet the trees stand not thick, but a man may well ride a horse amongst them.

Passing on at length, one of the company, an Indian, espied a man, and told the rest of it. We asked them if they feared any; they told us that if they were Narrohigganset men they would not trust them; whereat we called for our pieces and bid them not to fear, for though they were twenty, we two alone would not care for them. But they hailing him, he proved a friend, and had only two women with him; their baskets were empty, but they fetched water in their bottles, so that we drank with them, and departed. After we met another man with other two women, which had been at rendezvous by the salt-water, and their baskets were full of roasted crab-fishes, and other dried shell-fish, of which they gave us, and we ate and drank

with them, and gave each of the women a string of beads, and departed.

After we came to a town of Massasoyt's, where we ate oysters and other fish. From thence we went to Packanokik, but Massasoyt was not at home; there we stayed, he being sent for. When news was brought of his coming, our guide Tisquantum requested that at our meeting we would discharge our pieces; but one of us going about to charge his piece, the women and children through fear to see him take up his piece, ran away, and could not be pacified, till he laid it down again, who afterward were better informed by our interpreter.

Massasoyt being come, we discharged our pieces, and saluted him, who after their manner kindly welcomed us, and took us into his house, and set us down by him, where having delivered our foresaid message and presents, and having put the coat on his back, and the chain about his neck, he was not a little proud to behold himself, and his men also to see their king so bravely attired.

For answer to our message, he told us we were welcome, and he would gladly continue that peace and friendship which was between him and us; and for his men, they should no more pester us as they had done; also, that he would send to Paomet, and would help us with corn for seed, according to our request.

This being done, his men gathered near to him, to whom he turned himself, and made a great speech, they sometimes interposing, and as it were confirming and applauding him in that he said. The meaning whereof was (as far as we could learn) thus: Was not he Massasoyt, commander of the country about them? Was not such a town his, and the people of it? and should they not bring their skins unto us? To which they answered, they were his and would be at peace with us, and bring their skins to us. After this manner, he named at least thirty places, and their answer was as aforesaid to every one; so that as it was delightful, it was tedious unto us.

This being ended, he lighted tobacco for us, and fell to discoursing of England, and of the king's Majesty, marvelling that he would live without a wife. Also he talked of the Frenchmen, bidding us not to suffer them to come to Narrohigganset, for it was King James's country, and he also was King James's man. Late it grew, but victuals he offered none; for indeed he had not any, he being come so newly home. So we



desired to go to rest: he laid us on the bed with himself and his wife, they at the one end and we at the other, it being only planks laid a foot from the ground, and a thin mat upon them. Two more of his chief men for want of room pressed by and upon us; so that we were worse weary of our lodging than of our journey.

The next day, being Thursday, many of the sachems, or petty governors, came to see us, and many of their men also. There they went to their manner of games for skins and knives. There we challenged them to shoot with them for skins, but they durst not; only they desired to see one of us shoot at a mark, who shooting with hail-shot, they wondered to see the mark so full of holes. About one o'clock, Massasoyt brought two fishes that he had shot, they were like bream, but three times so big, and better meat. These being boiled, there were at least forty looked for share in them, the most ate of them. This meal only we had in two nights and a day, and had not one of us bought a partridge, we had taken our journey fasting. Very importunate he was to have us stay with them longer, but we desired to keep the Sabbath at home; and feared we should either be light-headed for want of sleep, for what with bad lodging, the savages' barbarous singing, (for they use to sing themselves asleep,) lice and fleas within doors, and muskitoes without, we could hardly sleep all the time of our being there; we much fearing, that if we should stay any longer, we should not be able to recover home for want of strength. So that on the Friday morning before sun-rising, we took our leave and departed, Massasoyt being both grieved and ashamed that he could no better entertain us, and retaining Tisquantum to send from place to place to procure truck for us, and appointing another called Tokamahamon in his place, whom we had found faithful before and after upon all occasions.

At this town of Massasoyt's, where we before ate, we were again refreshed with a little fish; and bought about a handful of meal of their parched corn, which was very precious at that time of the year, and a small string of dried shell-fish, as big as oysters. The latter we gave to the six savages that accompanied us, keeping the meal for ourselves. When we drank, we ate each a spoonful of it with a pipe of tobacco, instead of other victuals; and of this also we could not but give them, so long as it lasted. Five miles they led us to a house out of the

way in hope of victuals; but we found no body there, and so were but worse able to return home. That night we reached to the weir where we lay before, but the Namascheucks were returned; so that we had no hope of any thing there. One of the savages had shot a shad in the water, and a small squirrell as big as a rat, called a neuxis; the one half of either he gave us, and after went to the weir to fish. From hence we wrote to Plymouth, and sent Tokamahamon before to Namaschet, willing him from thence to send another, that he might meet us with food at Namaschet. Two men now only remained with us, and it pleased God to give them good store of fish, so that we were well refreshed. After supper we went to rest, and they to fishing again; more they got, and fell to eating afresh, and retained sufficient ready roast for all our breakfasts. About two o'clock in the morning, (Saturday, 7th July,) arose a great storm of wind, rain, lightning, and thunder, in such violent manner that we could not keep in our fire; and had the savages not roasted fish when we were asleep, we had set forward fasting; for the rain still continued with great violence, even the whole day through, till we came within two miles of home.

Being wet and weary, at length we came to Namaschet; there we refreshed ourselves, giving gifts to all such as had showed us any kindness. Amongst others, one of the six that came with us from Packanokik having before this on the way unkindly forsaken us, marvelled we gave him nothing, and told us what he had done for us; we also told him of some discourtesies he offered us, whereby he deserved nothing; yet we gave him a small trifle; whereupon he offered us tobacco: but the house being full of people, we told them he stole some by the way, and if it were of that we would not take it, for we would not receive that which was stolen upon any terms; if we did, our God would be angry with us, and destroy us. This abashed him, and gave the rest great content; but at our departure he would needs carry him on his back through a river whom he had formerly in some sort abused. Fain they would have had us to lodge there all night, and wondered we would set forth again in such weather; but God be praised, we came safe home that night, though wet, weary, and surbated.

†

## THE EXPEDITION TO NAUSET, (EASTHAM,) FOR THE LOST BOY.

---

THE preceding narrative ends with Saturday, the 7th of July, 1621. The narrative of the lost boy follows immediately upon that; it is the next matter recorded from Governor Bradford's Journal, by Mr. Prince, in his Chronology. He places it about the end of July. Bradford's account in Prince is as follows: "John Billington, a boy, being lost in the woods, the governor causes him to be inquired for among the natives. At length, Massasoit sends word he is at Nauset. He had wandered five days, lived on berries, then lit on an Indian plantation, twenty miles south of us, called Manomet, and they conveyed him to the people who first assaulted us; but the governor sends ten men in a shallop, with Squanto and Tokamahamon, to fetch him."

Turning to the journal of the Pilgrims, under date of December 5, 1620, we find the account of a providential deliverance from great danger incurred on board the *May-Flower*, through "the foolishness of a boy, one of Francis Billington's sons;" doubtless this same "young scapegrace," as Dr. Young very properly calls him, "who the next summer wandered off down the Cape as far as Eastham, causing great anxiety to the infant colony, and putting them to the trouble of sending an expedition after him." "The father of this boy," Dr. Young notifies the reader in his *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, "was not one of the Leyden church, but slipped in among the Pilgrims in England."<sup>1</sup> He was the person, as we have seen by the journal of the Pilgrims, under date of March, who had the vile distinction of being the author of the very first offence committed in the colony. He was hanged at length, in 1630, for murder. This

<sup>1</sup> Note in *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, page 149.

young "scapegrace" in the text, after whom the expedition described in the following narrative was undertaken, is probably an example of the manner in which such a worthless father would be likely to train his family. Governor Bradford could not comprehend how it was that such a profane wretch as Billington came to be shuffled in with the company of the Pilgrims.

Nauset was the place where the Pilgrims had their first encounter with the Indians, they having been enraged against the English by the villanies of Hunt, who carried off seven of the Nausites to sell them as slaves, and among them the two sons of the old woman, whose grief is related in the narrative. The place called "Manomet, twenty miles south of us," is Sandwich, and Nauset is the town or territory of Eastham, whither the explorers were going; the place called Manamoick is said to be Chatham, and the harbour of Cummaquid, where they put in for the night, is Barnstable harbour. These are all the localities that need to be noticed; and we only add, from Governor Bradford, in Prince's Chronology, that the person or persons mentioned at Manamoick were paid for their corn. "Those people also come and make their peace, and we give them full satisfaction for the corn we had formerly found in their country."<sup>1</sup> The Pilgrims were upright and kind in all their dealings with the Indians.

<sup>1</sup> Prince's New England Chronology, vol. i, p. 103.

## A VOYAGE TO THE KINGDOM OF NAUSET,

MADE BY TEN OF OUR MEN, TO SEEK A BOY THAT HAD LOST HIMSELF  
IN THE WOODS; WITH SUCH ACCIDENTS AS BEFEL US  
IN THAT VOYAGE.

---

THE eleventh of June we set forth, the weather being very fair; but ere we had been long at sea there arose a storm of wind and rain, with much lightning and thunder, insomuch that a spout arose not far from us; but, God be praised, it endured not long, and we put in that night for harbour at a place called Cummaquid, where we had some hope to find the boy. Two savages were in the boat with us; the one was Tisquantum, our interpreter; the other Tokamahamon, a special friend. It being night before we came in, we anchored in the midst of the bay, where we were dry at a low water. In the morning we espied savages seeking lobsters, and sent our two interpreters to speak with them, the channel being between them; where they told them what we were and for what we were come, willing them not at all to fear us, for we would not hurt them. Their answer was that the boy was well, but he was at Nauset; yet since we were there they desired us to come ashore and eat with them, which as soon as our boat floated we did, and went six ashore, having four pledges for them in the boat. They brought us to their Sachem, or governor, whom they call Jyanough, a man not exceeding twenty-six years of age, but very personable, gentle, courteous, and fair conditioned, indeed not like a savage, save for his attire. His entertainment was answerable to his parts, and his cheer plentiful and various.

One thing was very grievous unto us at this place. There was an old woman, whom we judged to be no less than a hundred years old, which came to see us, because sho never saw

English, yet could not behold us without breaking forth into great passion, weeping and crying excessively. We demanded the reason of it. They told us she had three sons who, when Mr. Hunt was in these parts, went aboard his ship to trade with him, and he carried them captives into Spain, (for Tisquantum at that time was carried away also,) by which means she was deprived of the comfort of her children in her old age. We told them we were sorry that any Englishman should give them that offence; that Hunt was a bad man, and that all the English that heard of it condemned him for the same; but for us we would not offer them any such injury though it would gain us all the skins in the country. So we gave her some small trifles, which somewhat appeased her.

After dinner we took boat for Nauset, Jyanough and two of his men accompanying us. Ere we came to Nauset, the day and tide were almost spent, insomuch as we could not go in with our shallop; but the sachem, or governor, of Cummaquid went ashore, and his men with him. We also sent Tisquantum to tell Aspinet, the sachem of Nauset, wherefore we came. The savages here came very thick amongst us, and were earnest with us to bring in our boat. But we neither well could, nor yet desired to do it, because we had less cause to trust them, being they only had formerly made an assault upon us in the same place, in time of our winter discovery for habitation. And indeed it was no marvel they did so; for howsoever, through snow or otherwise, we saw no houses, yet we were in the midst of them.

When our boat was aground they came very thick, but we stood therein upon our guard, not suffering any to enter except two; the one being of Maramoick, and one of those whose corn we had formerly found. We promised him restitution, and desired him either to come to Patuxet for satisfaction, or else we would bring them so much corn again. He promised to come; we used him very kindly for the present. Some few skins we got there, but not many.

After sunset, Aspinet came with a great train, and brought the boy with him, one bearing him through the water. He had not less than a hundred with him, the half whereof came to the shallop side unarmed with him, the other stood aloof with their bows and arrows. There he delivered us the boy, behung with beads, and made peace with us; we bestowing a

knife on him, and likewise on another that first entertained the boy and brought him thither. So they departed from us.

Here we understood that the Narrohiggansets had spoiled some of Massasoit's men, and taken him. This struck some fear in us, because the colony was so weakly guarded, the strength thereof being abroad. But we set forth with resolution to make the best haste home we could; yet the wind being contrary, having scarce any fresh water left, and at least sixteen leagues from home, we put in again for the shore. There we met again with Jyanough, the sachem of Cummaquid, and the most of his town, both men, women, and children, with him. He being still willing to gratify us, took a runlet and led our men in the dark a great way for water, but could find none good; yet brought such as there was on his neck with them. In the meantime, the women joined hand in hand, singing and dancing before the shallop; the men also showing all the kindness they could, Jyanough himself taking a bracelet from about his neck, and hanging it upon one of us.

Again we set out, but to small purpose; for we got but little homeward. Our water, also, was very brackish, and not to be drunk.

The next morning Jyanough espied us again, and ran after us. We being resolved to go to Cummaquid again to water, took him into the shallop, whose entertainment was not inferior unto the former.

The soil at Nauset and here is alike, even and sandy; not so good for corn as where we are. Ships may safely ride in either harbour. In the summer they abound with fish. Being now watered, we put forth again, and by God's providence came safely home that night.

## THE EXPEDITION TO NAMASCHET, OR MIDDLE- BOROUGH.

---

THE next narrative in this volume is the fruit of the treaty of the Pilgrims with the great King Massasoit. On their return from Nauset, word having been brought to the Pilgrims concerning the conspiracy against Massasoit, and information also that their friend Squanto was either killed or in great danger, they resolved at once upon the following expedition. Mr. Prince records it in his *Chronology* under date of August, 13th, 1621, as follows:

“At this the Governor assembles our company, and taking counsel, 'tis 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 us intelligence, or do us any service, but would next fall upon us, etc. We therefore resolve to send ten men to-morrow, with Hobamok, to seize our foes in the night, if Squanto be killed to cut off Coubitant's head, but hurt only those who had a hand in the murder, and retain Nepeof, another sachem in the confederacy, till we hear of Massasoit.”<sup>1</sup>

The next day, August 14th, they set out, and after complete success in their expedition, returned home August 15th, at night, attended by many friends, and bringing three wounded savages, whom they cured of their wounds, and sent back again. The consequences of this expedition were happy for the Colony. “After this,” says Governor Bradford in Prince, “we have many gratulations 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 Massasoit

<sup>1</sup> Prince's *New England Chronology*, vol. i, p. 100.



to be reconciled. Yea, Canonicus, chief sachem of the Narragansetts, sends a messenger to treat of peace."

Under date of September 13th, 1621, it is also added that nine sachems subscribed an instrument of submission to King James, whose names are given. "Yea Massasoit 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, Nauset, Cummaquid, Namaschet, with divers others, who dwell about the bays of Patuxet and Massachusetts; and all this by friendly usage, love and peace, just and honest carriage, good counsel, and so forth."

Such were the happy fruits of the kind, upright, and energetic character and dealings of the Pilgrims.

A JOURNEY TO THE KINGDOM OF NAMASCHET,  
IN DEFENCE OF THE GREAT KING, MASSASOYT,  
AGAINST THE NARROHIGGANSETS, AND TO REVENGE THE SUPPOSED  
DEATH OF OUR INTERPRETER, TISQUANTUM.

---

AT our return from Nauset, we found it true that Massasoyt was put from his country by the Narrohiggansets. Word also was brought unto us that one Coubitant, a petty sachem or governor under Massasoyt, (whom they ever feared to be too conversant with the Narrohiggansets) was at Namaschet, who sought to draw the hearts of Massasoyt's subjects from him, speaking also of us, storming at the peace between Nauset, Cummaquid, and us, and at Tisquantum, the worker of it; also at Tokamahamon, and one Hobbamock (two Indians or Lemes,<sup>1</sup> one of which he would treacherously have murdered a little before, being a special and trusty man of Massasoyt's). Tokamahamon went to him, but the other two would not; yet put their lives in their hands, privately went to see if they could hear of their king; and lodging at Namaschet were discovered to Coubitant, who set a guard to beset the house, and took Tisquantum (for he had said, if he were dead, the English had lost their tongue). Hobbamock seeing that Tisquantum was taken, and Coubitant held a knife at his breast, being a strong and stout man, brake from him and came to New Plymouth, full of fear and sorrow for Tisquantum, whom he thought to be slain.

Upon this news the company assembled together, and resolved on the morrow to send ten men armed to Namaschet and

<sup>1</sup> Or *Lemes*. Dr. Young regards this as a mistake of the printers for *our allies*.

Hobbamock, for their guide, to revenge the supposed death of Tisquantum on Coubitant our bitter enemy, and to retain Nepeof, another sachem or governor, who was of this confederacy, till we heard what was become of our friend Massasoyt.

On the morrow, (August 14, 1621,) we set out ten men armed, who took their journey as aforesaid, but the day proved very wet. When we supposed we were within three or four miles of Namaschet, we went out of the way and staid there till night, because we would not be discovered. There we consulted what to do; and thinking best to beset the house at midnight, each was appointed to his task by the Captain, all men encouraging one another, to the utmost of their power.

By night our guide lost his way, which much discouraged our men, being we were wet, and weary of our arms; but one of our men, having been before at Namaschet, brought us into the way again.

Before we came to the town we sat down and ate such as our knapsack afforded; that being done, we threw them aside, and all such things as might hinder us, and so went on and beset the house, according to our last resolution. Those that entered, demanded if Coubitant were not there; but fear had bereft the savages of speech. We charged them not to stir, for if Coubitant were not there, we would not meddle with them; if he were, we came principally for him, to be avenged on him for the supposed death of Tisquantum, and other matters; but howsoever we would not at all hurt their women or children. Notwithstanding some of them pressed out at a private door and escaped, but with some wounds. At length perceiving our principal ends, they told us Coubitant was returned with all his train, and that Tisquantum was yet living, and in the town, offering some tobacco, other such as they had to eat. In this hurley-burley we discharged two pieces at random, which much terrified all the inhabitants, except Tisquantum and Tokamahamon, who though they knew not our end in coming, yet assured them of our honesty, that we would not hurt them. Those boys that were in the house seeing our care of women, often cried *Neensquacs!* that is to say, I am a woman! the women also hanging upon Hobbamock, calling him *Towam*, that is, Friend. But to be short, we kept them we had, and made them make a fire that we might see to search the house. In the mean time, Hobbamock got on the top of the house, and called Tisquantum

and Tokamahamon, which came unto us accompanied with others, some armed and others naked. Those that had bows and arrows we took them away, promising them again when it was day. The house we took for our better safeguard; but released those we had taken, manifesting whom we came for and wherefore.

On the next morning we marched into the midst of the town, and went to the house of Tisquantum to breakfast. Thither came all whose hearts were upright towards us, but all Coubitant's faction were fled away. There in the midst of them we manifested again our intendment, assuring them that although Coubitant had now escaped us, yet there was no place should secure him and his from us, if he continued his threatening us, and provoking others against us, who had kindly entertained him, and never intended evil towards him till he now so justly deserved it. Moreover, if Massasoyt did not return in safety from Narrohigganset, or if hereafter he should make any insurrection against him, or offer violence to Tisquantum, Hobbamock, or any of Massasoyt's subjects, we would revenge it upon him, to the overthrow of him and his. As for those were wounded, we were sorrow for it, though themselves procured it in not staying in the house at our command; yet if they would return home with us, our surgeon should heal them.

At this offer, one man and a woman that were wounded went home with us, Tisquantum and many other known friends accompanying us, and offering all help that might be by carriage of any thing we had to ease us. So that by God's good providence we safely returned home the morrow night after we set forth.

## EXPEDITION TO THE MASSACHUSETTS.

---

THE next and last narrative in this volume is that of the expedition to Boston bay, and the country of the Massachusetts. The preceding narrative of the journey to Namaschet ends Aug. 15th, 1621; this begins about a month afterwards, September 18th, 1621. The sachem of the point of country whither their visit was directed, which about ten years after was to be called Boston, was under the sovereignty of Massasoit. The present expedition was one of peace and commerce, or "truck" with the natives, according to the expression used in the Journal.

The reader will remark with surprise, on this occasion, as on some others recorded in the narratives, the extreme fear in which the Indians seem to have stood of the English, shaking and trembling for terror. It is probable that this was partly owing to the report which Squanto had spread among them, that the Pilgrims had in their possession a cask containing the Great Plague, which had so fearfully desolated the country, and that they could let it out at pleasure. The poor creatures seem sometimes to have expected that the very sight and presence of the Pilgrims would make their bodies break out in the deadly carbuncles of the pestilence.

This expedition ends Sept. 20th, 1621. The record of it in Prince's Chronology is succeeded by the following Summer Note from Gov. Bradford: "All the summer, no want; while some were trading, others were fishing cod, bass, etc. We now gather in our harvest; and as cold weather advances, come in store of water-fowl, wherewith this place abounds, though they by degrees decrease; as also abundance of wild turkeys, with venison, etc. Fit our houses against winter, are in health, and have all things in plenty."

A RELATION OF OUR VOYAGE TO MASSACHUSETS,  
AND WHAT HAPPENED THERE.

---

IT seemed good to the company in general, that though the Massachusets have often threatened us, (as we were informed) yet we should go amongst them, partly to see the country, partly to make peace with them, and partly to procure their truck.

For these ends the governor chose ten men, fit for the purpose, and sent Tisquantum, and two other savages, to bring us to speech with the people, and interpret for us.

We set out about midnight, (18th Sept., 1621) the tide then serving for us; we supposing it to be nearer than it is, thought to be there the next morning betimes; but it proved well near twenty leagues from New Plymouth.

We came into the bottom of the Bay, but being late we anchored and lay in the shallop, not having seen any of the people. The next morning we put in for the shore. There we found many lobsters that had been gathered together by the savages, which we made ready under a cliff.<sup>1</sup> The captain set two sentinels behind the cliff to the landward to secure the shallop, and taking a guide with him, and four of our company, went to seek the inhabitants, where they met a woman coming for her lobsters, they told her of them, and contented her for them. She told them where the people were. Tisquantum went to them, the rest returned, having direction which way to bring the shallop to them.

The sachem or governor of this place is called Obbatine-wat, and though he live in the bottom of the Massachuset bay,

<sup>1</sup> Supposed Copp's Hill.

yet he is under Massasoyt. He used us very kindly; he told us he durst not then remain in any settled place, for fear of the Tarentines. Also the squa-sachem, or Massaachusetts queen, was an enemy to him.

We told him of divers sachems that had acknowledged themselves to be king James's men, and if he also would submit himself, we would be his safeguard from his enemies; which he did, and went along with us to bring us to the squa-sachem. Again we crossed the bay, which is very large, and hath at least fifty islands in it; but the certain number is not known to the inhabitants. Night it was before we came to that side of the bay where this people were. On shore the savages went, but found nobody. That night also we rode at anchor aboard the shallop.

On the morrow we went ashore, all but two men, and marched in arms up the country. Having gone three miles, we came to a place where corn had been newly gathered, a house pulled down, and the people gone. A mile from hence, Nanepaschet, their king, in his lifetime had lived. His house was not like others, but a scaffold was largely built with poles and planks some six feet from the ground, and the house upon that, being situated on the top of a hill.

Not far from hence, in a bottom, we came to a fort built by their deceased king, the manner thus: there were poles some thirty or forty feet long, stuck in the ground as thick as they could be set one by another, and with these they enclosed a ring some forty or fifty feet over. A trench breast high was digged on each side; one way there was to go into it with a bridge. In the midst of this palisade stood the frame of a house, wherein being dead he lay buried.

About a mile from hence, we came to such another, but seated on the top of a hill; here Nanepaschet was killed, none dwelling in it since the time of his death. At this place we stayed, and sent two savages to look for the inhabitants, and to inform them of our ends in coming, that they might not be fearful of us. Within a mile of this place they found the women of the place together, with their corn on heaps, which we supposed them to be fled for fear of us, and the more because in divers places they had newly pulled down their houses, and for haste in one place had left some of their corn covered with a mat, and nobody with it.

With much fear they entertained us at first, but seeing our gentle carriage towards them, they took heart and entertained us in the best manner they could, boiling cod and such other things as they had for us. At length with much sending for, came one of their men, shaking and trembling for fear. But when he saw we intended them no hurt, but came to truck, he promised us his skins also. Of him we enquired for their queen, but it seemed she was far from thence, at least we could not see her.

Here Tisquantum would have had us rifle the savage women, and taken their skins, and all such things as might be serviceable for us; for, said he, they are a bad people, and have often threatened you. But our answer was, Were they never so bad, we would not wrong them, or give them any just occasion against us; for their words, we little weighed them, but if they once attempted any thing against us, then we would deal far worse than he desired. Having well spent the day, we returned to the shallop, almost all the women accompanying us, to truck, who sold their coats from their backs, and tied boughs about them, but with great shamefacedness, for indeed they are more modest than some of our English women are; we promised them to come again to them, and they us, to keep their skins.

Within this bay the savages say there are two rivers; the one whereof we saw having a fair entrance, but we had no time to discover it. Better harbours for shipping cannot be than here are. At the entrance of the bay are many rocks; and in all likelihood very good fishing ground. Many, yea most of the islands have been inhabited, some being cleared from end to end, but the people are all dead or removed.

Our victual growing scarce, the wind coming fair, and having a light moon, we set out at evening, and through the goodness of God, came safely home before noon the day following. ...



## APPENDIX

---

### MR. WINSLOW'S LETTER.

---

THE following letter to a loving and old friend, as the signature imports, is from Edward Winslow. Between this and the preceding narrative of the Expedition to the Massachusetts is an interval of three months; that is, from 20th September to 13th December, when the ship sailed which carried Mr. Winslow's letter. That ship was the *Fortune*, which arrived at Cape Cod, 9th November, with thirty-five persons to be added to the Pilgrim colony. Among them came Mr. Cushman, who however returned to England in the same vessel, according to appointment with the merchant adventurers.

By the 11th of December the Colonists had built seven dwelling-houses; four for the use of the plantation, and had "made provision for divers others." Meantime, "both Massasoit, the greatest king of the natives, and all the princes and people round about, had made peace with them; seven of them at once sent their messengers for that end." It was under these favourable circumstances, and in the indulgence of such hopes as would naturally grow out of a state of things like that mentioned in Governor Bradford's Summer Note aforesaid, that this letter from Mr. Winslow was written. Only the bright side was permitted to be seen. But the very addition which the *Fortune* brought to the numbers of the colony, without any adequate supply of provisions, was a preparation of evil. Besides this, the Pilgrims were compelled, out of their scanty stock, to help victual the *Fortune* for her return voyage; so that soon after her departure grim famine began to look them in the face.

Mr. Winslow's letter is dated at Plymouth, the 11th of December, and that is the latest date to which this volume of the Pilgrim narrative brings us. The summer had been

delightful, the climate lovely, the natural fruits of the earth abundant; grapes, strawberries, and budding and blossoming roses, in such sweetness and variety, that for a little while New England looked like a Paradise. The severest trials of the colony, by the early mortality, had been passed through, and even the opening winter looked promising; but the dread trial by famine they had yet to endure.

---

A LETTER SENT FROM NEW ENGLAND TO A FRIEND IN THESE PARTS, SETTING FORTH A BRIEF AND TRUE DECLARATION OF THE WORTH OF THAT PLANTATION; AS ALSO CERTAIN USEFUL DIRECTIONS FOR SUCH AS INTEND A VOYAGE INTO THOSE PARTS.

LOVING AND OLD FRIEND,—Although I received no letter from you by this ship, yet forasmuch as I know you expect the performance of my promise, which was to write unto you truly and faithfully of all things, I have therefore at this time sent unto you accordingly, referring you for further satisfaction to our more large relations. You shall understand that in this little time that a few of us have been here, we have built seven dwelling-houses, and four for the use of the plantation, and have made preparation for divers others. We set, the last spring, some twenty acres of Indian corn, and sowed some six acres of barley and pease; and, according to the manner of the Indians, we manured our ground with herrings, or rather shads, which we have in great abundance, and take with great ease at our doors. Our corn did prove well, and God be praised we had a good increase of Indian corn, and our barley indifferent good; but our pease not worth the gathering, for we feared they were too late sown. They came up very well, and blossomed, but the sun parched them in the blossom. Our harvest being gotten in, our governor sent four men on fowling, that so we might after a more special manner rejoice together, after we had gathered the fruit of our labours. They four in one day killed as much fowl as, with a little help beside, served the company almost a week; at which time, amongst other recreations, we exercised our arms, many of the Indians coming

amongst us, and amongst the rest their greatest king, Massasoit, with some ninety men, whom for three days we entertained and feasted; and they went out and killed five deers, which they brought to the plantation and bestowed on our governor, and upon the captain, and others. And although it be not always so plentiful as it was at this time with us, yet by the goodness of God we are so far from want that we often wish you partakers of our plenty. We have found the Indians very faithful in their covenant of peace with us; very loving, and ready to pleasure us. We often go to them, and they come to us. Some of us have been fifty miles by land in the country with them, the occasions and relations whereof you shall understand by our general and more full declaration of such things as are worth the noting. Yea, it hath pleased God so to possess the Indians with a fear of us, and love unto us, that not only the greatest king amongst them, called Massasoit, but also all the princes and peoples round about us, have either made suit unto us, or been glad of any occasion to make peace with us, so that seven of them at once have sent their messengers to us to that end. Yea, an isle at sea which we never saw, hath also, together with the former, yielded willingly to be under the protection, and subjects to our sovereign lord, King James; so that there is now great peace amongst the Indians themselves, which was not formerly, neither would have been but for us; and we for our part walk as peaceably and safely in the wood as in the highways in England. We entertain them familiarly in our houses, and they as friendly bestow their venison on us. They are a people without any religion, or knowledge of any God, yet very trusty, quick of apprehension, ripe witted, just; the men and women go naked, only a skin about their middles. For the temper of the air here, it agreeth well with that in England, and if there be any difference at all, this is somewhat hotter in summer. Some think it to be colder in winter, but I cannot out of experience so say; the air is very clear, and not foggy, as hath been reported. I never in my life remember a more seasonable year than we have here enjoyed; and if we have once but kine, horses, and sheep, I make no question but men might live as contented here as in any part of the world. For fish and fowl, we have great abundance; fresh cod in the summer is but coarse meat with us; our bay is full of lobsters all the summer, and affordeth variety of other fish. In September

we can take a hogshead of eels in a night with small labour, and can dig them out of their beds all the winter. We have mussels and othus<sup>1</sup> at our doors. Oysters we have none near, but we can have them brought by the Indians when we will. All the spring-time the earth sendeth forth naturally very good salad herbs. Here are grapes, white and red, and very sweet and strong also; strawberries, gooseberries, rasps, etc. plums of three sorts, white, black, and red, being almost as good as a damson; abundance of roses, white, red, and damask; single, but very sweet indeed. The country wanteth only industrious men to employ; for it would grieve your hearts if, as I, you had seen so many miles together by goodly rivers uninhabited, and withal to consider those parts of the world wherein you live to be even greatly burdened with abundance of people. These things I thought good to let you understand, being the truth of things as near as I could experimentally take knowledge of, and that you might on our behalf give God thanks who had dealt so favourably with us.

Our supply of men from you came on the 9th of November, 1621, putting in at Cape Cod, some eight or ten leagues from us. The Indians that dwell thereabout were they who were owners of the corn which we found in caves, for which we have given them full content, and are in great league with them. They sent us word there was a ship near unto them, but thought it to be a Frenchman; and indeed, for ourselves, we expected not a friend so soon. But when we perceived that she made for our bay, the governor commanded a great piece to be shot off, to call home such as were abroad at work; whereupon every man, yea, boy, that could handle a gun were ready, with full resolution that if she were an enemy, we would stand in our just defence, not fearing them; but God provided better for us than we supposed. These came all in health unto us, not any being sick by the way, (otherwise than by sea-sickness,) and so continue at this time, by the blessing of God. The goodwife Ford was delivered of a son the first night she landed, and both of them are very well. When it pleaseth God we are settled and fitted for the fishing business, and other trading, I doubt not but, by the blessing of God, the gain will give content to all. In the meantime, that we have gotten we have sent by this ship; and though it be not much, yet it will witness for us

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps this is a misprint for the word *cockles*.

that we have not been idle, considering the smallness of our number all this summer. We hope the merchants will accept of it, and be encouraged to furnish us with things needful for further employment, which will also encourage us to put forth ourselves to the uttermost. Now, because I expect your coming unto us, with other of our friends, whose company we much desire, I thought good to advertise you of a few things needful. Be careful to have a very good bread-room to put your biscuits in; let your cask for beer and water be iron-bound for the first tier, if not more; let not your meat be dry-salted, none can better do it than the sailors; let your meal be so hard trod in your cask that you shall need an adze or hatchet to work it out with. Trust not too much on us for corn at this time; for by reason of this last company that came depending wholly on us, we shall have little enough till harvest; be careful to come by some of your meal to spend by the way, it will much refresh you. Build your cabins as open as you can, and bring good store of clothes and bedding with you. Bring every man a musket or fowling-piece; let your piece be long in the barrel, and fear not the weight of it, for most of our shooting is from stands. Bring juice of lemons, and take it fasting; it is of good use. For hot waters, aniseed-water is the best; but use it sparingly. If you bring any thing for comfort in the country, butter or salad oil, or both, is very good. Our Indian corn, even the coarsest, maketh as pleasant meat as rice; therefore spare that, unless to spend by the way. Bring paper and linseed oil for your windows, with cotton-yarn for your lamps. Let your shot be most for big fowls, and bring store of powder and shot. I forbear further to write for the present, hoping to see you by the next return; so I take my leave, commending you to the LORD for a safe conduct unto us: resting in him,

Your loving Friend,

E. W.

PLYMOUTH, IN NEW ENGLAND, }  
 11th December, 1621. }

## MR. CUSHMAN'S REASONS.

---

THE following document, according to the signature, is from Mr. Cushman. It was published with this Journal of the Pilgrims, as the closing document in the volume, to persuade good persons who were hesitating to join the colony. Mr. Cushman had just spent a month with the Pilgrims at Plymouth, had bidden them farewell to sail in the Fortune for England, Dec. 13th, 1621, and arrived in London about two months afterwards, in February, 1622. During the little time while he was with the Pilgrims, he delivered for the benefit of the Colony a discourse on the sin and danger of self-love; an excellent and pithy discourse, of a tenor very similar to that of the "Reasons and Considerations," following in this volume. Mr. Cushman was a man of ability and integrity, and of a public and self-denying spirit.

---

### REASONS AND CONSIDERATIONS TOUCHING THE LAWFULNESS OF REMOVING OUT OF ENGLAND INTO THE PARTS OF AMERICA.

FORASMUCH as many exceptions are daily made against the going into, and inhabiting of foreign desert places, to the hinderances of plantations abroad, and the increase of distractions at home, it is not amiss that some which have been ear-witnesses of the exceptions made, and are either agents or abettors of such removals and plantations, do seek to give content to the world, in all things that possibly they can.

And although the most of the opposites are such as either dream of raising their fortunes here, to that then which there is nothing more unlike, or such as affecting their home-born

country so vehemently, as that they had rather with all their friends beg, yea starve in it, than undergo a little difficulty in seeking abroad; yea, are there some who, out of doubt in tenderness of conscience, and fear to offend God by running before they be called, are straitened and do straiten others from going to foreign plantations.

For whose cause especially, I have been drawn out of my good affection to them, to publish some reasons that might give them content and satisfaction, and also stay and stop the wilful and witty caviller; and herein I trust I shall not be blamed of any godly wise, though through my slender judgment I should miss the mark, and not strike the nail on the head, considering it is the first attempt that hath been made (that I know of) to defend those enterprises. Reason would therefore, that if any man of deeper reach and better judgment see further or otherwise, that he rather instruct me, than deride me.

And being studious for brevity, we must first consider, that whereas God of old did call and summon our fathers by predictions, dreams, visions, and certain illuminations to go from their countries, places, and habitations, to reside and dwell here or there, and to wander up and down from city to city, and land to land, according to his will and pleasure. Now there is no such calling to be expected for any matter whatsoever, neither must any so much as imagine that there will now be any such thing. God did once so train up his people, but now he doth not, but speaks in another manner; and so we must apply ourselves to God's present dealing, and not to his wonted dealing; and as the miracle of giving *manna* ceased, when the fruits of the land became plenty, so God having such a plentiful storehouse of directions in his holy word, there must not now any extraordinary revelations be expected.

But now the ordinary examples and precepts of the Scriptures reasonably and rightly understood and applied, must be the voice and word, that must call us, press us, and direct us in every action.

Neither is there any land or possession now, like unto the possession which the Jews had in *Canaan*, being legally holy and appropriated unto a holy people, the seed of Abraham, in which they dwelt securely, and had their days prolonged, it being by an immediate voice said, that he (the Lord) gave it them as a land of rest after their weary travels, and a type of

*eternal* rest in heaven, but now there is no land of that sanctimony, no land so appropriated, none typical; much less any that can be said to be given of God to any nation as was Canaan, which they and their seed must dwell in, till God sendeth upon them sword or captivity; but now we are in all places strangers and pilgrims, travellers and sojourners, most properly, having no dwelling but in this earthen tabernacle; our dwelling is but a wandering, and our abiding but as a fleeting, (so were the Jews, but yet their temporal blessings and inheritances were more large than ours,) and in a word our home is no where, but in the heavens; in that house not made with hands, whose maker and builder is God, and to which all ascend that love the coming of our Lord Jesus.

Though then there may be reasons to persuade a man to live in this or that land, yet there cannot be the same reasons which the Jews had, but now as natural, civil, and religious bands tie men, so they must be bound, and as good reasons for things terrene and heavenly appear, so they must be led. And so here falleth in our question, how a man that is here born and bred, and hath lived some years, may remove himself into another country.

I answer, a man must not respect only to live, and do good to himself, but he should see where he can live to do most good to others; for as one saith, *He whose living is but for himself, it is time he were dead.* Some men there are who of necessity must here live, as being tied to duties either to Church, Commonwealth, household, kindred, etc., but others, and that many, who do no good in none of these, nor can do none, as being not able, or not in favour, or as wanting opportunity, and live as outcasts; nobodies, eye-sores, eating but for themselves, teaching but themselves, and doing good to none, either in soul or body, and so pass over days, years, and months, yea so live and so die. Now such should lift up their eyes and see whether there be not some other place and country to which they may go to do good and have use towards others of that knowledge, wisdom, humanity, reason, strength, skill, faculty, etc. which God hath given them for the service of others and his own glory.

But not to pass the bounds of modesty so far as to name any, though I confess I know many, who sit here still with their talent in a napkin, having notable endowments both of



body and mind, and might do great good if they were in some places, which here do none, nor can do none, and yet through fleshly fear, niceness, straitness of heart, etc. sit still and look on, and will not hazard a draehm of health, nor a day of pleasure, nor an hour of rest, to further the knowledge and salvation of the sons of Adam in that new world, where a drop of the knowledge of Christ is most precious, which is here not set by. Now what shall we say to such a profession of Christ, to which is joined no more denial of a man's self? But some will say, What right have I to go live in the heathen's country?

Letting pass the ancient discoveries, contracts, and agreements which our Englishmen have long since made in those parts, together with the acknowledgment of the histories and chronicles of other nations, who profess the land of America from the Cape de Florida unto the bay of Canada (which is south and north three hundred leagues and upwards, and east and west farther than yet hath been discovered) is proper to the king of England; yet letting that pass, lest I be thought to meddle further than it concerns me, or further than I have discerning, I will mention such things as are within my reach, knowledge, sight, and practice, since I have travailed in these affairs.

And first, seeing we daily pray for the conversion of the heathen, we must consider whether there be not some ordinary means and course for us to take to convert them, or whether prayer for them be only referred to God's extraordinary work from heaven. Now it seemeth unto me that we ought also to endeavour and use the means to convert them, and the means cannot be used unless we go to them, or they come to us. To us they cannot come, our land is full. To them we may go, their land is empty.

This then is a sufficient reason to prove our going thither to live, lawful. Their land is spacious and void, and there are few, and do but run over the grass, as do also the foxes and wild beasts. They are not industrious, neither have art, science, skill, or faculty to use either the land or the commodities of it, but all spoils, rots, and is marred for want of manuring, gathering, ordering, etc. As the ancient patriarchs therefore removed from straiter places into more roomy, where the land lay idle and waste and none used it, though there dwelt inhabitants by them, so is it lawful now to take a land which none useth, and make use of it.

And as it is a common land, or unused and undressed country, so we have it by common consent, composition, and agreement, which agreement is double. First, the imperial governor Massasoit, whose circuits in likelihood are larger than England and Scotland, hath acknowledged the king's Majesty of England to be his master and commander, and that once in my hearing, yea, and in writing, under his hand to Captain Standish, both he and many other kings which are under him, as Pamet, Nauset, Cummaquid, Narrohigganset, Namaschet, etc. with divers others that dwell about the bays of Patuxet, and Massachusetts. Neither hath this been accomplished by threats and blows, or shaking of sword, and sound of trumpet, for as our faculty that way is small, and our strength less, so our warring with them is after another manner, namely, by friendly usage, love, peace, honest and just carriage, good counsel, etc. that so we and they may not only live in peace in that land, and they yield subjection to an earthly prince, but that as voluntaries they may be persuaded at length to embrace the Prince of Peace, Christ Jesus, and rest in peace with him for ever.

Secondly, this composition is also more particular and applicatory as touching ourselves there inhabiting. The emperor, by a joint consent, hath promised and appointed us to live at peace where we will in all his dominions, taking what place we will, and as much land as we will, and bringing as many people as we will, and that for these two causes: First, because we are the servants of James, king of England, whose the land (as he confesseth) is; second, because he hath found us just, honest, kind, and peaceable, and so loves our company; yea, and that in these things there is no dissimulation on his part, nor fear of breach (except our security engender in them some unthought of treachery, or our uncivility provoke them to anger) is most plain in other relations, which show that the things they did were more out of love than out of fear.

It being then first a vast and empty chaos; secondly, acknowledged the right of our sovereign king; thirdly, by a peaceable composition in part possessed of divers of his loving subjects; I see not who can doubt or call in question the lawfulness of inhabiting or dwelling there, but that it may be as lawful for such as are not tied upon some special occasion here, to live there as well as here, yea, and as the enterprise is weighty and difficult, so the honour is more worthy, to plant a

rude wilderness, to enlarge the honour and fame of our dread sovereign, but chiefly to display the efficacy and power of the Gospel both in zealous preaching, professing, and wise walking under it, before the faces of these poor blind infidels.

As for such as object the tediousness of the voyage thither, the danger of pirates' robbery, of the savages' treachery, etc. these are but lions in the way; and it were well for such men if they were in heaven, for who can show them a place in this world where iniquity shall not compass them at the heels, and where they shall have a day without grief, or a lease of life for a moment; and who can tell but God what dangers may lie at our doors, even in our native country, or what plots may be abroad, or when God will cause our sun to go down at noon-day, and in the midst of our peace and security lay upon us some lasting scourge for our so long neglect and contempt of his most glorious Gospel.

*Ob.* But we have here great peace, plenty of the Gospel, and many sweet delights and variety of comforts.

*Ans.* True indeed, and far be it from us to deny and diminish the least of these mercies; but have we rendered unto God thankful obedience for this long peace, whilst other peoples have been at wars? Have we not rather murmured, repined, and fallen at jars amongst ourselves, whilst our peace hath lasted with foreign power? Was there ever more suits in law, more envy, contempt, and reproach than now-a-days? Abraham and Lot departed asunder when there fell a breach betwixt them, which was occasioned by the straitness of the land; and surely I am persuaded, that howsoever the frailties of men are principal in all contentions, yet the straightness of the place is such as each man is fain to pluck his means as it were out of his neighbour's throat; there is such pressing and oppressing in town and country about farms, trades, traffic, etc. so as a man can hardly any where set up a trade but he shall pull down two of his neighbours.

The towns abound with young tradesmen, and the hospitals are full of the ancient, the country is replenished with new farmers, and the alms-houses are filled with old labourers, many there are who get their living with bearing burdens, but more are fain to burden the land with their whole bodies. Multitudes get their means of life by prating, and so do numbers more by begging. Neither come these straits upon men always

through intemperance, ill-husbandry, indiscretion, etc. as some think, but even the most wise, sober, and discreet men, go often to the wall, when they have done their best, wherein as God's providence swayeth all, so it is easy to see, that the straightness of the place having in it so many strait hearts, cannot but produce such effects more and more, so as every indifferent minded man should be ready to say with father Abraham, Take thou the right hand, and I will take the left. Let us not thus oppress, straiten, and afflict one another, but seeing there is a spacious land, the way to which is through the sea, we will end this difference in a day.

That I speak nothing about the bitter contention that hath been about religion, by writing, disputing, and inveighing earnestly one against another, the heat of which zeal, if it were turned against the rude barbarism of the heathens, might do more good in a day, than it hath done here in many years. Neither of the little love to the Gospel, and profit which is made by the preachers in most places, which might easily drive the zealous to the heathens, who no doubt if they had but a drop of that knowledge which here flieth about the streets, would be filled with exceeding great joy and gladness, as that they would even pluck the kingdom of heaven by violence, and take it as it were by force.

The greatest let that is yet behind is the sweet fellowship of friends, and the satiety of bodily delights.

But can there be two nearer friends almost than Abraham and Lot, or than Paul and Barnabas, and yet upon as little occasions as we have here, they departed asunder, two of them being patriarchs of the Church of old, the other the apostles of the Church which is new, and their covenants were such as it seemeth might bind as much as any covenant between men at this day, and yet to avoid greater inconveniences they departed asunder.

Neither must men take so much thought for the flesh, as not to be pleased except they can pamper their bodies with variety of dainties. Nature is content with little, and health is much endangered by mixtures upon the stomach. The delights of the palate do often inflame the vital parts, as the tongue setteth afire the whole body. Secondly, varieties here are not common to all, but many good men are glad to snap at a crust. The rent-taker lives on sweet morsels, but the rent-payer eats

a dry crust often with watery eyes; and it is nothing to say what some one of a hundred hath, but what the bulk, body, and commonalty hath, which I warrant you is short enough. And they also which now live so sweetly, hardly will their children attain to that privilege, but some circumventor or other will outstrip them, and make them sit in the dust, to which men are brought in one age, but cannot get out of it again in seven generations.

To conclude, without all partiality the present consumption which groweth upon us here, whilst the land groaneth under so many close-fisted and unmerciful men, being compared with the easiness, plainness and plentifulness in living in those remote places, may quickly persuade any man to a liking of this course, and to practise a removal, which being done by honest, godly, and industrious men, they shall there be right heartily welcome, but for other of dissolute and profane life, their rooms are better than their companies; for if here where the Gospel hath been so long and plentifully taught they are yet frequent in such vices as the heathen would shame to speak of, what will they be when there is less restraint in word and deed? My only suit to all men is, that whether they live there or here, they would learn to use this world as they used it not, keeping faith and a good conscience, both with God and men, that when the day of account shall come, they may come forth as good and fruitful servants, and freely be received, and enter into the joy of their Master.

R. C.

## EXPLANATION OF THE INITIALS J. P. AND R. G.

---

The individual to whom the introductory note or letter at the beginning of this volume is addressed, as the writer's much respected friend, Mr. J. P——, is supposed by Dr. Young to be Mr. John Pierce, perhaps a leading merchant under authority from the council of persons, between whom and King James the patent of incorporation to the northern colony of Virginia, between forty and forty-eight degrees north, was signed, unknown to the Pilgrims, Nov. 3rd, 1620, about a week before their arrival at Cape Cod, while they, under toleration of no king or earthly power, were struggling across the ocean. The incorporated body, composed of the Duke of Lenox, the Marquises of Buckingham and Hamilton, the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, Sir F. Gorges, with thirty-four others, and their successors, were styled, The Council, established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England in America.

The patent for the Plymouth Colony, under this body, seems to have been taken out in the name of Mr. John Pierce, to whom, therefore, in all probability, the initials J. P. belong. Under date of July, 1622, we find in Prince's Chronology an extract from Governor Bradford's Journal, as follows: "By Mr. Weston's ship (from England) comes a letter from Mr. John Pierce, in whose name the Plymouth patent is taken, signifying that whom the governor admits into the association, he will approve."

By another entry in Governor Bradford's Journal, it would seem that this Mr. Pierce afterwards endeavoured to deal treacherously by the Colony for his own private advantage; but his scheme was utterly frustrated and broken by the good providence of God. He fitted out a vessel, in which he

intended to come to Plymouth himself, with the powers of a liege lord committed to him in a second and separate patent, which, had he succeeded in his plan, might have proved the ruin of the Colony. But God ordered it otherwise, as we see from Governor Bradford's relation, which Mr. Prince sets down in the following words, after mentioning the ship the Paragon, and the number of her passengers. "Being fitted out by Mr. John Pierce, in whose name our first patent was taken, *his name being only used in trust*; but when he saw we were here hopefully seated, and, by the success God gave us, had obtained favour with the Council for New England, he gets another patent of a large 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 in the Downs, the ship is so bruised and leaky, that in fourteen days she returned to London, was forced to be put into the doek, one hundred pounds laid out to mend her, and lay six or seven weeks, to Dec. 22nd, 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, with all her upper works, obliged them to cut her masts and return to Portsmouth, having one hundred and nine souls aboard, *with Mr. Pierce himself*. Upon which great and repeated loss and disappointment, he is prevailed upon for *L.500* to resign to the company his patent, which cost him but *L.50*. And the goods, with charge of passengers in this ship, cost the company *L.640*, for which they were forced to hire another ship, the Ann." This ship arrived the end of July or beginning of August, 1623.

Such is the simple account of a remarkable providence interposing for the protection of the Pilgrims, and bringing to naught a plan fraught with despotism and danger. The interpositions of this nature were so frequent and striking, that the attention of all men must have been arrested by them, as that of even the Indians was by God's merey in the sudden rain, at the day of fasting and prayer in July, 1623. Of this the account will be given in the historical and local illustrations. The present providence is here noted because it occurs in connection with the name of Mr. Pierce, and turns, indeed, upon his attempt to get the mastery of the Colony. His plan had not been formed, or if formed, was not developed, when R. G.

wrote this recommendation of the Journal of the Pilgrims of "his much respected friend, Mr. J. P."

The initials R. G., appended to this letter, are supposed to signify the name of Robert Cushman, the G. being possibly a misprint for C. Mr. Cushman was the first agent appointed by the church of the Pilgrims in Leyden, along with Mr. Carver, afterwards first governor of the Colony, to treat with the Virginia Company, and endeavour to get liberty of conscience from the king. He had much trust reposed in him, and business put upon him, in preparing the May-Flower and her little company, with the Speedwell, for their voyage. He and his family embarked with them, intending to have been of the first band of Pilgrims, but were compelled to return when the Speedwell put back to England, and afterwards came in the Fortune, Nov. 9, 1621. The only consideration in the least degree in the way of supposing this to be Mr. Cushman's letter, is the fact that it is written as by one of the resident Colonists themselves, one supposed to be at Plymouth, while the Journal he recommends is sent to be published in England; whereas Mr. Cushman himself returned to England, by appointment of the Adventurers, for their better information, in the same vessel by which the Journal seems to have been sent, namely, the Fortune, which sailed Dec. 13. This, however, may be deemed of little importance, as he wrote in the name and behalf of others. His death prevented him from afterwards settling with the Colony. The same vessel which brought the notice to the Colony of the death of Robinson, their beloved pastor, brought also the news of Mr. Cushman's death, of which Governor Bradford makes the following register in 1626:

"Our Captain also brings us notice of the death of our ancient friend, Mr. Cushman, who was our right hand with the Adventurers, and for divers years has managed all our business with them to our great advantage. He had wrote to the governor a few months before of the sickness of Mr. James Sherley, 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."



## ROBINSON'S LETTER TO THE PILGRIMS.

### EXPLANATION OF THE INITIALS J. R.

---

THE initials J. R. appended to the following admirable letter are those of John Robinson, pastor of the Pilgrim church at Leyden, and the letter is his. It was written on occasion of the embarking of the Pilgrims in 1620. They received it at Southampton, whither they had sailed from Leyden, from Delft-haven, July 22nd, having at that time bade farewell personally to their beloved pastor and the members of the church they were leaving. Mr. Robinson seems to have written this letter for the company of Pilgrims, with a shorter one to Mr. Carver, a deacon of the church, at the same time, July 27th. The reading of it was made a special occasion at one of the last meetings of the Pilgrims at Southampton, just before they went on board ship; and under such apostolical benedictions, instructions, and fervent prayers, from him whom God had set over them in the ministry of the Gospel, they departed. Governor Bradford gives a short mention of this letter in the following words: "Mr. Robinson writes to Mr. Carver and 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."

The letter is such as might well produce *after-fruit*. It breathes the same spirit of far-seeing wisdom and love as that manifested in Robinson's celebrated parting discourse, at the day of fasting and prayer, "ready to depart on the morrow." It will be noted with what prudence and affectionate earnestness he warns and instructs the flock for their conduct in the wilderness. He begins with the duty of daily individual repentance and peace with Christ; next peace with all men, especially with one another, by love, by gentleness and patience towards

the infirmities of one another, by great watchfulness against either giving or taking offence, reminding them what cause the beginning of their civil community will minister for such extreme and tender care. And how beautiful the added injunction, to take none offence at God himself, whose loving providence they were now sure to meet in the shape of many crosses!

Next, to guard anxiously against private selfishness, and have in all things an eye single to the general good, avoiding the indulgence of particular fancies and singular manners apart from the general conveniency. In this he refers also to the danger from the pushing of private opinions as laws for others. And that sentence which follows ought to be engraven in every mind: "AS MEN ARE CAREFUL NOT TO HAVE A NEW HOUSE SHAKEN WITH ANY VIOLENCE BEFORE IT BE WELL SETTLED AND THE PARTS FIRMLY KNIT, SO BE YOU MUCH MORE CAREFUL THAT THE HOUSE OF GOD, WHICH YOU ARE, AND ARE TO BE, BE NOT SHAKEN WITH UNNECESSARY NOVELTIES OR OTHER OPPOSITIONS AT THE FIRST SETTLING THEREOF."

Then how important and just his hints for their guidance in regard to the choice and obedience of their officers of government. In all respects, this letter is one of the most remarkable ever penned. No wonder that it bore *after-fruit* in many; for it was full of precious germs of truth, every word and phrase being well weighed; and its brief but heavenly instructions fell into hearts softened and prepared. Who can tell how great the effect of that letter must have been upon the prosperity of the colony, the church; how it grew beneath Christ's care, by the guidance of its under-shepherd's instructions, even after he had gone to his rest.

He speaks in this letter of many of the intended pilgrims being strangers to the persons and infirmities of one another. This could not have been the case with those who had been members of his own church so many years together at Leyden, or were there acquainted with him or with one another, and therefore it must refer to those who expected to join them in England; of whom it is probable the greater part were those who put back in the *Speedwell*. The colony of Pilgrims was thus rendered, by the good providence of God, more completely one, and better acquainted from the outset with each other's characters, and therefore more confident in one another, and less exposed to dissensions than Robinson himself had anticipated.

God not only "sifted three kingdoms" to get the seed of this enterprise, but sifted that seed over again. Every person, whom he would not have to go at that time to plant the first colony of New England, he sent back, even from mid-ocean, in the Speedwell.

It was like God's dealings with Gideon and his army. "The people are yet too many; bring them down unto the water, and I will try them for thee there; and it shall be, that of whom I say unto thee, This shall go with thee, the same shall go with thee; and of whomsoever I say unto thee, This shall not go with thee, the same shall not go."

---

CERTAIN USEFUL ADVERTISEMENTS SENT IN A LETTER WRITTEN BY  
A DISCREET FRIEND UNTO THE PLANTERS IN NEW ENGLAND,  
AT THEIR FIRST SETTING SAIL FROM SOUTHAMPTON, WHO  
EARNESTLY DESIRETH THE PROSPERITY OF THAT THEIR NEW  
PLANTATION.

LOVING AND CHRISTIAN FRIENDS,—I do heartily, and in the Lord, salute you all, as being they with whom I am present in my best affection, and most earnest longings after you, though I be constrained for a while to be bodily absent from you; I say constrained, God knowing how willingly and much rather than otherwise I would have borne my part with you in this first brunt, were I not by strong necessity held back for the present. Make account of me in the meanwhile as of a man divided in myself with great pain, and as (natural bonds set aside,) having my better part with you. And though I doubt not but in your godly wisdoms you both foresee and resolve upon that which concerneth your present state and condition, both severally and jointly, yet have I thought but my duty to add some further spur of provocation unto them who run already, if not because you need it, yet because I owe it in love and duty.

And first, as we are daily to renew our repentance with our God, specially for our sins known, and generally for our unknown trespasses, so doth the Lord call us in a singular manner upon occasions of such difficulty and danger as lieth upon you, to

a both more narrow search and careful reformation of our ways in his sight, lest he, calling to remembrance our sins forgotten by us or unrepented of, take advantage against us, and in judgment leave us for the same to be swallowed up in one danger or other; whereas, on the contrary, sin being taken away by earnest repentance, and the pardon thereof from the Lord sealed up unto a man's conscience by his Spirit, great shall be his security and peace in all dangers, sweet his comforts in all distresses, with happy deliverance from all evil, whether in life or in death.

Now, next after this heavenly peace with God and our own consciences, we are carefully to provide for peace with all men what in us lieth, especially with our associates; and for that end watchfulness must be had that we neither at all in ourselves do give, no, nor easily take offence, being given by others. Woe be unto the world for offences; for though it be necessary (considering the malice of Satan and man's corruption,) that offences come, yet woe unto the man or woman either by whom the offence cometh, saith Christ, Matt. xviii, 7. And if offences in the unseasonable use of things in themselves indifferent be more to be feared than death itself, as the Apostle teacheth, (1 Cor. ix, 15,) how much more in things simply evil, in which neither honour of God nor love of man is thought worthy to be regarded.

Neither yet is it sufficient that we keep ourselves by the grace of God from giving offence, except withal we be armed against the taking of them when they are given by others. For how imperfect and lame is the work of grace in that person who wants charity to cover a multitude of offences, as the Scriptures speak. Neither are you to be exhorted to this grace only upon the common grounds of Christianity, which are, that persons ready to take offence either want charity to cover offences, or wisdom duly to weigh human frailty, or lastly, are gross, though close hypocrites, as Christ our Lord teacheth (Matt. vii, 1-3); as, indeed, in mine own experience few or none have been found which sooner give offence than such as easily take it, neither have they ever proved sound and profitable members in societies which have nourished in themselves that touchy humour. But, besides these, there are divers special motives provoking you above others to great care and conscience this way. As first, you are many of you strangers, as

to the persons so to the infirmities one of another, and so stand in need of more watchfulness this way, lest when such things fall out in men and women as you suspected not, you be inordinately affected with them; which doth require at your hands much wisdom and charity for the covering and preventing of incident offences that way. And lastly, your intended course of civil community will minister continual occasion of offence, and will be as fuel for that fire, except you diligently quench it with brotherly forbearance. And if taking of offence causelessly or easily at men's doings be so carefully to be avoided, how much more heed is to be taken that we take not offence at God himself, which yet we certainly do so oft as we do murmur at his providence in our crosses, or bear impatiently such afflictions as wherewith he pleaseth to visit us. Store we up, therefore, patience against the evil day; without which we take offence at the Lord himself in his holy and just works.

A fourth thing there is carefully to be provided for, to wit, that with your common employments you join common affections truly bent upon the general good, avoiding, as a deadly plague of your both common and special comfort, all retiredness of mind for proper advantage, and all singularly affected any manner of way. Let every man repress in himself and the whole body in each person, as so many rebels against the common good, all private respects of men's selves, not sorting with the general conveniency. And as men are careful not to have a new house shaken with any violence before it be well settled and the parts firmly knit, so be you, I beseech you, brethren, much more careful that the house of God, which you are and are to be, be not shaken with unnecessary novelties or other oppositions at the first settling thereof.

Lastly, whereas you are to become a body politic, using amongst yourselves civil government, and are not furnished with any persons of special eminence above the rest, to be chosen by you into office of government, let your wisdom and godliness appear, not only in choosing such persons as do entirely love, and will diligently promote the common good, but also in yielding unto them all due honour and obedience in their lawful administrations, not beholding in them the ordinariness of their persons, but God's ordinance for your good; nor being like unto the foolish multitude who more honour the gay coat than either the virtuous mind of the man or glorious ordinance of the Lord.

But you know better things, and that the image of the Lord's power and authority which the magistrate beareth is honourable, in how mean persons soever. And this duty you both may the more willingly, and ought the more conscientiously to perform, because you are at least for the present to have only them for your ordinary governors which yourselves shall make choice of for that work.

Sundry other things of importance I could put you in mind of, and of those before mentioned in more words, but I will not so far wrong your godly minds as to think you heedless of these things, there being also divers among you so well able to admonish both themselves and others of what concerneth them. These few things, therefore, and the same in few words, I do earnestly commend unto your care and conscience, joining therewith my daily incessant prayers unto the Lord, that he who hath made the heavens and the earth, the sea and all rivers of water, and whose providence is over all his works, especially over all his dear children for good, would so guide and guard you in your ways, as inwardly by his Spirit, so outwardly by the hand of his power, as that both you and we also, for and with you, may have after matter of praising his name all the days of your and our lives. Fare you well in him in whom you trust, and in whom I rest, an unfeigned well-willer of your happy success in this hopeful voyage.

J. R.

## EXPLANATION OF THE SIGNATURE G. MOURT.

---

THE epistle to the reader signed G. Mourt is regarded by Dr. Young, and with much probability, nay, almost certainty, unless the name be entirely fictitious, as having been written by George Morton, the brother-in-law of Governor Bradford, who came to the Colony in 1623, but died in June, 1624, "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." He came in the *Ann* about the end of July, 1623, and is named as one of the principal among the best and most useful members of the body who arrived in that vessel.—(Prince, pages 139 and 148 of the original edition, vol. i.)

He seems to have superintended the publication of the Journal, and in consequence the volume has generally gone, very inappropriately, by the name of 'Mourt's Relation.' A more proper title is the 'Journal of the Pilgrims.' Mr. Prince called it the 'Relation published by Mourt.'

It will be noted that Mourt or Morton, then writing in London in 1621, sets forth as the first grand reason for the plantation of the Pilgrim Colonists in New England, "the desire of carrying the Gospel of Christ into those foreign parts, amongst those people that as yet have had no knowledge or taste of God."





HISTORICAL  
AND  
LOCAL ILLUSTRATIONS  
OF  
PRINCIPLES, PROVIDENCES, AND PERSONS.



## CHAPTER I.

### PRINCIPLES, PROVIDENCES, PERSONS.—THE COLONY OF PRINCIPLE, AND THE COLONY OF GAIN.

PRINCIPLES, PROVIDENCES, PERSONS. This is God's order; principles come first, providences next, persons last. Principles are eternal. Providences develop principles, principles make persons. Sometimes principles, providences, and persons all go to form other persons so directly and visibly that the combination arrests a reflecting mind as indicative of some great and special design. This is the case in the history of the formation of character in a man like Luther. Indeed, persons can be used as instrumentalities in no grander way, and on no sublimer mission, than informing other persons; the greatest work of souls is *upon* souls, not upon railroads and steam-engines. Providences are the discipline of persons with respect to principles. Providences sometimes are the revelation of principles to persons, and sometimes they are the preparation of persons to sustain, hold forth, illustrate, and apply principles. Then again the principles sustain the persons to bear the providences, to understand them, and to carry forward their design.

In no company of men that the world ever saw was the providence and grace of God illustrated more remarkably than with our Pilgrim Fathers. But God selected them for a *work*, not for an immediate and glorious exhibition either of principles or graces. They were rather for the present, in their own humble language, "stepping-stones," at the foundation, to be polished by being walked upon, than precious stones set for ornament and admiration in the superstructure. They are in the superstructure now, infinitely perfect, infinitely glorious; but on earth they were a company of God's workmen, God's operatives, and not mere incumbents of the sinecures of grace, if

there could be such a thing; nor merely the vivid pietists of glowing sensibilities, out of whose experience a diary of great depths and heights in the religious affections might be spread before the world. No! they were to suffer and to do God's will as patient, pioneering labourers; labourers in a work of ages, by which, generation after generation, great principles should be more and more fully developed and established; principles for the building of a new world, and the renovation of an old.

They had scarcely time for any other spiritual work or enjoyment, than the word of God and prayer. They could not be brooding over their affections, or analyzing the processes of grace. Men who have to count miserly the kernels of corn for their daily bread, and to till their ground staggering through weakness from the effect of famine, can do but little in settling the metaphysics of faith, or in counting frames, and gauging the exercises of their feelings. Grim necessity of hunger looks morbid sensibility out of countenance.

Nevertheless, they were spiritually minded and experimental Christians, and they both acted upon principles and acted them out. Where before had there ever been a band of colonists in the world that did this? We know of none. A thousand colonies might be banded by the principles of gain, and thriving, like so many bee-hives; this was no more than the city of London itself was doing, with its knots of merchant adventurers. A fur company or a wampum society in the wilderness has no more of a colonizing impulse, although they may leave their homes to dwell among savages, than the tradesmen in the Strand, who buy and sell possibly without ever going a mile from their own door. But these impulses of gain, these enterprises of traffic, are not to be dignified with the name of principles. Nay, sometimes of such colonizing expeditions God says, "Because thou hast forgotten the God of thy salvation, and hast not been mindful of the stock of thy strength, therefore shalt thou plant pleasant plants, and shalt set it with strange slips. In the day shalt thou make thy plant to grow, and in the morning shalt thou make thy seed to flourish; but the harvest shall be an heap in the day of grief and of desperate sorrow."

It has been noted by more than one historian how signally every attempt to colonize any part of New England failed, until the enterprise of our Pilgrim Fathers was begun from a high

sense of duty and in reliance upon God. "The designs of those attempts," remarks Cotton Mather, "being aimed no higher than the advancement of some worldly interests, a constant series of disasters has confounded them, until there was a plantation erected upon the nobler designs of Christianity." All men were aware of this. It was well known how wide was the distinction between a purely religious and a worldly colony, and that nothing but religion supported the enterprise of the Pilgrims. It was easy to colonize after they had opened the way, and made a clearing, a cornfield, a house of God, and a settlement in the wilderness.

Cotton Mather relates an amusing characteristic anecdote of one of the north-eastern fishing and trading settlements. He says that one of the Massachusetts ministers, once preaching to a congregation in those settlements, (probably a hard and heedless set) besought them to become religious and to approve themselves as such, for this reason among others, that if they did not, they would contradict the main end of planting this wilderness; whereupon a well-known person, then in the assembly, cried out, "Sir, you are mistaken: you think you are preaching to the people at the bay: but our main end was to catch fish."

They were accomplishing *their* main end, and so were the Pilgrim Fathers theirs; but there was not a colony in existence that did not know and acknowledge the difference between them and the Plymouth Pilgrims. That band of colonists had a sacredness in the eye of the whole world. There was no other company like them: there never would be another such.

They were religious Pilgrims, not tradesmen. We read much in their earliest history concerning a set of persons called merchant adventurers. God made no little use of such men for a season, both to discipline the Pilgrims, and to forward their enterprise. They were as the scaffolding of the building, by which God would put his living stones in their places, and then take the frame away.

Foundation and corner stones (remarks Mr. Hubbard, in his History of New England), though buried, and lying low under ground, ought not to be out of mind, seeing they support and bear up the weight of the whole building. This is eminently true of the unostentatious, but enduring and solid virtues of our Pilgrim Fathers. In their characters

and habits God was laying the foundations of a people, among whom labour should be respectable in all classes, and industry and frugality native and national qualities. They were all labourers, they were almost all farmers, or had been; and labour with them was caused to be, by God's providence, a necessity of their existence. The two foremost men among them had learned, the one the trade of a silk-dyer, the other the art of a printer; and both of them, the Governor and the Elder, laboured with their hands, like the poorest and meanest of their company. There was no such thing in existence among them as slavery to make labour disreputable; nor any monopoly of luxury to make idleness, and being waited on, the distinctions of a gentleman. They were all free; they were almost all *Christian* freemen; with whom self-denial was not only a necessity of God's providence in their great enterprise, but always a duty of self-discipline. They went back to primitive times; if any will not work, neither shall he eat; yet not they, by their legislation, but God, carrying them by his Spirit and his discipline. And in their habit of labour among all classes, and of a simple competence gained by each family through industry and frugality, they laid the foundations of a State, in which not only labour itself was more reputable than in any other country in the world, but in which ignorance, and idleness, and poverty, were almost unknown, till other countries contributed these foreign ingredients.

This is a world of labour, and always must and will be; but there only where freedom and piety prevail will labour, to the world's end, be regarded as honourable and noble. "I have spoken of labour," says Mr. Webster in one of his true New England speeches, "as one of the great elements of our society, the great substantial interest on which we all stand. Not feudal service, not predial toil, not the irksome drudgery by one race of mankind, subjected, on account of colour, to the control of another race of mankind; but labour, intelligent, manly, independent, thinking and acting for itself, earning its own wages, accumulating those wages into capital, becoming a part of our social system, educating childhood, maintaining worship, claiming the right of the elective franchise, and helping to uphold the great fabric of the State. THAT IS AMERICAN LABOUR; and I confess that all my sympathies are with it, and my voice, until I am dumb, will be for it."

And the foundation of that system goes back to the day when Bradford, Brewster, and Winslow laboured in the field together, builded their own houses, planted their own corn, and, as truly as the lowliest of the Pilgrims, gained their own bread by the sweat of their brow. But they did this, inspired by heavenly motives, for a heavenly end. Their religious faith and zeal, and the exalted nature of their purposes, turned all the drudgery of life into something noble and divine. They realized the beautiful aspirations of one of the sweet poets, favourite at that day among the Puritans; one who prophesied of the glory of the Church in this Western World; one who, in a few simple stanzas, has conveyed the whole secret of conquest, as well as happiness, in the colony of our Pilgrim Fathers, the colony of principle, and not of gain. FOR THY SAKE, reads the story both of their piety and prosperity, their perseverance and success.

TEACH me, my God and King,  
In all things Thee to see;  
And, what I do in any thing,  
To do it as for Thee.

Not rudely, as a beast,  
To run into an action;  
But still to make Thee prepossessed,  
And give it thy perfection.

A man that looks on glass  
On it may stay his eye;  
Or, if he pleaseth, through it pass,  
And then the heaven espy.

All may of Thee partake;  
Nothing can be so mean,  
Which, with this tincture, FOR THY SAKE,  
Will not grow bright and clean.

A servant, with this clause,  
Makes drudgery diviae;  
Who sweeps a room, as for thy laws,  
Makes that, and the action, fine.

This is the famous stone,  
That turneth all to gold;  
For that which God doth touch and own,  
Cannot for less be told.

GEORGE HERBERT.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE VIRGINIA COMPANY AND THE MERCHANT ADVENTURERS.

THE Virginia Company and the Merchant Adventurers being both connected with the early efforts of the Pilgrims in their colonizing enterprise, we will trace these phenomena briefly from the beginning.

In 1584, an expedition, under patent from Elizabeth, was fitted out by Sir Walter Raleigh, and the first discovery was made, and rude possession taken, of the country then first named Virginia. Its extent took in the whole United States, being very indefinitely comprehensive. Some attempts were immediately made for colonizing, but they came to nothing.

In the year 1602, Captain Bart. Gosnold, setting out for Virginia, discovered Cape Cod. He made so successful a voyage, that on his return two companies were incorporated by king James in one patent, bearing date of April 10, 1606. The first company, consisting of members of the honourable city of London, and such adventurers as might join with them, were restricted to that part of the coast of Virginia between 34 and 41 degrees north latitude. The second company, from the cities of Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth, and other western parts of England, had their range between 38 and 45 degrees. They were permitted to settle a hundred miles along the coast, and a hundred miles within land, but were to keep a hundred miles from each other's limits. The whole country, including all New England, was then called Virginia; and was particularised by no other distinction than that of the names of Virginia North and South.

The proprietors of the patent for South Virginia began their settlement that same year, 1606, on James's River, and the next year laid the foundations of Jamestown.

The proprietors of the patent for North Virginia, Lord Chief Justice Popham, Sir Ferdinand Gorges, and others, (sometimes



called the Plymouth Company, as those of the South were called the London Company,) likewise attempted a settlement at the North, which utterly failed, in the same years in which God was removing from England into Holland that Church Vine for which he was reserving the possessions of these Northern patentees. These men, after a few unsuccessful efforts, gave up all thought of any plantation.

In the year 1614 came the voyage of Captain Smith, with his plan of North Virginia, which he called New England; and after this date the name Virginia is confined to the possessions of the London Company, or the Southern Colony. And it was with this Virginia Company that the Pilgrims first endeavoured to make their arrangements. And it was in the year 1617, when they first set on foot their plan of removal to America, that the great plague visited New England, and swept away thousands upon thousands of the natives.

Upon their talk of removing, sundry persons of note among the Dutch would have them go under them, and made 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 debated whether to go to Guiana or Virginia. And though some, and none of the meanest, were earnest for the former, they at length determined for the latter, so as to settle in a distinct body, but under the general government of Virginia; upon which they sent Mr. Robert Cushman and Mr. John Carver to treat with the Virginia Company, and see if the king would give them liberty of conscience there.<sup>1</sup>

Doubtless, if the king had given them liberty of conscience there, they would have gone out under the government of Virginia. And ill would it have fared with them if that had been the case; for Virginia had been colonized by persons strongly attached to the Establishment, and under strict injunctions from the king that "the word and service of God should be preached and used according to the rites and doctrines of the Church of England." They would certainly have had difficulty there, even with a separate charter for liberty of conscience, with a seal as broad as a barn floor. It had been wisely objected that "if they lived among the English which were planted at Virginia, or so near them as to be under their government, they would be in

<sup>1</sup> Prince's Chronology, part I, p. 49.

as great danger to be troubled and persecuted for their cause of religion as if they lived in England, and it might be worse." Nevertheless, they seem to have thought that an article from the king concerning liberty of conscience would secure all; and their determination was, if they could get it, to go out under the Virginia Company. To this end they sent Cushman and Carver to England.

But though these agents of Mr. Robinson's people "find the Virginia Company" says Governor Bradford, "very desirous of their going to the 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 in 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 persons of worth, with Sir Robert Naunton, chief Secretary of State, laboured with the king to obtain it, and others wrought with the archbishop 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 his public authority, under his seal, could not be granted. Upon which the agents return to Leyden, to the great discouragement of the people who sent them.<sup>1</sup>"

This was a most auspicious discouragement and refusal. The mind pauses upon the idea of our Pilgrim Fathers making their first settlement in the West Indies, and one cannot but see in imagination the train of evils that would thence have ensued, in the undoubted flocking of a herd of worthless adventurers to swamp the colony in that delicious climate, with indolence, divisions, insubordination, and dissolute habits. They would better have gone to Guiana, the romantic paradise of Raleigh's genius, whither his book of description, published in 1596, had directed their attention, as to a fair, rich, and mighty empire, where the trees were in delicious groves, where the deer came at call, where the evening birds were singing a thousand charming tunes to gentle airs in the forest, and where the very stones beneath their feet promised gold and silver. But these golden images had little power over the souls of the Pilgrims.

<sup>1</sup> Prince, from Bradford, 50.

Casting themselves upon Divine Providence, they resolved to venture, getting as good a patent as they could, even without liberty of conscience. After long vexation and delay, through the disturbances and factions into which the Virginia Company had fallen, they did at length, in 1619, obtain a patent, granted and confirmed under the Virginia Company's seal. But here again, God was beforehand with them, arranging for them their disappointments as well as their accomplishments. The patent was taken out in the name of Mr. John Winneb, a religious gentleman of the household of the Countess of Lincoln, whose intention had been to go with them. But God so ordered that he never went, and they never made the least use of his patent, though it had cost them so much expense and labour.

Here first rise into notice those merchant adventurers, under agreement with whom, and partly at whose charge, the Pilgrims did at length begin their settlement. The patent which they had obtained was carried, says Governor Bradford, by one of their messengers to Leyden, for the people to consider, together with several proposals for their transmigration, made by Mr. Thomas Weston of London, merchant, and such other friends and merchants as should either go or adventure with them. And so they were requested to prepare with speed for the voyage, leaving it with their agents, Messrs. Cushman and Carver, to perfect the arrangements in England with the merchant adventurers.

Meanwhile the noblemen and gentlemen engaged before in the old patent for North Virginia were seeking a new and separate patent of incorporation for New England, under the style and title of the council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England in America, which, says Mr. Prince, is the great and civil basis of all the future patents and plantations that divide this country. This patent they at length obtained from King James; but it was not signed by the King until long after the Pilgrims had set sail, not indeed till Nov. 3rd, 1620, just before the May-Flower anchored in Cape Cod harbour. There the Pilgrims were to land in New England, unchartered by any earthly power, and were to take possession at Plymouth of their desired retreat in the wilderness, in full liberty of conscience, unpatented and unfettered. A patent

for them under the new incorporation was not, till afterwards, taken out in the name of Mr. John Peiree, who, as we have seen, treacherously endeavoured to secure it under his own power, allowing the colony only what privileges he pleased.

In their arrangements for the voyage, and the business foundation and management of the colony, the Pilgrims were very much at the mercy of the merchant adventurers, their own finances, after the expenses they were at, being in an exhausted state. They had to rely upon Mr. Weston and the merchants for shipping and money to assist in their transportation. They therefore entered into a seven years' co-partnership with the merchant adventurers, so as to form with them one company, the articles being greatly to the advantage of the merchants, and hard upon the Pilgrims, as might naturally be supposed. The most that is known of these adventurers, except what was developed afterwards in regard to the character of individuals, is recorded by Captain John Smith, in the year 1624. "The adventurers," says he, "which raised the stock to begin and supply this plantation, were about seventy, some merchants, some handicraftsmen, some adventuring great sums, some small, as their affections served. The general stock already employed is about 7000 pounds, by reason of which charge and many crosses, many would adventure no more; but others, that know so great charge cannot be effected without both losses and crosses, are resolved to go forward with it to their powers, which deserve no small commendation and encouragement. These dwell most 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."

Captain Smith seems not to have been aware of the divisions and conspiracies among a number of the members of this company. These things connected the history of the merchant adventurers for a little time, disastrously, as it seemed to human judgment, but beneficially, doubtless, in the result, with the progress of the colony.

## CHAPTER III.

THE MERCHANT ADVENTURERS.—ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT FOR THE TRANSPORTATION OF THE PILGRIMS—OTHERWISE THE COPARTNERSHIP.—END OF THE COMPANY.

To DO good and to plant religion, was far from being the desire, as the sequel proved, of some of these men. Some of them became enemies of the Colony; others endeavoured treacherously to upset its church and government, and entered into a conspiracy for that purpose. Some of them were bitter enemies of Robinson, and endeavoured successfully to hinder his joining the Colony, being afraid of his powerful religious influence. Their character and treacherous dealings are partly laid open in a letter from Robinson himself to Brewster, preserved in Dr. Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims* in which he says, "As for these adversaries, if they have but half their will to their malice, they will stop my course when they see it intended." It was a faction of the Adventurers, as we shall see, who sent over to the Colony that miserable creature, Lyford, to be their minister, in order to hinder Mr. Robinson, and whose base intentions were so signally exposed and defeated by the prudence and energy of Governor Bradford. On the whole the Colony suffered much from these Adventurers, although some of them were sincerely pious men, bent on doing good; firm and undeviating friends to the Colonists, and labouring with them, and intending to join them in person.

Of this number was Mr. James Sherley, so honourably noticed by Governor Bradford, as a chief friend of the plantation. Mr. Cushman had written to the Governor, informing him of the sore sickness of Sherley, when he lay at the point of death; declaring his love and helpfulness in all things, and bemoaning

the loss of the Pilgrims if God should take him away, as being the stay and life of the business.

But it is evident enough there were not many of this noble stamp. Some of those the most relied upon proved enemies, as was found in the case of this Mr. Thomas Weston, who took so prominent and busy a part in getting the Pilgrims away, and who came from London to Southampton, to see them finally dispatched. There was some trouble with him even at the outset; for May 25th, 1620, Mr. Robinson had to write to Mr. Carver, complaining of Mr. Weston's neglect in getting shipping in England, for want of which they were in a piteous case at Leyden. But his character was not fully revealed till the year 1622, when he sent out two ships and a band of men to settle a plantation for himself in Massachusetts Bay, for which he had procured a patent. The notice of this colony will be given in another chapter; but at present we make in this connection an extract from Governor Bradford's Journal, as given in Prince, which is as follows, under date of the spring of 1623:

“Shortly after Mr. Weston's people went to the eastward, he comes there himself, with some of the fishermen, under another name, and disguise of a blacksmith; where he hears the ruin of his plantation, and getting a shallop with a man or two, comes to see how things are, but in a storm is cast away in the bottom of the bay between Piscataquak and Merrimack river, and hardly escapes 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 Piscataquak, borrows a suit of clothes, finds means to come to Plymouth, and desires to borrow some beaver of us. Notwithstanding our straits, yet in consideration of his necessity, we let him have one hundred and seventy odd pounds of beaver, with which he goes to the eastward, stays his small ship and some of his men, buys provision and fits himself, which is the foundation of his future courses; and yet he never repaid us any thing save reproaches, and becomes our enemy on all occasions.”<sup>1</sup>

But now the Colony, in the good providence of God, was rapidly getting beyond the reach of enmity, and in a condition to command friends. In England men began more and more

<sup>1</sup> Prince's New Eng. Chron., vol. i, p. 134.

to look thitherward across the ocean, as a refuge from the evils of their own home.

Mr. Sherley himself, who recovered from the dangerous illness spoken of above, wrote to the Plymouth Colonists, Dec. 27th, 1627,<sup>1</sup> describing, in part, the enmity of the Adventurers, against both the Pilgrims and himself. "The sole cause," says he, "why the greater part of the Adventurers malign me, was, that I would not side with them against you, and against 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."

Looking to the character and ends of many of these Merchant Adventurers, as thus developed, and considering the manner in which the Pilgrims were thrown into their power, when they entered into copartnership with them for the commencement of the Colony, we read without surprise the articles and conditions of their agreement. Without consenting to these conditions, the Pilgrims could not have been transported to America. Mr. Weston had much of the management in his hands, and Mr. Cushman, the principal agent of the Pilgrims, found himself compelled to accede to the proposals, "although they were very afflictive to the minds of such as were concerned in the voyage, and hard enough for the poor people, that were to adventure their persons as well as their estates." To the reluctance expressed, and complaints made, Mr. Cushman was obliged to answer, "that unless they had so ordered the conditions, the whole design would have fallen to the ground; and necessity, they said, having no law, they were constrained to be silent."

The copartnership was for seven years. The shares were ten pounds each. For every person going, the personality (that is, from sixteen years of age) was accounted one share for him, and every ten pounds put in by him, was accounted an additional share. At the end of the copartnership of seven years, all the possessions of the Colony, with every thing gained by them, were to be equally divided among the whole of the Adventurers, Merchants as well as Pilgrims. Such was the

<sup>1</sup> Prince, vol. i., p. 169.

essence of the copartnership, on the grounds of which alone the Pilgrims could find friends to help them in getting to America. Such a trading company was none of their seeking, nor was it the object of their religious enterprise; but God made use of it for them, as we have said, in the place of pulleys and frame-work, to hoist the stones of his Living Temple into their intended position; and when that was done, the frame-work went into various uses and places, but was much of it, as useless lumber, thrown away.

In form, the Articles of agreement between the Pilgrims and the Merchant Adventurers were precisely as follows, in ten particulars:

1. The Adventurers and Planters do agree, that every person that goeth, being sixteen years old and upwards, be rated at ten pounds, and that ten pounds be accounted a single share.

2. That he that goeth in person, and furnisheth himself out with ten pounds, either in money or other provisions, be accounted as having twenty pounds in stock, and in the divisions shall receive a double share.

3. The persons transported, and the Adventurers, shall continue their joint stock and partnership the space of seven years, except some unexpected impediments do cause the whole company to agree otherwise; during which time all profits and benefits that are gotten by trade, traffic, trucking, working, fishing, or any other means, of any other person or persons, shall remain still in the common stock until the division.

4. That at their coming there, they shall choose out such a number of fit persons as may furnish their ships and boats for fishing upon the sea; employing the rest in their several faculties upon the land, as building houses, tilling and planting the ground, and making such commodities as shall be most useful for the Colony.

5. That at the end of the seven years, the capital and the profits, namely, the houses, lands, goods, and chattels, be equally divided among the Adventurers.

6. Whoever cometh to the Colony hereafter, or putteth any thing into the stock, shall, at the end of the seven years, be allowed proportionally to the time of his so doing.

7. He that shall carry his wife, or children, or servants, shall be allowed for every person now aged sixteen years and upwards, a single share in the division; or if he provide them



necessaries, a double share; or if they be between ten years old and sixteen, then two of them to be reckoned for a person, both in transportation and division.

8. That such children as now go, and are under the age of ten years, have no other share in the division than fifty acres of unmanured land.

9. That such persons as die before the seven years be expired, their executors to have their parts or share at the division, proportionably to the time of their life in the Colony.

10. That all such persons as are of the Colony, to have meat, drink, apparel, and all provisions, out of the common stock and goods of said Colony.

Such was the rigorous contract, by which alone the Pilgrims were enabled to raise the means for their transportation and first establishment as a Colony.

Under these agreements it might well be said that it cost the first Pilgrims seven years of hard labour to get from England to America. This copartnership was in reality their passage money. They had to "prepare for it with speed, sell their estates, and put their money into a common stock, to be disposed by their managers for making general provisions."

They then had, for some years, a dependence upon, and connection with, the Merchant Adventurers, which grew more and more perplexing every month. It proved the means of introducing worthless men among them, or round about them, Canaanites and Jebusites to be yet in the land, as thorns for them. Some who came to join the Pilgrims, at the bidding or permission of the Merchant Adventurers, "were so bad, that they were forced to be at the charge to send them home the very next year." But any expense could better be endured than the presence of such vicious, corrupting, destructive elements among them.

In the summer of 1623, there came a letter to the Pilgrims subscribed by thirteen of the Adventurers, kindly, and encouraging. "Let it not be grievous to you," said they, "that you have been the instruments to break the ice for others, who come after with less difficulty; the honour shall be yours to the world's end. We bear 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."

But in the spring of 1624, Mr. Winslow, whom the Pilgrims had sent over as their agent, returned from England, bringing a "sad account of a strong faction among the Adventurers against us, and especially against the coming of Mr. Robinson and the rest from Leyden." The result of the conspiracy of this faction, as well as the nature and purpose of it, will be seen detailed in our chapter concerning the first imposition of a minister. We have now only to follow the Adventurers to the end of their copartnership.

By the year 1624, the general stock already employed by the Adventurers to Plymouth, as related in Prince, from Smith's History, was about seven thousand pounds.

By the year 1625, upon the discovery and explosion of the plot against the Pilgrims, and the decision of Oldham, who was the instrument of the faction among the Merchants, to stay at Nantasket and trade for himself, "the company of Adventurers to Plymouth," says Governor Bradford, "brake in pieces, two-thirds of them deserting us."

But they not only deserted the Colony, but turned against it, and went so far as to attempt undermining its trade and taking its property. They sent out a ship for fishing, and took the stage of the Pilgrims, and other provisions or arrangements prepared the year before for fishing at Cape Ann, at a great expense on the part of the Colony, and refused to restore the property without fighting. "Upon which," as the record reads in Mr. Prince's Chronology, "we let them keep it, and our Governor sends some planters to help the fishermen build another."

*Upon which we let them keep it.* What an instance of noble, Christian magnanimity and forbearance! When Captain Miles Standish came, he could hardly endure it, and was for reclaiming it by force, with a soldier's arguments; but the nobler conquest by far was that of a proud generosity and Christian principle, that would not fight for a summer's fishing tackle; and the end was, *we let them keep it*, and much good may it do them.

Some of the Adventurers still remained friendly to the Pilgrims. We shall see further detail in regard to their character, letters, and measures, in the chapter on Governor Bradford's Letter Book. At present they wrote by Mr. Winslow 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 more than two years, so now there is an utter breach and sequestration. The Company’s debts are no less than 1400 pounds, 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 these remote places, where all others fail. We have sent some cattle, clothes, hoes, shoes, leather, etc. for Allerton and Winslow to sell as our factors.”

The positive proof accompanying these professions of friendship was, that the goods were ordered to be sold at the enormous rate of seventy per cent. advance; a thing, as Governor Bradford quietly remarks, “thought unreasonable, and a great oppression.” Seventy per cent. advance, and hearty affections as to their own selves! Somewhat, still, of bitter experience for the Pilgrims; but there was no help for it, and the cattle they found the best commodity. A very unconscious satire on their part.

On the receipt of these affections, cattle, shoes, etc. the Pilgrims despatched Captain Standish as their agent “both to the remaining adventurers for more goods, and to the New England Council, to oblige the others (the factious and inimical Adventurers) to come to a composition.” They chose the military man of the Colony for this, one who would fear nothing, and possessed a marvellous degree of decision and energy of character. But the Captain arrived in London in the very midst of the plague, (not the great plague described by De Foe, but its forerunner by some years) when such multitudes were dying every week that trade itself was dead, and no business could be accomplished. Nevertheless, the Captain engaged several of the New England Council to promise their helpfulness to the plantation; but the friendly Adventurers he found so weakened by losses, that they could do but little. The Captain had to take up one hundred and fifty pounds at the enormous rate of fifty per cent. interest. And when he returned he brought the sad news, not only of great losses sustained by some of their friends, but of the death of others by the plague, and above all, that their beloved Pastor Robinson, whom they had been hoping to welcome among them, had

gone to his rest. Their ancient friend, Mr. Cushman, was also dead, "their right hand with the Adventurers, who for years had managed all their business with them to their great advantage."

At length, in the autumn of 1626, they sent over Mr. Allerton, who, after no small trouble, with the help of some faithful, energetic friends, brought the Adventurers to a settlement. They agreed to sell out to the Pilgrims all their interest in the Colony for the sum of eighteen hundred pounds, of which two hundred should be paid every year, beginning in 1628. The Colonists rejoiced in this arrangement, although, being forced to take up money or goods at such enormous interest, they scarcely knew how to raise the payment, and at the same time discharge their other engagements, and supply their own wants. Seven or eight of the principal men among them had to become jointly bound, in behalf of the rest, for the whole amount. Besides this, the whole Colony were anxious to assist their friends at Leyden to get over to them; and for this purpose, eight foremost men among them, with the three friendly Adventurers in England, Sherley, Beauchamp, and Andrews, entered into an engagement, taking the trade of the Colony for six years, to pay all their debts, and transport the remainder of the church from Leyden to Plymouth. By means of this arrangement, thirty-five of their friends, with their families, were enabled to join them in 1629, their expenses being paid, from thirty to fifty pounds a family; "besides giving them houses, preparing them grounds to plant on, and maintaining them with corn and other necessaries above thirteen or fourteen months, before they had a harvest of their own production." The names of the Pilgrims by whom this difficult work was accomplished, in connection with the friendly Adventurers above named, were Governor Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prince, Miles Standish, William Brewster, John Alden, John Howland, and Isaac Allerton.

But their charge did not end here. In May, 1630, another company of their Leyden brethren arrived in the harbour of Salem, the cost of whose provision and transportation from Holland to England, from England to Salem, and from Salem with their goods to Plymouth, was all cheerfully borne by the same "New Plymouth undertakers," before named; amounting to about five hundred and fifty pounds sterling, "besides

the providing them housing, preparing them ground, and maintaining them with food for sixteen or eighteen months, before they had a harvest of their own; all which came 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.”<sup>1</sup>

These were great charges, but the Pilgrims had now everything under their own control. The perplexities of their copartnership with the Adventurers were at an end; in their business arrangements, they might deal now only with brethren and friends; and they regarded the coming of the remainder of the Leyden church, which once seemed so hopeless, as a recompense from Heaven with a double blessing. They received the new companies of “godly friends and Christian brethren, as the beginning of a larger harvest to Christ, in the increase of his people and churches in these parts of the earth, to the admiration of many, and almost wonder of the world.”

<sup>1</sup> Bradford in Prince, 201.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE PILGRIM CHURCH IN ENGLAND, AND THE FIRST CHURCH COMPACT.

WHILE men were contriving their pilgrimages and colonies of gain, God was arranging his of principle, and was selecting its instruments. It was the work of his Church. It was simply the early dispensation renewed, when men of God, scattered abroad by persecution, went preaching the word, and founding word-colonies of grace, amidst the wilderness of a Pagan civilization. But now a whole church was to be transplanted. Its materials must first be gathered and disciplined; and for these God went into the despised non-conforming cottages and conventicles of England. There were noble preachers of God's word then, even amidst all the turmoil and persecution about ceremonies; and the minister who would be a free and fearless preacher of God's word at such a time, teaching God's fear, *not* by the precepts of men, would likely be God's honoured instrument in preparing the materials for his intended Church Colony.

Divine grace, as well as human wrath, must have been at work with great power at that period. Men who became Christians under such oppressions as they had to endure if they embraced the new discovered, but ancient truth of the independence of the Church under Christ only, would likely become such through deep and powerful experience. "I am afraid," said Sir Walter Raleigh, in a speech deprecating their banishment from England by oppression, "I am afraid there are nearly twenty thousand of these men; and when they are driven out of the kingdom, who shall support their wives and children?" But mere driving them out of the kingdom had been merey, in comparison with the treatment they received. One whole church, perhaps the earliest on independent prin-

ciples formed in England, was hunted out by the sharp and eager cruelty of the Commissioners of Queen Elizabeth, the very year of its formation in London, in 1592, and fifty-six of its members were imprisoned, beaten, put to death in various ways, some by the inhuman cruelties of their confinement, some upon the gallows. The Queen's Commissioners, when these victims of the Protestant Persecuter refused to play the hypocrite by going to the State Church, let them know that it was not piety to God they wished for, but obedience to the Queen; and that with that they might do and be whatever of evil in religion they pleased. "Come to Church," said they, "and obey the Queen's laws; and be a dissembler, a hypocrite, or a devil, if thou wilt." So this band of Christ's followers perished in England. It was not quite yet God's time for the sacred Colony.

The foundation of the Pilgrim Church, and therefore the *tap-root* of New England, runs back to the year 1602, when, in Governor Bradford's words, "several religious people near the joining borders of Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire, finding their pious ministers urged with subscriptions, or silenced, and the people greatly vexed with 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, shake off this yoke of anti-Christian bondage, and, as the Lord's free people, join themselves by 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."

The clearer and further insight which these religious men, by means of these trials and persecutions, obtained by the light of God's word, are stated by Governor Bradford to have been "that the ceremonies prescribed were unlawful, and also the lordly 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."<sup>1</sup>

This little church compact, among a few despised persons,

<sup>1</sup> Bradford in Prince, 4.

totally unknown in the world, and uncared for, was one of the greatest events that had then ever taken place in the world's history. Out of that grew the celebrated civil and religious compact on board the *May-Flower*; out of that indeed sprang all the institutions of civil and religious freedom in our country. That church compact in the Old World was the beginning both of form and life to the New.

That little church covenant, that phenomenon of dissent, and conventicles, unnoticed at that time, except by the great red dragon of the twelfth of Revelations, was as the ridge of a mountain breaking suddenly out of the polished scurf and dust of established church despotism, and rising to throw that bondage from the world. It is still rising, all over the earth, and the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established upon this top of the mountains, and all nations shall at length flow into it. It was a free, voluntary church, gathered by the Spirit of the Lord, and not by man's sacramental oaths and rubrics. A world was now to be founded, with no more mere ecclesiastico-political societies under the name of National Churches, combining together, like so many national menageries, bears, and calves, and sheep, and wild bulls of Bashan, and presenting a mere caricature of the prophetic reign of peace and righteousness on earth; the wolf and the lamb, the leopard and the kid, the cow and the bear, the calf and the young lion, and the fatling together, and a little child leading them. This beautiful prediction in Isaiah was certainly never intended to be accomplished by driving together with fines and penalties the religious and the irreligious, the converted and the unconverted, to the Lord's table, in the Lord's house, and proclaiming by law, The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are these!

But how obscurely does God often begin the greatest of his revealing dispensations! An old, old man, with a long white beard, takes a little child in his arms in the Jewish temple, and exclaims, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation!" It is the fulfilment of predictions, for which the great globe itself has been kept in its orbit for centuries. It is the beginning of a new creation of God. The personages disappear from the eye of sense, and the ages silently roll on, but the dispensation then begun, enlarges, till the whole world is filled with it.



So, down among the obscurities of Lincolnshire, where no creature in the world knew what was going on, the lost old primitive model of the Christian Church was begun again, under Christ, the Shepherd and Bishop of souls. If it *had* been known what great things were to spring from that covenant, all other interests at the gates of hell would have been left unguarded, to crush and annihilate that little despised band of worshippers. But yet in what utter obscurity the effort begins! We love to dwell upon the scene, and upon Governor Bradford's simple language, "Several did, as the Lord's free people, join themselves by covenant into a church state, to walk in all his ways, according to their best endeavours, whatever it cost them."

Aye! *Whatever it cost them!* A great sentence is that. They knew almost as little, then, what it would reveal, as the gates of hell knew of their whole movement. And how wonderfully, from step to step, they were led on! It might be said, with reference to the great enterprise, then wholly unknown, undreamed of, to which God would prepare and bring them, "I girded thee, though thou hast not known me." They knew God, but what God was going to do with them they knew not, nor what their first step would cost them. It was by the providential discipline of God, with the intolerable severities of the Establishment as its instruments, that they came to the discovery of the great truth that as Christ's disciples they *were* really the Lord's free people, who *might*, if they pleased, join themselves by covenant into a church state, who had that liberty from Christ, though neither asking leave of any Established Church, nor constituted by any king or bishop. Why! this was one of the greatest lessons ever taught by Divine Providence, ever learned from his word through suffering. The whole world was against it. If that question had been brought before any set of men then in existence, had it even been carried to Geneva, and laid before the church of Calvin there, had it been carried to Germany, and proposed to a Lutheran synod there, in its bare simplicity, as taught of God, it would have been negatived. The question, Can we, "*several religious people,*" we, "two or three gathered together," constitute a church? Can we constitute *ourselves* into a church, and be regarded *as* a church, and lawfully choose our own minister, under Christ only? this question would in most quarters have been answered by pursuivants and bailliffs, in prisons and Courts of High Commission.

In the opinion of the rulers of the Church then in England it was a mortal sin "for a man that had been at church twice on the Lord's day to repeat the heads of the sermons to his family in the evening; a crime that deserved fines, imprisonment, and the forfeiture of all that was dear to a man in the world." "If any will not be quiet, and show his obedience, the church" said King James, "were better without him, and he were worthy to be hanged." And Archbishop Whitgift said that his Majesty spake by the special assistance of the Holy Ghost!<sup>1</sup>

Long and arduously did the persecuting rulers of the Church labour at their work of smelting out this precious ore of truth, this doctrine of Christian liberty. Busily were they running to and fro, conveying the metal from one forge and furnace to another, sweating at their fires and anvils, with the great trip-hammers of Church and State despotism at command, thinking, forsooth, that they were burning and beating down, out of existence, all idea, all thought, all dream of freedom, when they were merely God's instruments to discipline and beat the consciences of our fathers, out of their remaining bondage and darkness into liberty and light. This great act of joining themselves by covenant into a church state was one, into which the providence of God did, as it were, compel the Pilgrims, anxious and doubtful at first, but at length *free*, without the least mixture of fear or superstition. After that step, great and rapid was the increase of their light and liberty, and God's discipline, in preparation for the removal of the vine out of Egypt, was immediate.

<sup>1</sup> Prince 10, 11.—Neal's History of the Puritans.—Fuller's Church History.

## CHAPTER V.

COMPARISON OF GOD'S PREPARATORY PROVIDENCES.—THE PLAGUE AMONG THE SAVAGES.—SQUANTO, AND THE PILGRIM'S WELCOME.

THAT we may watch and compare God's marvellous providences in this thing, the date is to be marked 1602. This was the time when God took from a persecuting Church Establishment the seed-corn which he was to prepare for the planting of his Church in New England, for an entirely new dispensation of his grace in our world.

In that same year, 1602, the same Divine Providence carried Bartholomew Gosnold to the discovery of Cape Cod, where God would soon carry the seed he was thus gathering and preparing. The coincidence of these dates is remarkable. It is also remarkable that both in this expedition of Gosnold, in 1602, and in that of our Pilgrim Fathers, in 1620, God's providence disappointed man's will, preventing entirely the first intended settlement, and turning the last from its intended place to a spot not even within the limits of the charter. Gosnold's expedition was directed to Virginia, a general and most indefinite designation at that time, comprising almost the whole present sea-coast of the United States. Intending a shorter cut than had before been attempted by the more southerly adventurers, Gosnold steered more directly across the ocean, and at length brought up at Cape Cod, where he probably cast the first lines ever thrown for a fish which was to become as solid, fundamental, and useful a staple of the New England seas, as the granite should be of the New England continent. An honest, hearty, homely, enduring fish, susceptible of much salt, and the better for keeping. The cod and the granite are no ignoble symbols of New England wealth and character.

“Therefore, honourable and worthy countrymen,” said Captain Smith to the people of England, at the close of one of his relations of his voyages, “let not the meanness of the word *fish* distaste you; for it will afford as good gold as the mines of Guiana or Potassie, with less hazard and charge, and more certainty and facility.” By the discipline of industry and piety God would make the rocky coasts and harbours of New England a Potosi of riches, such as all the mountain mines of silver and gold in the world could not create. But of this either Bart. Gosnold or Captain Smith thought little. And what mind at that period could have been sagacious enough to cast even a guess over the future of the two centuries?

Cape Cod contains now about 32,000 inhabitants. Here and at Nantucket and New Bedford, as well as around Cape Ann, are the cradles of our seamen; yea, the Capes themselves, far stretching into the Atlantic, are almost rocked by its magnificent tempests. As long as the English language lasts, the enthusiastic eulogy will never be forgotten, passed by the great mind of Edmund Burke upon the seamen of the coasts of New England, near a hundred years ago, while dwelling upon the wealth which the colonies had drawn from the sea by their fisheries. He told the British government that if their envy was excited by those great acquisitions, yet the spirit with which that enterprising employment had been exercised ought rather to have raised their esteem and admiration; for what in the world was equal to it? “Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and fine sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hard industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people; a people who are still, as it were, but in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood. Through a wise and salutary neglect, a generous nature has been suffered to take her own way to perfection. The colonies have not been squeezed into their happy form by the constraints of watchful and suspicious government.” The moment those constraints began to be applied, then the generous nature that had grown up without them spurned them, and England lost her whole colonial possessions south of Canada by attempting despotically to do what she pleased with them.

When our fathers first landed at Cape Cod, there seem to have been plenty of whales and seals, as well as cod-fish, in

those seas. They found the grampus so abundant that at one place they were minded, on that account, to call the harbour Grampus Bay. Sometimes they had a shot at a whale, but never enjoyed the sport of catching one. "When the whale saw her time," says their quaint description, "she gave a snuff and away."

Out of Gosnold's discovery grew an incorporated trading company for North Virginia in 1606, but no settlement. In 1608 came the attempted settlement and failure on the banks of the Sagadahock, under Popham and Gilbert. In 1614, Captain John Smith made his survey of the country, and presented a plan of it to King Charles, then the Prince Royal, who gave it the name of New England; well baptized for the Pilgrims, but a miserable godfather. From its very first discovery, every attempt to colonize or settle this country for mere purposes of gain or trade failed, and at length all thoughts of it seemed to be abandoned, except as far as concerned the keeping of small summer stations by private adventurers for traffic with the Indians. And so it went on till the year 1620, when God had brought his own vine out of Egypt, and was ready to plant it in the region which he and not man had chosen for it.

He had not only put the mark of discovery upon that region, but also, a few years afterwards, in a very signal manner, "cast out the heathen" before the vine which was to be planted. Just after the survey by Captain Smith, and the naming of the country, New England, the whole extent of sea-coast, from Maine to Rhode Island, was almost depopulated by the visitation of a deadly plague. Turning to the journal of the Pilgrims, under date of March 16th, 1621, we find the first personal conversation recounted which any of the Pilgrims were able to hold with the natives; the first intelligible word uttered from the man's lips being the sweet English word, "Welcome!" which, from a savage in the wilderness, must have seemed a miracle. This stark naked barbarian, whose name was Samoset, of the Massasoits, had learned enough English from various fishermen, at different times, to hold a broken conversation, and he was "a man free in speech," considering the limited extent of his acquisitions. He spoke, among other things, of the pestilence. "He told us that about four years ago, all the inhabitants died of an extra-

ordinary plague, and there is neither man, woman, nor child remaining, as indeed we have found none; so as there is none to hinder our possession, or to lay claim unto it." The accounts of this devastating death had reached England before the Pilgrims embarked for America, and the providence of God in regard to it was named in the very patent given by the king, as a reason for giving it, under the assurance that God's time had come for the possession of the country by the subjects of England, the whole territory being so completely depopulated and thrown out of ownership by that "wonderful plague." Out of the bosom of that death came that refreshing word, "Welcome;" for, in all probability, death itself, by fierce savage war, would have greeted our fathers, instead of welcome, had those thirty thousand fighting men of the native tribe of the Massachusetts, whom the pestilence is said to have reduced down to three hundred, been living. The treachery of the English at various times, and especially the infamous kidnapping expedition under T. Hunt, in the absence of Captain Smith, had enraged the natives, and inspired them with a deadly purpose of revenge; so that, if this terrific pestilence had not cut them down, they would, in all likelihood, have massacred every man, woman, and child of the Colony, the very first opportunity.

But even out of that infamous former treachery and cruelty of the English, God would bring a blessing to those whom he had chosen, and who were acting on the principles of love and uprightness revealed in his word. Here comes into notice the oft-mentioned Squanto, remarkable for his attachment to the Colony. He was the only native left of Patuxet, or Plymouth, all the rest of the inhabitants, man, woman, and child, having been carried off by the plague; and he probably would have shared in the same death, had he not been one of the twenty Indians mentioned in the journal, whom the villain Hunt carried into Spain and sold for slaves, about the year 1615. He sold them, it appears, for twenty pounds a piece, "like a wretched man, that cares not what mischief he doth for his profit." But Squanto, by the good providence of God, escaped from his captivity, and got into England, where he dwelt a while at Cornhill, in London, with Mr. Slanie, a merchant, and learned to speak English. In the year 1619, Squanto was brought back to New England by Mr. Dormer, whose object

was to quiet the enraged Indians, and re-establish the trade that had been broken up by the war which grew out of Hunt's villany. Squanto, at that time, did all he could to pacify his countrymen, informing them that Hunt's treachery had been condemned by the English, and that the other English were not like him; but he did not succeed, for the Indians fell upon Mr. Dormer and his company, and would have killed Dormer himself, "had not Squanto entreated hard for him." Squanto was also the means of saving two Frenchmen about the same time.<sup>1</sup> It is said that at his native country Squanto found them "all dead," and here the Pilgrims found *him* their friend, the only native of that place, whither God had brought *them* for their settlement. He acted as their interpreter, helped them in the planting of their corn, showed them how to set, dress, and tend it (their Indian corn), and in every possible way seems to have befriended them. Sometimes in the midst of want, he would bring them eels, which he had caught in the mud. He often acted as their guide, and he and Captain Standish seem to have been great friends to one another. But he was not long spared, for in November, 1622 he fell sick of a fever and died, to the great sorrow of the Pilgrims. Before Squanto's death, Hobbamoock, one of Massasoit's chief captains, had come to live with the Pilgrims as their friend, and continued always faithful to their interests. The few words in which Gov. Bradford has noticed Squanto's death are exceedingly touching. It was at the Indian hamlet at Manamoyk, near Cape Cod, whither Squanto and the Governor had gone to trade with the Indians and get some corn. Here Squanto was seized with a fatal illness, "and here in a few days he died, 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."<sup>2</sup>

"*Desiring the Governor to pray that he might go to the Englishman's God in heaven.*" How truly affecting is this memorial of the untutored, but affectionate and friendly Indian! Perhaps he was taught of God, and he knew Gov. Bradford to be a good man. Squanto may have been the first fruit of the prayers and instructions of the Pilgrims, the forerunner of

<sup>1</sup> Prince's New England Chronology, vol. i., pages 63, 99, 100. Neal's History of New England, vol. i., pages 20, 21. <sup>2</sup> Prince, vol. i., p. 124.

that descent of the Holy Spirit upon the Indians, which produced so wondrous a work of God under the efforts of Elliot.

The Englishman's God in heaven! Poor, ignorant, simple-hearted savage! nearer, by far, to the kingdom of heaven in his darkness, than thousands upon thousands of the favoured Englishmen, amidst all their light! One cannot but hope that Squanto's heart had been really visited by the Spirit of God. We can readily conceive what a kind and tender interest a man like Governor Bradford would have taken in his conversion, and with what gravity and patient assiduity he would have laboured to instruct him in the truths of the Gospel. Squanto well knew that the Governor was a man of prayer.

Prayer is the Christian's vital breath,  
The Christian's native air,  
His watchword at the gate of death,  
He enters heaven with prayer.



## CHAPTER VI.

THE PILGRIM CHURCH AT LEYDEN, AND THE PASTOR ROBINSON.—  
THE VINE BROUGHT OUT OF EGYPT, BUT NOT YET PLANTED IN  
THE WILDERNESS.

THIS purely reformed church in the north of England, as Governor Bradford styles it, was compelled, as early as the year 1606, after much suffering, to form itself into two distinct churches, by reason of the wide extent of counties and villages in which its members were scattered. In that one of these churches which God chose for the Pilgrim Church, there was then a graduate of the University of Cambridge, John Robinson, a man remarkable both for his piety and learning, whom they chose for their pastor, and who went with his flock in 1608 over into Holland. Before his connection with that church he had held a preferment in the Church of England, but with views so inclined towards the Puritans that he could not escape the persecuting notice of Archbishop Bancroft. Mr. Neal speaks of him as "a Norfolk divine, beneficed about Yarmouth, being often molested by the bishop's officers, and his friends almost ruined in the ecclesiastical courts."<sup>1</sup> Unquestionably, could he have conformed to the Church, and seen no further than the bishops saw, or with their spectacles, he had been advanced to great dignities and comforts of the Establishment; but his views of truth and freedom were too clear and conscientious for that, and he rather chose to endure affliction with that people of God with whom he saw most of God's truth and spirit, than remain in Egypt. He was to be one of God's chosen instruments in bringing his vine out of Egypt, and preparing it for its planting in the wilderness.

Their removal into Holland was a work of incomparably greater difficulty, hardship, and danger, than they could have

<sup>1</sup> Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii, p. 72.

imagined; for they were beset with persecuting enemies, and threatened by them every step of the way. They were thrown into prison, betrayed, robbed, and treated with barbarous indecency and cruelty. It took near a whole year of labour and trial to accomplish this first pilgrimage, beginning in the fall of 1607, and continuing in the spring and summer of 1608. The other branch of their original church in Lincolnshire, under the care of Mr. John Smith as pastor, had gone over to Amsterdam before them, and it would seem with much less difficulty from external enemies; but they soon fell into difficulties among themselves, which Robinson and the Pilgrim Church avoided meddling with by removing afterwards to Leyden. The Pilgrims had chosen Robinson for their pastor before they thought of an exile from England, and his counsel was of the greatest service to them. The first notice of their removal given by Mr. Prince from Governor Bradford's manuscript is as follows, under date of 1607: "This fall, Mr. Robinson's church in the North of England being extremely harassed, some cast into prison, some beset in their houses, some forced to leave their farms and families, they begin to fly over to Holland for purity of worship and liberty of conscience."

Then in the spring of 1608 we find the next record, as follows: "This spring, more of Mr. Robinson's church, through great difficulties from their pursuers, get over to Holland, and afterwards the rest, with Mr. Robinson and Mr. Brewster, who are of the last, having tarried to help the weakest over before them. They first settle in Amsterdam, and stay there a year, where Mr. Smith and his church had gotten before them."

Then in 1609 we find the following record, which conveys nearly all that we can learn respecting the causes of their removal from Amsterdam to Leyden: "Mr. Robinson's church having staid at Amsterdam about a year, seeing Mr. Smith and his company was fallen into contention with the church that was there before him, and that the flames thereof were like to break out in that ancient church itself, as afterwards lamentably came to pass, which Mr. 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 remove to Leyden about the beginning of the

twelve years' truce between the Dutch and the Spaniards, choose Mr. Brewster assistant to him in the place of an elder, and then live in great love and harmony both among themselves and their neighbour citizens for above eleven years, till they remove to New England."

The providences of God for them, though mingled with much merey, were all the while those of change and trial. God was leading them forth out of Egypt for his own purposes, which as yet he had not revealed to them. They removed from Rameses, and pitched in Succoth; and they departed from Succoth and pitched in Etham. They seemed all the while to hear as of old the voice of Jehovah, "I will take you to me for a people, and I will be to you a God; and ye shall know that I am the Lord your God, which bringeth you out from under the burdens of the Egyptians. And I will bring you in unto the land, concerning the which I did swear to give it to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob; and I will give it to you for an heritage." God, who was with them, made them feel that it was not for a lasting encampment in Amsterdam or Leyden that he had brought them out, nor for themselves alone, nor for their own enjoyment, that he was leading them. God awoke within them the great purpose of crossing the ocean, and incited them to it by many inducements, providences, and trials, inward and external. God made them unwilling to bear the thought of so being exiles as to cut themselves for ever off from the language, the laws, the name, and the home of Englishmen. They saw that in Holland they were in danger of this; that to this, indeed, they were fast coming. God made them to see also that by the dissolution of foreign examples, the licentiousness of the youth around them, and the great temptations of the city, their children were becoming a prey to the great adversary of their souls, were tempted to join the army, to embark on dangerous voyages, and engage in vicious courses, so that they had reason to fear a degenerate posterity, and religion dying among them. God made them to note with grief the great and constant profanation of the Sabbath around them, and that all their efforts to stop the tide of immorality were unavailing. They desired a Christian Sabbath, they desired English laws, the English language, English manners, and an English home and education for their children. These thoughts and anxieties God caused to burn within them.

Above all, God suggested and excited in their hearts what was at that day a peculiarity and a marvel of Christian experience, and a prophecy of the missionary spirit that should come; "an inward zeal and great hope," in the language of Governor Bradford, "of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancing the Gospel of the kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world; yea, though they should be as stepping-stones unto others for the performing of so great a work." Their first motive in getting out of Egypt had been, as it were, simply a three days' journey into the wilderness, to sacrifice freely unto their God. They do not seem to have dreamed, while in England, of the great conception of founding a colony for God in the New World. But this was what God had for them to do, and in due time he told them of it, made them sensible of their mission, woke up in their hearts a desire for it, broke up their encampment in Etham, and caused them to stand upon the verge of the sea, ready for its crossing.

Now when we add to this the extract from that beautiful letter of Robinson and Brewster to Sir Edwin Sandys,<sup>1</sup> thanking him for his kindness, and detailing to him the reasons for encouragement and perseverance, we shall have a perfect picture of their thoughts and motives, as if there were a window in their hearts.

"First," they say, "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 simplicieity of our hearts. Second, we are well weaned from the delicate milk of our mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land. Third, 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. Fourth, we are knit together as a body, in the 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. Fifth, 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. We know our entertainment in England and Holland. We shall much prejudice both our acts and means by removal; where if we should be driven to return,

<sup>1</sup> Prince, 51; Young's Chronicles, 61.

we should not hope to recover our present helps and comforts, neither indeed look ever to attain the like in any other place during our lives, which are now drawing towards their period.”

In this calm and stedfast spirit, relying upon God, did these noble soldiers of Christ reason of their undertaking. They knew it was a forlorn hope, yet glorious in its very forlornness, since it cut them off from all thought but that of success, trusting in the Almighty.

Such was the spirit of John Robinson of Norfolk; and the same was manifested in the character of his friend and brother, William Brewster; quieter, perhaps, in him, but not less enduring and stedfast. Theirs was the animating spirit of the whole colony, in its commencement, as Governor Bradford's seems to have been afterwards in its guidance. Such were the feelings with which they looked towards New England; and Robinson's heart, though he never reached this country, was as much fixed upon the enterprise as that of any who engaged in it. He foresaw something of the glory of the Church of Christ in its new development, and he was certainly a most remarkable instrument in preparing God's agents and instrumentalities for so great a work.

Born in the year 1576, he was but thirty-two years of age when he commenced the pastoral care of the flock in Holland; but he soon gained there an enviable reputation for united learning and piety, and a vast influence by means of it. Even those who were his enemies because of his separation from the Church of England, and the simplicity and independence of his ecclesiastical platform, called him “the most learned, polished, and modest spirit that ever separated from the Church of England.” His character was briefly but beautifully drawn by Governor Bradford. “As he was a man learned, and of solid judgment, and of a quick and sharp wit, so was he also of a tender conscience, and very sincere in all his ways, a hater of hypocrisy and dissimulation, and would be very plain with his best friends. He was very courteous, affable and sociable in his conversation, and towards his own people especially. He was an acute and expert disputant, very quick and ready, and had much bickering with the Arminians, who stood more in fear of him than of any in the University. He was never satisfied in himself till he had searched any cause or argument he

had to deal in thoroughly and to the bottom; and we have heard him sometimes say to his familiars that many times, both in writing and disputation, he knew he had sufficiently answered others, but many times not himself; and was ever desirous of any light, and the more able, learned, and holy the persons were, the more he desired to confer and reason with them. He was very profitable in his ministry, and comfortable to his people. He was much beloved of them, and as loving was he unto them, and entirely sought their good for soul and body. In a word, he was much esteemed and revered of all that knew him, and that were acquainted with his abilities, both of friends and strangers.”<sup>1</sup>

He was a man of rare foresight and prudence; qualities developed in his guidance of the church at Amsterdam, and his counsel to remove to Leyden, leaving off strife before it be meddled with; for he saw plainly what would come to pass out of the contention which was growing in the church that was at Amsterdam before him. But though a man of peace, he knew when to speak, and on what side, and was ready to contend earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints, though not without thorough understanding of the matter and persons in controversy. “Besides his singular abilities in divine things,” says Governor Bradford, “wherein he excelled, he was able also to give direction in civil affairs, and to foresee dangers and inconveniences; by which means he was very helpful to their outward estates; and so was every way as a common father unto them. And none did more offend him than those that were close and cleaving to themselves, and retired from the common good; as also such as would be stiff and rigid in matters of outward order, and inveigh against the evils of others, and yet be remiss in themselves, and not so careful to express a virtuous conversation. They in like manner had ever a reverent regard unto him, and had him in precious estimation, as his worth and wisdom did deserve.”

It was not wonderful that this Pilgrim church, composed of such materials, and under the guidance of such a pastor, should flourish in Leyden during the years of its settlement there; years in which they enjoyed “much sweet and delightful society, and spiritual comfort together in the ways of God, under the able ministry and prudent government of Mr. John

<sup>1</sup> Young's Chronicles, 452.

Robinson and Mr. William Brewster, who was an assistant unto him in the place of an elder, unto which he was now called and chosen by the church; so as they grew in knowledge and other gifts and graces of the Spirit of God, and lived together in peace and love and holiness. And many came unto them from divers parts of England, so as they grew a great congregation. And if at any time any differences did arise, or offences broke out, (as it cannot be but that sometimes there will, even among the best of men) they were ever so met with and nipped in the head betimes, or otherwise so well composed, as still love, peace, and communion was continued, or else the church purged of those that were incurable and incorrigible, when, after much patience used, no other means would serve; which seldom comes to pass.”<sup>1</sup>

The church of the Pilgrims, indeed, under Robinson's care, was so remarkable for peace, brotherly love, and quiet industry, that it was publicly noted by the magistrates of the city as a model in those respects. “These English,” said they, by way of reproof to the French church of the Walloons in Leyden, “have lived amongst us now these twelve years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation come against any of them. But your strifes and quarrels are continual.”

Now this love of peace in Robinson was so combined with a keen discernment and ardent love of the truth, that, though always more disposed to settle contentions by the meekness and gentleness of heavenly wisdom, than to decide them by taking a part, yet whenever he conceived the truth to be at stake, there was neither indifference nor hesitation as to his side and course of duty. Disputes about indifferent things, or preferences, he never would meddle with; but whatever he saw wounding the vital interests of the truth and of Christ's Church, that he made a matter of personal anxiety, and if need were, of controversy. So it was that he became engaged in the argument against the doctrine of the Arminians in Leyden. Arminius had died in 1609. The two divinity professors elected in the university in 1612, were at opposite sides in this conflict, Episcopius being the champion of the Arminians, and Polyander of the Calvinists. The contention had grown so sharp between them that it was the matter of their daily lectures, and their disciples themselves were separated, hearing each only their own

<sup>1</sup> Bradford in Young's Chronicles, 36.

side, as is wont in such cases. But Robinson, amidst all his labours, discerning the importance of this juncture, and being determined, according to his custom, to examine candidly and thoroughly, went constantly to hear the lectures of both; whereby he became thoroughly grounded in the merits of the controversy, knew the force of all arguments used, and the shifts of the adversary, "and being himself very able, none was fitter to buckle with them, as appeared by sundry disputes, so as he began to be terrible to the Arminians."<sup>1</sup>

From his known interest in the controversy, and acquaintance with its merits, as well as the decided stand which he took in regard to it, and his ardent love of the truth, the defenders of the Calvinistic system were very desirous to gain for their side the aid of his abilities. Accordingly, Polyander, with several of the most eminent preachers in the city, invited him to take up their cause on the great points in question, in a public disputation against Episcopius. This he was at first unwilling to do, being comparatively young, and regarded as a foreigner or stranger in the city, though he had been known there now for three years. But at length he yielded to Polyander's importunity, as well as his own sense of the importance of the occasion, and prepared himself for the conflict. "And when the time came," says Governor Bradford, "the Lord did so help him to defend the truth and foil his adversary, as he put him to an apparent nonplus in this great and public audience. And the like he did two or three times upon such like occasions; the which, as it has caused many to praise God that the truth had so famous a victory, so it procured him much honour and respect from those learned men, and others which loved the truth."<sup>2</sup>

While he lived at Leyden, and both before and after the settlement of his flock in Plymouth, he published several works, one of the earliest of which was his *Justification of separation from the Church of England*, in 476 pages quarto, in the year 1610. Governor Bradford connects his notice of this work, and of the increase of Robinson's church, in such a manner, that we might suppose the 'Justification' was in some measure the cause of the enlargement. He says that about this time, and the following years, many came to his

<sup>1</sup> Bradford in Prince, 36. Young's Chronicles, 41.

<sup>2</sup> Prince, 38. Young's Chronicles, 41.



church at Leyden from divers parts of England, so that they grew a great congregation. And Robinson grew in reputation and love among all men, and continued his labours with the pen, as well as in preaching, up to the season of his death, so that he left behind him a treatise which was published after his departure to his rest. Few individuals have ever so united the men of all classes in respect and admiration for his character. Mr. Prince informs us, in a note to the record of his death that as he was had in high 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. Mr. Prince had often seen his son Isaac, who came over to the Plymouth Colony, and who lived to be above ninety years of age.

Robinson was smitten with his last illness on Saturday morning, February 22nd, 1625. He, nevertheless, preached twice the next day, which was his last service of love to his Redeemer and the Church. His disease baffled the skill of the physicians, and seemed indeed to be unknown, being described as a continual inward ague, in which, with little or no pain, he grew weaker and weaker rapidly every day, till the next Saturday, the first day of March, when he died, sensible to the last. These particulars are found in a letter from Mr. White to Governor Bradford, dated at Leyden, April 28th, 1625. Nothing is given of his last conversations, though it is stated that his friends visited him freely throughout his illness.

In his researches in Leyden, of which he gives some account in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Mr. Sumner found a record of Robinson's burial in St. Peter's Church in that city, on the fourth of March, 1625: and he also discovered a receipt of payment of burial fees in the church receipt book, as follows (the translation only is given):

1625,

10th March.—Open and hire for John Robens, English  
Preacher, . . . . . 9 florins.

Mr. Sumner says that at that time the plague was raging in Leyden, so that in one church there were buried, only three days before Robinson's death, twenty-five persons in one day. Whole families were buried at the same time. The hint in Mr.

<sup>1</sup> Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. ix, 3rd Series, 55, 71.

White's letter to Governor Bradford, giving the account of Robinson's illness, accords with this, where the writer says, "he had a continual inward ague, but, I thank the Lord, was free of the plague, so that all his friends could come freely to him." But this by no means invalidates the account of especial or public honours at his funeral. Indeed the fact that four days elapsed from his death to his burial would rather strengthen the credibility of that account.

The letters of Robinson to the Colony were very precious to the Pilgrims, as of an absent father to his flock, fraught with wise counsels, and with the feelings of an affectionate heart. He always looked upon them as his people, and they looked to him as their pastor; for to the day of his death neither he nor they had abandoned the hope of being again united. "If either prayers, tears, or means would have saved his life," said Roger White, in his letter to Governor Bradford, "he had not gone hence. But he having faithfully finished his work, which the Lord had appointed him here to perform, he now rests with the Lord in eternal happiness; we wanting him and all church governors, not having one at present that is a governing officer among us." Their leading men had gone over to Plymouth, and before many years almost the whole remaining portion of the church were gathered there through the great kindness of their brethren. Never was there a church, whose members manifested more truly one towards another the patience and brotherly love of the Gospel. This was a great proof of the faithful, apostolic character of their beloved pastor's ministry. "Whom the Lord," said one of the remaining brethren in the church, Mr. Th. Blossom, in a letter preserved in Governor Bradford's letter-book, "took away even as fruit falleth before it is ripe. The loss of his ministry was very great unto me, for I ever counted myself happy in the enjoyment of it, notwithstanding all the crosses and losses otherwise I sustained. Alas! you would fain have had him with you, and he would as fain have come to you."

His spirit was evidently saddened ever after the departure of the Pilgrims, whom he longed to follow. There is an expression of this sadness in his beautiful letter, written to the Church in Plymouth, after their severe experience of the first winter, when death had been so busy among them. A tone of still deeper dejection marks his later correspondence, although

he felt, after that first winter, that God had given them the victory. Such a letter as the following, which we copy as it stands in the fragment preserved of Governor Bradford's letter-book, must have had a powerful and lasting effect upon the dear Christian friends to whom he was writing.

“To the Church of God at Plymouth, in New England. Much beloved brethren: Neither the distance of place, nor distinction of body, can at all either dissolve or weaken that bond of true Christian affection, in which the Lord by his spirit hath tied us together. My continual prayers are to the Lord for you; my most earnest desire is unto you, from whom I will no longer keep, if God will, than means can be procured to bring with me the wives and children of divers of you, and the rest of your brethren, whom I could not leave behind me without great injury both to you and them, and offence to God and all men. The death of so many of our dear friends and brethren, O how grievous hath it been to you to bear, and to us to take knowledge of! which, if it could be mended with lamenting, could not sufficiently be bewailed; but we must go unto them, and they shall not return unto us; and how many, even of us, God hath taken away here and in England since your departure, you may elsewhere take knowledge. But the same God has tempered judgment with mercy, as otherwise, so in sparing the rest, especially those by whose godly and wise government you may be, and I know, are so much helped. In a battle it is not looked for but that divers should die; it is thought well for a side if it get the victory, though with the loss of divers, if not too many or too great. God, I hope, hath given you the victory, after many difficulties, for yourselves and others; though I doubt not but many do and will remain for you and us all to strive with. Brethren, I hope I need not exhort you to obedience unto those whom God hath set over you in Church and Commonwealth, and to the Lord in them. It is a Christian's honour to give honour according to men's places; and his liberty to serve God in faith, and his brethren in love, orderly, and with a willing and free heart. God forbid I should need to exhort you to peace, which is the bond of perfection, and by which all good is tied together, and without which it is scattered. Have peace with God first, by faith in his promises, good conscience kept in all things, and oft renewed by repentance; and

so one with another for His sake which is, though three, one; and for Christ's sake, who is one, and as you are called by one spirit to one hope. And the God of peace and grace and all good men be with you, in all the fruits thereof plenteously upon your heads, now and for ever. All your brethren here remember you with great love, a general token whereof they have sent you. Yours ever in the Lord,—JOHN ROBINSON.

*Leyden, Holland, June 30th, Anno 1621.*

The most interesting and valuable of all that remains in Plymouth, illustrative of the first generation of its Pilgrim inhabitants, is the volume of Old Colony and Church Records, kept among the registries of the town and county. It is with singular interest that the visitor turns over these antique leaves, among which it is pleasant to meet the following poem on the death of Robinson, found in a page of the Church Records as early as the date of the year 1626. The lines are at least as good as some of Roger Ascham's, and in the firm handwriting in the original MS. may remind one of the verses which John Bunyan used to write in his old copy of Fox's Book of the Martyrs. Governor Bradford was the only one of the Pilgrims, so far as we know, that ever made any attempts at versification; perhaps the authorship of the following stanzas is his.

### A FEW POEMS,

MADE BY A FRIEND, ON THE DEPLORED DEATH OF MR. JOHN ROBINSON, THE WORTHY PASTOR OF THE CHURCH OF LEYDEN, AS FOLLOWETH:

BLESSED Robinson hath run his race,  
From earth to heaven is gone,  
To be with Christ in heavenly place,  
The blessed saints among.

A burning and a shining light  
Was he while he was here,  
A preacher of the Gospel bright,  
Whom we did love most dear.

What though he's dead, his works alive,  
And live will to all aye;  
The comfort of them pleasant is  
To living saints each day.

O blessed holy Saviour,  
The fountain of all grace!  
From whom such blessed instruments  
Are sent, and run their race,

To lead us and to guide us in  
 The way to happiness,  
 That so, O Lord, we may always  
 For evermore confess

That whosoever Gospel preacher be,  
 Or waterer of the same,  
 We may always most constantly  
 Give glory to thy Name.

There is in these lines, which beyond doubt are the expression of the feelings of the whole church, a very different sentiment from that sometimes ascribed to the Colony. It has been intimated that the brethren were so fond of their own prophesyings, and so gifted in the same, that their pastors in after years found themselves depreciated, discouraged, and disesteemed thereby. It is very certain that God saw fit to discipline the Colony with some very disastrous experiences in the endurance of men who proved hypocrites in the ministry, or incapacitated for it. It was God's own providence, not their choice, that threw them upon the exercise of their own gifts so long and so habitually. And there could not have been much irregularity or disesteem of the ministry in a church educated under Robinson's guidance, while such men as Brewster, Bradford, and Edward Winslow, were their elders and "prophets." The jealousy of prophesyings among the brethren savours a little of that spirit of the Establishment, which afterwards threw Winslow himself into prison in England, on the charge of having publicly exercised his gifts for the edification of the Church, when they wanted a minister. The last stanza in this simple poem on the death of Robinson conveys without doubt the sentiment of the whole church in regard to such preachers of the Gospel as the Lord might be pleased to grant them for the guidance of his flock.

That whoso Gospel preacher be,  
 Or waterer of the same,  
 We may always most constantly  
 Give glory to thy Name.

## CHAPTER VII.

THE FIRST NEW ENGLAND CHURCH AND THEIR ELDER, WILLIAM BREWSTER.—THE VINE BROUGHT OUT AND PLANTED.

THE first New England Church was composed of the Pilgrims in the May-Flower. Its organization must be regarded as having taken place before they left Leyden, even on that important day of fasting and prayer, early in the year 1620, when, having received accounts of the completion of arrangements in England for their departure, they gathered together to ask counsel of the Lord. That day they heard a sermon from their pastor Robinson, on the appropriate text in First Samuel, xxiii, 4. "And David's men said unto him, Behold we be afraid here in Judah: how much more then if we come to Keilah against the armies of the Philistines? Then David enquired of the Lord yet again. And the Lord answered him and said, Arise, go down to Keilah; for I will deliver the Philistines into thine hand." What a treasure would it have been, could that sermon have been preserved to us! We have no record of it whatever, save in two lines from Governor Bradford, where he says that Mr. Robinson preached that day from that text, "strengthening them against their fears, and encouraging them in their resolutions." It could not but have been one of Mr. Robinson's wisest, most affectionate, most fervent and animating sermons; for he was full of a devout fire himself in this great Pilgrim and Missionary enterprise; he intended to go in person, and his whole heart was bound up in the undertaking. And every step which he and his beloved fellow-disciples of Christ adopted in it was taken in prayer. If ever a church sought God's guidance, they did. With what energy, and beauty, and heavenly-mindedness he would on that occasion, have led his flock by the streams of God's promises, telling

them that they should find the same streams in the wilderness, and brooks to drink of by the way, yea, and in the New World to which they were travelling, new and unexpected springs of light, comfort, and power.

Their next business, after seeking God in prayer, and listening to the counsels of that beloved pastor whom God had given them, was to "conclude how many, and who should prepare to go first; for all that were willing could not get ready quickly." It is from Governor Bradford that we derive our direct and valuable notice of this day's services and doings. "The greater number," says he, "being to stay, require their pastor to tarry with them; their elder, Mr. Brewster, to go with the other. THOSE WHO GO FIRST, TO BE AN ABSOLUTE CHURCH OF THEMSELVES, AS WELL AS THOSE WHO STAY, with this proviso, that as any go over or return, they shall be reputed as members, without farther dismissal or testimonial. And those who tarry, to follow the rest as soon as they can."

We have marked an important sentence in this record. From this day, the Church of the Pilgrims in the May-Flower, the First Congregational Church in Plymouth and in New England, and in all America, dates its organization. There was no other formal organization, that we are aware of, nor was any other necessary. It was as simple and natural as the growth of two cedars from one stock, of two branches from the same vine, of two rose trees from the same root. They had the same covenant with the parent Church, the same officers, and the same usages. They carried from Leyden into New England that primitive New Testament Congregational organization which they had brought from Old England into Leyden. Their covenant was with Christ, and with one another in him, "to walk in all his ways made known, or to be made known unto them, according to their best endeavours, whatever it cost them."

Perfectly and nobly in accordance with this covenant was the spirit and letter of Mr. Robinson's last remarkable sermon to his departing flock, when they observed their final Fast Day, ready to depart on the morrow. That day their pastor took his text from Ezra, viii, 21: "Then I proclaimed a fast there at the river of Ahava, that we might afflict ourselves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance." The old prophetic

spirit seemed to have descended upon the preacher, as he reminded them of the terms of their covenant, and drew forth its meaning before them. The record of this discourse, as preserved by Governor Winslow, is so characteristic of Robinson, so filled with the same wisdom and grace shining in his letters to the Pilgrims, that it bears the strongest internal evidence of its authenticity.

“He charged them before God and his blessed angels, to follow him no further than he followed Christ. And if God should reveal any thing to them by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it as ever they were to receive any truth by his ministry; for he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to break forth out of his Holy Word. He took occasion also miserably to bewail the state of the Reformed churches, who were come to a period on 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 also 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 engaged with God and one another to receive whatever light or truth should be made known to us from his written word. But withal he exhorted us to take heed what we receive 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 Anti-Christian darkness, and that full perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.”

Robinson also told the church that he would be glad if some goodly minister would go over with them before he himself came; and he prophesied that there would be no difference between the Nonconformists and themselves when once they came together out of the kingdom of England. He begged them likewise to put aside their unwillingness to appoint another pastor or teacher; but they waited long for him, and as God would have it, were without a settled minister till after



his death. Mr. Prince has well noted Robinson's endeavour to take them off from their attachment to himself, that they might be more entirely free to search and follow the Scriptures.

There was great meaning in the Providence which kept the pastor from embarking with the flock. They might have leaned too much upon him, trusting in an arm of flesh. And had he come to this country, what between the love of faithful souls, the strength of a great mind, a sacred superiority of trial and suffering, and the weakness of his flock, his own power might have been too great, too suddenly accumulate, and in danger of breeding worms, as is often the case with the manna of reputation, influence, and power, when not received from God and Providence, according to occasions of want. There was a wonderful guardianship from God against this evil (an evil which lay in man's nature, and not in mere circumstances) not only in the case of Robinson, but of some other dear and necessary men, dangerous by their very dearness. He would gladly have gone with them; but never again this side the grave was he to meet that Pilgrim part of his flock over which he had watched for more than twelve years, with such apostolic assiduity and tenderness.

Here then was a church without a bishop. New England was to be colonized by such a church. It was such a church that God was pleased to choose, for "a restorer of paths to dwell in, to raise up the foundations of many generations." It was a wonderful Providence which sent this Vine to take root in New England, under no head but Christ. The church was to be thrown, in its simplest original elements as a band of Christians, independent of any earthly power, and in entire dependence upon Christ, into a state of isolation, unrivalled, unequalled, since the formation of the first church at Antioch. There was in all this an evident return of Christ's Church to those original sources of power which it possessed, disconnected from any earthly organization in existence, at the day of Pentecost. There was in this kind of original plantation in New England, one of the most remarkable manifestations of God's superintending wisdom visible in the history of mortals.

It seemed as if man was to do nothing, God every thing, in this new reformation and creation of the church. Its foundations were sunk deep down in an abyss of trial, in faith, in self-denial, in love, in God. There was hardly ever in the world a

more complete cutting off from all human dependence, not even when the Israelites, just escaped from Egypt, with the chariots of Pharaoh rattling behind them, stood at the Red Sea. And indeed, the miracle in such a case is a lower kind of training of the soul to faith, than the deliverance by the pressure of God's gradual providence, when the sense can see nothing but what is natural, and the soul must be armed with grace, must see God by faith, or not see him at all. The miracle is but the bud of greater dealings, of a more refined and exquisite spiritual training; the miracle is good for babes; the great things of God's ordinary providence for men; the discipline of the soul for a life of faith, and for the daily sight of God in daily trials, is the most costly and the greatest thing. The old miraculous dispensation was comparatively crude, but this is more perfect; that was of sense, but this is of the spirit.

In man's sense it was a church without a bishop. And yet perhaps, in the three kingdoms out of which God sifted the Pilgrim wheat, there could not have been found *as* their bishop, a man better fitted to lead them in green pastures and beside still waters, than plain Elder Brewster. The church at Leyden gave up their elder and retained their pastor; the church at Plymouth followed their elder *as* their pastor, and such he really was. Between him and Robinson there had long existed a very intimate confidence and communion. They were "true yokefellows," and they seem to have led the flock rather as co-pastors, than as officers in any respect of a different grade. Their names are together in the correspondence with England relative to all the arrangements for the Pilgrim Colony; they were together the overseers of the flock. Robinson was the only pastor, Brewster the only elder; but they were both by turns pastor and elder as necessity required. Brewster was about twelve years the eldest, being sixty when the Pilgrims embarked for New England, probably the oldest of them all. In the providence of God they had really no need of a better minister than he was, and for some years God gave them none other. His spirit belonged to Robinson, and Robinson's to him.

There seems to have been but one difficulty in regard to his really filling the office of the ministry in Robinson's stead, and that lay in the opinion of Robinson himself in regard to the distinction between a ruling and a teaching elder. A letter

from Robinson to Brewster, copied from the records of the Plymouth church, and printed in Dr. Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, contains the following passage:

“Now touching the question propounded by you, I judge it not lawful for you, being a ruling elder, as in Rom. xii, 7, 8, and in 1 Tim. v, 17, opposed to the elders that teach, and exhort, and labour in the word and doctrine, to which the sacraments are annexed, to administer them, nor convenient if it were lawful.”

As this was written in answer to questions propounded by Mr. Brewster, and as late as the close of the year 1623, it is not improbable that, as the elder of the church in the absence of the pastor, he had occasionally presided at the celebration of the Lord's Supper; for it is not to be supposed that the Church would continue to deny themselves the comfort and joy of that sacrament because their beloved pastor did not come over to them. If they did, and conceived the Lord's Supper to be of such a nature that his followers could never celebrate it as a church without the presence and sanction of an ordained minister, and if that was also Mr. Robinson's opinion, then there was indeed more light needed to be disclosed from God's word both to pastor and people. But although Governor Bradford, in his memoir of Elder Brewster, says nothing particularly on this point, yet the description of his whole character and services in the church is of such a tenor as would lead us to suppose that the church did not, under him, neglect the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Mr. Hubbard, in his *General History of New England*, intimates that the people wished to ordain Mr. Brewster as their pastor, but that he always refused to be any thing more than elder. The passage in which this statement is made is as follows:<sup>1</sup> “In many years they could not prevail with any to come over to them, and to undertake the office of a pastor amongst them; at least none in whom they could with full satisfaction acquiesce; and therefore in the meanwhile they were peaceably and prudently managed by the wisdom of Mr. Brewster, a grave and serious person, that only could be persuaded to keep his place of ruling elder amongst them; having acquired by his long experience and study no small degree of knowledge in the mysteries of faith and matters of religion, yet

<sup>1</sup> Hubbard's *History*, in *Mass. Hist. Col.*, p. 65.

wisely considering the weightiness of the ministerial work (and therein he was also advised by Mr. Robinson,) according to that of the Apostle, 'who is sufficient for these things?' he could never be prevailed with to accept the ministerial office, which many less able in so long a time could have been easily drawn into."

Again Mr. Hubbard says, on occasion of the death of Robinson, concerning the delay of the Pilgrims in getting a minister: "The small hopes these had of their pastor's coming over to them being heretofore revived by the new approach of the shipping every spring, possibly made them more slow in seeking out for another supply, as also more difficult in their choice of any other." "They were constrained to live without the supply of that office, making good use of the abilities of their ruling elder, Mr. Brewster, who was qualified both to rule well and also to labour in the word and doctrine, although he could never be persuaded to take upon him the pastoral office, for the administration of the sacraments and so forth. In this way they continued till the year 1629."<sup>1</sup>

It seems probable that Mr. Brewster's question, propounded to Robinson, arose out of the desire and request of the church that he would consent to assume the office of their pastor. We deem it not unlikely that before writing to Robinson to know his opinion, the church may have celebrated the sacrament of the Lord's Supper under guidance of Mr. Brewster as their elder. But neither they nor he could feel satisfied without his sanction as to such a course, and the expression of Robinson's opinion seems to have decided the matter. They seem after that to have remained without the administration of the sacraments until they had an ordained minister with them. It was a needless deprivation, self-imposed, since the same power and right, vested in them by the Lord Jesus, of choosing and ordaining their own minister, would have authorised them to appoint their elder to the business of administering the sacraments. And indeed, if they were so situated as to be deprived of the assistance or guidance of either pastor or elder, they could have appointed their deacon for that service, or one of their own members; for no where in the word of God is the authority, propriety, or edifying power of the sacraments restricted to the circumstance of ordination in the person or

<sup>1</sup> Hubbard's General History, ch. xvii, p. 97.

persons presiding at their administration. Of the Lord's Supper especially it must be acknowledged that it is a commemorative ordinance, belonging to the church, and in their power and right to celebrate either with or without an ordained minister, as they see fit. It is for other and higher purposes mainly that elders are required of the Lord Jesus to be appointed in every church, and not because without them the Lord's Supper could not be celebrated.

Nevertheless, Robinson's opinion was very explicit against Elder Brewster having any authority to administer the sacrament, and perhaps he would have thought it still more unbecoming, if not actually unlawful, for any church to enjoy the sacraments or celebrate the Lord's Supper without an ordained minister to break the bread. And we conclude, that mainly in consequence of this opinion and advice, Mr. Brewster did not and would not assume any function supposed by their pastor to belong exclusively to the elders appointed to teach and exhort, and labour in the word and doctrine. For the same reason the church also quietly waited, denying themselves one of their greatest privileges and enjoyments in the Gospel.

They even suffered in the estimation of some, in consequence of this, and their adversaries in England made it an occasion of slander; as also they did the freedom with which the brethren of the church were accustomed to exhort one another in their worshipping assemblies. They accused the church as being not only independent, but disorderly, and disaffected towards the ministry; whereas it was one of their greatest trials that they had to remain so long without a settled pastor. "I find," says Mr. John Cotton, writing in 1760, "that the want of sacraments was equally objected against them by adversaries in England." To which they sent this answer, verbatim, as recorded in the church records, namely: "The more is our grief that our pastor is kept from us, by whom we might enjoy them; for we used to have the Lord's Supper every Sabbath, and Baptism as often as there was occasion of children to baptize."

In Mr. Cushman's letter to the Colony on the part of the friendly Adventurers, given in Governor Bradford's Letter Book, and dated Dec. 18, 1624, he says: "Let your practices and course in religion in the church be made complete and full. Let all that fear God amongst you join themselves thereunto

without delay. And let all the ordinances of God be used completely in the church without longer waiting upon uncertainties, or keeping the gap open for opposites." This would seem to intimate, that in Mr. Cushman's opinion, as well as that of others, the church ought to have celebrated the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, although without an ordained pastor.

And we should have judged it not likely, that with a man like Mr. Brewster as their spiritual guide, though not ordained their Pastor, the church of the Pilgrims at Plymouth would have passed three or four years without the administration of the Sacramental ordinance. It is somewhat singular, and not of a piece with the largeness and Scriptural freedom of his views generally, that Robinson should have insisted so strongly upon the distinction and even *opposition* between the offices of the ruling and teaching Elder on this point. Inasmuch as they had but one Pastor in the church at Leyden, and one Elder, it is unquestionable that Mr. Brewster was regarded occasionally, even there, as a teacher; but there the question as to his authority alone to administer the Sacraments had never come up; he was simply the assistant of the Pastor.

In the Ecclesiastical History of Massachusetts, published by Dr. Elliot, in the Historical Collections of the Society, it is said that the pastoral care of the Church was offered to Mr. Brewster, but that he was too modest to accept of it. He was indeed a man of genuine and delightful modesty and humility; but we incline to think it was mainly the opinion of Robinson, with the feeling of assurance the Pastor had of soon joining them himself, that prevented him.

Belknap also says that Brewster "never could be persuaded to administer the sacraments, or take on him the pastoral office; though it had been stipulated before their departure from Holland, that those who first went should be an absolute Church of themselves, as well as those who stayed; and it was one of their principles that the brethren who elected, had the power of ordaining to office. Had his diffidence permitted him to exercise the pastoral office, he would have had more influence, and kept intruders at a proper distance."<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Elliot, in his biographical notice of Brewster, likewise repeats that "he would not accept the office of pastor, but preached to the people who came over with him to Plymouth,

<sup>1</sup> Belknap's American Biography, vol. ii, 257, 266.

and performed most part of a minister's duty. The church were benefited by his labours, and would have been happy if he had consented to administer the ordinances, for he was wise, learned, and prudent." Elliot say that he was born in the year 1560.<sup>1</sup> Other authorities say 1564; indeed Gov. Bradford's computation makes it nearly or quite certain that this must be the right date. He lived and laboured till the middle of the seventeenth century.

In most of the churches in New England, within little more than fifty years from that time, the distinction between teaching and ruling elders had almost entirely ceased. But in the confession of faith by the churches, in 1680, it is declared that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper may not be dispensed by any but by a minister of the word lawfully called; and the Cambridge Platform of 1649 recognises the ruling elder's office as distinct from the office of pastor and teacher.

Elder Brewster was really the stated and habitual teacher of the Pilgrim church at Plymouth, until about the year 1629, when, after several disappointments, they once more had a settled Pastor. "When the church had no other minister," says Governor Bradford, "he taught twice every Sabbath, and that both powerfully and profitably, to the great contentment of the hearers, and their comfortable edification. Yea, many were brought to God by his ministry. He did more in their behalf in a year, than many that have their hundreds a-year do in all their lives." This is written with reference particularly to the fact, that in his office as Elder, Mr. Brewster received no emolument for his ministerial services. Yea, he could say with Paul, yourselves know that these hands have ministered to my necessities. But this all the Pilgrims had to be able to say, and he was one of the foremost in energy and disinterestedness. "He was no way unwilling" says Governor Bradford, "to take his part and bear his burden with the rest, living many times without bread or corn many months together, having many times nothing but fish, and often wanting that also; and drank nothing but water for many years together, yea, until within five or six years of his death. And yet he lived, by the blessing of God, in health until very old age; and besides that, would labour with his hands in the fields as long as he was able.

<sup>1</sup> Elliot's Biog. Dict. 86.

It is evident from Governor Bradford's account, that they could not easily have got a better Pastor, unless they had had Robinson himself; also, that they really looked to Elder Brewster as their Pastor in Robinson's place. "In teaching," says the Governor, "he was very stirring, and moving the affections; also very plain and distinct in what he taught; by which means he became the more profitable to the hearers. He had a singular good gift in prayer, both public and private, in ripping up the heart and conscience before God, in the humble confession of sin, and begging the mercies of God in Christ for the pardon thereof. He always thought it were better for ministers to pray oftener, and divide their prayers, than to be long and tedious in the same; except upon solemn and special occasions, as on days of humiliation and the like. For the government of the Church, which was most proper to his office, he was careful to preserve good order in the same, and to preserve purity, both in the doctrine and communion of the same, and to suppress any error or contention that might begin to arise amongst them; and accordingly God gave good success to his endeavours herein, all his days, and he saw the fruit of his labours in that behalf."

Now we repeat the question, where could the Pilgrim Church have found a better Pastor than is here described in the character so beautifully drawn of Elder Brewster, by one who knew him so thoroughly and intimately as Governor Bradford? It is not so surprising that with such a man for their Elder, they felt that they could very safely afford to wait for their Pastor Robinson, even some years. It is rather surprising that they did not, when it was found that their whole hope of Robinson's coming must be relinquished, especially when God had taken him from the world, that they did not then elect and ordain Elder Brewster for their Pastor and Teacher. Perhaps as he was verging towards seventy, they looked for a younger man. They might have looked far, and not found one who was, or ever would be, so gifted of the Holy Spirit for the work of the Gospel ministry. That faculty, so quaintly described by Governor Bradford, of ripping up the heart and conscience before God, was an invaluable one. Combined with Elder Brewster's affectionate disposition and heart, it made him rarely qualified for the work of saving souls. He was of a social sympathizing nature, and took part in the distresses as well as joys of those



with whom he mingled. None of the trials of the Pilgrims ever made any of them misanthropic.

The experience of misfortune taught him to succour the tempted and oppressed; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted. "He was tender-hearted," says Governor Bradford, "and compassionate of such as were in misery, but especially of such as had been of good estate and rank, and were fallen into want and poverty, either for goodness' or religion's sake, or by the injury and oppression of others. He would say, of all men these deserve to be most pitied; and none did more offend and displease him, than such as would haughtily and proudly carry and lift up themselves, being risen from nothing, and having little else in them but a few fine clothes, or a little riches more than others."

Under the ministry and example of two such men as Robinson and Brewster for more than twenty years, it was to be expected that God would raise up and prepare a company of his children for a great work. Meanwhile he was disciplining and preparing the pastor and the elder, as well as their flock.

When he was at Leyden, Mr. Brewster pursued the honourable trade of a printer, though when he had learned it we know not. He had the merit of being hunted for punishment by the agents of the English government, because the works which he printed were obnoxious to the Established Church. It would even seem that when the Pilgrims embarked for Plymouth, and he with them, he was the object of inimical search, and escaped it only by keeping close till the sailing of the vessel.

He had enjoyed a good early education, having learned both Latin and Greek, and spent some time at Cambridge. He was afterwards employed at court and on the Continent, in the service of William Davison, the unfortunate secretary of Queen Elizabeth, at the time of the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots. Davison was a man of parts, says Hume, but easy to be imposed upon; and for that very reason at that time made secretary, that the gross dissimulation and murderous purpose of the Queen might be successfully, and yet with seeming irresponsibility, accomplished. He was a man of piety, ability, and various worth, "beloved," as the Earl of Essex said, "of the best and most religious of the land," but sacrificed and brought to ruin by the detestable meanness, perfidy, and cruelty of Elizabeth. As far as he could, Mr. Brewster continued to

serve this unfortunate victim of State treachery, after the Queen had thrown him into prison, and brought him to utter poverty, by a fine of ten thousand pounds, for his obedience to her own commands in the duties of his office.

While under the employment of Davison, Mr. Brewster became well acquainted with civil affairs, having travelled with him for State purposes on the Continent, where his master communed with him, and trusted him as a son rather than a servant. Under Davison's influence and example, his religious character likewise seems to have been more fully developed, and when at length he departed from his service, the company with which he associated in the rural parts of England, where he lived, was more especially among the religious gentlemen of that region. What the extent of his worldly means then was, we know not; but Governor Bradford tells us that he was deep in the charge of promoting and furthering religion, by procuring good preachers in all places thereabouts, and sometimes above his ability. And so for many years he walked according to the light he saw, till God's providence led him into clearer light, about the year 1600, when he was 36 years of age, and Robinson 24. Robinson was then entering the degree of Master of Arts in Cambridge, and was in a fair way to great preferment, had he been so minded. Perhaps they neither of them, at this time, dreamed of what was to follow, nor had any idea of the possibility of two or three Christians, with Christ, constituting a church. But in Governor Bradford's words, "by the tyranny of the bishops against godly preachers and people, in silencing the one and persecuting the other, he, and many more of those times, began to look further into particulars, and to see into the unlawfulness of their callings, and the burden of many antichristian corruptions, which both he and they endeavoured to cast off."

In the year 1602, they gathered the first Pilgrim Church "as the Lord's free people in the fellowship of the Gospel," under covenant with him and one another, to walk in his ways, cost what it might. And much did it cost them after a year or two, when the vigilant and bitter persecutions of the Establishment were turned upon them as they became known, and they were hunted and persecuted on every side. Some were thrown into prison, and most were compelled to flee from their houses, habitations, and means of livelihood. But so

long as they could stay in England, Mr. Brewster was of great aid to them, being free and forward in his friendship. For a while, until the persecution grew too hot, they usually met at his house on the Lord's day, "and with great love he entertained them when they came, making provision for them to his great charge." And when at length in 1607 they were driven to the enterprise of their pilgrimage to Holland, he was one of the greatest sufferers and most faithful men in that perilous, disastrous, and treacherous expedition; disastrous in its course, through the wickedness of men, but glorious in its issue, through the goodness of God. He was one of the company who hired the ship at Boston, in Lincolnshire, and were betrayed by the Judas of a captain. His money and books were taken from him, and with six other of the principal men, he was thrown into prison, and kept there some months. At length, in the course of 1607 and 1608, he, with Robinson and others, succeeded, after great difficulty, peril, and suffering, in getting into Holland.

There again he suffered much hardship, with his large family, for years, until he could get employment and the means of support, which afterwards became plentiful and abundant. He does not appear at first to have "set up printing," but besides that vocation, he taught English very successfully to foreigners, with great facility, by a system of his own, through the medium of the Latin, so that among the Danes and Germans he had many pupils, and some of them of noble families. Being thus established, he was pleasantly situated in Holland, and at the age of sixty, nothing would have induced him to flee with his brethren into the wilderness, except his love to his Redeemer, and to them for Christ's sake, and to the cause of Christ and Christian liberty with them.

The names of his children were striking developments of the qualities of the man. They were genuine way-marks of his experience in Divine providence and grace, and not a mere imitation of the Hebrew custom of names as sacred memorials. They were actual memorials of events and states of mind in his chequered pilgrimage. There were among his offspring, Love, Wrestling, Patience, and Fear; and there were whole periods in his life characterised by the discipline of God in reference to each of these qualities.

Mr. Brewster was as remarkable for the virtues of frugality

and temperance, as he was for the graces of charity and love. The habits of self-denial, patience, and sympathizing kindness, early learned, were of inestimable value when he came to grapple with the realities of pain and want. He was noted for his submissive and cheerful endurance of the famine in the second winter of the Colony. And when nothing but oysters or clams could be set upon the table, with neither bread, nor parched corn, nor vegetables, he would pleasantly and heartily give thanks "that they were permitted to suck of the abundance of the seas, and of the treasures hid in the land."

Belknap says that Mr. Brewster was the owner of a very considerable library, part of which was lost when the vessel in which he embarked was plundered at Boston, in Lincolnshire. After his death, his remaining books were valued at forty-three pounds in silver, as appeared from the Colony Records, where a catalogue of them is preserved.

Some statements have been made through a careless reading of manuscripts, or wrong interpretation of sentences, quite incorrect; as for example, we find it stated in one or two instances, in biographical memoirs of Brewster, that while he was in the employment of Davison, on an embassy from Queen Elizabeth into the Low Countries, the keys of Flushing were delivered to him, and the States honoured him with a gold chain. In this case, Brewster by mistake is put in the place of Davison himself, as any one may see on reading the original from whence this historical item is taken, which is the Memoir of Brewster, by Governor Bradford. The memoir is printed by Dr. Young, from the manuscript records of Plymouth Church, and occupies the 27th chapter of his Chronicles of the Pilgrims. It was Davison himself whom the States honoured with the golden chain; and, on his return into England, Davison gave it to Brewster to wear on their journey towards the court. Davison, as time drew on, was advancing to his ruin, through the infamous treachery of Queen Elizabeth. Brewster, who wore his master's chain, was coming to the period of persecuting discipline, by which Divine Providence would teach and fit him for the great work of the church colony in the wilderness. Neither of them placed their trust in earthly honours or treasures, but in Heaven. The occasion, the characters, and the end, may bring to remembrance the beautiful impromptu of Coleridge:

How seldom, friend, a good great man inherits  
 Honour or wealth, with all his worth and pains!  
 It sounds like stories from the land of spirits,  
 If any man obtain that which he merits,  
 Or any merit that which he obtains.

## R E P L Y .

For shame, dear friend! renounce this canting strain.  
 What wouldst thou have a good great man obtain?  
 Place? Title? Salary? A gilded chain?  
 Or thrones of corses, which his sword hath slain?  
 Greatness and goodness are not *means*, but *ends*!  
 Hath he not always treasures, always friends,  
 The good great man? Three treasures, Love and Light,  
 And calm Thoughts, regular as an infant's breath!  
 And three firm friends, more sure than day and night,  
 Himself, his Maker, and the Angel Death.

These beautiful truths were realised by the Pilgrims, by such men as Robinson, Bradford, Brewster, Winslow, and Winthrop; and these possessions were theirs, Love, Light, and calm and cheerful Thoughts; and these friends were theirs, Themselves, their Maker, and the Angel Death; and all these three, self, God, and death, friends through Christ. It was Christ in whom they trusted; Christ, to whom and for whom they had given up self; Christ, in whom God was reconciled, and had reconciled them unto himself, and into whose glorious presence and likeness, after their mission on earth was accomplished, the Angel Death would usher them. It was thus that they left that goodly and pleasant city in the Old World which had been their resting-place near twelve years, to be thrown upon the shores of a "waste howling wilderness," without a habitation. It was thus, in the simple and beautiful language of Governor Bradford, that "they knew they were PILGRIMS, and looked not much on those pleasant things they were leaving, but lifted up their eyes to heaven, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits."

Their sojourn in Leyden had been pleasant, mainly through the power and perfect sweetness of that brotherly love which bound them together. "For I persuade myself," said Mr. Winslow, "never people on earth lived more lovingly together, and parted more sweetly, than we, the Church at Leyden, did; not rashly, in a distracted humour, but upon joint and serious deliberation, often seeking the mind of God by fasting and

prayer; whose gracious presence we not only found with us, but his blessing upon us, from that time to this instant, to the indignation of our adversaries, the admiration of strangers, and the exceeding consolation of ourselves, to see such effects of our prayers and tears before our pilgrimage here be ended.”

And never was the reality and purity of brotherly love better tested than in the sacrifices so cheerfully made by the church in Plymouth, after the death of Robinson, to transport at their own cost to their own colony of refuge, the brethren with their families whom they had left behind them. By labour, suffering, and the cost of many deaths, they had prepared it; with unparalleled kindness and love they welcomed others to the enjoyment and possession of its comforts.

The simple record of Brewster's death we give in Bradford's own language. It is the opening of that part of his History of Plymouth Colony which was occupied with the memoir of Brewster. “Now followeth that which was matter of great sadness and mourning unto this church. About the tenth of April, in the year 1644, died their reverend Elder, our dear and loving friend, Mr. WILLIAM BREWSTER; a man that had done and suffered much for the Lord Jesus and the Gospel's sake, and had borne his part in weal and woe with this poor persecuted church about thirty-six years, in England, Holland, and in this wilderness, and done the Lord and them faithful service in his place and calling; and notwithstanding the many troubles and sorrows he passed through, the Lord upheld him to a great age. He was near fourscore years of age, if not all out, when he died. He had this blessing, added by the Lord to all the rest, to die in his bed, in peace, amongst the midst of his friends, who mourned and wept over him, and ministered what help and comfort they could unto him, and he again recomforted them whilst he could. His sickness was not long. Until the last day thereof he did not wholly keep his bed. His speech continued until somewhat more than half a day before his death, and then failed him; and about nine or ten o'clock that evening he died, without any pang at all. A few hours before, he drew his breath short, and some few minutes before his last he drew his breath long, as a man fallen into a sound sleep, without any pangs or gaspings, and so sweetly departed this life unto a better.”

These are the words of Governor Bradford in the memoir

copied from the Records of the Plymouth Church. He was an eye-witness of the serene departure of his dear and loving friend, after whom he was still himself to remain with the Church on earth thirteen years. He and Brewster had both experienced a great discipline from God of mingled mercy and trial, and had both learned by Divine Grace, whether living, to live unto the Lord, or dying, to die unto the Lord. They could say with the sweet musings of Baxter,

LORD, it belongs not to my care  
Whether I die or live;  
To love and serve thee is my share,  
And this thy grace must give.  
If life be long, I will be glad,  
That I may long obey;  
If short, yet why should I be sad,  
That shall have the same pay?

Christ leads me through no darker rooms  
Than he went through before;  
He that into God's kingdom comes,  
Must enter by this door.  
Come, Lord, when grace hath made me meet  
Thy blessed face to see;  
For if thy work on earth be sweet,  
What will thy glory be!

## CHAPTER VIII.

CONGREGATIONAL CONSTITUTION OF THE PILGRIM CHURCH.—  
CORRESPONDENCE OF BREWSTER AND ROBINSON WITH THE  
COUNCIL IN ENGLAND, AS TO THEIR PRINCIPLES.—COMPARISON OF  
CONGREGATIONALISM AND HIERARCHISM.

THE unsuccessful attempt of the Pilgrims to obtain liberty of conscience under the King's seal, was the means of bringing out their principles into notice, as well as of trying their patience. Some unjust insinuations having been thrown out against them, to their injury with the King's Privy Council, a correspondence ensued between Sir John Worstenholme, one of the members of the Virginia Company, and the Pastor Robinson, together with Elder Brewster. A prayerful spirit of devout dependence upon God runs through this correspondence, into which also there came no less distinguished a personage than Sir Edwin Sandys, truly a man of piety as well as qualities of state. The points illustrated in the letters to Worstenholme were "touching the ecclesiastical ministry, namely, of pastors for teaching, elders for ruling, and deacons for distributing the Church's contribution, as also for the two sacraments, baptism, and the Lord's supper." In regard to these, "we do wholly and in all points," said Robinson and Brewster, "agree with the French Reformed churches, according to their public confession of faith, though with some small differences." The differences were said to be "in some accidental circumstances," such as,

1. Their minsters do pray with their heads covered; we 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 the most for two or three years; ours perpetual.

4. Our elders do administer their office in admonitions and excommunications for public seandals, publicly and before the congregation; theirs more privately, and in their consistories.

5. We do administer baptism only to such infants as whereof the one parent, at least, is of some church, which some of their churches do not observe; although in it our practice accords with their public confession, and the judgment of the most learned amongst them.<sup>1</sup>

When these statements were submitted to Worstenholme, he asked who should make the ministers? A pregnant question, involving the main points in dispute between the Established and the Congregational Churches. Sir John expected that Robinson and Brewster would "have been of the Archbishop's mind for the calling of ministers;" but he was greatly mistaken, and he is said to have "stuck much" at the contents of the letters, which, however, being friendly to the desire and project of the Pilgrim Church, he would not show to the bishops and the Council, "lest he should spoil all." And spoil all it would have done, doubtless, to have shown these independent Scriptural principles to King James, and to have asked for a patent of liberty in religion "under the King's broad seal," for a Church of Puritans, maintaining the liberty and power, under God, of choosing and ordaining their own ministers. One can easily conceive the answer of the blustering monarch to such an application. "Give a patent of liberty for such religion? They will be for choosing their King next. We will make them conform, or hang them, that's all." It is probable that the King would not even have connived at them, had he known them thoroughly, and what stuff they were of. They were constituted a church by the simple resolution of the Leyden church, "that those who went first should be an absolute church of themselves, as well as those that staid;" and this, though they took not their pastor with them, but had only their elder. A novel kind of absolutism in church matters, indeed, to King James and his council! These men, who disposed affairs in this simple way, taking the whole power of the Hierarchy upon themselves, and into their own hands, as a band of mere

<sup>1</sup> Prince, 53; Young's Chronicles, 65.

Christian brethren; what would they not do, if these principles ran into civil and political, as well as ecclesiastical life!

On this refusal, Gov. Bradford remarks that "that notwithstanding the great discouragement the English at 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."<sup>1</sup> Yes! and well they may! For the foundation of God standeth sure, having *this* seal, The Lord knoweth them that are his; and this, Let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity. God's seal is something broader than King James's; and under it they may venture, notwithstanding what in that age was deemed so great a discouragement, even by those noble Pilgrims.

The constitutional principles of this first Church of Christ in New England, are drawn up and presented with such simplicity, clearness, and conciseness, by Mr. Prince, in his New England Chronology, that we shall, for the main part, adopt his enumeration of the articles.

1. 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.

2. That every particular Church of Christ is only to consist of such as appear to believe in and obey him.

3. That any competent number of such, when their consciences oblige them, have a right to embody into a church for their mutual edification.

4. That this embodying is by some certain contract or covenant, either expressed or implied, though it ought to be by the former.

5. That being embodied, they have a right of choosing all their officers.

6. That the officers appointed by Christ for this embodied Church, are, in some respects, of three sorts, in others but two, namely,

(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.

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, and sometimes Rulers.

(2.) 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, etc.

Now this is genuine Congregationalism, there being these elements of administration in every true Congregational church, these officers of Christ's appointment. It matters little what additional "helps, governments," as they are denominated by Paul, be added to these, in the shape of prudential Committees, or a Board of councillors, or committees of the church; nor whether one church shall choose to elect them annually, and another for life or good behaviour; every church having the power to regulate these matters according to its own necessities or views of expediency. But the ministry and deaconship are essentials of every truly and fully organized church. Bishops and deacons, or elders and deacons, or presbyters and deacons, each name signifying precisely the same thing, are the integral forms of officers appointed by Christ for each embodied church. And whether each embodied church chooses to view these officers in the three respects noted above, and in which our Pilgrim Fathers viewed them, or in the two only, in which the Congregational churches of New England, at the present day, ordinarily view them, intrusting a prudential power, in the third respect of mere ruling, to a separate committee; it matters little, so long as the great point of Congregational independency under Christ is maintained. All the Scriptural elements of administration and order are in every such church.

The grand original points of Congregationalism in the church of our fathers, as distinguishing them from all other churches, throwing them back upon the New Testament platform, and

bringing them into a succession direct from the Scriptures, were contained not merely in the restriction of this presbytery of overseers and rulers, which ought to be in every particular church, to the Scripture model as appointed by Christ, but in the recognition of those two other fundamental principles next enumerated by Mr. Prince:

7. That these officers, being chosen and ordained, have no lordly, arbitrary, or imposing power, but can only rule and minister with the consent of the brethren.

8. That no churches, or church officers whatever, have any power over any church or officers, to control or impose upon them; but are equal in their rights and privileges, and ought to be independent in the exercise and enjoyment of them.

The recognition, assertion, and practical demonstration of this New Testament Independency, was a new and original thing in a world of Hierarchies; a world into the soul of which the idea of power, arbitrary, compulsory power as connected with the Church of Christ, had sunk so deeply, that a church, abandoning it in all forms, and throwing itself entirely upon Christ and voluntary persuasion, upon Christ, the Truth and Love, seemed the intrusion of a new, wild, disorderly heresy; seemed in one direction the abandonment of the Church of Christ to the will of man; in another direction, not only seemed, but was felt and known to be, the rescuing of the Church of Christ from the power of man, and the redeeming of that spiritual power, with which God has invested the very idea of the Church, and which in the hands of ambitious men is so tremendous an engine of corruption and despotism, from the sceptre of kings, from the sway of hierarchies, from the grasp of superstition, from the dominion of the god of this world. By this independency of men and hierarchies, Christ resumes this power into his own hands, and makes it the power of his Spirit, acting on and transforming the world, not by ecclesiastical canons, but by His Truth.

Our Fathers found these two orders, and these only, of church officers, in the New Testament Scriptures, for each embodied church, namely, 1. Presbyters, or Bishops, or Elders; and 2. Deacons. For the Presbyters they made a division of labour in respect, first of teaching and overseeing, or second, of overseeing mainly, with the duty of teaching occasionally, as need might be. For this division of labour, they thought they had

the authority of Scripture, as the Presbyterians also universally thought, in 1st Timothy v, 17. But this office of ruling Elder, as a separate distinction, came gradually to be merged into a board or committee of members of the church for the assistance of the Pastor or Pastors. According to the usage of Congregationalism, this body is now generally chosen for a limited number of years; whereas, our fathers elected them under the name of Elders, for life. Bishops, Deacons, and the Independence of the Churches, were then, as now, the elements of Congregationalism, as found in the New Testament, with the power, vested in each church, by its Supreme Head, of appointing each its own number of those officers of Christ, as the edification and usefulness of the church might require. The office of Deacon, our fathers, in contradistinction from the French Reformed Churches, held to be for life, or during the continuance of that fitness in the incumbents, in reference to which they were originally chosen. And this also has been the usage of Congregationalism, with some individual exceptions, ever since.

Here, as to Church Administrations (including Baptism and the Lord's Supper), and Holy Days, Mr. Prince enumerates two more articles:

9. 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. And that the church or its officers have no authority to inflict any penalties of a temporal nature, excommunication being wholly spiritual, in a rejection of the scandalous from the communion of the church.

10. And lastly, as for Holy Days: They were very strict for the observation of the Lord's Day, in a pious memory 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," says Mr. Prince, "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 posterity.”<sup>1</sup>

Now it is a strange thing that any man in his senses should have dreamed that King James would ever put his seal of toleration to these principles; principles that in their very nature imply and impel the rejection of all toleration from any earthly power, as a usurpation of Christ's power by man, inconsistent with Christian liberty. Sir John Worstenholme saw this pretty clearly when he said that the showing of the letters of Robinson and Brewster would spoil all.

Here was Hierarchism on the one side, and Congregationalism on the other. There are only these two ecclesiastical divisions in the world, all else being merged in this great question, whether man shall reign, or Christ, over the conscience. Now let us look at the etymology of these two great words.

(1.) Ἱεράρχης, a Steward or President of sacred rites. Hierachism, Supremacy-in-sacred-rite-ism. A despotism by and with sacred rites. An imposition of priestly forms, by man's power, upon the conscience. The constitution of a hierarchical corporation, with supreme power.

(2.) *Congrego*. To collect together; for example, *the gathering together in one the children of God*, as in John, xi, 52. The word would be supplied, if in Greek, by *Συνάγω*; *συναγάγη* being the word used in that passage in John. It is used also in 2 Thess. ii. 1, “our gathering together into Christ,” *ἡμῶν ἐπισυναγωγῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν*; and also in Hebrews x, 25, of the Christian *Congregation*. The Apostle might well say, “We beseech you by our Congregationalism into Christ.”

And I, if I be lifted up, said our blessed Lord, will draw all men unto me. Now it is this gathering of men into Christ, in contradistinction from the impressment of them under a hierarchism of rites and rubrics, that constitutes true Congregationalism. It is the lifting up of Christ as the sole and Supreme Head, Christ as the Way, the Truth, and the Life, Christ as the sum and substance of all divinity, Christ as the only Lord of conscience, of the Church, and of sacred rites in it: this is that Congregationalism; that which will gather all men

<sup>1</sup> Prince, 91-93.

at length into Christ's own liberty, the liberty of serving and edifying one another freely, in love.

Now it is remarkable that the first person under the New Testament dispensation, who prophesied of this gathering together of the children of God in Christ, and of course of the destruction of the Hierarchism of Christianity, as well as of Judaism, was Caiaphas the High Priest. The Congregationalism of Christianity, the *Synagoguizing* of the people of God under Christ, instead of the *Hierarchizing* of them under an earthly head, was here foreshadowed. The Congregationalism was then beginning, and the Hierarchism should then have stopped; instead of which, Caiaphas and his system still kept up the conflict with Christ and his, with the Apostles and theirs; and in all the ages of Christianity ever since, the Hierarchism and the Congregationalism have been the great decisive, separating, and conflicting systems. Perhaps the conflict is to continue, even till the prediction of the old High Priest shall be completely fulfilled, in the gathering together of all the children of God into one fold, under one Shepherd, in the unity of the Spirit, in one Lord, one faith, one baptism!

## CHAPTER IX.

THE FIRST CIVIL COMPACT.—TOLERATION, CONNIVANCE, LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE.—FOUNDATIONS OF THE STATE.—REPETITION OF THE FREE COVENANTS.

WE have dwelt upon the first free Church Covenant, a mighty and glorious phenomenon, the creation of eternal principles, or rather the creation of Divine grace, and the expression of principles that flow from time into eternity, and bind the whole family of God in heaven and on earth together. Out of this springs the free civil covenant, for freedom in the State is the offspring of Christian freedom in the Church, the creation of that liberty with which Christ makes his people free. That first Church compact, that old, free, Lincolnshire, Pilgrim church compact, that phenomenon of Conventicles and Dissent, is just what the nations of Europe need now, at this hour of revolution, to go before the free civil compact, to prepare its way, and give it form, life, and stability.

But men need a vast deal of discipline and instruction on this matter of a free conscience, both in Church and State, before they can understand it. Our Pilgrim fathers began the practice, under God's good providence, even before they had learned the theory; indeed, they learned the theory by the practice.

It is noticeable that at this time, with all their determination to enjoy freedom of conscience, not a person in the Church or congregation but seems to have regarded it as a gift in the power of King James. Accordingly, to him they looked for it; but God would not let the Pilgrim church, in its refuge under Christ's care in the New World, undergo the indignity of being *tolerated* by any earthly monarch or power. God was going to put an end to toleration in religion by this enterprise, and therefore in his providence he went further in this thing for the Pilgrims than they had yet learned to go for themselves. After



much anxious and prayerful consideration, they determined to settle in the New World under the Virginia Company, "and by their friends to sue to his Majesty that he would be pleased to grant them free liberty and freedom of religion." And some great friends of good work and quality undertook to be their patrons in this suit. To such shifts has our religious conscience been driven in this world, and to such height was the Papacy in essence still rising in England; so they sued for confirmation of liberty in religion under the king's broad seal, labouring both with the king and the archbishop; but all would not do. The king under seal would neither allow nor tolerate. God would have nothing in the charter of New England liberty which should intimate that the keeping of the conscience was in the hands of King James of England, or that he had any authority to tolerate. God would throw the Pilgrims for their toleration only upon Christ. They at length got a patent from the Virginia Company, though not without great difficulty, but the disgrace of James's seal of toleration was never attached to it, nor, if it had been, could it have served their turn, "although they had had a seal as broad as the house floor;" it would have been as easily called back or reversed as given.

"It is a capital error," said John Cartwright, in his Letters on American independence, addressed in 1774 to the House of Commons, speaking of the rights of man, "It is a capital error in the reasonings of most writers on this subject that they consider the liberty of mankind in the same light as an estate or chattel, and go about to prove or disprove the right of it by grants, usages, or municipal statutes. It is not among mouldy parchments that we are to look for it. It is the immediate gift of God; it is not derived from any one, but it is original in every one."

This was the error even of our Pilgrim Fathers themselves in regard to religious liberty, which, with all their advancement, they still looked upon as a gift in possession of the king, until God, by his providence and word, taught them better. Highly as they prized their religious liberty, so that they were willing to suffer and die for it, they did not yet view it as solely the gift of God by charter to his people through Christ; as a possession, a right, in regard to which the pretended power of toleration in any earthly king or state, is a blasphemous usurpation of God's attributes. So in this case God was better for

them than they were for themselves, and planted them in the wilderness with more unrestricted liberty and superiority to earthly toleration than they had asked from others. King James should have nothing to do with tolerating them. So, whatever patents might be issued of usurpation under the form of grants, after they had got footing in the New World, their first settlement as a Church and civil State should not even have the king's name connected with it. They were under God only, and his charter for them was the Bible.

Even the patent which they did get was never used by them, nor was it ever taken out in any of their names, nor did it ever prove, that we know, of the least concernment or importance in any of their affairs, but only as God made use of it by reason of the delays, difficulties, and distractions involved in the gaining of it, to sift out still more of the chaff from among the seed-corn he was preparing. The discouragements in this matter of the patent "shook off many of their pretended friends," and in that service was much better for them than the King's great seal.

In the very part of England out of which the Pilgrims first fled to Holland, King James was now playing the persecutor, requiring the Bishop of Lancashire to present all the Puritans and Precisians within the same, either constraining them to conform or leave the country; ordering that those who would attend church on Sundays should not be disturbed or discouraged from dancing, archery, leaping, vaulting, having May-games, Whitsun-ales, Morrice dances, setting up May-poles, and other sports therewith used, or any other such harmless recreations on Sundays after divine service; all which and much more for the jail-delivery of Beelzebub all ministers were compelled to read in their churches, such food being prepared by the drunken monarch in his Book of Sports for the souls of his people. If any refused to read, they were summoned into the high Commission Court, and imprisoned and suspended. The next year the same saintly monarch published his meditations on the Lord's Prayer!<sup>1</sup>

The failure of the Pilgrims in getting the King's patent, together with that other providence of God in their being compelled to come to anchor in Cape Cod harbour, a place with which the Virginia Company had nothing to do, and where,

<sup>1</sup> Prince, 56.

of course, no patent from them could bestow any rights, was the cause of that solemn compact in the May-Flower, by which they took the business of patent, government, and all civil and religious rights into their own hands, and became in reality an independent Republic. There was already in growth the germ of the future Republic, all its forms being folded up in the colony now planted, although as yet the form of a kingly crown rose above it. It was the God of providence and grace working as the God of nature works, by gradual onward progress from living principles, which in the fulness of time were to throw off the old form-covering entirely, and to stand revealed, in a transfiguration or creation of their own, suited to them. Even so in nature the old leaves, as Mr. Coleridge, in one of his beautifully suggestive illustrations has remarked, are thrown off only by the propulsion of new buds. The old form might endeavour to hold its place, and play the despot for a while, but before the power of a new growth it must fall.

We say that that failure was the cause; for although the Pilgrims intimate in their Journal that the occasion of entering into that compact was the manifestation of some disobedient unruly humours in some of the little company, yet if they had been in possession of a regular charter from the King, covering their incorporation as a colony where they landed, it is not probable that they would have felt the need of any other morally coercive compact than the terms of that. God's providence is to be marked in leading them to that, as well as to their religious covenant; the one sealing them by the spirit of God, as a free Church, the other, as a free voluntary civil and political community.

Mr. Baylies refers the symptoms of insubordination solely to the servants that had been shipped in England, and were not members of the Pilgrim Church. "Their servants," he says,<sup>1</sup> "who had not been members of the Leyden congregation, but who for the most part had been gathered up in England, seemed to anticipate a perfect freedom from the restraints both of law and government." They had probably been made to believe this; and the company being really under no present authority whatever, and having no charter, had reason to apprehend the greatest difficulty from any spirit of insubordination that might break out, and so were driven to the choice of a Governor, and

<sup>1</sup> Baylies' Memoir of the Colony of New Plymouth, vol. i, p. 27.

to an agreement of self-government and obedience among themselves. "Some of the inferior class among them had muttered," says Hutchinson, "that when they should get ashore, one man would be as good as another, and they would do what seemed good in their own eyes."<sup>1</sup> It is very likely these mutinous dispositions were set at work and inflamed by Billington, the first offender in the colony, and afterwards a murderer. There were also two vulgar imitators of high life in England among the servants, who, as we shall see, played the part of the first duellists in New England, and were punished for it.

If these insubordinate servants were the means of inducing that compact on board the *May-Flower*, it was not in vain nor for evil that they were shipped from England with the little company from Leyden. Whether its authors and signers foresaw or thoroughly understood, or much less intended the full extent of what they were doing, is of little importance. Indeed it was not possible that they could even dream what an empire of perfect liberty and self-government they were founding; to what principles they were giving embodiment for future generations, principles, that more than two hundred years after they all were laid in their graves, should shake all Europe, nay the whole world to its centre. Principles they were, that under a religious guidance made their own chosen wilderness like the garden of the Lord; but principles, that without such guidance or preparation, break out as sudden, overwhelming, devastating volcanoes, after which there must pass whole ages perhaps, before a new verdure can rise upon the mouldering lava. It is by *celestial* observations alone, said Mr. Coleridge, that *terrestrial* charts can be constructed; and how perfectly true is this remark as to the governments and liberties of modern Europe. Religion must lay the foundation of freedom, or there will be none.

"What comes from heaven, to heaven by nature clings,  
And if dissevered thence, its life is short."

Now it is remarkable how often the Providence of God shut up the Colonists to the repetition of these same free covenants, both in Church and State, sometimes by compelling them to settle without the regular patents which they had been seeking, and sometimes by throwing them upon places of settlement beyond the limits of the patents which they had obtained. This

<sup>1</sup> Hutchinson, *Hist., Mass.*, vol. ii, p. 407.

was the case with the first colony of Connecticut, in 1636. "They had a sort of commission from the Government of the Massachusetts Bay, for the administration of justice till they could come to a more orderly settlement; but finding themselves without the limits of *their* jurisdiction, they entered into a voluntary association, choosing magistrates, and making laws for themselves, after the example of the Colony from whence they issued. Thus they continued until the restoration of King Charles II., when by the industry and application of Mr. John Winthrop, junr., they obtained as ample a charter as was ever enjoyed by any people."<sup>1</sup>

The same was the case with the colony under Eaton and Davenport, in 1637, at New Haven. "They purchased of the natives," says Mr. Neal, "all the land that lies between Connecticut River and Hudson's, which divides the southern part of New England from New York, and removed thither towards the latter end of the summer. They seated themselves in the Bay, and spread along the coast, where they built first the town of New Haven, which gives name to the colony; and then the towns of Guilford, Milford, Stamford, and Braintree. After some time they crossed the Bay, and made several settlements in Long Island, erecting churches in all places where they came, after the Independent form, of which Mr. Davenport was a great patron. But the New Haven Colony lay under the same disadvantage with Connecticut, as to a charter; they were without the Massachusetts jurisdiction, and were therefore under no government, nor had any other title to their lands, but what they had from the natives. They entered therefore into a voluntary combination, and formed themselves into a body politic, after the manner of those of Connecticut. Thus they continued, till the year 1664, when King Charles II. united the two colonies, and by a charter settled their liberties on a solid foundation."<sup>2</sup>

Settled their liberties on a solid foundation! But God had settled them before. The Historian seems to imagine that they had no solid foundation till the King of England chartered them; and *such* a King to charter the liberty of the Pilgrims! The Historian seems to be marvelling in his mind how *could* the poor, unprotected, ungoverned, because unchartered, adven-

<sup>1</sup> Neal's History of New England, vol. ii, p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> Neal's History of New England, vol. i, pages 152, 153.

turers, possibly get on from 1637 to 1664, without the King's broad seal, and with their lands only purchased from the natives! How they could live and prosper, with the mere voluntary framing of themselves into a body politic, with their own laws and magistrates, after the manner of those of Connecticut, seemed a riddle to the royalist spectators. And even Mr. Neal appears to think that their title to their lands was really better, signed with the name of King Charles, than with the arrow-heads of the sachems from whom they were purchased.

The only use of a charter that we can think of, was to give them the privileges of an incorporation by law, and to secure them from the intrusion of other companies or individuals. But as to the security of their liberties under such monarchs as the Stuarts, if they were not secured by their own virtue, firmness, and voluntary combination, a charter was worth nothing. Besides, in the view of the royalists, the people chartered by the monarch were bound to be of his sentiments in their religious as well as their civil polity, and every ordinance and institution of the Church of England was binding upon them. Even in our own day by distinguished historians, a grave charge has been brought against our Pilgrim Fathers, for daring to disregard the sentiments of the monarch under whose authority they settled in America, so far as even to adopt in their infant church the Independent form of Ecclesiastical policy! One can hardly read such sober accusations without a smile; but the historian Grahame devotes several of his excellent pages to their refutation.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Grahame's Colonial History of the United States, vol. i, 208—211.

## CHAPTER X.

THE FIRST SETTLEMENT, FOLLOWING THE FIRST COMPACT.—DISCOVERY OF PLYMOUTH.—THE HARBOUR, THE LOCALITIES, THE ASSOCIATIONS.—PLYMOUTH ROCK, AND THE BEAUTY OF THE HIGH-TIDE SCENERY.

THE Capes of New England are regions both of material and spiritual grandeur, for the sea-scenery is glorious, and the historical associations are full of interest. Take a favourable season of the year, and a clear bright day, a day, for example, in the Indian summer, and earth has not any thing to show more fair, in a mood of harmony between the atmosphere and ocean, than the sea-views all along the New England coast. Some of its harbours are of the finest in the world; but others, if they can be called such, receive unprotected the whole broadside of the Atlantic. There is an inexhaustible and most romantic variety in the bays, capes, beaches, inlets, islands, promontories, crags, and marsh-meadows of its rock-bound shores.

The sweep of Cape Cod is a most remarkable formation. Since the creation of the world we know not what use was ever made of it, till the May-Flower was stopped by it in her voyage, and compelled there to come to anchor. An enthusiastic mind wanders over that whole region with delight; for here was the opening of a new dispensation in the great things that connect earth with heaven; a new scene in the history of redemption; a new school, a free school, of discipline and instruction for God's Church. Here the imaginative and romantic are combined with the sternest realities in the circle of Christian life, labour, and experience, in the unfolding of God's

plan. In process of time there may be a new Christian Epic, and these rude names and places of Cape Cod, Pakanokit, Patuxet, Naumkeag, will be among the central points of a region invested with imaginative beauty, and fraught with rich and powerful associations; so that by and by the islands of the Homeric seas, and the coasts of Palinurus' navigation, will not possess a more poetical and classic interest.

From Cape Cod harbour, leaving the *May-Flower* there, the Pilgrims set out on their exploring expeditions to find a place of permanent settlement. They were anxious and hurried, not only by the lateness of the season, on the verge of winter, but by the actual danger of being set ashore anywhere, at the will of the captain of the little ship, and abandoned of all human aid to their fate, even before they had a single roof for shelter. There are one or two passages in the *Journal*, which, combined with some historical hints from other sources, have a great deal of meaning in them, to open fully to our minds the hazardous position of the Pilgrims. Of this nature is that note among their reasons urged for a hasty settlement at Cape Cod, namely: "it was also conceived, whilst we had competent victuals, that the ship would stay with us; but when that grew less they would be gone, and let us shift as we could." It is quite evident from this, and from some other indications, that they feared the ship-master, and had no confidence in him; which inclines us to give some credit to the affirmation of Mr. Morton in his memorial, that the *May-Flower* was forced into Cape Cod harbour "more especially by the fraudulency and contrivance of Mr. Jones, the master of the ship; for their intention, as is before noted, and his engagement, was to Hudson's river. But some of the Dutch having notice of their intentions, and having thoughts about the same time of erecting a plantation there likewise, they fraudulently hired the said Jones, by delays while they were in England, and now under pretence of the danger of the shoals, etc., to disappoint them of their going thither. But God outshoots Satan oftentimes in his own bow."<sup>1</sup>

Be this as it may, they were in anxious haste for settlement, and came near settling on the Cape itself.

"The master of the ship," says Mr. Morton, "and his company, pressed them with speed to look out a place for their

<sup>1</sup> Morton, *New England's Memorial*.



settlement, at some near distance; for the season was such that he would not stir from thence, till a safe harbour was discovered by them with the boat. Yea, it was sometimes threatened that if they did not get a place in time, they and their goods should be turned on shore, and the ship should leave them. The master also expressed himself that provisions were spending apace, and that he would keep sufficient for himself and company for their return (to England).”

By the 10th of December, they had come in their explorings as far as Clark's Island, in Plymouth harbour; so called, because Thomas Clark, the mate of the *May-Flower*, first set foot upon it. They described this harbour as “a bay greater than Cape Cod, compassed with a goodly land, and in the bay two fine islands uninhabited, wherein are nothing but woods, oaks, pines, walnuts, beech, sassafras, vines, and other trees, which we know not. This bay is a most hopeful place; innumerable store of fowl, and excellent food, and cannot but be of fish in their seasons.” Such was Plymouth then, to their view very hopeful, and there they determined to settle, and there landed on the Rock. In the space of two hundred years, the localities have so far changed, at least in the mantle thrown over them by time and cultivation, that if the Pilgrims could rise from their graves at this day, they would hardly know the place of their pilgrimage, especially if they should see sailless ships rushing into the harbour against both wind and tide, and a long train of cars thundering into the town upon the railroad. Doubtless they have seen all this progress from the world of spirits, and are now beholding the future results of it far more clearly, and from a higher post of observation than we.

And the Rock—Plymouth Rock—would they know the place where they landed? Under present circumstances, one might make the circuit of the whole water-side of the village, and scarce find granite data for even a guess as to the spot so sacred now in the annals of New England. When the shallop from the *May-Flower* first touched that spot it was an imperfect rocky ledge, partly covered with the sea at high tide, but now almost entirely hidden by the earth of the street, and at some little distance from the margin of the water. This sacred spot is in the gangway to a wharf, between two store-houses for grain. Yet one can see, on consideration, that if the

buildings, with their foundations, and the accumulated soil around them, were taken away, together with the wharves that stretch out beyond them, so that nature could be restored to the rude simplicity and savageness of 1620, an admirable picture might be drawn, not from imagination, but reality, of the Pilgrims stepping from their shallop on the wave-worn rock.

Nevertheless, the disappointment in the minds of most persons, on visiting the spot, as it now appears to the eye, is very great. "What! *This* the Pilgrim Rock!" they exclaim, "this dusty lane and wharf-way between these old store-houses! Why, this is no rock at all." And indeed, several tons of the Rock having been removed, and the rest being nearly hidden with earth, there seems to be nothing left. The huge fragment taken away is now deposited in front of Pilgrim Hall, and is there surrounded by an iron railing, with the names of the Pilgrims inscribed in ovals at the top. Perhaps it would be in better taste to carry the fragment back to its native original position, and there encircle it with whatever defences may be requisite for its protection. There should be a park there, down to the water's edge; for where in the world, out of Judea or Egypt, is there a more sacred bit of soil, be it rock or rich mould, than that which the feet of those men first pressed, as the chosen spot where the home should be of the free to worship God? It is a solemn place; the incongruities of the artificial scenery around it are of no avail to diminish the impression, when the great reality presses on the mind. It is felt to be a solemn spot, when, on Forefathers' Day, the procession of men bare-headed passes over it; each man silently, reverently, as he approaches it, uncovering his head; it is a time, place, and scene, for thoughts much more easily imagined than described.

To gain a satisfactory impression of the localities of Plymouth Harbour, we must ascend the Burial Hill, which rises, covered with its forest of grave-stones, directly above the terrace where the Pilgrims laid out the first rude street of their settlement. It is a very sacred spot in their history, and the view from it is incomparably fine. The town lies below you, around the bosom of the hill. A few majestic elms and lindens rise in beautiful masses of foliage among the buildings on the water side, but in general there are few trees, until the eye passes into that noble ridge of pine forest on the south-east,

running out into the sea; a hill-range of the primeval wilderness, as deeply foliaged as the Green Mountains, or the Jura range in Switzerland. The wide harbour is before you, with a bar or spit of land straight stretching across the centre of it, and dividing the inner flats from the deep blue water beyond. I say the wide harbour. And now it depends very much upon the time of tide when you first enter the town, whether you are greatly disappointed or pleased in the first impression. Plymouth harbour is one of those vast inlets so frequent along our coast, where, at high tide, you see a magnificent bay studded with islands, and opening proudly into the open ocean; but at low tide, an immense extent of muddy, salt-grassed, and sea-weeded shallows, with a narrow stream winding its way among them to find the sea. Here and there lies stranded the bark of a fisherman, or a lumber schooner amidst the flats, left at low tide, not high and dry, but half sunk in the mud; and the wharves are dripping with rotting sea-weed, and the shores look decaying and deserted; not pebbly or sandy like a beach, but swampy with eel grass, and strewn here and there with the skeletons of old horse-fishes, crabs, muscles, etc., among the withered layers of dry kelp. Now and then, also, the red huts and fish-flakes of the fishermen vary the scene upon the shore, or a small vessel, about as large as the *May-Flower*, slowly, though with all sail set, follows the course of the stream winding among the shallows, the only channel at low tide by which there is any approach from the outer open bay, towards the quay or business landing-place of the village. The extent of these flats and shallows at Cape Cod and Plymouth, was the cause of great evil and hardship at first; for, speaking of Cape Cod bay, where the Pilgrims first came to anchor, they say: "We could not come near the shore by three-quarters of an English mile, because of shallow water, which was a great prejudice to us, for our people, going on shore, were forced to wade a bow-shot or two in going a-land, which caused many to get colds and coughs, for it was by times freezing cold weather." In these colds and coughs were the seed, to some of a speedy, to others a lingering, New England consumption, which soon sowed the harbour side with graves, almost as many as the names of the living.

Now this whole range of low tide scenery, to one who is truly fond of the sea and the shore, in all their freaks, inlets,

varieties, and grand and homely moods, is not without its beauty. The poet Crabbe, or the Puritan poet, R. H. Dana, would describe it in such interesting colours that it would wear a most romantic charm; the stranded boats, and the mud flats, and the rotting sea-weed, would have a strange imaginative life put into them. Nevertheless, if these are the first images of the landing of the Pilgrims presented to you, you will experience, probably, a great disappointment.

But now if you behold this same sweep of sea scenery at high tide, beneath a clear sky, a bright sun, in the colouring of morn or evening, or in the solemn stillness of an autumn noon, what an amazing change! It is no longer the same region. You would think it one of the finest harbours in the world. You would think it was the preference and selection of the human will, after long searching, that brought the Pilgrims hither, and not merely the hand and compulsion of an overruling Providence. You would think how easy and how natural for them to find their way just to this landing-place; and how beautiful and admirable the region, for the thrift of a colony, both in commercial and in country life. How differently God sees from man! He seems to have shut up the Pilgrims in this inlet, difficult of access from the sea, and barren in the country, to *set* their growth, firm and stedfast, amidst much tribulation, in dependence neither on the riches of the land, nor the sea, nor the attractions of commercial intercourse, but upon himself alone. He hid them as in a tabernacle from the strife of tongues, and let them grow, unperverted by the admiring notice, and unassaulted by the temptations of a wicked world. It was a costly growth, but glorious.

It must have been at high tide that the Pilgrims found their way into this harbour. A sweet fresh stream, setting into it from the land, was to them a great attraction, as well as the abundance of fresh fountains. Had they been able to survey the coast as far as Boston, before making choice of their settlement, they would probably have stopped there, and the swift commercial growth that would thence have succeeded the enterprise would not have been favourable to the growth of a deep-set piety, the fixtures of stern, difficult, Puritan virtue in the character. Like New England soil itself, there must be a granite basis first, and then a sturdy, vigorous loam to last for many generations. So the settlement and growth of the Pilgrim

colonies was at first slow, difficult, painful; but so much the more rapid, unprecedented, and successful afterwards. It was a native growth. If there had been such a thing as steam communication then between England and America, there would never have been a New England on this continent, as the example of social, commercial, and religious virtue and happiness for the world. Let us be thankful to God that he kept the ocean between us and Europe for two hundred years, before he lessened the distance or the difficulty of its navigation, or permitted the tide of an ignorant and vicious immigration to set with such fury upon us, as would have destroyed our infant institutions in the bud.

## CHAPTER XI.

INSTRUCTIVE DISCIPLINE OF THE PILGRIM CHURCH AT AMSTERDAM.  
—ORIGINAL ORDER AND BEAUTY OF THE CHURCHES THERE.—  
EVILS OF DISSENSION, AND OF MINUTE LEGISLATION.—THE  
FORBEARING AND KINDLY SPIRIT OF THE PILGRIM CHURCH.

TOGETHER with Robinson and Brewster, there is mention in Governor Bradford's writings of a grave and fatherly old man, having a great white beard; a sound, orthodox, reverend old man, who had converted many to God by his faithful and painstaking ministry, both in preaching and catechizing. This was Mr. Richard Clifton, one of the earliest members in that Congregational church in the north of England, of which Mr. Robinson was chosen the pastor. Mr. Clifton accompanied the church in its exile to Amsterdam, but on account of his great age did not remove with it from Amsterdam to Leyden, but took his dismissal from them to join the church in Amsterdam. In that church there were at one time about three hundred communicants, under the care of two eminent men as their pastor and teacher, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Ainsworth. In the time of their beauty and order, before the canker of division and bitterness, they were a flourishing church, having "four grave men for ruling elders, and three able and godly men for deacons, and one ancient widow for deaconess, who did them service many years, though she was sixty years of age when she was chosen. She honoured her place, and was an ornament to the congregation."

The Leyden church does not seem to have kept up any such office or service as this latter. The notice of it by Governor Bradford is very curious, reminding one of the pictures in Shenstone's Schoolmistress.

Her cap, far whiter than the driven snow,  
 Emblem right meet of decency does yield ;  
 Her apron dyed in grain, as blue, I trow,  
 As is the harebell that adorns the field ;  
 And in her hand for sceptre she does wield  
 Tway birchen sprays ; with anxious fear entwined,  
 With dark distrust and sad repentance filled ;  
 And stedfast hate and sharp affliction joined,  
 And fury uncontrolled, and chastisement unkind.

Here oft the dame, on Sabbath's decent eve,  
 Hymned such Psalms as Sternhold forth did mete ;  
 If winter 'twere, she to her hearth did cleave,  
 But in her garden found a summer seat ;  
 Sweet melody ! to hear her then repeat  
 How Israel's sons, beneath a foreign king,  
 While taunting foemen did a song entreat,  
 All for the nonce untuning every string,  
 Uphung their useless lyres ; small heart had they to sing.

For she was just, and friend to virtuous lore,  
 And passed much time in truly virtuous deed ;  
 And in those elfins' ears would oft deplore  
 The times when Truth by Popish rage did bleed,  
 And tortuous death was true devotion's meed ;  
 And simple faith in iron chains did mourn  
 That would on wooden image place her creed ;  
 And many a saint in smouldering flames did burn ;  
 Ah ! dearest Lord, forbend thilk days should e'er return !

Right well she knew each temper to desery,  
 To thwart the proud, and the submiss to raise ;  
 Some with vile copper-prize exalt on high,  
 And some entice with pittance small of praise ;  
 And other some with baleful sprig she frays ;  
 Even absent she the reins of power doth hold,  
 While with quaint arts the giddy crowd she sways ;  
 Forewarned, if little bird their pranks behold,  
 'Twill whisper in her ear, and all the scene unfold.

Lo ! now with state she utters her command,  
 Eftsoons the urchins to their tasks repair,  
 Their books of stature small they take in hand,  
 Which with pellucid horn secured are,  
 To save from fingers wet the letters fair ;  
 The work so gay, that on their back is seen,  
 St. George's high achievements does declare ;  
 On which thilk wight that has ygazing been,  
 Kens the forth-coming rod, unpleasing sight I ween.

Not unlike this must have been the character of the venerable deaconess, in whose rule as a mother in Israel, with maidens and young women, among the poor and sick, or by birchen rod, and on bench of state, among the children, in time of public worship, there was not a little of the simplicity of primitive discipline. She was a mild reflection, to the urehins of that day, of the image of the old-fashioned Connecticut Tythingmen.

“She usually sat in a convenient place in the congregation,” says Governor Bradford, “with a little birchen rod in her hand, and kept little children in great awe from disturbing the congregation. She did frequently visit the sick and weak, especially women, and, as there was need, called out maids and young women to watch, and do them other helps, as their necessity did require: and if they were poor, she would gather relief for them of those who were able, or acquaint the deacons: and she was obeyed as a mother in Israel and an officer of Christ.”

There are such mothers in Israel still, by virtue of deep and well known piety, and old experience, but without the title and distinction of office. The reality of deaconesses has not passed out of the churches, although the office has. Yet now in some parts of the modern Evangelical Church efforts are making to revive it.

But notwithstanding all this beauty and order in the church at Amsterdam, the spirit of discord broke out among them, and in such a way, that one is inclined to think that the providence of God led the Pilgrim Church with Robinson and Brewster to Amsterdam first, that by the example of such ruinous dissensions from little causes before them, they might hate and vigilantly avoid the same; that they might love peace above all other things except the truth, and that they might ever be charitable and yielding in little and indifferent things, and might seek the things which make for peace, and those whereby one might edify another. This they did remarkably, being an eminent example of uninterrupted love, kindness, disinterestedness, freedom, liberality, and concord with one another. We cannot doubt that their sojourn at Amsterdam, and the melancholy example of the fire of contention there, with the still older and more sadly instructive ease at Frankfort, was of great benefit to them; it admonished them of the ways in which



Satan, if permitted, would get an advantage over them; it made them acquainted with his devices, and put them on their guard against the spirit of envy, jealousy, censoriousness, and bitterness in their own hearts, that if they found it working they might at once, by the help of Christ's grace, cast it out. The beautiful, apostolic, gentle, and heavenly tenor of Robinson's instructions on these points, and the frequency with which he repeated them, and dwelt upon them, and warned his dear flock, both at Leyden and in the wilderness, to be on their defence and to guard unceasingly against the spirit of self-prejudice, self-opinion, self-seeking, self-obstinaey in every way, and to be kindly and forbearing in regard to the humours, peculiarities, and causes of minor offence which they might see in others, grew much out of his experience there, and out of God's discipline and grace, teaching him to flee from discussion and contention about minute rules and things indifferent, and pets of private opinion, as the very bane or gangrene of a vital, vigorous, comprehensive piety.

In that church of God at Amsterdam there were some unreasonable, if not wicked men given to oppositions of self-will and vain janglings about mint, anise, and cummin, how many ribbons a woman should wear upon her bonnet, and other like things; and among these self-opinionated men were the father and brother of the pastor himself, Mr. Johnson, arrayed against his own wife, for what they judged to be her pride in apparel. These men carried their opposition and bitterness to such unreasonable and endless length, with such evil accompaniments as would naturally grow out of such a spirit of incessant strife, that the church after long patience towards them, and much pains taken with them, proceeded at last to excommunicate them, probably as the only possible means of getting rid of the evil, and avoiding utter ruin; for Governor Bradford says that such was the justice of the excommunication, that the Pastor himself could not but consent thereto, although for that he was much blamed, as having excommunicated his own father and brother. And indeed it was a case of difficulty that would have put Paul himself in a perplexity; although, from the manifest indignation of the Apostle against such a spirit of Diotrephesianism in the church, and of meddling and *busy-bodiness* in other men's matters, and obstinaey and strife, and insolent judgment of others' opinions, we may be quite clear

how he would have acted. But this flame of strife, together with the subtilty of one of the elders of the church, produced most painful and injurious consequences.

And yet Governor Bradford says that the wife of the pastor, against whom all this wrath of censoriousness and self-opinion was directed, was a most excellent and grave matron, and very modest both in her apparel and all her demeanour, ready to any good works in her place, and helpful to many, especially the poor, and an ornament to the Pastor's calling. She was a young widow when he married her, having been the wife of a merchant, so that he received by her a good estate, besides that she was truly a godly woman; but because she continued to wear such apparel as she had ever been used to, these meddlers and men of strife broke out against her. And yet Mr. Bradford tells us that her apparel was neither excessive nor immodest, and that their chiefest exceptions were against her wearing corked shoes for her feet, and whalebone in the boddice and sleeves of her gown, and other such like things as the citizens of her rank then used to wear. But not only so, but both the Pastor and his wife were willing, for the sake of avoiding offence, to reform the fashions of their garments, so far as they could without spoiling of them; yet all would not content the offended and opposing ones, "except they came full up to their size." Such was the excessive rigidness of some in those times, of which Robinson and his church seem to have taken good caution, by seeing the dreadful evils resulting from such a course in the Church of God.

The violence of some men's tempers, says Mr. Hubbard quaintly and truly, in his History of New England, while dwelling on some such occasion, the violence of some men's tempers makes them raise debates when debates do not justly offer themselves, and like mill-stones they grind one another, when they want other grist. In some of the churches of the New England colonies there were from time to time such men, as also there were here and there very needless causes of disputation and legislation on things indifferent, as concerning the duty of women to wear vails; but the church at Plymouth was remarkably free from this disputatious and uncharitable spirit; they had a disposition and character of forbearance and freedom to be attributed to God's peculiar discipline with them, and to the experience and instruction of their beloved pastor. Take,

however, all the instances of seetarian or oppressive legislation or usage in the whole history of the New England churches from their foundation, and there can be found nothing to compare with the inquisitorial minuteness and tyrannical severity with which the Church of England legislated on men's garments, sports, and manners, enforcing her rubrics on pain of imprisonment and death. All the *fabled* Blue Laws of Connecticut, though their falsehoods were enlarged into volumes, would be nothing in absurdity and cruelty compared with the *actual* laws which filled the statute books of the Establishment, and set an example to the Pilgrims of Plymouth, and the other colonists, which it is wonderful they had the wisdom and the piety so wholly to avoid. The *examples* before them were all of intolerance and oppression; the model which was *original* with *them*, which they themselves struck out and gradually brought to perfection, that of freedom, forbearance, kindness, and good sense. They put the weightier matters of the law uppermost, love, mercy, and faith; and gave to the mint, anise, and cummin, a subordinate and just position.

## CHAPTER XII.

### THE LIFE, CHARACTER, AND ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR BRADFORD.

GOVERNOR BRADFORD deserves, as he possesses, a memorial of the deepest veneration and love, in the hearts of all who know his character. The colony at Plymouth perhaps owed more of its prosperity to him, under God, than to any other one man or many friends, either there or in England. His character was not unlike that of Washington; nay, there is a very striking resemblance. He was placed in emergencies and perils, as the leader of the Colony, very similar in kind, though different in form and circumstance, to some of those through which Washington passed with such consummate prudence; with equal self-possession and prudence, with a piety relying solely upon God, did Bradford guide the ship of the infant Colony through the breakers. He was a man whose *natural* stamp of character was very much like Franklin's; but in him a calm and noble nature was early renewed and enriched by grace, and brought under its supreme dominion; not left to attach itself to earth only, or to exhibit the qualities of a sage in the wisdom of mere mortal humanity.

He was born, according to Cotton Mather, in an obscure village called Austerfield, in England, in the year 1588; a place where the people were ignorant, licentious, and quite unacquainted with the Bible, as any man will see reason to believe, who reads John Foster's description of popular ignorance in England under the reign of Elizabeth. He inherited a comfortable patrimony, but his parents died in his childhood, and left him to be educated by his grand parents and uncles, simply in the affairs of husbandry. In after years, he regarded it as a blessing of God's providence that early and long continued sickness preserved him from the vanities, and perhaps

excesses of the period of youthful temptation, amidst so many vicious and depraved examples.

It was probably the confinement of his illness that led him to the perusal of the Scriptures, for at the age of twelve years his mind began to be much impressed with the reading of them, and prepared for the rich evangelical instructions he was afterwards to enjoy. In the neighbourhood of his native inheritance, or not far from it, a man of true piety and acquaintance with God's word exercised his ministry, an *illuminating* ministry, as it is called by Cotton Mather, with much fruit of his labours in the conversion of many to God. We are not told whether he had a curacy or preferment of any kind in the Church of England, but as Yorkshire was one of the counties in which the churches of the Puritans began earliest to be gathered, and in which the persecution against them under Queen Elizabeth raged most fiercely, we suppose, from the character given of his ministry, that he must have been, at the time of Bradford's first acquaintance with him, one of the nonconforming ministers scourged out of office. He was one of the earliest members of the Pilgrim Church at its gathering in 1602, and at the time of their exile into Holland, Mr. Bradford describes him as a grave, fatherly, reverend old man and faithful preacher, with a great white beard.

It was about 1600 that Bradford, with his youthful heart fresh under the simple and deep impressions received from God's Word, came to the enjoyment of Mr. Clifton's teachings. Very much like Richard Baxter in the period of his earliest religious anxieties, he was much aided by the conversation of a young person, then apparently a true Christian, but afterwards an apostate, who introduced him to the company of others of similar views and feelings with his own. And now he began to be scoffed at by his neighbours and uncles as a Puritan, but nothing could divert him from his course, or interrupt the progress of the work of God's Spirit within him. Like Christian in his first awakening in the City of Destruction, he was too deeply anxious, saw too clearly the worth, the guilt, and the ruin of his soul, to be turned aside by the jeering of the idle and profane, even though they were of his own household. And very soon, by the unchristian nature of the persecutions raging around him, he and his fellow-disciples of Christ, after sundry years of patient endurance of trial, were led to see by

the light of God's Word that the ceremonies imposed upon them were, in such penal imposition, unlawful, and that the tyrannous power of the prelates ought not to be submitted to, being contrary to the freedom of the Gospel, compulsorily burdening men's consciences with a profane mixture of persons and things in God's worship. By reading, by discourse, and prayer, they were led to question whether they ought not to form a separate church and society of the faithful, who should keep close to the written Word of God as the rule of their worship. They were at length brought to the determination that they both might and ought thus enter into a voluntary church covenant with Christ and with one another, to walk in his ways, whatever it might cost them. And thus was the Pilgrim Church gathered from the counties of York, Lincoln, and Nottingham.

Bradford himself passed through many distresses of mind as to his own duty, but at length, in God's mercy, saw it very clearly, and engaged in it without the least hesitation. "He took up," says Cotton Mather, "a very deliberate and understanding resolution," which he cheerfully prosecuted, although the rage of his friends and relatives tried all imaginable ways to reclaim him from his madness. Some lamented him, some derided him, all dissuaded him; but he was no Pliable to be turned back by the Slough, either of importunity or persecution, and the more they vexed him, the more fervent grew his purpose, and the more earnestly and resolutely he persevered. He answered their arguments and reproaches thus: "Were I like to endanger my life, or consume my estate by any ungodly courses, your counsels to me were very seasonable; but you know that I have been diligent and provident in my calling, and not only desirous to augment what I have, but also to enjoy it in your company; to part from which will be as great an evil as can befall me. Nevertheless, to keep a good conscience, and walk in such a way as God has prescribed in his word, is a thing which I must prefer before you all, and above life itself. Wherefore, since it is for a good cause that I am like to suffer the disasters which you lay before me, you have no cause to be either angry with me or sorry for me. Yea, I am not only willing to part with everything that is dear to me in this world for this cause, but I am also thankful that God has given me a heart so to do, and will accept me so to suffer for him."

From 1602 to 1606 Bradford remained with the church, a partaker of their afflictions in the Gospel, which, towards the end of that period, were many and grievous to be borne. After their division into two congregations, the Pilgrim Church contrived to elude the malice of their persecutors, by meetings appointed from one place to another, as they could, so that for about a year they succeeded in maintaining worship every Sabbath. But this could not last, and at length, by joint consent, they resolved to flee into Holland. But even this short passage they did not accomplish without the extremest difficulty and hardship, encountering pillage, prisons, and almost death in the way. All the ports and havens in England were shut upon them, so that they were forced to escape secretly, by bribing the sailors, and likewise paying extravagant sums for conveyance.

The first attempt made by Bradford was in company with a large number of the church, who hired a ship at Boston wholly for themselves, and engaged the master to take them at a particular day. After long waiting and large expenses, the mercenary wretch, having laid a plot on shore to betray them, came by night and got them with their goods on board, and then gave them up to the insolence of the catchpole officers, who cast them into open boats, rifled them of their money, books, and goods, hurried them back with much indecency, both men and women, amidst a crowd of gazers and scoffers, into the town, and there threw them all into prison. Seven of them, among whom was Elder Brewster, were kept imprisoned and bound over to the assizes, but the greater part were released, and sent back to their native villages in the space of about a month.

Bradford was now eighteen years of age, elastic, and full of the courage and hope of youth amidst all these difficulties. The next spring, in 1608, they made another attempt, and hired a Dutchman at Hull to take them over; but on the appointed day, by the time a single boat-load of the men had been got on board, (the bark being grounded, and so delayed, in which the women and children were placed, with the goods to be conveyed to the ship,) the whole country was out in pursuit of them, horse and foot, as against a foreign invasion. When the Dutch captain saw that, he swore his country's oath, weighed anchor and made sail instantly, without any regard to

the distress of the poor men thus separated from their wives and children, or of the poor women and children thus left unprotected on the shore. Meantime a tremendous storm arose of fourteen days' endurance, in which they were driven even to the coast of Norway; neither sun, moon, nor stars were visible for seven days; but at length, by the mercy of God, after imminent peril of foundering, they reached port in safety. There also the women and children whom they had left behind them, after being driven about from one constable to another, in endurance of much distress and suffering, were at length permitted to join them; and the rest of their brethren, after great storms of opposition, and "notable passages of trouble in wanderings and travels by sea and by land, got over at last, some at one time and some at another, and met together again with no small rejoicing."

But here they were, in the midst of a strange city, at Amsterdam, unacquainted at first with the trades and traffic by which the country doth subsist, having been used only to "a plain country life, and the innocent trade of husbandry." Their perplexities and trials must have been very great. Bradford betook himself at once to learning the art of working or dyeing in silks. Then at the end of two years, so soon as his age permitted him to do it, when the church had removed to Leyden, he converted his estate in England into ready money and set up for himself. But in his business he met with disappointments and losses, which he received as God's checks and chastisements, because he had, in the midst of worldly cares, "suffered his inward piety to fall into certain decays;" the consumption of his estate, Cotton Mather tells, he thought came to prevent a consumption in his virtue.

When the Pilgrim church was translated from Leyden to Plymouth, Bradford was thirty-two years of age. Both with his estate, what there was of it remaining, and his personal activity, he must have been of the most invaluable service amidst all the business, harassments, and difficulties of their preparation for the voyage. He had been married in England, and had at least one child living. Notwithstanding the sickness and disadvantages of his childhood, and the various changes, interruptions, and adventures of his life, he had acquired an excellent education, especially in the languages. He was master of the Dutch tongue, almost as his vernacular



dialect; the French was familiar to him; the Latin and Greek he had learned thoroughly; but above all he most diligently studied the Hebrew, because, as he said, he would see with his own eyes the ancient oracles of God in their native beauty. He had mingled much with men of various classes, habits, opinions, and pursuits, and had learned to bear with the prejudices of his neighbours, and to avoid the spirit of obstinacy and intolerance, especially in indifferent things, while yet he held firmly, without the least abatement, to the truth. His experience in Amsterdam and Leyden, as well as the admirable instructions and example of his pastor, had taught him much heavenly wisdom, and he could discern and note the evil tendencies and extremes, not only of intolerant superstition and formalism in the church party, but of unnecessary and uncharitable rigidity in his own.

He gives a curious illustration of the manners and prejudices of his own times and native region in England. He says he was in the company of a godly man, who had been long time a prisoner at Norwich for Christ's sake, but was set at liberty by Judge Cooke. After going into the country and visiting his friends, this man was returning to pass over into the Low Countries by ship at Yarmouth, and there desired Mr. Bradford and some others to go with him to the house of an ancient woman in the city, who had been very kind and helpful to him in his sufferings. The eyes of the good woman were dim and almost blind with age, but she knew the voice of her friend, and made him very welcome, and those who were with him. After some time of their entertainment, when they were ready to depart, she came to her old guest, and felt of his band at the neck-cloth, and perceiving it was something stiffened with starch, she was much displeased, and reproved him very sharply, fearing God would not prosper his journey. Poor woman, the starch was more in her heart than in the man's neck-cloth, and she herself was all unconsciously in that particular, under the rueful influence of the mint and anise system of the Pharisees. For the man was a plain countryman, clad in grey russet, without either welt or guard, as the proverb is, and the band he wore was scarce worth three pence, and what is more, it was made of his wife's own home-spinning; and he was as godly and humble as he was plain. Governor Bradford, in relating this story, shows very clearly what he thought of this

good lady's unreasonable strictness, and he asks, What would such professors, if they were now living, say to the excess of our times?

At the age of thirty-two, with a ripeness of experience, a vigour of judgment, a strength and energy of purpose, and at the same time a mildness, charitableness, and patience of temper, which fitted him for a foremost part in the great enterprise of the Pilgrims, Mr. Bradford embarked with them, and gave himself and his means unsparingly to all the labours of the undertaking. The humility, the forbearance, the entire absence of all disposition to rule, which marked the characters of these men, is wonderful. Carver was chosen their first Governor, but God had been preparing for them a permanent leader and counsellor in Bradford, when the object of their first choice was so early and suddenly taken away. He had all the qualities which fitted him to command, while he seemed but to follow. Cotton Mather remarks most truly that if he had not been a person of more than ordinary wisdom, courage, and piety, he must have sunk under the difficulties of the first year of the Colony. It is interesting and instructive minutely to trace his steps as they are recorded first in the Journal of the Pilgrims, and afterwards in the accurate annals of Prince. You are tracing the biography of an unassuming, unconscious Christian hero.

With the Pilgrims in Holland, and indeed with all their unfoldings of character and enterprise, until they are set down in the untrodden wilds of their empire of industry and piety, in the New World, Governor Bradford is rather connected by his own history of the church, than by any prominent events in which he himself was foremost. There are passages in his history where he writes evidently as an eye-witness, and we think of him as present, and taking a part, but not because he is named. The embarkation of the Pilgrims at Delft haven is linked with the remembrance both of Bradford and Winslow, because they have each described it in such simple, unaffected language, with the feelings of the heart. They were both marked personages in that scene "of interest unparalleled, that scene of few and simple incidents, just the setting out of a handful of not then very famous persons, on a voyage; but which, as we gaze on it, begins to speak to you as with the voices and melodies of an immortal hymn, which dilates and becomes idealized into the auspicious going forth of a colony,

whose planting has changed the history of the world; a noble colony of devout Christians, educated, firm men, valiant soldiers, and honourable women; a colony, on the commencement of whose heroic enterprise the selectest influences of religion seemed to be descending visibly; and beyond whose perilous path are hung the rainbow, and the western star of empire." <sup>1</sup>

From the time when Governor Bradford enters upon his administration of the affairs of the Colony, year after year its history is his. He was in an eminent degree the moving and guiding genius of the enterprise. His conduct towards the Indians was marked with such wisdom, energy, and kindness, that he soon gained a powerful influence over them. With the people of the Colony, not merely his first fellow-pilgrims, but all that came successively afterwards, he had equal authority and power; without the necessity of assuming it. The most heedless among them seem to have feared and respected him. He set them all at work, and would have none idle in the community, being resolved that if any would not work neither should they eat. Cotton Mather gives an account of a company of young fellows newly arrived, who were very unwilling to comply with his orders, or rather with the arrangements of the Colony, for working in the fields on the public account. But on Christmas Day they excused themselves from the labours of the public industry, under pretence that it was against their conscience to do any work on that day. The Governor told them if that were the case he would spare them till they were better informed; but soon afterwards he found them all at play in the street, hard at work upon their diversions, as if in obedience to the Book of Sports. That being the case, he very quietly took away the instruments of their games, and gave them to understand that he had a conscience as well as they, and that it was against his conscience as the Governor that they should play while the others were at work; so that if they had any devotion to the day, they should show it at home, in the exercise of religion, and not in the street, with their pastime and frolics. The reproof was as effectual as it was happy, and the Governor was plagued with no more such tender consciences. <sup>2</sup>

His administration of affairs as connected with the Merchant

<sup>1</sup> Hon. Rufus Choate's New England Society Address.

<sup>2</sup> Mather's Magnalia, vol. i, 103.

Adventurers, was a model of firmness, patience, forbearance, energy and enterprise. With a few others, as we have seen, he took the whole trade of the Colony into his hands, with the assumed responsibility of paying off all their debts, and the benevolent determination to bring over the rest of their brethren from Leyden. His activity in the prosecution of this great undertaking was indefatigable. Meanwhile no other business, either of the piety or civil polity of the Colony was neglected. He made such arrangements, in conjunction with his brethren, to redeem their labour from the hopelessness of its conditions in the Adventuring copartnership under which they were bound for the seven years' contract with the Merchants, as inspired them all speedily with new life and courage. Under the pressure of the famine his example was as a star of hope, for he never yielded to despondency; and while with Brewster he threw them upon God for support and provision, he set in motion every possible instrumentality for procuring supplies. He went in person with parties among the Indians for corn, and took part himself in every labour. There was a time amidst the sharpest pressure of the famine, when they had but one boat for their fishing expeditions, and were compelled to divide their little force into several companies, to go out and fish by turns, with absence of five or six days together, rather than return empty handed, the others meanwhile employing themselves in digging for shellfish. This was the time when for months together they had neither bread nor corn, and knew not when they lay down at night where they should find a morsel of food for the morrow, nor in the morning where they should provide for the day. This was the time when Mr. Winslow says that at noonday he had seen men stagger at their work by reason of faintness for want of food. Yet was the temper of the Colony characterized by "cheerfulness and rest on Providence," and in no little measure because of the serenity and patience of their leader. It was a period that demanded the highest qualities of a commander in unwearied exercise.

So it was when the Colony was surrounded with conspiracies, and nourished them at one time, by the treachery of men in England, even in its own bosom. The prudence, sagacity, and energy of Governor Bradford on such occasions may be seen in the chapter detailing the treachery of Lyford. The fearless

department of the Governor and the Colony towards the threatening tribes of Indians was no small cause of their security; "we all the while," says Mr. Winslow, "knowing our own weakness, notwithstanding our high words and lofty looks towards them." It seemed a time of mortal peril, when Canonicus, the sachem of the Narragansetts, sent to the Governor his savage defiance and declaration of war, a bundle of new arrows lapped in the skin of a rattlesnake. Having learned the meaning of this from the friendly Squanto, "the Governor, after some deliberation," says Mr. Winslow, "stuffed the skin with powder and shot" and sent it back to Canonicus with the message that if he had shipping in the harbour to send his men at once to the Narragansetts they should have no need to come to Plymouth, and come when they might, they should neither be unwelcome nor unlooked for. The message was sent by an Indian, and was delivered in such sort that it struck no small terror into the savage king; insomuch that he dared not even touch the powder and shot, nor would suffer it to stay in his house or country. "Whereupon the messenger refusing it, another took it up; and having been posted from place to place a long time, at length it came whole back again."<sup>1</sup>

In the spiritual prosperity of the Colony, Governor Bradford took an incessant and most anxious interest, possessing in himself, in no small degree, the wisdom and temper of his beloved Pastor Robinson. Under him and Brewster the Plymouth Church maintained their superiority in the liberality and independence of their views above all the other colonies. The answer which the Governor made to their slanderers in England, in regard to their church policy and customs, breathed the very spirit of Scriptural wisdom and freedom so remarkable in the parting discourse of Robinson to the Pilgrims. "Whereas you would tie us up to the French discipline in every circumstance, you derogate from the liberty we have in Christ Jesus. The apostle Paul would have none to follow him in any thing but wherein he follows Christ; much less ought any Christian or church in the world to do it. The French may err, we may err, other churches may err, and doubtless do in many circumstances. That honour therefore belongs only to the infallible Word of God and pure Testament of Christ, to be propounded and followed as the only rule and pattern for direction herein

<sup>1</sup> Winslow's Relation in Young's Chronicles.

to all churches and Christians. And it is too great arrogance for any man or church to think that he or they have so sounded the Word of God unto the bottom, as precisely to set down the church's discipline without error in substance or circumstance, that no other without blame may digress or differ in any thing from the same. And it is not difficult to show that the Reformed Churches differ in many circumstances among themselves."<sup>1</sup>

Cotton Mather remarks that Governor Bradford was well skilled in History, Antiquity, Philosophy, and Theology; and indeed his works bear witness to this, especially that admirable Dialogue on Church Policy and Freedom, which was copied by Secretary Morton into the Records of the Church at Plymouth, and at length printed by Dr. Young in his valuable Chronicles of the Pilgrims. In that, as in the interesting Memoir of Elder Brewster, and other pieces, the author shows command of a natural, excellent, Saxon style, a fine, free, unprejudiced habit of thought, a benevolent heart, good sense, and deep Christian feeling. His habits of study must have been something remarkable, amidst all his cares and public responsibilities. We owe an inestimable benefit to his piety, his fine mind, and his public spirit, with his love of truth, for preserving and recording so much of the early history of the Pilgrims and the Colony, that otherwise must have been almost wholly lost. The greater part even of his own original writings are gone from existence, though most providentially not till they had been gleaned from, abridged, or copied, in a great degree, in the writings of others who had access to his manuscripts. He was a man of indefatigable industry, and of great method and accuracy. The loss of his Letter Book, from which some extracts will be given in another chapter, and which must have been a copy of the man himself, as well as of the business of the Colony and the correspondence of others, must ever be greatly deplored.

Sixty years after the arrival of the May-Flower in New England, with the members of the infant Colony, there were still left living twelve persons, who came over in that memorable bark. Twelve grains of that precious seed-corn, not yet put into the ground for the resurrection by the Lord of the harvest! The number is remarkable, when it is considered that in the very first perilous year of the enterprise, no less than half died

<sup>1</sup> Mather's Magnalia, vol. i, 104.

out of the one hundred first Pilgrims. At the close of these sixty years, in 1680, Nathaniel Morton, Secretary of the Colony Court, and then sixty-eight years of age, set himself to the work of recording "the first beginning and after progress of the Church of Christ, at Plymouth, in New England." Eleven years before, in 1669, he had published a history of the Colony, entitled *New England's Memorial*, taken from a manuscript history by Governor Bradford, which the Governor began to write as early as the year 1630. Governor Bradford died in 1657, and his work, in 270 folio pages, having never been published, though preserved up to the time of the Revolutionary War, was then lost. Secretary Morton had this work before him, in preparing the history which he published in 1680, and Dr. Young thinks, from the comparison of different extracts, as well as from the note by Morton, stating the matter before him to have been originally penned by Bradford, that in the main it is Bradford's veritable unpublished history.

This whole work of Governor Bradford, Mr. Prince had before him in preparing and publishing his *Chronological History of New England*, up to the year 1730. He describes it as "Governor Bradford's History of Plymouth People and Colony from 1602 to the end of 1646, in 270 pages, folio. 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."

The second work in manuscript, which Mr. Prince mentions as before him, is *The Ancient Church of Plymouth Records*, begun by Mr. Secretary Morton.

The third is a copy of the *Grand Charter of New England*, granted by King James the First, on Nov. 3rd, 1620, in 86 pages.

The first book of Mr. Prince's *Chronological History* ends with the Lord's Day, Dec. 31, 1620, the first Sabbath kept by any of the Pilgrims in the place of their building. Here Mr. Prince says "Governor Bradford ends his first book, containing ten chapters, in fifty-three pages, folio."

Of Mr. Morton's History from the beginning of the Plymouth people to the end of 1646, Mr. Prince observes that it was "chiefly Governor Bradford's manuscript abbreviated."

Having been thus used by various writers, for their printed works, we may suppose that though the original work is lost,

we have the main important part of it, and much in Governor Bradford's own language.

Both Governor Bradford and Governor Winthrop, and likewise Governor Winslow, were accustomed to take part in the religious exercises of their social meetings, and also on the Lord's Day. This appears by such interesting notices as the following, taken from Governor Winthrop's own Journal, of date October 25, 1632: "The Governor, with Mr. Wilson, pastor of Boston, . . . and others, went on foot to Plymouth, from Massagascus. The Governor of Plymouth, Mr. William Bradford, a very discreet, grave man, with Mr. Brewster, the elder, and some others, came forth and met them without the town, and conducted them to the Governor's house, where they were kindly entertained, and feasted every day at several houses. On the Lord's Day there was a sacrament, which they did partake in; and in the afternoon Mr. Roger Williams, according to their custom, propounded a question, to which the pastor, Mr. Smith, spoke briefly, then Mr. Williams prophesied, and afterwards the Governor of Plymouth spoke to the question; after him the elder, then some two or three more of the congregation. Then the elder desired the Governor of Massachusetts and Mr. Wilson to speak to it, which they did. When this was ended, the deacon, Mr. Fuller, put the congregation in mind of their duty of contribution, upon which the Governor and all the rest went down to the deacon's seat, and put into the bag, and then returned." <sup>1</sup>

The deacon's seat was a throne of service, and well known. All the members of the congregation went thither to deposit their alms. It was a custom retained in some churches for many years.

We find likewise the following interesting record in Governor Winthrop's Journal, under date of April 3rd, 1634: "The Governor went on foot to Agawam, and because the people there wanted a minister, spent the Sabbath with them, and exercised by way of prophecy, and returned home on the tenth."

How beautiful the record of this truly primitive New Testament simplicity! We wonder not that Governor Bradford looked back in his old age with a sweetness in the memory as

<sup>1</sup> Collections Mass. Hist. Soc., vol. x, p. 2., Winthrop's Journal, original edition, page 44.



of the recollections of childhood, to those times of the freshness and power of Christ's covenant with the churches in the wilderness. Religion must have flourished indeed, when public men like Bradford, Winthrop, and Winslow, were thus active and faithful in its teachings and duties. Yet it was for just this faithfulness, for daring to "exercise by way of prophecy, when the people wanted a minister," that Winslow himself was afterwards thrown into prison by Archbishop Laud!

Governor Bradford managed the affairs of the Colony for nearly thirty-seven years together, with admirable temper and wisdom. Until the year 1624, Governor Bradford and Mr. Allerton were elected governor and assistant annually; the people then added four more assistants, and gave the governor a double voice; they added two more assistants in 1633, and afterwards kept to the number of seven. In the space of seventy years they had only six persons as governors. Bradford, Winslow, and Prince occupied the governorship in succession till Prince's death in 1672. Bradford was elected annually from 1621 till his death in 1657, except three years in which Winslow was chosen, and two (according to Mather) in which Prince was chosen. Winslow was chosen in 1633, 1636, and 1644.<sup>1</sup> They had no house of representatives till 1639.

In the year 1632, it was enacted by law, that any person chosen to the office of governor and refusing it, was to be fined twenty pounds; a councillor or magistrate chosen and refusing the office, was to be fined ten pounds.<sup>2</sup>

In the year 1633, we find a record in Governor Winthrop's Journal as follows: "Mr. Edward Winslow chosen Governor of Plymouth, Mr. Bradford having been Governor about ten years, *and now by importunity got off.*" He pleaded so hard to be let off for that year, that they yielded without fining him.

What a picture is here presented of the unworldly simplicity, contentment, disinterestedness, and freedom from ambition, of our Pilgrim Fathers! They shared each other's burdens too completely to seek or desire superiority in any other way. They sought not for office, had no parties, wished for no power, but that of doing good. It was not till prosperity had relaxed their vigilance, and men of worldly minds had been added to

<sup>1</sup> Hutchinson's Hist. Mass., vol. ii, pp. 414, 415.

<sup>2</sup> Baylies' Historical Memoirs of Plymouth, p. 207.

their company, that parties began to exist among them. Their church covenant was of great solemnity and power with them, "of the violation whereof," said Robinson, "we make great consequence, and by virtue whereof we hold ourselves straitly tied to all care of each other's good, and of the whole by each, and that mutual."

O sacred bond! exclaimed Governor Bradford, writing in his old age, "O that these ancient members had not died or been dissipated, if it had been the will of God; or else that this holy care and constant faithfulness had still lived and remained with those that survived, that were in times afterwards added unto them." He laments the subtilty of the serpent, under fair pretences of necessity and the like, "to untwist these sacred bonds and ties, and as it were iusensibly by degrees, to dissolve, or in a great measure to weaken the same. I have been happy in my first times to see, and with much comfort to enjoy the blessed fruits of this sweet communion. But it is now a part of my misery in my old age to find and feel the decay and want thereof in a great measure, and with grief and sorrow of heart to lament and bewail the same." And this, he says, he notes for others' warning and admonition, and his own humiliation.

It seems to be the declension or decay of pious feeling which Governor Bradford is here lamenting, and the want of the early first fervent love of the brethren, one to another, amidst their trials and distresses. He is not here deploring the readiness of the brethren to exercise their gifts by way of prophesying, a complaint afterwards brought against them, nor do we find anything in Governor Bradford's writings which tends to such an accusation. In his dialogue on this and similar subjects, he sets forth Mr. Robinson's opinion, as also Mr. Cotton's, concerning this exercise of gifts in prophesying, of which Mr. Bradford himself says, "if any out of weakness have abused at any time their liberty, it is their personal faulting, as sometimes weak ministers may their office, and yet the ordinance good and lawful."

Robinson was of opinion that "it comes within the province of but few of a multitude, haply two or three in a church, to prophesy publicly; and touching prophecy, we think, in all churches, whether but springing up or grown to some ripeness, let the order of prophecy be observed according to Paul's insti-

tution. Into the fellowship of this work are to be admitted, not only the ministers, but the teachers too, yea, also of the elders and deacons, yea, even of the multitude, which are willing to confer their gift received of God to the common utility of the church; but so as they first be allowed by the judgment of the ministers and others."

Now, if these opinions and rules, which Robinson adopts from the Synod of Embden in 1571, were observed by the Plymouth church in Governor Bradford's time, it is rather difficult to see how there can be much truth in the report which Cotton Mather admits into the *Magnalia*, that about the time of Bradford's death, "religion itself had like to have died out of the Colony, through the strange disposition to discountenance the Gospel ministry, by setting up the gifts of private brethren in opposition thereunto." There must be great exaggeration in this report, or we should have learned something of it from Governor Bradford himself. Cotton Mather says that the good people were in extreme distress from the prospect which this matter gave them, and cured the evil by the election of Mr. Prince to the place of Governor, from which time the adverse party sank into confusion. But nothing of this seems to have troubled the serene and prosperous course of the closing years of Governor Bradford's life.

It is truly and beautifully said by Cotton Mather, that the crown of all excellences in this admirable man was his holy, prayerful, watchful, and fruitful walk with God. His death was just such, in heavenly joy and triumph, as his life of grace, hid with Christ in God, had predicted. He had been declining through the winter of 1657, yet not in what he counted sickness, until just three days before God took him to his everlasting rest. The first of those days the angel of the covenant seemed to give him warning that his hour was near; and that night, "the God of Heaven so filled his mind with ineffable consolations, that he seemed little short of Paul, wrapt up into the unutterable entertainments of Paradise." His joy must have been great, yea, ravishing, for he said to his dear friends in the morning, that the good Spirit of the Lord had given him a pledge of his happiness in another world, and the first fruits of his eternal glory. That night's blissful experience alone was to him worth all the years of toil and pain he had endured in the great work his Lord had permitted him to

accomplish. For, what were all the days and nights, the weeks and months of cold and hunger, of peril, anxiety, pain, and famine, passed through in the early years of that great service, compared with the celestial revelations and assurances of that one night! He died May 9, 1657, in the 69th year of his age.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### THE FIRST NEW ENGLAND SABBATH.

FROM the highest point amidst the scenery that overlooks the Rock of our Forefathers' first permanent landing, and includes so many points now of the deepest interest, we have looked abroad over the Harbour, the Islands, and the Sea. By the providence of God these Pilgrims stopped at Plymouth. This rock, then washed by the flowing tide, and surmounted above by the primitive forest, was their first landing place. Their first landing place, indeed, for the purpose of a habitation and a grave, upon this rock-bound coast, but not the first spot hallowed by the freedom and the sacredness of their religious worship. No! There is a spot here, within the sweep of your eye in this beautiful scene, more sacred than this. As you follow the horizon, you see there, towards the north-east, where the land breaks the sea view, and where the central peninsula in the harbour almost seems to join the main land on the other side, a green and partly wooded island. It seems to you, perhaps, to be the continent, but it is an island. It is the spot of all places in North or South America to my mind the most hallowed. It is the island where the fatigued, desolate, almost perishing Pilgrims spent their first Sabbath. Yes! there they stopped and rested the seventh day, and hallowed it, because they would not desecrate it, even in seeking rest. O noble commencement of the foundations of an enterprise, like which the world never saw, nor probably will again see, ever! Within half an hour's sail of the coast, nay, within ten minutes' sail, if the wind and tide favoured, of the place where they were to abide all the rest of their pilgrimage, they moored at the island, and would not again set a sail that day, or take an oar in hand, or do aught of worldly work, because it was

the Lord's Day. And there, upon that desolate island, frost-bound, habitationless, beneath a snowy sky, or what was worse, a freezing sleet, they dedicated the hours of the Sabbath to the worship of God! There is no spot in all this scene, on which the vision rests with so solemn and thrilling an interest as that.

And what a remarkable manifestation of character it was, what a proof of supreme regard to God, and belief in his word, and obedience to it! Might they not have reasoned that the work of seeking shelter, in which they were then engaged, was a work of necessity and mercy, that the season of winter was already far advancing, that every day was precious, and that one day's delay might be productive of great evil? Might they not have argued that here, where none but God beheld them, God who knew their hearts, and knew that they were labouring for him, and who had said that the Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath, they might relax for once their strictness, and continue their course, more especially as there were none to be affected by their example! How many a descendant of the Pilgrims, under the pressure of a much less necessity, has put the claims of conscience beneath those of expediency, and made the demands of God's institution to wait upon man's convenience! None to be affected by their example? And what one movement or act of those Pilgrims, or sentiment, or opinion, or colouring of life, that will not exert an influence to the latest generation? It might be said that the guardian genius of the after age was watching them; and in acting conscientiously and faithfully towards God, they acted safely, wisely, righteously towards man. They so acted in this matter of keeping the Sabbath, that a world might imitate them. That day, kept for God on that island, has sent down a blessing for all the posterity of the Pilgrims—those costly prayers and praises—a preserving, sustaining influence throughout New England, to make the descendants of the Pilgrims a Sabbath-keeping people; and none but a Sabbath-keeping people can be truly free.

There was a time when these men on that desolate island, had they stayed in Europe, and attempted to keep such a Sabbath in the country of their birth, would perhaps have been thrown into prison for not observing the rubrics of the Book of Sports, for not giving to the service of Satan the time which

God claimed for his service. This Sabbath was the beginning of their perfect freedom from bondage. How beautiful the island looks this day, in this warm light beneath an atmosphere of such enchanting clearness, rising so green in the mantle of August from the sea! It was a different sight and a different abode to them, in the month of December, wet, cold, icy, and shelterless. Yet there they stood; there they praised God; there arose to heaven from New England's soil the first Sabbath hymn of praise and the first united prayer of faith, from child-like, patient, submissive hearts, from men in resolution and endurance, children in faith and obedience.

Amidst the storm they sang,  
And the stars heard, and the sea!  
And the sounding aisles of the dim woods rang  
To the anthem of the free!

This beautiful painting is not that of mere imagination. The place of that first religious meeting on New England soil looks now entirely destitute of trees, but the Pilgrims' Journal tells us that then this Island was thickly covered with woods, as indeed the whole shores of Plymouth harbour seem to have been wooded, down to the brink of the sea, save where the Indians had made clearings for corn-fields. There then, the dim and icieled woods did indeed ring to the anthems of the free; for they surely had a heart to sing as well as pray; and God had brought them, in the past day's course, through a great discipline, not only of peril and prayers, but of deliverance and thanksgiving. Yet they rejoiced with trembling.

That Island is a very sacred spot. We would put a monument there, sooner than on Bunker Hill; a monument to God, to the Sabbath, to the faith of the Pilgrims, to the hidden life of social, civil, and religious freedom, of which the Sabbath is the safeguard. A monument there, where spiritually the first battle was fought, and the first victory was gained, on this North-Western Continent, against the powers of darkness, against spiritual wickedness, in the high places of earth and of the soul.

Verily, if we may suppose the Enemy of God and man looking on and watching that movement, that Sabbath's work, that Sabbath's reverent and submissive stillness, and prayer, and praise (and why may we not? for not alone in civilized Europe was the god of this world supreme and busy, but here,

from one end of the continent to the other, in savage rites he had his worship;) if we may suppose the Enemy of mankind gazing when that island was first trodden by the Pilgrim feet, awe-stricken would he and his hosts have beheld the solemn employments of that day! It was a most wonderful consecration of all New England to God, this religious keeping of the first Sabbath day spent upon its shores, amidst such storm, such fear, such heart-chilling cold, and frightful desolation. We should like to see a granite monument on that island, and the words inscribed on it, The First Sabbath of the Pilgrims. We say again, a greater battle was fought and gained there than that on Bunker Hill, and a foundation of spiritual freedom was laid there, without which that last battle for civil liberty never had been fought, nor the institutions of freedom in this country established. That Sabbath contained the prediction and assurance of success to the infant colony. It was God who kept the Pilgrims, through their Sabbath-keeping piety. They may sneer who please, at the strictness of the Puritan Sabbath. Should its spirit die out of our land, there might be Romish superstition, and French fickleness and infidelity, and American slavery and political corruption remaining, but the old-fashioned, social, civil and religious virtue and happiness of New England would be no more.

Let us count the first Sabbaths of the Pilgrims up to the foundation of their first local Sanctuary for the worship of God; let us count their weeks by Sabbaths. By the dates in their own Journal we learn that it was not till Thursday, the ninth of November, 1620, that they made land after their long voyage of sixty-four days from Plymouth in the Old World. This land first made, was Cape Cod. They were purposing to make their course some thirty miles south of the Cape, but were constrained by contrary winds, to enter Cape Cod bay, where they anchored on Saturday, the eleventh of November, the day in which they signed their compact. The next day, Sunday, the twelfth, was spent on board ship. The Sabbath of the 19th, on board ship in like manner, after the return of their first exploring expedition on foot. The Sabbath of the 26th passed in like manner on board the May-Flower, after the week's work in repairing the shallop. Monday, the 27th, another exploring expedition was undertaken with thirty-four men. The next Sabbath, the third of December, found the Pilgrim congrega-



tion still assembled, after this expedition, in their only house and church thus far, the ship at anchor. Wednesday, the 6th of December, they set out on the final exploring enterprise, which issued in their landing upon Plymouth Rock. The next Sabbath of the 10th, was that spent upon the Island, the first upon New England soil, truly the first New England Sabbath.

The next day, Monday, the 11th, they made their first landing in Plymouth harbour, and resolved that there was the situation where they had best fix their abode, and plant the Pilgrim Colony. This Monday, the 11th of December, Old Style, answers to the 22nd of December, New Style, and so the 22nd is the day celebrated as Forefathers' day. It is marked in the Journal of the Pilgrims with only one sentence, and with the most complete absence of all consciousness, or even dreaming imagination, that they had then taken the step, and were noting down the date, upon which would be concentrated the interest, not merely historical or curious, but devout and prayerful, of generations to come. "So we returned," say they, "to our ship again with good news to the rest of our people, which did much comfort their hearts." It was perhaps the very next day, at any rate, the 15th, that the May-Flower with the whole company of families weighed anchor and set sail for Plymouth harbour, where they arrived the next day, which was Saturday the 16th. The next day, the Sabbath of the 17th, seems to have been the last spent on board ship; for on Saturday the 23rd, which was as soon as the severe weather would permit, "as many as could went on shore, felled and carried timber," and began to provide themselves stuff for building; and the Sabbath of the 24th, answering to our first or second Sabbath in January, was celebrated both on shore and in the ship.

It is interesting in the highest degree, to a devout mind, thus religiously to follow the footsteps of the Pilgrims. "I gave them my sabbaths, to be a sign between me and them, that they might know that I am the Lord that sanctify them." "Hallow my sabbaths; and they shall be a sign between me and you, that ye may know that I am the Lord your God." If the Sabbaths be spent prayerfully, so will be the week days. The incidental notices of devout exercises, morning and evening, in the midst of the hurry, peril, fatigue, cold, hunger, and conflict of these expeditions are very striking; the more so, as occurring in a brief sketch, and though only once or twice set

down, yet noted in such a manner as to indicate a habit, a fixture of daily duty. Thus the journal of one of their most perilous days, the day in which they had their first conflict with the Indians, and afterwards the loss of the mast of their shallop with imminent hazard of shipwreck, begins thus: "About five o'clock in the morning we began to be stirring. *After prayer* we prepared ourselves for breakfast and for a journey, it being now the twilight in the morning." The sun was up, in such souls, and God was with them, as speedily they found, when the savage *war-whoop* of their enemies, that day for the first time heard, was yelling around them, and their arrows flying in the air. "By the special Providence of God," says the journal, in a vivid account of their battle, "none of them were hit or hurt." "So, after we had given God thanks for our deliverance, we took our shallop and went on our journey, and called this place *The First Encounter*."

In the same devout manner opens the record of the day of their final decision to plant themselves where they had first landed at Plymouth Rock. "So in the morning, *after we had called on God for direction*, we came to this resolution, to go presently ashore again," etc. Never before, in the history of the world, were the foundations of an empire so laid. Every step was taken, consulting and imploring the divine guidance. There is no display of this; we have no diary of the *soul-exercises* of these Pilgrims; but the traces of their heartfelt piety run through this little journal like fragrant water-courses. And you see that it is a *cheerful, grateful* piety; there is no gloom about it, even in the midst of the most darkening and discouraging calamities. As in the heart of the first conflict with the savages, their watch-word seems continually to be "well, well, every one, and be of good courage." They neither conceal nor display the great trials they endured, but speak of them in calm and simple language, setting a mark upon God's kind interpositions, and enduring their greatest perils and hardships as things ordinary in so great and difficult an enterprise. "And sure it was God's good Providence that we found this corn, for else we know not how we should have done." So sweetly and confidently did they hail the finger of God's loving Providence; and at other times quietly endured fatigues which were to lay them in their graves ere the first New England Spring should open, making the simple record of one of their fearful nights

without shelter, in these words: "it blowed and did snow all that day and night, and froze withal; some of our people that are dead, took the original of their death here."

Certainly one great secret of their patient endurance of almost unparalleled hardships was the confidence that they were bearing them for God. No mere human aim or expectation would have carried them through such complications of disaster, and sometimes through the seeming utter wreck of all their prospects; because, humanly speaking, there was nothing to justify any anticipation of success. Their object was not the gain of merchant adventurers; it was the advancement of religion. Whether we put the aspect of a missionary enterprise foremost in their undertaking, or the enjoyment of God's grace and worship freely in their own souls and families, makes little difference; the broadest, truest shape that can be given to the Pilgrimage of our Puritan Fathers, the most accurate matter of fact description of it, is that of an extraordinary enterprise for the advancement of religion. In the little volume of the journal we meet again and again with the declaration and the proof of this reality. The editor of the volume declares in 1621 to the reader that "the desire of carrying the Gospel of Christ into these foreign parts, amongst those people that as yet have had no knowledge nor taste of God, as also to procure unto themselves and others a quiet and comfortable habitation, were amongst other things the inducements unto the undertakers of the enterprise." And the compact on board the May-Flower opens with the assurance and continues for the furtherance of their great undertaking "*for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian Faith, and honour of their King and country, to plant the first colony.*" And the schedule of reasons and considerations for their colonizing, given at the close of the same volume of the journal in 1621, reads thus: "Seeing we daily pray for the conversion of the heathens, we must consider whether there be not some ordinary means and course for us to take to convert them, or whether prayer for them be only referred to God's extraordinary work from heaven. Now it seemeth unto me that we ought also to endeavour and use the means to convert them; and the means cannot be used, unless we go to them, or they come to us. To us they cannot come; our land is full. To them we may go, their land is empty."

Now to these proofs let there be added Gov. Bradford's declaration among the reasons of the Pilgrims for leaving the Old World, of "a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancing the Gospel of the Kingdom of Christ in these remote parts of the world; yea, though they should be but as stepping-stones unto others for performing of so great a work."

Hutchinson might well say in his History of Massachusetts, "whether Britain would have had any colonies in America, if religion had not been the grand inducement, is doubtful." Every attempt to plant settlements in New England from ordinary and secular motives had failed. God would have one spot in the world peopled from a sense of duty, and a supreme regard, not to pounds and shillings, but to his glory. He would have one spot where a race should reside, whose fear towards God should *not* be taught by the precept of man; that mean, craven, slavish tetter of iniquity and bigotry, with which, just then, almost the whole world was crusted.

One of their reasons for breaking out from that crust was that they might keep God's Sabbath, not man's, and keep it through the fear of God, not by the precept of man, either in books of sports or ceremonial rubrics. The Sabbath was sadly and generally profaned in Holland, while they dwelt, and the inefficacy of all their efforts to stop that profanation, with the pernicious effect of such examples upon their children, were strong inducements moving them to the determination of a settlement in the New World. Mr. Winslow details, among other considerations impelling them to that step, the painful discovery "how little good we did, or were like to do, to the Dutch in reforming the Sabbath, how unable there to give such education to our children as we ourselves had received." With such convictions and such motives, amidst all these estrangements from the comforts and privileges of their native, and afterwards adopted land, how powerfully and sustainingly would some of the promises of God come to their case and meet their souls! "If thou turn away the foot from the Sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my Holy Day, and call the Sabbath a delight, the Holy of the Lord, honourable; and shalt honour him, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasure, nor speaking thine own words: Then shalt thou delight

thyself in the Lord; and I will cause thee to ride upon the high places of the earth, and feed thee with the heritage of Jacob, thy father: for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."

Surely, they would say, when this promise as a flame of fire shone before them, Though Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledge us not, yet will God fulfil unto us this covenant. "And the sons of the stranger that join themselves to the Lord to serve him, and to love the name of the Lord, to be his servants, every one that keepeth the Sabbath from polluting it, and taketh hold of my covenant, even them will I bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer."

## CHAPTER XIV.

### THE FIRST NEW ENGLAND MEETING-HOUSE.

JOYFUL in my House of Prayer! In all places where I record my name, I will come unto thee and bless thee! And in his Living Temple God records his name; and where two or three are gathered in that name, there is his House of Prayer. What a marvellous transfiguration from the local into the universal, from the earthly and formal into the spiritual, from altars into hearts, took place when He came, in whom types and shadows, vails and engravings in stone, and the places and the ceremonies of priestly authority and sanctity, were done away, and the ministration of the Spirit for the glory of the Lord was set open in renewed hearts, changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord!

In four verses in the New Testament, the power passes from the Temple and the Priesthood, and is enshrined wherever there are humble, believing, praying souls, be it in Cathedrals or Conventicles, in large upper rooms in Judea beset by spies and persecutors of Church and State, or in the cottages and hiding places of the Pilgrims in England, for whom the prison and the scaffold were prepared and destined; or in their log houses in the wilderness, where, as free as the birds of the air, regardless of human interdictions, they could worship God.

“ Our fathers worshipped in this mountain, and ye say that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship. Jesus saith unto her, Woman, believe me, the hour cometh, when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth:

for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a Spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth."

How beautiful, how solemn, how glorious, how simple is this designation! Spirit and Truth! that is God's Temple, that is God's House of Prayer, and the proofs of a place in it, the presence of living worshippers, are the epistles of Christ, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God, not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart. Such was the first sanctuary in 1620 in New England. The groves there were God's first external temples, under the roof of Heaven. By their watch-fires on the land, and in their open shallop on the sea, our Fathers worshipped; and in the cabin of the May-Flower, and in all their perilous expeditions, before yet the foundation of a hut was laid. It was not the temple first, the consecrated temple, and the heart afterwards, but the heart first and the temple afterwards.

We love that old-fashioned, Pilgrim, New England designation of the Meeting-house. It seems to carry us back to a time, when to have a meeting of any kind, was to worship God; where the people were all Christians, and their meetings for devotion were so much the habit, the joy, and the main business of life, as to Christianize even the generic idea of a public assembly. The Sabbath meetings of our fathers began in the first dwelling house; where the first household prayer ascended to God, there also did the colonists gather for their Sabbath and social services. Just so, of a long time, did Christ's early churches gather together and worship in Jerusalem, in Antioch, in Ephesus, in Corinth; and *the church that is in thy house* became one of the designations, local and formal, of primitive Christianity.

But at length there was a structure of special service and appointment, as God's House of Prayer. That first house for the Pilgrims was but a rude tabernacle in the wilderness; yet it had a beauty and a glory such as the grandest temple since erected in all this land possesses not. It was God's pavilion for his people, yet it had nothing of a temple save the heavenly purposes to which, on the Lord's Day, it was devoted. For as God meant that they should come to this country unsanctioned, unconsecrated, untolerated, unaccepted, unacknowledged, yea despised as a church; unconstituted either by King, or Priest,

or Prelate, and flung forth from a human establishment to God's uncovenanted mercies in the wilderness, uncovenanted of man but chosen of God; so he meant that they should worship in a Temple, desecrated by no mere self-willed human consecration; a conventicle, a garrison, not *set apart* for the sacredness, but *used* for the convenience and security of the holy duties of Divine Worship; duties that make the house beautiful and sacred, and not the house the duties.

God led *them* into it, and not they God; it was God's choice *for* them, not theirs for God; and here, in the following record, is the account of the ceremonies of its construction and dedication, under date of July, 1622.

“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.*”

In Old England, under the Establishment, with an Archbishop's consecration, this would have been a place of public worship, *servng as a Fort*, bristling with Bancroft's cannon, and with the ceremonies, ordinances, commandments, and doctrines of men.

In New England it was simply the Pilgrims' first Meeting-house, where by God's mercy they could say, Though a host should encamp against me, my heart shall not fear! In Old England it would have been God's house, devoted to man's purposes; in New England it was man's house, devoted to God's purposes. “One thing have I desired of the Lord,” said the Pilgrims, “that will I seek after; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life, to behold the beauty of the Lord, and to inquire in his temple.” And who can tell the unspeakable delight with which they must have enjoyed that uninterrupted communion with God, according to the rule of his Word, for which they had fled into this savage wilderness, where God's house was not only a place of spiritual freedom, but a pavilion of defence against the heathen! “We have thought of thy loving kindness,” said they, “O God, in the midst of thy temple. Walk about Zion, and go round about her: tell the towers thereof. Mark ye well her bulwarks, consider her palaces, that ye may tell it to the generations following. For this God is our God for ever and ever; he will be our guide even unto death.”



Here they could taste of the river, the streams whereof make glad the city of God. Here that sacred stream, the Word of God, from which they had been driven with penal inflictions, glided gently for their undisturbed enjoyment, and watered their divine abode. Here, though convulsions shook the solid world, they had nothing to fear. The heathen might rage, and the kingdoms be moved, but now they could say, The Lord of Hosts is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge. They could raise Luther's psalm:

O Lord of Hosts, Almighty King!  
 While we so near thy presence dwell,  
 Our faith shall sit secure and sing  
 Defiance to the gates of hell.

And it was a great triumph of God's providence and grace, a wonderful scene amidst the almost unbroken wilderness of the whole Northern Continent of America, to behold this handful of his children, beginning their service of public as well as secret piety, and with such exceeding, though quiet and solemn joy, laying the foundations of many generations. Already they felt that the order of God's house was beautiful, and though rude in circumstance, yet in its simple spirituality, full of power.

Let strangers walk around  
 The city where we dwell,  
 Compass and view the holy ground,  
 And mark the building well;

The order of thy house,  
 The worship of thy court,  
 The cheerful songs, the solemn vows,  
 And make a fair report.

How decent and how wise!  
 How glorious to behold!  
 Beyond the pomp that charms the eyes,  
 And rites adorned with gold.

Let us enter with the congregation there, on a day like some of our sacred days in August, a Sabbath combining the softness of summer with the clearness and brilliancy of autumn in the frosty October. Standing here alone, in the still solemnity of noon upon this Hill of Graves, and looking abroad upon the harbour and the islands, so beautiful at high tide, it is not difficult to

go back in imagination to the days of our Pilgrim Fathers, and to stand with them amidst the changing scenes of their labours. Changing they were, even then, beneath the hand of that scant industry, the very first year, when half the Colony died, and there were but nineteen men to build houses and defend them, and to clear and plant their land. But now, how changed! That one street of seven rude dwellings, like a prophecy in hieroglyphics upon a blank scroll, between which and this Burial Hill there was a wide untrodden space, as also below, down to the water's edge, has spread into a network of streets and buildings, winding and crossing all around the base of this sacred mount, which itself would perhaps have been also covered with residences, had not its sacredness as the enclosure of the dead forbidden. But the growth of this place is mere nothing in comparison with that of many other towns and cities in our country, where the wave of each successive generation obliterates all traces of the past, and fierce remorseless progress permits men only to compare themselves with the future, never looking back, and hearing only the one voice of Destiny, Clear the way! Glad we are that *present* Plymouth is an *old* town and no bigger, for here imagination is not so oppressed and looked out of countenance by reality, but that it *can* go back two hundred years, and see things as when our fathers landed. The houses disappear, and the dim woods and cornfields take their places, and we can see the solitary May-Flower at anchor, and the Pilgrims on shore cutting and carrying timber, marking out their lots, thatching their houses, impaling this Hill, under which their little settlement is seated, and making bulwarks or jetties whence they can defend their dwellings, by day and by night keeping watch and ward against the Indians.

This Sabbath morning—let it be October, or the beginning of November, instead of August,—the smoke rises early and peaceful on the clear frosty air, from the single line of dwellings. There is no busy stir in or about the little settlement, as on the week days. Almost the first sign of life that you behold, except the tell-tale smoke from the thatched roofs, is the winding of the Pilgrims up the path that leads from their dwellings to the Fort upon the Hill, where they hold their worship. There goes their venerated elder, William Brewster, a Pilgrim older than all the rest, already beyond the three-

secre years of our earthly pilgrimage, but active and cheerful; "a good man and full of the Holy Ghost, and much people were added to the Lord." Yea, he is the Barnabas of this little church and Colony.

So the congregation gather into this log-fort, and begin to praise God. They are but a very little handful, enough for a social prayer meeting; and some have to remain in the dwellings to tend the sick and watch against surprisal from the Indians; others are on guard also at the fort with muskets, watching as sentinels, while all watch and pray. If the naked children of the forest are watching also, with bow and arrow, they hear sweet and solemn music this morning, and it is one of God's means to keep them in awe, and defend his people from them. The whole congregation sing, and the hymn rises as from one heart, with the sweetness of the unison of all voices. Our Pilgrim Fathers were good singers. We have the testimony of Mr. Winslow to this point. When they were embarking from Leyden he says, "We refreshed ourselves with singing of psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts as well as with the voice, there being many of our congregation very expert in music; and indeed it was the sweetest music that mine ears ever heard." It was congregational singing, and so was it at each Sabbath's worship in this timber-fort in the wilderness. It were well if our congregations in modern time would follow this delightful Pilgrim and Scriptural habit of expertness in music.

The song ended, they unite in prayer. Mr. Brewster was a gifted man in this sacred exercise, especially in the humble confession of sin, and pleading for pardon. He was not long in prayer, but frequent; and he set the heart and conscience at work, as in Paul's expression, *labouring earnestly* in prayer. He prayed fervently, with and for the people, and they with and for him. They came to God in great want, and prayed for great blessings.

And then with equal power and beauty, under the guiding of the Saviour, he opened unto them the Scriptures, and applied both the law and the promises, being plain and distinct, as well as affectionately stirring and moving in his teachings. Powerfully and profitably he taught, twice every Sabbath, to the great contentment of the hearers, and to their comfortable edification. This he continued to do, till the church had another minister, and many were brought to God by his ministry. "Yea, he

did more in their behalf in a year, than many that have their hundreds a-year do in all their lives." He was a man that had done and suffered much for the Lord Jesus and the Gospel's sake, and so doing and suffering, God upheld him to a great age, and kept him actively useful to the last.

From the enjoyment of his ministrations, and of God's Spirit in them, they would go down to their dwellings with renewed hope and faith and courage to bear the exceeding trials of the week. Though their outward man was weak and wasting, yet the inward was renewed day by day, and perhaps the darker and gloomier it grew externally, the brighter was all within. Mr. Brewster loved to dwell upon God's promises, and to show his faithfulness and lovingkindness in all the severe discipline they were passing through. He preached that winter in the midst of sickness, fears, and deaths, and the next in the midst of a wasting famine. And his own confidence in God, and his cheerful endurance of personal suffering, did much to keep up the spirits of his fainting flock. He would address them almost in the words of Baxter:

Why art thou, fainting soul, cast down?  
 And thus disquieted with fears?  
 Art thou not passing to thy crown,  
 Through storms of pain and floods of tears?  
 Fear not, O thou of little faith!  
 Art thou not in thy Saviour's hand?  
 Remember what his promise saith,  
 For life and death are his command.

To Him thou didst thyself intrust,  
 When first thou didst for Heaven embark,  
 And He hath proved both kind and just;  
 Still thou art with Him in his ark.  
 Couldst thou expect to see no seas?  
 Nor feel no tossing wind or wave?  
 It is enough that from all these  
 Thy faithful Pilot thee will save.

Thy Lord hath taught thee how to want  
 A place wherein to put thy head;  
 While He is thine, be thou content  
 To beg or lack thy daily bread.  
 Heaven is thy roof, earth is thy floor;  
 His love can keep thee dry and warm:  
 Christ and His bounty are thy store;  
 His angels guard thee from all harm.

These simple lines, the language of Baxter's heart and experience, must have been the tenor of many a sermon, many a consoling exhortation from the beloved and venerated elder of the Pilgrims.

It is one thing to express the thoughts and aspirations of Christian faith, hope, and love in poetry, and a very different thing to possess and act them out amidst the pressure of severe suffering. The Pilgrims exercised with marvellous cheerfulness the Christian graces of patience, perseverance, and unshaken trust in God, amidst circumstances that had nothing of the romantic, nothing of the imaginative in them; nothing to give a fictitious power of interest to the work in which they were engaged. To our minds at this day, every circumstance is full of interest; there is no want of the romantic, the imaginative, even in external things; and in the moral, the spiritual, how transcendently sublime and beautiful! But they themselves were alone, forlorn, the outcasts of the world, counted in high places as the offscouring of all things, and in the place of their own high duty, pressed down, for months together, into a daily drudgery of toil for the support of this mortal life, wasting, dying. Put the glory where it belongs; it was a remarkable scene of the grace of God; they endured, as seeing Him who is invisible.

From their Mount of God's sanctuary, their timber-fort of Sabbath prayer and praise, where they dwelt upon the promises, and held communion with the world unseen and eternal, they went down, thoughtful, sad, yet comforted, resigned, and trustful, to their rude and insufficient dwellings, to the labours of the week, to the tending of the sick, to the burial of the dead, and the toils of the living; *always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in their mortal body.* Yea, they could have said, speaking to future generations, We which live are always delivered unto death for Jesus' sake, and death worketh in us that life may work in you.

## CHAPTER XV.

### THE FIRST DEATHS AND BURIALS.

THE first winter with the Pilgrim Colony was a period of fatigue, anxiety, sickness, sadness, and death. There is but little notice of these distresses in the earliest Journal of the Pilgrims, and it is somewhat singular that the deaths of that winter among their small number are not named. The omission must have been for some particular reason. Perhaps, as they were to send this Journal for publication in England, and the first impressions in regard to the Colony would be made upon many minds by its perusal, they dared not let the pressure of calamity and the ravages of disease be seen too clearly. They did not repine at God's discipline for themselves; they trusted in God, although he should slay them; their submissive, cheerful faith was undiminished by their trials; but they could not in the same way trust in man, and they had reason to be afraid of the gloomy interpretation of God's providences by those who knew not the secret of the Lord, nor the glory and faithfulness of his covenant. Yet could they see and feel, in the assurance of God's presence,

“ It is no death when souls depart,  
If Thou depart not from the soul.”

Six of their little company had died in December, the second month after their arrival. The last of them, Solomon Martin, died upon the Sabbath of the 24th, but though the Journal makes mention of an alarm on shore from the cry of savages, it says nothing of this visit of death, nor of the deepening gloom of the people. December 7th, the beloved wife of Mr. Bradford was drowned, while her husband had

gone with several other of the Pilgrims on the exploring expedition for the discovery of their place of settlement. Although the Journal makes mention of the comfort which their return brought to the hearts of the little company, it says nothing of this melancholy death, nor of the suddenness of the calamity to Bradford. The record was found in Governor Bradford's pocket-book, which contained a register of deaths from Nov. 6th, 1620, to the end of March, 1621. This register was among Mr. Prince's MSS.

The first day of the year 1621, Monday, was marked by the death of one of their number. The next Monday, Jan. 8th, another was taken, Mr. Christopher Martin. No mention is made of his death in the Journal, though there is of his sickness, in the following record: "Saturday, the sixth of January, Mr. Martin was very sick, and to our judgment no hope of life, so Mr. Carver was sent for to come aboard to speak with him about his accounts, who came the next morning.

Mr. Carver was one of the deacons of the church in Leyden, and the circumstance of sending for him in Martin's illness, doubtless to minister that help and consolation in a dying hour which would have been the sacred duty of their beloved pastor, Robinson, had he been with them, shows in some degree the nature of the deacon's office in that church, as involving a participation in the pastor's spiritual responsibilities. Their elder, William Brewster, was with the dying man; but Mr. Carver is marked as sent for. It is not probable that the phrase "*to speak with him about his accounts,*" is any other than a somewhat quaint method of intimating a preparation for the accounts of the great day.

Monday the 29th, there was another sad visit of death, of which no note is recorded in the Journal, neither of any funeral, but the business of the week goes on, the weather being cold, frost, and sleet, and amidst the sickness and mortality now increasing, the hearts of the survivors must have been bowed down with grief. Sad were those committals to the grave; perhaps some of them by night, because of the Indians, who were watching the weakness of the infant Colony. Eight had died this month; and of this last death in January, the following simple record is copied by Mr. Prince from Governor Bradford's register: "Jan. 29, Dies Rose, the wife of Capt. Standish."

ROSE, the wife of Captain Standish! That is all: but what a volume in that! Governor Bradford's Register, that winter, was like a book of sad engravings from a forest of tomb-stones. The name of his own dear wife he inscribed among the earliest; and still, one after another departs, and now his pen has to trace the simple, sad record, *dies Rose, the wife of Captain Standish*. The soldier's courage, we venture to say, ever after that, had in it a sadder and a wiser energy, more of the Christian, and less of the mere man. Standish was a man of frank, loving, noble qualities, but brave and daring, even to rashness; and He, whose providence, as well as grace, was now so severely refining and tempering the whole Colony, knew how to subdue the natural impetuosity of his disposition, till it should be governed by a heavenly control. Rose Standish! The only relic of the wife and mother, that we know of, is that piece of needle-work by the daughter, preserved among the curiosities in Pilgrim Hall.

And now the most vigorous of the Pilgrims, and the foremost in all dangers and hardships, in addition to every external toil and privation, bore about with them, one after another, the griefs of these severe personal bereavements. The 21st of February, four deaths are recorded, one of them that of Mr. William White, whose wife afterwards married Governor Winslow. "And the 25th dies Mary, the wife of Mr. Isaac Allerton." Seventeen died in February.

The Journal of the Pilgrims ends with Friday, the 23rd of March, on which day, the record closes with the choice of "our Governor for this year, which was Master John Carver, a man well approved amongst us." The mortality of the winter was still going on, and the next day, Saturday, the 24th, died Elisabeth, the wife of Mr. Edward Winslow. Nineteen died in March. "And in three months past," as we find in Prince's Chronological History, from Governor Bradford, "dies half our company; the greatest part, in the depths of winter, wanting houses and other comforts, being infected with the scurvy, and other diseases, which their long voyage and unaccommodate condition brought 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 Mr. Brewster, their reverend Elder, and Mr Standish, their Captain.”

This is a simple, but sad and vivid picture; and yet the most afflictive providence of all was before them, in the next month, although now it pleased God that the mortality should begin to cease, and the sick and lame recover. For, April 5th, after mention of the May-Flower sailing for England, and their busy work in planting for the harvest, we find from Governor Bradford the following sorrowful register.

“While we are busy about our seed, our Governor, Mr. 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 'tis 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.”

Now the simple record of these deaths is more expressive than anything else can be, of the depths of trials passed through, in such patient, submissive, and even cheerful endurance, by our Pilgrim Fathers, during the first dread winter of their settlement. The language of Mr. Prince, though he wrote only as a severely accurate Chronologist, is as strikingly eloquent as anything that has ever been penned. “Wherever they turn their eyes, nothing but distress surrounds them. Harassed for their Scripture worship in their native land, grieved for the profanation of the holy 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 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."

But there is little or no mention of these things as trials, in the earliest personal Journal of the Pilgrims; so little, that it is almost unaccountable. With what severity of patience, yet unrepining cheerfulness, they bore onward in God's path, marked out for them! Although the cases of death are so seldom, if ever, referred to in the Journal, yet we see here and there the causes of that winter's mortality plain enough. We see records of voyages in open boats, in cold and bitter weather, with the salt sea freezing on their clothes, and making them like coats of iron. We see the accounts of days and nights on shore, in weariness and faintness without food, in tempestuous rain and sleet without shelter. We see them sometimes wading through the icy-cold mud-flats in the harbours, sometimes through the snow upon the land. Now and then the record of a short period falls thus: "It blowed and did snow all that day and night, and froze withal; some of our people that are dead took the original of their death here." We find at an earlier period that by reason of their "cold and wet lodgings," in severe weather, "scarce any of us were free from vehement coughs." Amidst the hectic and pain of these coughs, growing into consumptions, they went about their work. The repairing of their shallop was the beginning of disease with many, when they had to work in mud and water. "The discommodiousness of the harbour did much hinder us, for we could neither go to, nor come from, the shore but at high water, which was much to our hindrance and hurt, for oftentimes they waded to the middle of the thigh, and oft to the knees, to go and come from land; some did it necessarily, and some for their own pleasure; but it brought to the most, if not to all, coughs and colds, the weather proving suddenly cold and stormy, whereof many died."

When they began to build, they measured the lots not so much by the future need of their families, as by their present inability to manage larger undertakings. "We thought their properties were large enough at the first, for houses and gardens, to impale them round, considering the weakness of our people, many of them growing ill with colds, for our former discoveries in frost and storms, and the wading at Cape Cod,

had brought much weakness amongst us, which increased so every day more and more, and after was the cause of many of their deaths." That year, that first winter, they had to dig seven times as many graves for the dead, as they were building houses for the living. And they levelled and sowed their graves, Mr. Holmes in his *Annals* tells us, for the purpose of concealment, lest the Indians, counting the number of the dead, should know the weakness of the living. Those early graves, therefore, are lost from present knowledge, though the place of the first burials is well known, and is pointed out to the visitor, a little above Forefathers' Rock, in Plymouth.

We look back to the days of that dying, yet immortal colony, as the one heroic age in our country's history; and sublimely such it was; but to them, the actors, beneath what a thick impenetrable vail, sometimes of real misery in penury and starvation, and sometimes of darkness even to the end of life, was the glory and the sunlight hidden! And yet it was an age, those few early years of the conflict and the triumph, every hour of it, full of glorious germs and prophecies. It was truly an age and race to which, in the language of Mr. Choate, "the arts may go back, and find real historical forms and groups, wearing the port and grace, and going on the errands of demigods. An age far off, on whose moral landscape the poet's eye may light, and reproduce a grandeur and beauty, stately and eternal, transcending that of ocean in storm, or at peace, or of mountains staying as with a charm the evening star in his deep course; or the twilight of a summer's day, or voice of solemn birds; an age from whose personages and whose actions the Orator may bring away an incident or a thought that shall kindle a fire in ten thousand hearts as on altars to their country's glory; to which the discouraged teachers of patriotism and morality to corrupted and expiring States may resort, for examples how to live and how to die!"

By the good Providence of God that winter was a mild one; otherwise none of the Pilgrims could have survived it. Their journal speaks of frequent rains, and sometimes of sleet and snow, but it is evident that they experienced no severe snow storm, nor any very great degree of cold of long duration. Yet some of their first explorings were made in such rainy and freezing weather united, that their clothes became "like coats of mail." The hectic flush of consumption was in the face of

many that winter as they bent over their work, and the incurable death-cough sounded amidst their painful but persevering efforts for the preparation of dwellings, which before they were done, should be exchanged for the grave. It was a winter of sad and increasing mortality, when every Pilgrim whom God took was so ill spared, and all were so dear; six deaths in December, eight in January, seventeen in February, thirteen in March, making in all forty-four, of whom twenty-one had subscribed the great compact on board the *May-Flower*. Forty-four died in those four months out of the one hundred whom God had brought in that little vessel; brought the seed to sow for glory. But how inexplicable are his ways! How different from man's ways! We know indeed that except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die it abideth alone; we know that that death to self, which God was carrying on towards perfection in these Pilgrims, is ever the first step to life. But that God should take so much of this precious seed, thus preparing for the multiplication and power of the great spiritual harvest, and put it literally into the ground, not to be raised again until the final resurrection; that he should bury out of human sight and reach near one half of the little handful of his servants, carrying them across the stormy ocean, and into the midst of the first painful toils and discouragements of the Colony, just to bury them; this is inscrutable to mortal judgment. Yet, though lost from sight, they were not lost in influence. Those bodies of the dear ones, laid in graves, that had to be smoothed over and made like common soil, lest the Indians should detect the place where God's seed-corn was lying, made still a great part of the moral power of the little Colony.

"The dead were buried on the bank," says Holmes in his *American Annals*, "at a little distance from the Rock where the Fathers landed; and lest the Indians should take advantage of the weak and wretched state of the English, the graves were levelled and sown for the purpose of concealment." They would have known by the dead how few were the living! But they could not have known how much dearer to the living was the home of the dead, nor what an element of courage and power it would have thrown into a conflict with the savages, to have fought for such graves. The spot where the first Governor, Carver, and his wife, with Rose Standish, were buried,

became immeasurably more sacred for such a sacred deposit. By the month of November as many as fifty had died and were buried there, leaving the whole surviving band, before the reinforcement came in the *Fortune*, only fifty. Notwithstanding all that mortality, with the sad privations and hardships the survivors had to endure and encounter, not one Pilgrim went back to England in the *May-Flower*. The death of Governor Carver, so beloved, so respected, so confided in, so faithful, self-denying, and laborious, was a most depressing blow to the little Colony. It seemed as if God could have spared that, but he knew better than they what was for their good and his glory.

Mr. Choate has beautifully put into the lips of the venerated Brewster, in a version of those days of graves, the language of the Pilgrim souls. "This spot, he would say, this line of shore, yea, this whole land grows dearer, daily, were it only for the precious dust which we have committed to its bosom. I would sleep here, when my own hour comes, rather than elsewhere, with those who have shared with us in our exceeding labours, and whose burdens are now unloosed for ever. I would be near them in the last day, and have a part in their resurrection."

This spot of the first Pilgrim burials, so solemn, so sacred, is the first terrace or hill rising from the harbour, above the Rock of the Pilgrims' landing. The hill or terrace rose higher and more boldly at that time than it does now, but the *Journal* speaks of it as "a high land, where there is a great deal of ground cleared, and hath been planted with corn three or four years ago; and there is a very sweet brook under the hill-side, and many delicate springs of as good water as can be drunk." A little above this first terrace where the earliest dead were laid, the Pilgrims set up their first habitations for the living; the centre and beginning of the town of Plymouth. Higher still above this rose another hill, the present grave-stone mount of which we have at first spoken, all sown thickly over with graves, and covered with monuments, but which the Pilgrims at first selected for their fort, because of its commanding position. They speak of it "as a great hill, on which we point to make a platform, and plant our ordnance, which will command all round about. From thence we may see into the bay, and far into the sea; and we may see thence Cape Cod."

This place, called at first Fort Hill, afterwards changed its name to that of the Burying Hill, for it began to be used as the place of burial soon after the first year of the Pilgrims' settlement. In building the fort, they so constructed it as to make it serve also for the house of public worship, where they could calmly praise God, without fear of any sudden incursion from the savages. The foundations of the fort are still distinctly marked, but the last mention of it in the town records is in 1679, at the close of King Phillip's war, when the defences were no longer needed. On this hill are the graves of several of the May-Flower Pilgrims, Gov. Bradford's among others, and that of John Howland and his wife Elizabeth. The grave of Thomas Clarke, the mate of the May-Flower, is here. This is the place also of the grave of the last ruling elder of the first church in Plymouth, Mr. Thomas Faunce. He died not till the year 1745, in the 99th year of his age, and of course was long the living repository of the authentic unwritten traditions concerning the first generation of the Pilgrims. The great age to which those lived, who survived the dreadful trials of the first few years, is remarkable. John Alden, who came in the May-Flower, died at the age of 89, in 1687, and one of his direct descendants, John Alden of Middleborough, died at the age of 102, in the year 1821. The wife of Governor Bradford died at the age of 80. Elder Brewster, John Howland and his wife Elizabeth, Elder Cushman and his wife Mary, were all from 80 to 90 years of age when they died. Thomas Clarke, the supposed mate of the May-Flower, was 98. The grave stones over these Pilgrims, if you find them on Burying Hill, are not so old as their deaths; they are said to have been brought over from England, and in some cases were not put up till long after the graves of the whole generation were made.

From the midst of these graves you have, as we have seen, a great commanding view over the country and the sea. It is a place for deep meditation, not merely on the character and toils of those gone to their rest, but upon the wonderful Providence of God in the history and government of our race, in the progress of the great plan of redemption. Looking back to those days of toil and death in the planting of the Colony, and abroad now also upon the face of the earth, it seems as if the whole history of mankind passed through those straits,

as through a gate, or lock, into a new expansion. The influence of those days is even now at work in Europe, overturning thrones, and preparing for the great reign of righteousness and freedom in Christ, which is to come. On the summit of the Burying Hill, the spectator will perhaps think of the missionary enterprise; for here lies the body of him, who as one of the Pilgrims bore testimony, that with the reasons which constrained them to quit their native land and seek a habitation among the heathen, was mingled the hope and design of spreading the Gospel where the tidings of salvation had never reached. Their mission, they thought, was with the Indians of this Western Continent; but how would they have adored the riches of God's Providence, could they have seen in vision the rising and increase of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, spreading its labours over the whole habitable globe! A missionary movement growing out of that infant colony of New England, and which perhaps God sees to be directly connected with the infant flame of missionary zeal which he had kindled in the souls of those Pilgrims.

In that flame of benevolence, that sense of duty to God, that supreme regard to his Will, Word, and Kingdom, that religious impulse of combined civil and religious freedom, missionary and personal, was the beginning of America. Carlyle has intimated as much, but not in the religious direction. And America was not only a New World, but, *ensouled* by the Pilgrims, was to make a New World out of the Old. The soul of it was in that *soul-seed* in the May-Flower, sifted out of God's seed in three kingdoms. But nobody knew then what God was doing. Who knew, or thought, or cared for the sailing of that little vessel, and the landing and the toils of those poor men and their families? Aye! ye see your calling, brethren, if ye would be at the foundation of so great a work for God. Not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble; perhaps, in a given case, not one. God was just here choosing the foolish things of the world to confound the mighty, and base things of the world, and things despised, yea, and things that are not, to bring to naught things that are, that no flesh should glory in his presence. This is the beauty and the glory of this our Pilgrim ancestry, that the more minutely we trace it, the more directly it brings us to God, the more it throws us upon him, the more it forbids us to glory but

in him. It shows his wonder-working Providence and grace, "deep in unfathomable mines of never-failing skill."

"Puritanism," says Thomas Carlyle, "was only despicable, laughable, then; but nobody can manage to laugh at it now. It is one of the strongest things under the sun at present."

And how wonderfully its calm strength looms up now before the world, in contrast with the labouring, creaking, straining hulks of old dismasted despotisms, flying before the revolutionary gales of Europe to swift destruction. We should like to have had a man like Edmund Burke spared to behold this scene, and to describe the contrast. We should like to have had such a mind, touched with divine grace, to take a view of the Providence of God from the day of the sailing of the May-Flower and the compact in Cape Cod harbour, down to this present autumn of 1848. "Nothing in the history of mankind," said Burke in his speech upon the taxation of the colonies, "is like their progress. For my part, I never cast an eye on their flourishing commerce, and their cultivated and commodious life, but they seem to me rather ancient nations, grown to perfection through a long series of fortunate events, and a train of successful industry, accumulating wealth in many countries, than the colonies of yesterday, than a set of miserable outcasts, a few years ago not so much sent as thrown out on the bleak and barren shore of a desolate wilderness, three thousand miles from all civilized intercourse."

Now in fact it was this barrier of three thousand miles, across which the exiles were thus flung in scorn out of their native kingdom, that under God preserved them from the infection of vicious example, and the rapacious despotism of a Church and State Establishment. If the ocean had not rolled between America and England, with the cost of a month's time, at least, to pass it, the experiment of liberty and religion had failed. Now that God in his Providence is so lessening time and space between us and Europe, we may hope, notwithstanding all dangers, that he is about to bring to some glorious crisis the great purposes of the vast Providential preparations he has been making for two hundred years.



## CHAPTER XVI.

### THE FIRST FAST DAY AND THANKSGIVING.

THE festival of an Annual Thanksgiving, original among the Jews, and of God's own appointment, was never in like manner observed among any Gentile nation, that we are aware of, till our Pilgrim Fathers renewed it in New England. Days of feasting and merriment there have been many; Saints' days copied from the Romish Calendar, almost numberless; festivals of Christmas, and Spring carnivals, and holidays; but nothing like the Thanksgiving feast of harvest for the annual bounties of God's providence, of which the grateful, joyful feast of Tabernacles among the Hebrews was so perfect and delightful an example. Yet not as an imitation did it grow up into a habit with our fathers; it was the suggestion and the dictate of their own habitual and grateful piety; and it is so accordant with every impulse of religion, and every feeling of a thankful heart, that from its home and birth-place in New England, the custom has at length found its way over the whole United States, a custom, we trust in God, which never will be broken.

We find in this volume the very first instance of the New England thanksgiving. It is referred to by Mr. Winslow in his letter to a friend. It was after the gathering in of the harvest, and a fowling expedition was sent out for the occasion by the Governor, that for their Thanksgiving dinners and for the festivities of the week they might have more dainty and abundant materials than ordinary. That week they exercised in arms, and hospitably feasted King Massasoit and ninety men. The Governor is said by Mr. Winslow to have appointed the game-hunt after harvest, that so the Pilgrims "might after a more special manner rejoice together, after they had

gathered the fruit of their labours." This admirable annual New England custom of Thanksgiving dates back therefore to the first year of our Forefathers' arrival. The custom of an annual fast began somewhat later, on occasion of the prospect of famine in the infant Colony, in 1623. The discipline of God's providence, as well as the guidance of his word, led them onward in the appointment and celebration of both these solemnities, which they did not then know God was designing to be fixtures of devout habit from the youth to the manhood of New England. In all things they waited on God; and God built up all things with them and among them, not suddenly, violently, or by any imagination of a miracle, or by will-worship of angels after the commandments and doctrines of men, but gradually, gently, naturally, by grace and heavenly wisdom, in a growth which should be lasting, because it came from God.

Yes! the process was kind and gentle, though with apparent severity. And there were passages in God's word so singularly applicable to God's discipline and the event of it with them even from the beginning, that they must have enjoyed peculiar delight in dwelling upon them; for neither the Church nor the world had ever seen a case so marvellously resembling God's providence and grace with his people of old under a miraculous dispensation. "And though the Lord give you the bread of adversity and the water of affliction, yet shall not thy teachers be removed into a corner any more, but thine eyes shall see thy teachers, and thine ears shall hear a word behind thee, saying, This is the way, walk ye in it, when ye turn to the right hand, and when ye turn to the left. Then shall he give the rain of thy seed, that thou shalt sow the ground withal; and bread of the increase of the earth, and it shall be fat and plenteous; in that day shall thy cattle feed in large pastures."

For a season they were shut up to the faith of Habakkuk, that simple faith, that beautiful and unmingled faith, that faith in God, and not in God's comforts; that faith in God, guided, fed, and strengthened by his word, and by no wild imagination. "Although the fig-tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls; yet will I rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation."

There were such times when they had to go to Isaiah, 1, 10, and wait there till God's appearance, seeing no light, but in his own provision for just such a case. "Who is among you that feareth the Lord, that obeyeth the voice of his servant, that walketh in darkness and hath no light? Let him trust in the name of the Lord, and stay upon his God." Times there were when they had to say, Our God whom we serve is able to deliver us; but if not, if he please not, be it known to the whole world of darkness and distrust around and beneath us, we still trust in him, and have no misgivings, though he slay us.

And then when they were ready to say, My strength and my hope is perished from the Lord, heard they the voice of the Lord, and found its fulfilment, "For a small moment have I forsaken thee, but with everlasting mercies will I gather thee. In a little wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment, but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer." "For the Lord will not cast off for ever; but though he cause grief, yet will he have compassion according to the multitude of his mercies."

The history of their first fast is a glorious testimony to the truth of these declarations in God's book. God planted the seed of that victorious day, that triumph of prayer, that day of God's own witness to his own faithfulness, at the time when they, in dependence on him, were putting their seed into the ground, and leaving there, under God's care, all their external reliance for the future. God set the root of conquest and praise in their disappointments and difficulties. Though he led them sometimes "three days in the wilderness without water," yet he kept them from murmuring; though he brought them sometimes to a fountain, and let them see that it was *Marah*, *bitterness*, yet his preventing grace suffered them not to distrust him or repine. He built up by all this discipline, a hardy and a cheerful piety, and a strong enduring faith; fixtures of character requisite for those who were to "raise up the foundations of many generations;" a faith, then most vigorous, when deepest in adversity; and a submissive cheerfulness, not running as an occasional mere thread or picture through a woof of blessings, but constituting both warp and woof, by God's grace, in the loom of his providence and word.

The history of this fast we will take mainly from Prince's

compendium of Winslow and Bradford. But to render it more striking, by bringing into one view the successive hardships, discouragements, and fears of the Colony from the beginning, through this particular cause of the want of food and sore famine, even unto apprehended destruction, we will set out where the Journal leaves us, just before the lamented death of Governor Carver, in the spring of 1621. That affliction came upon them in seed-time; but that darkest day was at the beginning of the renewal of God's mercy in the health and prosperity of the little company. "All the summer no want; while some were trading, others were fishing cod, bass, etc. We now gather in our harvest, and as cold weather advances, there come in store of water-fowl, wherewith this place abounds, though afterwards they by degrees decrease; as also abundance of wild turkeys, with venison, etc. Fit our houses against winter, are in health, and have all things in plenty."

But now, even in a new cloud of merey, lours the threatening of change. Nov. 9th, arrived the ship Fortune from England, the first reinforcement of the Pilgrims since the day, precisely a year before, when the May-Flower came in sight of Cape Cod, and anchored in the harbour. This was the first news to gladden their hearts from their mother country, the first sail they had seen. In this ship "comes Mr. Cushman, with thirty-five persons 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."

It was excessive providence, and even eruelty, in those who sent out this ship, thus miserably to furnish her with provisions, not merely sending no food to the Colony, when they sent thirty-five new mouths to be filled, but leaving the ship's company itself to be victualled from the Colony for a return voyage! It was God's merey, not man's wisdom, that the plantation was not ruined by this ship. Measures had now to be adopted in reference to want.

"Upon her departure, the Governor and his assistant dispose the late comers into several families, find their provisions will now scarce hold out six months at half allowance, and therefore put them to it, which they bare patiently."

"Trust not," wrote Mr. Winslow by return of this ship, for

such as might be thinking to join the plantation, "trust not too much on us for corn at this time, for by reason of this last company that came depending wholly upon us, we shall have little enough till harvest."

And now came the beginning of those straits, whereof Mr. Winslow said, "such was our state, as in the morning we had often our food to seek for the day, yet performed the duties of our other daily labours, to provide for aftertime; when at some times in some seasons, *at noon I have seen men stagger by reason of faintness for want of food*; yet ere night, by the good providence and blessing of God, we have enjoyed such plenty as though the windows of heaven had been opened unto us."

The stinted allowance continued till, under date of May in that year, the Pilgrims find themselves under pressure of severe want. "Our provision being spent, a famine begins to pinch us, and we look hard for supply, but none arrives."

At this time they spied a boat at sea, which proved to be a shallop from a ship called the Sparrow, bringing "seven passengers from Mr. Weston, but no victuals, nor hope of any: nor have we ever any afterwards; and by his letters find he has quite deserted us, and is going to settle a plantation of his own."

This is the first notice we have of that miserable, base colony under this Weston, "merchant and citizen of London," which caused such great trial and injury to the Pilgrims, and in the end died out utterly in want, unthrift, dishonesty, and wretchedness. In the end of June two ships from this Weston came into the harbour, "having in them some fifty or sixty men, sent over at his own charge to plant for him." These were courteously and kindly received by the Pilgrims, notwithstanding their own great straits. But evil was returned for good. "The body of them refreshed themselves at Plymouth, while some most fit sought out a place for them. That little store of corn we had was exceedingly wasted by the unjust and dishonest walking of these strangers; who, though they would sometimes seem to help us in our labour about our corn, yet spared not day and night to steal the same, it being then eatable and pleasant to taste, though green and unprofitable; and though they received much kindness, set light both by it and us, not sparing to requite the love we showed them with secret backbitings, revilings, etc. Nevertheless, we continued

to do them whatsoever good or furtherance we could, attributing these things to the want of conscience and discretion, expecting each day when God in his providence would disburden us of them, sorrowing that their overseers were not of more ability and fitness for their places, and much fearing what would be the issue of such raw and unconscionable proceedings."

These miserable adventurers settled at Wessagusset, afterwards called Weymouth, in Massachusetts Bay.

There were three things, Mr. Winslow said, which were "the overthrow and bane of plantations;" the third thing, "the carelessness of those that send over supplies of men unto them, not caring how they be qualified; so that oftentimes they are rather the images of men endowed with bestial, yea, diabolical affections, than the image of God, endued with reason, understanding and holiness. There is no godly, honest man, but will be helpful in his kind, and adorn his profession with an upright life and conversation; which doctrine of manners ought first to be preached by giving good example to the poor savage heathens amongst whom they live. Great offence hath been given by many profane men, who, being but seeming Christians, have made Christianity stink in the nostrils of the poor infidels."

The boat that brought the seven new mouths to be filled, but no victuals, brought also a kindly letter from the captain of a fishing ship at the eastward, Mr. John Huddleston, to whom the governor of the Pilgrim Colony sent forthwith a boat under Mr. Winslow for provisions. By the good providence of God he obtained so much bread as amounted to a quarter of a pound daily for each person till harvest, and returned in safety. The governor caused their portion to be daily given them, or some had starved.

"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 befell us in May and June: and in the time of these straits, 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."

This Fort being built, served also, thenceforward, as the place of public worship.

Now again harvest time had come, but with it little relief for the present and apprehended necessities of the Colony. "Our crop proving scanty, partly *through weakness to tend it, for want of food*, partly through other business, and partly by much being stolen, a famine must ensue next year, unless prevented. But by an unexpected providence come into our harbour two ships." One of these was the Discovery under Captain Jones, on her way from Virginia to England. Of her, though the Pilgrims seem to have obtained little bread, yet they bought a store of knives and beads which enabled them to trade with the Indians for corn, and thus helped to save them from destruction. The food thus obtained during the winter, by expeditions of great difficulty and danger, amidst freezing weather, was divided from time to time among the people.

Meantime the miserable Colony under Weston, at Wessagusset, in Massachusetts Bay, having spent all their bread and corn, and being so despised and hated of the natives, for their ill and dishonest conduct, that they could gain no supply from them, thought of making a foray upon them and taking it by force. But first the overseer determined to ask advice of the Colony at Plymouth, being persuaded thereto by some more honestly minded. The main question in the letter, which was sent with speed by an Indian messenger, was whether he should take the corn by violence, on the promise afterwards to make restitution. The answer was not delayed, and was such as the known piety and wisdom of the Colony would lead us to expect.

The moral superiority and power of the Pilgrims was on such occasions signally displayed, as well as their sagacity and judgment. After serious consultation together, the Governor returned a warning, signed by many of the company, that their violent intentions were contrary both to the law of God and nature, and against that propagation of the Gospel which they were bound to seek, avoiding whatever might prejudice that great object. The Governor bade them remember that their case was no worse than that of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, who had but little corn left, and were forced to live on ground-nuts, clams, mussels, and such other things as naturally the country afforded; all which things they had in abundance at Wessagusset, with oysters in addition; and therefore necessity could not be said to constrain them to their intended violence. "Moreover,

that they should consider, if they proceeded therein, all they could so get would maintain them but a small time, and then they must perforce seek their food abroad; which, having made the Indians their enemies, would be very difficult for them, and therefore much better to begin a little the sooner, and so continue their peace; after which course they might with good conscience desire and expect the blessing of God; whereas on the contrary they could not."

This friendly advice and warning changed, for the present, the resolution and temper of the adventurers; but by the month of March the plantation was utterly broken up in less than a year after it was started. "And this," remarked Governor Bradford, "is the end of those, who being all able men, had boasted of their strength, and what they would bring to pass, in comparison of the people of Plymouth, who had many women, children, and weak ones with them."

Up to the month of April, the pressure of want among the Pilgrims continued, and now was increasing. "No supply being heard of, nor knowing when to expect any, we consider how to raise a better crop, and not languish still in misery." It was determined that at this seedtime, every family should plant for themselves, and even the women and children went into the field to work, so that more corn was planted than ever.

"But by the time our corn was 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.

Having but one boat left, we divided our 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's 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 shell-fish. And thus we live the summer; only 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."

By the middle of July the Colonists seemed brought to the end of all their hopes, almost to utter desperation. "Notwithstanding 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, so as the corn withers, both the blade and stalk, as if it were utterly dead. Our beans also ran not up according to their wonted manner, but stood at a stay, many being parched away, as though they had been scorched before the fire. Now were our hopes overthrown, and we discouraged, our joy being turned into mourning."

To add to their distress they heard of a ship in which supplies were coming to them from England being in company with another ship only 300 leagues from the coast, and then for three months waited for her in vain, beholding nothing but the signs of a wreck upon the shore, which they judged must be the ruins of that ship. All things put together, it seemed as if God had turned against the Colony, and would be favourable no more.

Yet they were not so discouraged as not to wait upon God, but so as to wait *only* upon him. To him, as their sole refuge, they fled, individually and unitedly.

"These and the like considerations," says Mr. Winslow, "moved not only every good man privately to enter into examination with his own estate between God and his conscience, and so to humiliation before him, but also more solemnly to humble ourselves together before the Lord by fasting and prayer. To that end a day was appointed by public authority, and set apart from all other employments; hoping that the same God which had stirred us up hereunto, would be moved hereby in mercy to look down upon us, and grant the request of our dejected souls, if our continuance there might stand with his glory and our good. But O the mercy of our God! who was as ready to hear as we to ask; for though in the morning, when we were assembled together, the heavens were as clear and the drought as like to continue as ever it was, yet (our exercise continuing some eight or nine hours) before our departure the weather was overcast, the clouds gathered together on all sides, and on the next morning distilled such soft, sweet, and moderate showers of rain, and mixed with such seasonable weather, as it was hard to say whether our withered corn or drooping affections were most quickened or revived. Such was the bounty and goodness of our God."

Perhaps a more remarkable instance of God's interposition

in answer to prayer is not to be found on record. The showers came, said Governor Bradford, "without any thunder, wind, or violence, and by degrees and that abundance that the earth was thoroughly soaked, and the decayed corn and other fruits so revived as was wonderful to see, the Indians were astonished to behold, and gave a joyful prospect of a fruitful harvest." The interposition was as clearly from God as when Elijah prayed of old and the heavens gave rain, and the earth brought forth her fruits.

It happened that the day when this solemn fast was appointed, and the whole Colony were assembled in prayer, a number of the Indians were in at the Pilgrim settlement, among whom was Hobbamock, or Hobomok, the friend of the Colonists, and who died, as some earnestly hoped, a believer in the Pilgrims' God. Hobbamock and the Indians, observing these holy exercises in the middle of the week, remarked that it was but three days since Sunday, and could not tell what it could mean. Hobbamock demanded the reason of a boy whom he met, and, being told, communicated it to the natives; and their astonishment may easily be conceived, when, having been instructed as to the purpose of the day and its services, as a time for the Pilgrims to humble themselves before their God, and to seek his mercy in prayer for rain, they saw what followed; saw the clouds gather and the rain begin to fall. "He and all of them," says Mr. Winslow, "admired the goodness of our God towards us, that wrought so great a change in so short a time." And well they might admire it. Even their own dark belief in the Great Spirit made them feel that it was the Pilgrims' God, hearing, answering, and providing for them.

If the excellent Robinson had heard of this affecting interposition and proof of God's goodness, and its effect upon the minds of the savages, what tenderness and grief he must have felt when he wrote to the Church in regard to the first Indians killed in the conflict with Standish in March at Wessagusset, "O how happy a thing had it been, that you had converted some, before you killed any!" But the missionary spirit of the Pilgrims was destined not to bear its fruits in the immediate conversion of the natives, till the coming and apostolic labours of Elliot. And why may we not regard that remarkable man as an instrument raised up and made successful in answer to

the Pilgrims' prayers? The same God who provided them rain when they pleaded for it, opened for them, when his set time had come, doors wide and effectual for the power of his word, even among the Indians.

None ever yet, with sincere purpose of heart, and a lowly spirit, appointed a Fast-Day, but God changed it into a Thanksgiving. In addition to the reviving rains, the Colony was comforted by the return of Captain Standish, whom the Governor had sent away to buy provisions; and they also learned that the ship was safe, which they had supposed wrecked with their supplies, and would soon come to them.

“So that,” says Mr. Winslow, “having these many signs of God’s favour and acceptance, we thought it would be great ingratitude if secretly we should smother up the same, or content ourselves with private thanksgiving for that, which by private prayer could not be obtained. And therefore another solemn day was set apart and appointed for that end; wherein we returned glory, honour, and praise with all thankfulness, to our good God, which deals so graciously with us; whose name for these and all other his mercies towards his Church and chosen ones, by them be blessed and praised now and evermore. Amen.”

In the Charlestown Records, as published by Dr. Young in his *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, we find a similar change of a Fast-Day into Thanksgiving in the Massachusetts Colony. It was in 1831. The winter had come on, and provisions were so scanty, that the Colonists had to live upon clams, mussels, ground-nuts, and acorns, and these got with much difficulty in the winter season. The last batch of bread was in the Governor’s oven. “But God, who delights to appear in greatest straits, did work marvellously at this time; for before the very day appointed to seek the Lord by fasting and prayer, in comes Mr. Pearce (in a ship from Ireland) laden with provisions. Upon which occasion the Fast-Day was changed, and ordered to be kept as a Day of Thanksgiving; when provisions were by the Governor distributed unto the people proportionable to their necessities.”<sup>1</sup>

The Day of Thanksgiving appointed by the Plymouth Pilgrims was kept out of the fulness of their hearts, for it was a marvellous change which God had wrought for them in answer

<sup>1</sup> Young’s *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, 385.

to prayer. A blessing so public and so great they would not *smother up* in mere private acknowledgments, but the whole Colony were gathered into their meeting-house in the timberfort upon the hill, where not only their Elder, Mr. Brewster, discoursed to them concerning God's goodness, but the Governor himself, according to his frequent wont, would exhort them that with such a faithful, covenant-keeping God they should never yield to unbelief or fear.

Soon after this day of thanksgiving their hearts were further gladdened with the sight of two ships with supplies entering their harbour, one of them perhaps the very next morning, bringing an addition of men to the Colony; some of them good men and true, "but others so bad," said Governor Bradford, "that we were forced to be at the charge to send them home next year."

When these passengers saw their poor and low condition ashore, they were much dismayed and full of sadness. They had ever been accustomed to good fare and many blessings, and were not prepared by God's discipline to join in days of thanksgiving amidst seasons of adversity. "Only our old friends," continues Governor Bradford, "rejoiced to see us, and that it was no worse, and now hoped we should enjoy better days together. The best dish we could present them with was 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, has somewhat abated the freshness of our complexion; but God gives us health."

"Now our harvest came," added Governor Bradford, under date of September; "instead of famine we had plenty, and the face of things was changed to the joy of our hearts; nor has there been any general want of food among us since to this day;" from September, 1623, to the close of the year 1646, up to which Governor Bradford carried his history.

Such is the account of the first days of Fasting and Thanksgiving in New England. The record of God's interpositions amidst actual and threatening famine, with the thanksgiving afterwards, formed an episode by itself, in the early annals of our Pilgrim Fathers, beautifully illustrative of God's goodness and of their faith.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### THE FIRST NEW ENGLAND COUNCIL, CHURCH ORGANIZATION, AND ORDINATION.

THE contrast between the first and second colonizings of New England, between the settlement at Plymouth and that at Salem and Boston, deserves to be noted. It seemed as if God, by the baptism of suffering through which he led the first band of Pilgrims, had inspired the spirit of death to self in those who came after them. But the difference was wide in their external appointments and prospects. The first Pilgrim voyage in 1620 was in the little vessel of the *May-Flower*, with one hundred souls in all, of whom half died within five months. The second emigration in 1630 was in four ships out of a fleet of eleven, the other seven being destined to the same expedition, but not yet quite ready for sea; the ships dignified as Admiral, Vice-Admiral, Rear-Admiral, and Captain; the first being the *Arabella*, of 350 tons, manned with fifty-two seamen and twenty-eight guns. Fifteen hundred persons embarked that season for Massachusetts. The colony at Boston endured a devastating sickness, and then about a hundred of the colonists fled back to England, relinquishing the enterprise at the first thickening difficulties. Among them were some in whom the Colony confided as its main and sure supporters.

There had been one settler before them at Boston, Mr. William Blackstone, a Puritan Minister of the English Church, of such large and determined principles of liberty and independence that he found the Colony itself afterwards too intolerant for him, and would not be connected with the church. "I came from England," said he, "because I did not like the Lord-Bishops: and I cannot join with you, because I would not be under the Lord-Brethren." This company of colonists were

full of affectionate and forgiving remembrance of their Mother Church, and they besought an interest still in her prayers in Old England; promising a return of the same, "when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness, overshadowed with the spirit of supplication through the manifold necessities and tribulations, which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor we hope unprofitably befall us."

How beautiful is this recognition of the great principle of God's dispensations with his people, to make them, like the Captain of their Salvation, *perfect through suffering!* They were to be overshadowed with the great spirit of supplication through the sufferings awaiting them in the wilderness! The tribute paid by the historian Grahame to the noble character of this consecrated band is so just both for them and the Plymouth Pilgrims, and so eloquent in itself, that we shall quote a part of it.

"Soon after the power of the adventurers to establish a colony was rendered complete by the royal charter, 1st May, 1629, they equipped and despatched five ships for New England, containing three hundred and fifty emigrants, chiefly zealous Puritans, accompanied by some eminent Nonconformist ministers. The regrets which an eternal farewell to their native land was calculated to inspire, the distressing inconvenience of a long voyage to persons unaccustomed to the sea, and the formidable scene of toil and danger that confronted them in the barbarous land where so many preceding emigrants had found an untimely grave, seem to have vanished entirely from the minds of these men, supported by the worth and dignity of the design which they were combined to accomplish. Their hearts were knit to each other by community of generous purpose; and they experienced none of those jealousies which invariably spring up in confederacies for ends merely selfish, among persons unequally qualified to promote the object of their association. Behind them, indeed, was the land of their fathers; but it had long ceased to wear towards them a benign or paternal countenance; and in forsaking it, they fled from the prisons and scaffolds to which Christians and patriots were daily consigned. Before them lay a vast and dreary wilderness; but they hoped to irradiate its gloom, by kindling and preserving there the sacred fire of religion and liberty."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Grahame's Colonial History, vol. i, 213.

This second Colony came out beneath the authority of a charter, whereas the Plymouth Colony had none. There was not, therefore, a second time transacted the august ceremony that passed in the cabin of the May-Flower. One such self-constituting act of a free community was enough in the infancy of a nation.

But although the Colony of Massachusetts was not compelled in the same manner with that of the Pilgrims at Plymouth to throw itself upon a voluntary compact as a body politic, yet precisely in the same way did God lead them also into their religious form as an independent church. The history of their various conferences with the Plymouth colony is deeply interesting. There was among the Pilgrims a physician of ability and intelligence, Dr. Fuller, who had been a deacon in the Pilgrim church in Leyden, and, of course, held the same office in the Pilgrim church at Plymouth. Early in 1629, Governor Endicott was compelled, by the sickness prevailing in the little company at Salem, to send to Governor Bradford for the services of Dr. Fuller. The Doctor seems to have been a man of large education, and thoroughly grounded in the reason and practice of Congregationalism as it was established in Mr. Robinson's church. During his stay at Salem for the healing of the people, he had no little conference with Mr. Endicott concerning the discipline of that church, and found his mind already strongly attracted towards it. The fruit of their conversations may be gathered from the friendly Christian letter of Mr. Endicott to Governor Bradford, of May 11th, 1629, which was as follows: "Right worshipful Sir: It is a thing not usual, that servants to one master, and of the same household, should be strangers to one another. I assure you I desire it not; nay, to speak more plainly, I *cannot* be so to you. God's people are marked with one and the same mark, and have, for the main, one and the same heart, and are guided by one and the same spirit of Truth; and wheresoever this is, there can be no discord, nay, but a sweet harmony. And this same request with you I make to the Lord, that we, as Christian brethren, may be united by hearty and unfeigned love, bending all our hearts and forces in furthering a work which is beyond our strength, with reverence and fear, fastening our eyes always on Him that is only able to direct and prosper all our ways. I acknowledge myself most bound to you for your kind love and care in sending Mr. Fuller among us, and rejoice much

that I am satisfied touching your judgments of the outer form of God's worship. It is, as far as I can yet gather, no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth: and the same which I have preferred 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, and it is a great mercy of God that he strengthens them to go through it."<sup>1</sup>

Meantime there had sailed from England, May 4th and May 11th, 1629, the three first ships for the Salem Colony, "being all three full of godly passengers, with the four ministers for the Massachusetts."<sup>2</sup> The ministers were Messrs. Skelton, Higginson, and Bright, the latter having been trained up under Mr. Davenport, and Mr. Smith, afterwards settled over the Pilgrim Church at Plymouth. They arrived June 24th, and now the first business which occupied the care of the Governor and the Colonists was the Covenant of the Church and the ordaining of its ministry. The 20th of July was appointed by the Governor as a day of solemn prayer with fasting, for the trial and choice of a Pastor and Teacher. The forenoon they spent in prayer, and in witnessing the exercise of the gifts of the candidates in Teaching, and the afternoon in their examination and election, which issued in the choice of Mr. Skelton Pastor, and Mr. Higginson Teacher. Upon their acceptance of the charge, Mr. Higginson, with three or four more of the gravest members of the church, laid their hands upon Mr. Skelton with solemn prayer, and then Mr. Skelton and some others performed the same ceremony with Mr. Higginson. They then appointed Thursday, the 6th of August, as another day of prayer and fasting for the choice and ordination of Elders and Deacons. The same day the Church were to enter into Covenant. They were thirty in number who were thus to be constituted or organized. Mr. Higginson drew up for them a Confession of Faith, and a Church Covenant, according to Scripture, of which thirty copies were written out, and one delivered to every member. The Church at Plymouth was invited to be present by their messengers, to give their advice and assistance in this important solemnity.

When the day came, they first listened to the sermons of the two ministers, together with the usual exercises of prayer.

<sup>1</sup> Governor Bradford's Letter Book.

<sup>2</sup> Prince, 184, 185.



Then in the afternoon the Confession and Covenant were read in the public assembly, and solemnly by the members assumed. They then proceeded to the ceremony of ordination, which was performed with prayer and the laying on of the hands of certain of the brethren appointed by the church for that purpose. This they did with Mr. Skelton and Mr. Higginson, although they were both before ordained by bishops in the Church of England. They were now ordained by those who chose them for their ministers.<sup>1</sup>

In the midst of these ceremonies, Governor Bradford and the other delegates from the church of the Pilgrims at Plymouth presented themselves. They had set sail in good time from Plymouth, but had been detained by adverse winds; yet happily arrived in season to give the right hand of fellowship to their sister church, and to unite with them in prayer and praise for God's blessing. This was a sacred and remarkable day. It was the first ceremony of the kind ever transacted on this Continent. In its simplicity and sole dependence upon Christ, it had a dignity and true grandeur which could not be found in all the gorgeous array of pomp and circumstance, borrowed in the English Establishment from the Romish Church.

And on what occasion of Hierarchical grandeur was there ever a form or a document made use of, to be compared in value or in beauty with the following admirable Covenant? We here present it as given in Mather's *Magnalia*; the Covenant of the first church of Christ ever organized in America. Not the first church ever *in* America, nor the first Independent or Congregational Church in New England; this last claim belongs to the Pilgrim church at Plymouth, which was a church already in being and form, before its members landed from the *May-Flower*; but the first church *organized* in New England was that church at Salem, in 1629. And the following is doubtless the first church covenant ever drawn up in America:

“We covenant with our Lord, and one with another; and we do bind ourselves in the presence of God, to walk together in all His ways, according as He is pleased to reveal Himself unto us in His blessed Word of truth, and do explicitly, in the name and fear of God, profess and protest to walk as followeth, through the power and grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

<sup>1</sup> Prince, 189, 191.—Mather's *Magnalia*, vol. i, 66.—Grahame's *Colonial History*, vol. i, 214, 215.

We avouch the Lord to be our God, and ourselves to be His people, in the truth and simplicity of our spirits.

We give ourselves to the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Word of His grace, for the teaching, ruling, and sanctifying of us, in matters of worship and conversation; resolving to cleave unto Him alone for life and glory, and to reject all contrary ways, canons, and constitutions of men in worship.

We promise to walk with our brethren with all watchfulness and tenderness, avoiding jealousies and suspicions, backbitings, censurings, provokings, secret risings of spirit against them; but in all offences to follow the rule of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to bear and forbear, give and forgive, as He has taught us.

In public or private, we will willingly do nothing to the offence of the Church, but will be willing to take advice for ourselves and ours, as occasion shall be presented.

We will not in the congregation be forward, either to show our gifts and parts, in speaking or scrupling; or there discover the weaknesses or failings of our brethren, but attend an orderly call thereunto; knowing how much the Lord may be dishonoured, and His Gospel and the profession of it slighted, by our distempers and weaknesses in public.

We bind ourselves to study the advancement of the Gospel in all truth and peace, both in regard of those that are within or without; no way slighting our sister churches, but using their counsel as need shall be; not laying a stumbling-block before any, no, not the Indians, whose good we desire to promote, and so to converse, as we may avoid the very appearance of evil.

We do hereby promise to carry ourselves in all lawful obedience to those that are over us in Church or Commonwealth, knowing how well-pleasing it will be to the Lord, that they should have encouragement in their places, by our not grieving their spirits through our irregularities.

We resolve to approve ourselves to the Lord in our particular calling, shunning idleness as the bane of any state, nor will we deal hardly or oppressingly with any, wherein we are the Lord's stewards.

Promising also to our best ability to teach our children and servants the knowledge of God and of His will, that they may serve Him also; and all this, not by any strength of our own,

but by the Lord Jesus Christ, whose blood we desire may sprinkle this our Covenant, made in his name.”

It will be noted that a special guard is introduced into this admirable Christian agreement, against that forwardness in the showing of gifts and parts, whether in speaking or scrupling, in regard to which there was a spice of anxiety and jealousy in reference to the Plymouth church, lest the brethren there had gone to an unwarrantable extent of liberty. The truth is, that the Plymouth church, having been for many years entirely separated from the Establishment, were entirely emancipated from its bondage. The Salem church and ministers had been Nonconformists in England, but had not till now separated from the Establishment, and they were still trembling at the largeness of their liberty in Christ. Until they came to New England, and beheld the Plymouth church in its simple New Testament freedom and purity, they do not seem to have been acquainted with the system of Congregationalism. But now the prediction of Robinson was fulfilled; they saw the beauty and Scriptural order and freedom of that system, although at first with a little fear; and here, on this common ground of deliverance from the laws and persecutions of the Established Hierarchy, and of freedom to worship God under the sole rule of his Word, the Separatists and the Nonconformists became one; or rather, not so much *became* one, as found themselves to be *already* one, with really no points of difference between them.

Dr. Bacon has finely remarked upon this agreement as a proof of the clear Christian discernment of Robinson;<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Cotton declared, in reference to the accusation of having imitated the Plymouth model, that “there was no such thing as an agreement by any solemn or common consultation; but that it was true they did, as if they had agreed, by the same spirit of truth and unity, set up, by the help of Christ, the same model of churches, one like to another; and so, if they of Plymouth had helped any of the first comers in their theory, by hearing and discussing their practices, therein the Scripture was fulfilled, that the kingdom of heaven was like unto leaven which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal, till the whole was leavened.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bacon's Historical Discourses, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Governor Bradford's Dialogue, in Young's Chron., 426.

Mr. Winslow was at pains still more fully to show the falsehood of the charge that the successive Colonists "took Plymouth for their precedent as fast as they came;" for this was not bestowing honour where it was due, and the credit of the establishment of those successive flourishing churches on that New Testament plan belonged to the Word of God only; "our practice being, for aught we know, wholly grounded on the written Word, without any addition or human invention known to us, taking our pattern from the primitive churches, as they were regulated by the blessed Apostles in their own days, who were taught and instructed by the Lord Jesus Christ, and had the unerring and all knowing Spirit of God to bring to their remembrance the things they had heard." "'Tis true," says Mr. Winslow, "some of them coming over to be freed from the burthensome ceremonies then imposed in England, some of the chief of them advised with us how they should do to fall upon a right platform of worship, and desired to that end, since God had honoured us to lay the foundation of a Commonwealth, and to settle a Church in it, to show them whereupon our practice was grounded; and if they found upon due search it was built upon the Word, they should be willing to take up what was of God. We accordingly showed them the primitive practice for our warrant, taken out of the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles written to the several Churches by the said Apostles, together with the commandments of Christ the Lord in the Gospel, and other our warrants for every particular we did from the Book of God. Which being by them well weighed and considered, they also entered into covenant with God and one another to walk in all his ways, revealed, or as they should be made known unto them, and to worship Him according to His will revealed in his written Word only, so that here also thou mayest see they set not the Church at Plymouth before them for example, but the primitive churches were and are their and our mutual patterns and examples, which are only worthy to be followed, having the blessed Apostles amongst them, who were sent immediately by Christ himself, and enabled and guided by the unerring Spirit of God. And truly this is a pattern fit to be followed of all that fear God, and no man or men to be followed further than they followed Christ and them." <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Winslow's Brief Narration, Young's Chron. 386.

It is truly remarkable how exactly these sentiments and declarations accorded with those of the earliest Puritan in England, Bishop Hooper, and how the complete reformation which he, at the cost of martyrdom, projected and proclaimed, in the Old World, had here sprung up, two hundred years afterwards, well nigh perfected, in the New. It is no reproach of the dead man, said he, (alluding to the authority of the Fathers, which he was boldly casting aside) "but mine opinion unto all the world, that THE SCRIPTURE SOLELY, AND THE APOSTLES' CHURCH, IS TO BE FOLLOWED, AND NO MAN'S AUTHORITY, BE HE AUGUSTINE, TERTULLIAN, OR EVEN CHERUBIM OR SERAPHIM."<sup>1</sup> Mine opinion unto all the world! There is great grandeur in that declaration, from amidst the lighted torches and piled fagots of Rome.

And the spirit of Hooper had fallen upon John Robinson, and the Plymouth Church. This was his parting legacy on the verge of the sea. "Brethren, we are now quickly to part from one another; and whether I may ever live to see your faces on earth any more, the God of Heaven only knows. But whether the Lord have appointed that or no, I charge you before God, and before His blessed angels, that you follow me no further than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ."

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Hooper on the Authority of the Word, in his Declaration of Christ and His Office.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### THE FIRST ATTEMPT AT SCHISM.—RECALCITRATION OF THE ESTABLISHMENT.

It was not likely that such a covenant as this, the principles of which it was clearly foreseen would govern the infant Colony, could be entered into, among a body of adventurers of various views, and some of them of irreligious habits, without a jealous opposition. It was the future world predominating over the present, and it brought down the maxims and realities of that world into a practical conflict with, and mastery over, the god, the habits, and the forms of this. Moreover it was a complete release of men's consciences from the Church-and-State law and power of England; it was the practice, under charter, of that religious freedom, which the Plymouth Pilgrims had settled without one.

Now then there was at once an attempt on the part of the old Hierarchy to resume its power. It was found that here into this covenanted church of Christ in the New World men were not to be admitted merely on the ground of National Church membership, and a sacramental oath in the Old World. It was found, to the amazement of some, that this new church of Christ had put itself on such a daring position of liberty and power under Christ's sole authority, without any regard to the will of the monarch, or the State, or the Hierarchy, as to exclude all persons of scandalous lives from the table of the Lord and from the privileges of his covenant. It was found, moreover, that these ministers and this church not only could but would pray without a prayer-book, and that the Book of Common Prayer, which had been imposed by violence in England, was no more to bind them here, than the Book of Sports, which James, Charles, and Laud were making the Gospel of the

nation, or the May-pole itself, which Governor Endieott had cut down from Mount Dagon. It was discovered, in fine, that what was a poor, miserable, mere, outlawed, despised, down-trodden conventicle in England, was going to be, here in the wilderness, the sole, august, spiritual, beautiful Church of Christ, almost the Church Triumphant, instead of the Church Militant. It seemed, to those who had admired and relished the old order of things, as if here the Old Conventicle had become the Living Temple of God, while the Old Hierarchy would be regarded as nothing better than Satan's Conventicle.

There was an uprising against all this immediately. We shall give the account of it, first, in the words of Mr. Neal in his History of New England.

“Some of the passengers, who came over with these first planters, observing that the ministers did not use the Book of Common Prayer; that they administered Baptism and the Lord's Supper without the ceremonies [of the Liturgy of the Church of England]; that they refused to admit disorderly persons, and resolved to use discipline against all scandalous members of the church, set up a separate assembly, according to the usage of the Church of England. Of these Mr. Samuel Browne and his brother were the chief, the one a lawyer, and the other a merchant, both of them men of estates and figure, and of the number of the first patentees. The Governor, perceiving the disturbance that was like to arise on this occasion, sent for the two brothers, who accused the ministers as departing from the order of the Church of England, adding that they were Separatists, and would shortly be *Anabaptists*, but for themselves they would hold to the orders of the Church of England. The ministers replied that they were neither Separatists nor Anabaptists, that they did not separate from the Church of England, nor from the ordinances of God there, but only from the corruptions and disorders of that Church; that they came away from the Common Prayer and Ceremonies, and had suffered much for their Nonconformity in their native land, and therefore, being in a place where they might have their liberty, they neither could nor would use them, because they judged the impositions of these things to be sinful corruptions of the word of God. The Governor, the Council, and the people generally, approved of the ministers'

answer; but the two brothers, not being satisfied, and endeavouring to raise a mutiny among the people, were sent back to England by the return of the same ships that brought them over."<sup>1</sup>

Thus far with the testimony of Mr. Neal, which in this matter is mainly drawn from that of Cotton Mather in his *Magnalia*.

Let us now take the record of an admirable historian of our country, whose sympathies indeed, as a religious Scotchman of a free and generous mind, are with our Pilgrim Fathers, but who is confessed, on all hands, to have written with great fairness and impartiality, the testimony of Mr. Grahame, in his *Colonial History of the United States*.

“Two brothers,” he says, “of the name of Browne, one a lawyer and the other a merchant, both of them men of note, and among the original patentees, dissented from this constitution (of the Plymouth church as copied by the church at Salem), and arguing with great absurdity that all who adhered to it would infallibly become Anabaptists, endeavoured to procure converts to their opinion, and to establish a separate congregation, on a model more approximated to the form of the Church of England. The defectiveness of their argument was supplied by the vehemence of their clamour; and they obtained a favourable audience from a few persons who regarded with unfriendly eye the discipline which the provincial church was disposed to exercise upon offenders against the rules of morality. Endicott, the Governor, called those men together with the ministers before a general assembly of the people, who, after hearing both parties, repeated their approbation of the system that had been established; and as the two brothers still persisted in their attempts to create a schism in the church, and even endeavoured to excite a mutiny against the government, they were declared unfit to remain in the Colony, and compelled to re-embark and depart in the vessels in which they had accompanied the other emigrants in the voyage from England. Their departure restored harmony to the Colonists, who were endeavouring to complete their settlement, and extend their occupation of the country, when they were interrupted by the approach of winter and the ravages of disease, which quickly deprived them of nearly one half of their

<sup>1</sup> Neal's *History of New England*, vol. i, p. 129.



number, but produced no other change on their minds than to cause the sentiments of hope and fear to converge more steadily to the Author of their existence."<sup>1</sup>

"Notwithstanding the censure," continues Mr. Grahame, "with which some writers have commented on the banishment of the two individuals whose ease we have remarked, the justice of the proceeding must commend itself to the sentiments of all impartial men."

Now this judgment is the more striking and trustworthy because it comes from a man who did not fail on other occasions to rebuke severely the spirit of intolerance, when he saw it displayed in the acts or temper of any of the Puritans. He adds that on the return of these men to England, when they preferred their complaint and accusation against the Colonists for oppression towards themselves and enmity to the Church of England, the total disregard which their complaint experienced confirms the opinion that the intendment of the Massachusetts Charter was to give the Colonists unrestricted liberty to regulate their own ecclesiastical estate. They had, therefore, a legal right, as well as the right of equity, to return these disturbers of the peace to the bosom of that native Establishment, the laws of which the disturbers would, if they could, have enforced upon the Colony.

We regard this opinion of the historian Grahame, in the case of these men, as a righteous and true judgment; and we cannot but contrast it honourably with the sneer of the historian Bancroft, on the same occasion, "that the blessings of the promised land were to be kept for Puritanic Dissenters, and that these Brownes were banished from Salem because they were churchmen."

If indeed this had been the case, it was a lesson taught by the churchmen themselves, who were just now endeavouring to prevent for ever, any other lesson from being taught or learned, either in the New World, or the Old. The truth is, if the blessings of the promised land, the blessings of religious liberty, had *not* been kept for Puritanic Dissenters, they would neither have been permitted to, nor enjoyed by, any other sects in the world. The sanctuary of these Puritanic Dissenters was the only place in the whole world where they *could* be enjoyed. Indeed, it was the only place where the nature of a perfect

<sup>1</sup> Grahame's Colonial History of the United States, vol. i., p. 216.

religious liberty was beginning to be understood. These blessings were not regarded *as* blessings by any others *than* these same Puritanic Dissenters. There were no others who saw far enough into the nature of the Gospel, and the preciousness and glory of a free conscience, to esteem these things as the free and most precious gifts of God to man. Nay, these blessings of free church covenants, and a church free to exercise Christ's spiritual discipline upon scandalous persons, and free to pray without the Common Prayer Book, and to be baptized without the sign of the cross, and to exercise the gifts of brethren, without the soldiers of a High Commission committing them to prison, were regarded as the superstitions of a knot of poor, pitiful, obstinate fanatics; blessings which they of the Establishment not only did not *wish* to share, but would not leave quietly for the dissenters themselves to share.

They had with great difficulty been prevailed upon to connive at this region of New England becoming a sort of Botany Bay for those who were punished as criminals against the Establishment; and now they were endeavouring to bring the Establishment itself over into this very Botany Bay; they were exclaiming against the exclusiveness of these criminals in wishing to maintain that freedom which had been connived at, and for the enjoyment of which they had suffered themselves to be transported *like* criminals from their native land. Perhaps, if we look fairly at both sides of the point before us, we shall find that these men were *not* banished because they were churchmen, but because they would not suffer others quietly to be dissenters. It was evident, beyond question, to the foresight of Governor Endicott, that they were just introducing, with the whole weight of the regal and ecclesiastical despotism of England on their side, the same exclusive and tyrannical system here, which had ground the Nonconformists into powder there. Let them get footing with their Common Prayer Book and Rubrics, and their accusations against the Pilgrim Ministers and churches, of Separatism and disobedience, rebellion and dissent, and how long would it have been, before King Charles's and Archbishop Laud's troops would have been transported from England into America, to dragoon these rebels into submission, and to sustain here likewise the oppressive Hierarchical system in all its power and grandeur?

The Colonists had fled from the despotism of that system in

England, they were wise and just not to admit it here, nor even an entering wedge for it. It was as a ferocious wild beast, whom they could not conquer there, though they could happily fly beyond the reach of his violence here. And now, shall they be accused of intolerance, simply because here, where they *could* confine him, they would not let him go at large; or because here they shut him up in a vessel, and transported him back to his original, national menagerie?

“I will be tolerant of everything else,” said Mr. Coleridge, “but every other man’s intolerance.” Now here it was plainly the intolerance of others, not their religion of which Governor Endicott would not be tolerant. And in this thing he and the Colonists were evidently guided by Infinite wisdom. For, if the churchmen had been permitted to go on, there would have been an end to this sanctuary of freedom in the wilderness. There would have been no New England in existence, in the history of which there should be scope for a sneer at the piety, or the freedom, or the superstition of its founders. Their *not* being suffered to go on, is the reason why they, and all other sects, even Bunyan’s Giant Grim, with his nails pared, are here in quiet now. God, in his gracious divine providence, would not suffer any others than the persecuted Puritanic Dissenters to get footing here, until both in the Old World and the New the great lesson of religious liberty had been more fully taught and understood. He had much light yet for Cromwell and the Independents of England to pour upon this question. The sneers at the course of our Pilgrim Fathers are sneers against the providence of God and the freedom of man.

If the Brownes had been permitted to go on in their factious course, the formal church, which they were seeking to set up, must have been an Established Church; it must have been a church, which, so soon as it got power, would have put down every other church as a Conventicle, would have compelled every other church to conform to it. And it would have got power immediately. A single petition to the Church and Government of England for aid would have brought over a commission from Laud and Charles, charged with power to uproot the dissenting heresy from its foundations. So that, whether it were the wisdom and foresight of Endicott and his coadjutors, or their mere fanaticism, or not, that produced their course of conduct on this occasion, it was the salvation of that

Colony, it was the preservation of New England liberty from extinction in the bud. It was the providential wisdom and goodness of God, guarding the system which the Puritans were seeking to establish; preserving the newly planted Vine from the boar out of the woods and the wild boar out of the Establishment, that they should not devour it. Our fathers were too vigilant and wise to tolerate in their infant church and State what they saw plainly would utterly destroy its freedom, and make it in the end merely a branch of the Church-and-State system of England.

That their conclusions were true, that their foresight was timely, that their course was the only course which a true regard to the freedom of the Colony admitted, is fully proved by what, within a very short period, did take place under Laud; by the imprisonment of Winslow, and the High Commission under Laud for overthrowing completely the Puritan churches of New England, and establishing the English Church upon their ruins; a thing which most certainly would have been accomplished, if meanwhile there had been but the very commencement of an Episcopal church, under government of the Establishment, already planted. Viewed as a mutinous effort against the Government, the movement of these Brownes was most justly restrained and prevented *by* the Government; viewed as simply and merely an attempt to set up the Church of England, and thus put down Separation and Dissent, the course pursued by the Government must be regarded as an act of pure self-defence, and they must be confessed to have exercised great wisdom in transporting these men back to the enjoyment of the Establishment in their own country. It was fully proved that the Church and Dissent would not be tolerated together by the Government of England. Dissent had fled to New England and gained possession of a place, where, by itself, it could live at liberty. When the Established Church came also, it was really a question which should be expelled. The right of previous possession alone, were that all which could be urged in the premises, would decide the case in favour of the right of the Puritanic Dissenters.

Dr Bacon remarks, that as to the principle of requiring a sympathy with the great design of the plantation in those who were admitted to share its power and privileges, and a membership in the simple Church of Christ, out of which it was

constituted, one simple fact, which the Fathers knew right well, is the vindication of their policy. "They knew that as soon as they should have built their houses, and got their lands under cultivation, as soon as they should have got enough of what was taxable and titheable to excite covetousness, the King would be sending over his needy profligates to govern them, and the Archbishop his surpliced commissaries to gather the tithes into his storehouse. Knowing this, they were resolved to leave no door open for such an invasion. They came hither to establish a free Christian Commonwealth; and to secure that end, they determined that in their Commonwealth none should have any civil power, who either would not or could not enter at the door of Church Fellowship. They held themselves bound, they said, to establish such civil order as might best conduce to the securing the purity and peace of the ordinances for themselves and their posterity. When they introduced the principle, it was not for the sake of bestowing honours or privileges upon piety, but for the sake of guarding their liberty, and securing the end for which they had made themselves exiles. If you call their adoption of this principle fanaticism, it is to be remembered that the same fanaticism runs through the history of England. How long has any man in England been permitted to hold any office under the crown, without being a communicant in the Church of England? Call it fanaticism if you will. To that fanaticism which threw off the laws of England, and made these colonies Puritan Commonwealths, we are indebted for our existence as a distinct and independent nation."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bacon's Historical Discourses, p. 27.

## CHAPTER XIX.

SLANDERS AGAINST THE COLONY.—LAUD'S HIGH COMMISSION TO OVERTURN ITS CHURCH AND GOVERNMENT.—THE CASE OF MR. WINSLOW'S IMPRISONMENT.—THE CASE OF MR. ENDICOTT, AND THE RED ROYAL ENSIGN.

To show the correctness of the preceding views, nothing more is requisite than just to glance at the attempts really made, and the steps actually taken from time to time, to set up a church despotism in the Colonies under Archbishop Laud; attempts signally defeated by the good providence of God, but which, to all human appearance, would have been successful, had there been a single Established church set up in New England. The exclusion of the Episcopal Hierarchy for the present from the Colonies was the only guarantee by which New England was looked to from abroad as being, in the words of Hallam, a secure place of refuge from present tyranny, and a boundless prospect for future hope. Hallam says that in 1638, hopeless of the civil and religious liberties of England, there were men of high rank, and of capacious and commanding minds, such as Jay, Hazlerig, Brooke, Hampden, and Cromwell, preparing to embark for America, when Laud, for his own and his master's cause, procured an order of council to stop their departure. He quotes the royal proclamation, and remarks that any trackless wilderness seemed better than Laud's tyranny, and that the views of the Archbishop were not so much directed to the security of church and crown against disaffected men, as to the gratification of his own malignant humour in persecuting them.<sup>1</sup>

Already, as early as the year 1633, an order had been made in council forbidding the departure of a number of ships then

<sup>1</sup> Hallam's Constitutional History of England, p. 270.

ready to sail for New England with passengers and provisions, "because of the resorting thither of divers persons known to be ill affected, not only with civil but ecclesiastical government at home; whereby such confusion and distraction is already grown there, in New England, especially in point of religion, as beside the ruin of the said plantation cannot but highly tend to the scandal both of Church and State here." This grew out of the slanders perpetrated against the Colony by men who had been punished in it, or banished from it, for their crimes and immoralities, such as the notorious Morton, the servant Ratcliffe, and Sir Christopher Gardiner. Their gross falsehood was proven, and the order, though headed by Archbishop Laud himself, was not executed, but even the king declared that the slanderers should be severely punished.<sup>1</sup>

The slanderers and petitioners against the Colony were instigated by Sir F. Gorges and Captain Mason, who wished for a general government over New England; and in their petition they charged both Colonies with intended rebellion, that they meant to be wholly separate from the Church and laws of England, and that their ministers and people did continually rail against the State, the Church, and the bishops. Messrs. Cradock, Salstonstall, and Humphrey, who were then in England, answered the accusations on the part of the company so triumphantly that nothing could be done against them.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, it was remarkable that that order in council should have failed; for Laud came into his archbishopric this year, and was carrying everything before him; and this was the year of his infamous cruelties against Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton. Moreover he was already stretching the arm of his power beyond seas, and the Puritanic refuge from his wrath and zeal in America he hated with a raging bitterness. This was the year in which Cotton fled to New England, the Earl of Dorset having sent him word that if he had been guilty of drunkenness, uncleanness, or any such lesser fault, he could have got his pardon, but the sin of Puritanism and Nonconformity was unpardonable, and therefore he must fly for his safety.<sup>3</sup>

The commission by the king to Archbishop Laud in 1635,

<sup>1</sup> See a copy of the order in Hubbard, p. 152.    <sup>2</sup> Baylies' Memoir of Plymouth Colony, p. 207, vol. i.    <sup>3</sup> Neal's Hist. Puritans, vol. ii, p. 279.

was a high commission of despotic power over the whole Colony. It was in fact the establishment of an irresponsible ecclesiastical and civil despotism, with authority in reference to the canons and customs of the Church, and appointment and maintenance of the clergy, to inflict punishment upon all offenders or violators of the constitution and ordinances, either by imprisonment or other restraint, or by loss of life or member, according as the quality of the offence shall require; with power to remove governors and presidents, and appoint others, and punish delinquents; power to ordain temporal judges and civil magistrates, and also judges, magistrates, and officers for and concerning courts ecclesiastical; and power to constitute and ordain tribunals and courts of justice, both ecclesiastical and civil.

This despotic commission had been brewing for a long time, the Archbishop and King Charles having received many complaints of the divers sects and schisms alleged to be among the Colonists, and of the spirit of liberty and independence thus growing up, so that it was said they would at that rate, ere long, take the royal jurisdiction itself into their own hands, as they had already done the ecclesiastical government. Laud and the king were resolved to put a stop to all this, and to bring the Colony under the supreme dominion of the Established Church. Had there been a branch of the Establishment set up in New England, beyond question this effort would have been made much earlier, and might have been successful. As it was, and in spite of an earnest and free remonstrance on the part of Massachusetts, things proceeded so far, that a writ of *quo warranto* was brought by Sir John Banks, the King's Attorney-General, against the Governor, deputy-Governor, and assistants of the corporation of the Massachusetts; the charter was disclaimed, and judgment was given for the king, that the liberties and franchises of the said corporation of the Massachusetts should be seized into the king's hands.<sup>1</sup> Orders in council followed, and a letter was sent revoking the patent; but there the mischief stopped, and it would seem from Governor Bradford's account, mainly through Mr. Winslow's instrumentality in the execution of his agency for the Colonies. It was more remarkable now than before that Laud's plans should

<sup>1</sup> Hutchinson's Hist. Mass. Appendix, p. 440. Hubbard's Gen. Hist. N. Eng., ch. xxxvi, p. 272.



have been thwarted, for he was in the very plenitude of almost unrestricted power, and at the height of his malignant, persecuting fury. It was the protecting providence of God.

We will begin the description of Winslow's collision with the Archbishop by an extract from Governor Winthrop's Journal in October of 1635, where we find it recorded that Mr. Winslow, the late Governor of Plymouth, being this year in England, petitioned the council there for a commission to withstand the intrusion of the French and Dutch, which was likely to take effect. Governor Winthrop justly says here that the petition was undertaken by ill advice, for that such precedents might endanger their liberties, as they should be permitted to do nothing thenceforward but by commission out of England. "However, the Archbishop being incensed against Mr. Winslow, as against all these plantations, informed the rest that he was a Separatist and so forth, and that he did marry and so forth, and therefore got him committed; but after some few months he petitioned the board and was discharged."<sup>1</sup> And a marvel it was that he escaped so easily, as we shall see on following out this account more fully from the detail given by Governor Bradford.

Governor Bradford says that on this agency for the Colonies, Mr. Winslow encountered the slanders of their old enemies, Morton, Gardiner, and others, whose ends were the subversion and overthrow of the churches, and a new and general government. Sir F. Gorges, by Archbishop Laud's favour, was to have been sent over Governor-General into the country, and to have had means from the State for that end, and was now upon dispatch and conclusion of the business. And the Archbishop's intent was by his means, and some he should send with him, who were to be furnished with Episcopal power to disturb the peace of the churches, to overthrow their proceedings, and prevent their further growth. Mr. Winslow's petition came to nothing, as to its immediate point, by the influence of the Archbishop; but nevertheless, by God's providence, the whole plot and business of the Archbishop and Gorges fell to the ground by what transpired through Winslow's evidence and petition.<sup>2</sup>

The suit of Winslow had, it seems, been granted, after

<sup>1</sup> Gov. Winthrop's Journal, under 1635, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> Morton's New England Memorial, 170. Hutchinson, Hist. Massachusetts, vol. ii, 409.

several examinations before the lords commissioners for the plantations in America, the main point being a warrant of right to the English colonies to defend themselves against all foreign enemies; and it was just about to be confirmed when Archbishop Laud put a stop to it. Mr. Winslow then again resorted to the board of commissioners, but meanwhile the Archbishop, with Gorges and Mason, had got Morton to renew his complaints and slanders. These were so thoroughly answered by Mr. Winslow, that the board checked Morton, and rebuked him sharply, besides blaming Gorges and Mason for countenancing him. But now the Archbishop had another card to play, to which he was well accustomed; he entered on an inquisitorial examination of Mr. Winslow himself, as to his conduct as a magistrate and church-member in the Colony. In the first place he was accused of the crime of teaching in the church publicly, and Morton gave evidence that he had seen and heard him do it; and to this Mr. Winslow answered that sometimes, in the absence and default of a minister, he did exercise his own gift to help the edification of his brethren when they wanted better means, which was not often. This exercising of gifts by men not in the Established Church ministry was one of the Archbishop's mortal enmities; he would rather have a raging pestilence in the church; and now, after labouring with such thirsty diligence to exterminate every such practice and liberty in England, the sight of a freeman before him, not in prison, who plainly avowed that at home he *was* in the habit of exercising his gifts, if they were needed, was as detestable as that of Mordecai to Haman.

In the next place the Archbishop questioned him about the acts of his magistracy, especially his taking authority to perform the ceremony of marriage. As to this Mr. Winslow also confessed that having been called to the place of magistracy, he had sometimes married some; and further told their lordships that marriage was a civil thing, and that he found no where in the Word of God that it was tied to a minister; again, they were necessitated so to do, having for a long time together at first no minister; besides, it was no new thing, for he had been so married himself in Holland, by the magistrates in their State-house.

Here was, indeed, a case for the Archbishop; and though the time was near when he could no longer have all things at

his pleasure by the king's will, even in England, and the hour of retribution was hastening for his long course of cruelty, yet he still had such excessive authority to carry his tyranny into execution, that by vehement importunity he prevailed with the Board of Commissioners to consent to Mr. Winslow's punishment, so that he was forthwith carried to the Fleet prison, and there lay seventeen weeks or thereabouts, before he could get released. If Archbishop Laud could have had his way, he would have imprisoned or decapitated the whole Colony; but by God's good providence they were beyond his reach, for his hands were soon too full of roused adversaries in England, the victims of his oppression, to leave him at leisure to put up his gallows for Mordecai, or to execute his designs in the New World. This imprisonment of Winslow was one of the most outrageous acts of his despotism, and it shows what he would have done with the religious liberties of the colonies in New England, if by the existence of the Hierachy, or any small shoot of it there, he could have had any plausible pretence for the establishment of supreme Ecclesiastical authority.

On the whole, we think, instead of abusing Mr. Endicott for his action in the premises, in sending the Brownes back to England, the impartial historian must regard him as the instrument of a Divine protecting providence for the salvation of the Colony from an Ecclesiastical despotism. Endicott is spoken of in Johnson's *Wonderworking Providence* as "the much honoured Mr. John Indicat, who came over with them to govern; a fit instrument to begin this wilderness work, of courage bold, undaunted, yet sociable, and of a cheerful spirit, loving and austere, applying himself to either, as occasion served." Bancroft has adopted these characteristics in his description of Endicott, as "a man of dauntless courage, and that cheerfulness which accompanies courage; benevolent though austere; firm though choleric; of a rugged nature, which the sternest form of Puritanism had not served to mellow." With great inconsistency he afterwards speaks of him as a man "whose self-will was inflamed by fanaticism, and whose religious antipathies persecution had matured into hatred." These two descriptions cannot be true. The banishment of the Brownes was not a proof of Endicott's fanaticism, but of his good judgment, foresight, and determination to guard the liberty of the Colonists from invasion.

The letters of the Company in England on occasion of this difficulty, when the Brownes had been sent home, and had presented their complaints, are to be found in Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*. The general instructions of the Company to Endicott and the Council are also there printed, and are full of interest. By these instructions, and by the Charter of the Colony, it will be found that Endicott was fully justified so far as related to them, in taking his prompt and energetic measures, both for the suppression of the rioters on Mount Dagon, and of the ecclesiastical and civil mutiny of the Brownes. No one can doubt this, when he reads such a passage as follows, after notice of the unanimous agreement of the ministers sent over. "Yet because it is often found that some busy persons, led more by their will than any good warrant out of God's Word, take opportunities by moving needless questions to stir up strife, and by that means to beget a question, and bring men to declare some difference in judgment, most commonly in things indifferent, from which small beginnings great mischiefs have followed, we pray you and the rest of the council, that if any such disputes shall happen amongst you, that you suppress them, and be careful to maintain peace and unity."<sup>1</sup>

Endicott was a friend of Roger Williams, and much under his influence. Mr. Williams had preached a "discourse on the unlawfulness of all ceremonies and symbols, which had been borrowed from the service of idolatry or of Popery, on the ground that their use tended to lead men back to superstition and false religion." It was in accordance with this doctrine that Endicott, being the military commander, ordered the red cross to be cut from the King's military colours.<sup>2</sup> Endicott and Williams were both exceedingly strong in their hatred of Popery; but Endicott was naturally somewhat more hasty than Williams, though the anecdote is characteristic of both. There was nothing which Endicott regarded as a just principle, that he did not think should be put in practice. The attention of both these men, the preacher and the soldier, having been once turned to the Red Cross, and the question having occurred whether it was right to admit such a mark of the Beast in the ensigns of the Colony, it was almost as impossible to avoid

<sup>1</sup> Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, 160.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Gammell's *Memoir of Roger Williams*. *Spark's Am. Biog.* v. 14, p. 36.

agitation, as it is for some animals to prevent being infuriated at the sight of a red cloak. At length Mr. Endicott put an end to their questionings by erasing, on his own authority, a part of the red cross in the royal colours at Salem; enough, we suppose, to destroy the emblem of the cross, for their indignation was against the use of that sacred emblem in such a place, and not against the crimson hue.

The first record of this transaction we find in Governor Winthrop's own Journal, of October 20th, 1634. He states that the ensign at Salem was defaced, namely, one part of the Red Cross taken away; which indeed savoured of rebellion, but he says the truth was it was done upon this opinion, that the Red Cross was given to the King of England by the Pope, as an ensign of victory, and so a superstitious thing, and a relic of Antichrist.<sup>1</sup>

It is next recorded, Nov. 27th, that the Governor's Assistants met at his house to advise concerning this matter, when they all expressed their dislike of this thing, and their purpose to punish the offenders; yet they were guarded, with as much wariness as they might use, being themselves doubtful of the lawfulness of the Cross in an ensign, though clear that the fact of the erasure in the colours, as concerning the manner, was very unlawful.

The result was, that in 1635 Mr. Endicott was left out from the magistracy at the election, and was called in question about defacing the cross in the ensign. A committee was appointed on this case, of one from every town, the magistrates also making choice of four. Their judgment was that the offence was great; that Mr. Endicott had been rash in taking more authority upon himself than he should have done, and indiscreet in not seeking advice of the Court; that his conduct was unwarrantable in that, judging the Cross to be a sin, he was content to have it reformed at Salem, not taking care that others might be brought out of it also; casting thus a blemish also upon the other magistrates, as if they would be willing to suffer idolatry. Mr. Endicott was publicly admonished, and rendered unable to bear office for the space of one year; they not being willing to deal a heavier sentence upon him, because they were persuaded that what he had done was out of tenderness of conscience, and not from any evil intent.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gov. Winthrop's Journal, p. 73.

Gov. Winthrop's Journal, p. 81.

It is evident that in the end Mr. Endicott's character did not suffer in the least with the Colony by these transactions, for he was afterwards chosen to the highest offices in the gift of the people, and he was well known to be a man of integrity and piety. He pursued very much the same energetic course in regard to the King's red colours, that he did in regard to the obnoxious May Pole on Mount Dagon, the head quarters of Morton's revellings and insubordination; but whereas in the latter case his zeal was wisely and admirably directed against a glaring evil, in the former it was an insignificant thing, to which his own opinions had given a fictitious importance. A part of the judgment of the court is very curious; that his offence was the greater, because, judging the Cross to be a sin, he was content to have it reformed at Salem, not taking care that others might be brought out of it also. One might have thought this would have mitigated the offence, because, it being a matter of opinion, he only bestirred himself where he had some authority to do so, and left others to judge and act as they pleased.

It is very clear that the antipathy of Williams and Endicott against all Popish emblems was shared by other as good men as they, in both colonies. On the return of Governor Winthrop from his visit to the Colony at Plymouth, it is recorded in the Governor's Journal that they came to a place called *Hue's Cross*, and the Governor was much displeased at the name, in respect that such things might hereafter give the papists occasion to say that their religion was first planted in these parts; so he changed the name, and called it *Hue's Folly*.<sup>1</sup> Our Pilgrim Fathers were too near the age of martyrdom in England not to feel the necessity of such vigilance.

<sup>1</sup> Winthrop's Journal, Oct. 27, 1632.

## CHAPTER XX.

THE FIRST IMPOSITION OF A MINISTER, AND THE CHARACTER AND END OF THE MAN AND THE EFFORT.—CONSPIRACY OF LYFORD AND OLDHAM.—ENERGY AND PRUDENCE OF THE GOVERNOR.

THE Colony of Pilgrims were evidently well supplied with an orderly and devout ministration of the Gospel, in the case of Mr. Brewster. There were some, however, in England, who insisted on their having an ordained minister, though doubtless mainly because they hoped thereby the more effectually to prevent Mr. Robinson from joining the Colony, with the rest of the church in Leyden. There was, even at a very early period, a strong faction among the Merchant Adventurers, opposed to the Pilgrims, and to the influence of Robinson over them, and to his intention of joining them. In a letter in 1623, Robinson speaks in a saddened and desponding tone, both as to the state of the church in Leyden, and the prospect of their ever getting to Plymouth. Doubtless the church suffered by the drawing away of so great a portion of its vitality, the Pilgrims being evidently amongst the most energetic and faithful of its members. And the faithful Pastor began to find himself in a trying position. He speaks of the good news they hear from the Pilgrims, "which makes us with the more patience bear our languishing state, and the deferring of our desired transportation, which I call desired rather than hoped for, whatsoever you are borne in hand with by others." He then speaks of five or six of their bitter professed adversaries among the Adventurers, and of certain forward preachers of great influence, who of all others are unwilling that Robinson should join the Colony, having an eye themselves that way, and thinking, if he should go, "their market would be marred in many regards." "And for these adversaries, if they have but half their will to their malice, they will stop my course when they

see it intended." "Your God and ours, and the God of all his, bring us together, if it be his will, and keep us in the mean while and always to his glory, and make us serviceable to his majesty, and faithful to the end. Amen."

But Robinson's work on earth was now nearly done; and so, in little more than two years after this, God called him home to his rest, away from the evil to come. Meanwhile, let us see how fully his predictions were fulfilled, and his discernment sustained in regard to the plottings against himself and the Colony. His enemies in England were resolved, if possible, to break up the independent government of the Colony, both civil and religious, and to establish an Episcopacy upon its ruins. For this purpose a plan was laid, and a fit instrument being found, the faction of Adventurers began to put it in execution. Mr. Winslow and Mr. Cushman were at this time in England on the business of the Pilgrims, but it is evident were not aware of the plot formed, nor of the character and designs of the agent employed, under the garb and profession of a preacher for the Colony.

The first rather quaint and curious notice of this affair we have in Gov. Bradford's notice of Mr. Cushman's letter to the Colony at the close of 1623, "wherein he writes that they (the Adventurers with Mr. Cushman) send a carpenter to build two ketches, a lighter, and six or seven shallops; a saltman, to make salt; and a preacher, though not the most eminent, for whose going (says Cushman) Mr. Winslow and I *gave way to give content to some at London.*"<sup>1</sup>

This is the only instance we can discover of the Colonists giving way to expediency before principle in any of their religious interests, and in this instance it was done perhaps to avoid an open quarrel with the Adventurers. But assuredly Mr. Winslow and Mr. Cushman should have paused before giving their consent to the sending of a questionable minister in the place of Robinson as the preacher to the Colony. It is evident they had no great opinion of his qualifications, and yielded only to necessity.

Let us now follow the result of this hazardous experiment, a most instructive one to the Pilgrims, but which would have proved of irreparable mischief, had it not been for the kind care of God, through the great wisdom and energy of Governor

<sup>1</sup> Bradford in Prince, 146.



Bradford. We will take the curious record of the manner in which the three supplics turned out; carpenter, salt-man, and minister. It is to be found in Prince's New England Chronology under the year 1624, from Gov. Bradford's manuscript.

“The ship-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 two 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.

But the salt-man is an ignorant, foolish, and self-willed man, who chooses a spot for his salt-works, will have eight or ten men to help him, is confident the ground is good, makes a 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, and so forth, yet all in vain. He could do nothing but boil salt in pans. The next year is sent to Cape Ann, and then the pans are set up by the fishery; but before the summer is out he burns the house and spoil the pans, and there is an end of this chargeable business.

The minister is Mr. John Lyford, whom a faction of the Adventurers send to hinder Mr. Robinson. At his arrival he appears exceeding complaisant and humble, sheds many tears, blesses God that had brought him to see our faces, and so forth. We give him the best entertainment we can; at his desire we receive him into our church, when he blesses God for this opportunity and freedom to enjoy his ordinances in purity among his people. We make him larger allowance than any other [for his support]; and as the Governor used in weighty matters to consult with Elder Brewster, with the Assistants, so now he calls Mr. Lyford to council also. But Mr. Lyford soon joins with Mr. 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.”<sup>1</sup>

We will now change into the historic form the record which Mr. Prince thus faithfully presents from Governor Bradford. The uncovering and proof of this conspiracy, fraught with such unmingled evil to the Colony, was brought about by admirable

<sup>1</sup> Prince, from Bradford, pp. 148, 149.

wisdom and energy on the part of the Governor. The movements and intentions of Lyford and Oldham having become manifest, he watched their proceeding very closely, and judging them to be in communication with that inimical faction among the Adventurers, of which already the brethren Winslow, Cushman, and Mr. Robinson himself had given account in their letters, and Mr. Winslow by his presence, he determined to intercept their measures. It is very likely that he already judged Lyford to be one of those "forward preachers," of whom Robinson had spoken so quaintly, as having a hank upon the professors, and as being determined with all malice to use that *hank*, or influence, against himself. His forward extreme professions and demonstrations of tears, complaisances, and blessings at the outset, were not likely to commend him to a man of Governor Bradford's openness, sincerity, and quiet simplicity of character, but would rather, if anything, render him an object of suspicion to the Pilgrims, who had nothing of this hypocritical spirit or demeanour among them; so that they must have received him somewhat as Christian and Hopeful regarded Talkative, when he presented himself so plausibly and glibly to join them.

The master of the ship in which Lyford came was a thorough friend to Governor Bradford and the Colony, and saw how things were going. They kept quiet till the ship was to return, and the letters from Lyford and Oldham to the conspirators in England had been prepared and put on board. Then, when the ship set sail towards evening, the Governor manned a shallop, went out in company with the ship three or four miles to sea, and there taking the correspondence of Lyford and Oldham, with the full consent of Captain Pierce, the commander, who was aware of their actions, discovered, on examination, their whole treachery.

Amongst other letters, one was found directed to John Pemberton, a minister, and a violent enemy to the Colony; in this letter copies of a letter were found inclosed, which had been written by a gentleman in England to Mr. Brewster, and also of another letter which Winslow had written to Mr. Robinson. These letters had been lying in the cabin of the ship in which Lyford embarked for America, and while she was anchored at Gravesend he opened and copied them.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Baylies' Hist. Mem. of Plymouth, p. 128.

The Governor knew his man, and dealt with the fool according to his folly. It had been observed before the ship sailed that Lyford was much engaged in writing, and indeed he had been so careless and confident as to disclose parts of his correspondence to those with whom he was intimate, who made little secret of his communications, but boasted openly that they should have a change in the Colony before long. The suspicions of the Governor being thus excited, and at length arising in his mind to a complete conviction, he deemed it his duty to act as he did for the safety of the Colony.

The Governor returned on shore during the night, bringing some of the letters back with him for proof, but kept everything as yet private, till the conspirators should open their plot plainly. This they speedily did, so soon as Lyford and the few accomplices whom the factious part of the Adventurers had sent out, judged their party strong enough. They rose up, opposed the government and the church, drew a company apart, and set up for themselves, Lyford declaring that he would administer the sacrament to them by his Episcopal calling.

Upon this proceeding, Governor Bradford called a Court and summoned the whole company to appear, and charged Lyford and Oldham with plotting and writing against them, all which they denied, not having the least suspicion of what was in reserve. Governor Bradford then produced their own letters, so that they were utterly confounded and convicted. Oldham became so outrageous that he would have raised a mutiny, but his party abandoned him, and the Court expelled them from the Colony. Lyford confessed his villany before the Court, acknowledging the falsehood of all that he had written, and afterwards did the same before the Church, begging their forgiveness with many tears, so that they even restored him to his office of teaching. This was a very hasty and inexpedient kindness, for in less than two months he was at his old work of slander, and wrote another letter to England, which came into the hands of the Governor. But his wickedness was not fully exposed till the coming of Messrs. Winslow and Pierce from England in the spring, with an account of all the evil of Lyford's calumniating letters there, and of the development of previously unknown crimes while he was a minister in Ireland, on account of which he had been compelled to leave that

kingdom. Upon this new discovery he was immediately deposed from the ministry.<sup>1</sup>

Lyford is said to have discovered the malignity of a demon, who was sent to mar the happiness of the settlement, and disturb the peace of the church. "The air was tainted with the slanders he wrote and spread, for the service of men who were enemies of the plantation. He was employed by those who, being inimical to all dissenters from the Established Church, and every species of Republican Government, wished to destroy this rising Commonwealth. The spies of Charles's court would search the uttermost part of the earth, for the sake of destroying men's liberty."<sup>2</sup>

Oldham returned to Plymouth, and there behaved again so outrageously that he was publicly sentenced "to pass through a guard of soldiers, receiving from each a blow on his hinder part with their muskets," after which he was shipped away. A year afterwards, being in extreme danger of death, he made a free and full confession of all the wrongs he had done the church and people.

Thus ended this affair, and with it all present effort after any other minister than Elder Brewster. About two years afterwards Mr. Allerton brought over from England for the Colony "one Mr. Rodgers, a young man, for minister;" but within a year, "proving crazied in his brain, they were forced to be at further charge in sending him back, after losing all the cost expended in bringing him over, which was not small."<sup>3</sup>

In the year 1629, Mr. Smith, one of the four ministers who came over with the Salem Colonists, went with his family to some straggling people at Natasco; and we find the following rather curious record from Governor Bradford's Journal in regard to his final settlement for some years at Plymouth: "Some Plymouth people," he says, "putting in with a boat at Natasco (the old name for Nantasket, a peninsula near the entrance of Boston harbour, now called Hull,) find Mr. Smith in a poor house that would not keep him dry. He desires them to carry him to Plymouth; and seeing him to be a 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

<sup>1</sup> Prince, pp. 149, 153.  
Society, for the year 1800, p. 274.

<sup>2</sup> Collections of Mass. Historical  
<sup>3</sup> Bradford in Prince, p. 193.

choose him into the ministry, wherein he remains for sundry years.”

Alden Bradford, in his History of Massachusetts, says of Smith, that he was of an odd temperament, and supposed sometimes to be partly insane.<sup>1</sup>

He was not in all respects fitted for his station, and indeed it was many years before the church at Plymouth enjoyed anything like the power and beauty of the ministrations of their first beloved Pastor.

<sup>1</sup> Bradford's History of Mass., p. 21.

## CHAPTER XXI.

THE FIRST CIVIL OFFENCE AND PUNISHMENT.—MILDNESS, FORBEARANCE, SELF-RESPECT, AND KINDNESS OF THE PILGRIMS.—THE FIRST MURDERER AND HIS END.—THEIR VIEWS OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT FOR MURDER.—THE GREATNESS AND WISDOM OF THEIR LEGAL REFORMS.

ALL the transactions of the Colony described in the earliest and most authentic records show the Plymouth Pilgrims to have been as kind, patient, persevering, and judicious a set of men as the Providence of God ever collected in one community. They manifested great qualities both of mind and heart, of natural temperament and piety. They maintained a very natural superiority over all the successive settlements of New England, not merely because theirs was the great honour of pioneers in suffering, but because, though in some after emigrations there was greater dignity of circumstance, yet there was never better stuff, nor equal endurance. They were upright, generous, manly in character and sentiment. There was a stamp of natural nobleness, openness, and courage, as well as constant reliance upon God. They were above every meanness and had a pure and high morality, and though in an obscure, unthought of theatre, so acted in all things, that now, when their whole stage with all the scenery and persons is lifted into light with a world critically gazing at it, there is nothing seen but what is as noble and truly dignified as if it had been acted for the world. The reason is, because it was *not* acted for the world, but irrespective of the world, for conscience and for God. The total absence of the fear of man has produced the noblest epic in action of all secular ages.

The very first instances of crime among them being imitations in low life of English court bravery and gentility, were

such as stamped disgrace and ridicule upon it for all coming time. It was good to have examples of fashionable wickedness put in so low and contemptible a setting as that to which the Pilgrims shut it up, when the foundations of many generations were building. It was better than the device of the Spartans to make their slaves drunk that their children might abhor the beastly vice of intemperance. Neck and heels of a serving man tied together is a good posture for the perpetual effigy of a New England duellist. If the Pilgrims had set their ingenuity to manufacture a caricature of affairs of honour for immortal opprobrium and ridicule, they could not have done better. It was only the second offence in the whole year's history of the Colony. Prince takes the account from Governor Bradford's Register thus:

“June 18, 1621. 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 of Mr. 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.”

We should like to see all the duellists in the world tied thus, neck and heels together; honour to whom honour is due. This punishment seems to have been very effectual. It was used in the case of the first offence committed in the Colony, which was that of John Billington, a profane, miserable wretch, “shuffled in” by some unaccountable trickery among the Pilgrims at London, but who afterwards was hung for murder. March 24th, 1621, he was “convicted before the whole company for his contempt of Captain Standish's lawful command with opprobrious speeches: for which he was 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.”

Governor Bradford, with an almost prophetic discernment of the elements of character and their consequences, declared in a letter to Mr. Cushman, in 1624, concerning this miserable

fellow, who for some cause was a great enemy of Cushman, that he was "a knave, and as such would live and die." It was the Governor's opinion that he was smuggled in most improperly among the Pilgrims in England, at their first embarkation, but how he knew not. He stained the soil of New England with the first murder, being truly the Cain of that Eden of the New World. Mr. Hubbard gives the account of his unprovoked crime and its just retribution in the following words:

"About September, 1630, was one Billington executed at Plymouth for murder. When the world was first peopled, and but one family to do that, there was yet too many to live peaceably together; so, when this wilderness began first to be peopled by the English, when there was but one poor town, another Cain was found therein, who maliciously slew his neighbour in the field, as he accidentally met him, as himself was going to shoot deer. The poor fellow, perceiving the intent of this Billington, his mortal enemy, sheltered himself behind trees as well as he could for a while; but the other not being so ill a marksman as to ruin his aim, made a shot at him, and struck him on the shoulder, with which he died soon after. The murderer expected that either for want of power to execute for capital offences, or for want of people to increase the plantation, he should have his life spared; but justice otherwise determined, and rewarded him, the first murderer of his neighbour there, with the deserved punishment of death, for a warning to others."<sup>1</sup>

The trial of this murderer was a most important occasion. The Colony were somewhat in doubt whether the patent gave them authority in cases of life and death to pass and execute judgment. They might deduce that authority from their own compact, but they were anxious to proceed legally as well as justly, in right form as well as in reality. They sought the advice of their brethren in Massachusetts, the case occurring in the same year with the arrival of Governor Winthrop and the company of Colonists along with him. Governor Winthrop in his journal merely mentions the execution thus: "Billington executed at Plymouth for murdering." But it appears from Mr. Hutchinson, who, as Mr. Savage remarks, has perhaps digested all that can be known in regard to that trial, that Mr.

<sup>1</sup> Hubbard's Gen. Hist. New England, ch. xvii, p. 101. Mass. Hist. Coll.



Winthrop, having consulted with the ablest gentlemen there, concurred with the opinion at Plymouth that the man ought to die, and the land be purged from blood. This was founded on the divine command, "Whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed; which was not in any case to be dispensed with."<sup>1</sup> Hutchinson remarks that they observed all the forms of law, there being both grand jury and petty jury impanelled, and after indictment, verdict, and sentence, the criminal was executed. They took their authority and obligation of punishment by death for the crime of murder directly from the Word of God, regarding the old ordinance given to Noah as of universal appointment for the guidance of mankind.

"They had need be very good artists," said Mr. Hubbard on another occasion, "and go exactly to work that lay the foundation of a building; for a little error *there*, may appear very great and formidable in the superstructure, if anything be done out of square at the bottom, which at the first is not easily discerned."

Now it is remarkable that in the first great instance of capital legislation in this country, our Pilgrim Fathers went not to the laws of England for their guidance, but to those of God. On this point Dr. Bacon of New Haven has written admirably. What system of legislation should the Colonists take in founding a New World? They could not instantly frame a new system; it must be the work of time and experience. Should they take the laws of England? "Those were the very laws from which they fled. Those laws would subject them at once to the king, to the parliament, and to the prelates, in their several jurisdictions. The adoption of the laws of England would have been fatal to the object of their emigration." They could not take the Roman civil law; but they had a code of laws in every man's hand in the Bible, laws given to a community emigrating, like themselves, from their native country, for the great purpose of maintaining in simplicity and purity the worship of the one true God. Like the Israelites of old, they were to be a people surrounded by the heathen, and intermingled among them, and needing the influence of laws framed with a special reference to such a corrupting neighbourhood and intercourse. Like the Hebrews also they were a free Republican people, and needed laws for a community where

<sup>1</sup> Hutchinson's Hist. Mass., vol. ii, p. 413.

there was no absolute power, where there were no privileged classes; laws, whose aim should be that equal and exact justice which is the only freedom.

Dr. Bacon proceeds to remark upon two of the most important effects of their renouncing the laws of England and adopting the Mosaic law; first, the change of the principle on which inheritances were to be divided, rejecting the English rule of giving all real estate to the eldest son, thus doing away with the system of English aristocracy, and promoting equality among the people; and second, the change in respect to the inflicting of capital punishment. By this bold reformation, taking the Hebrew laws instead of the laws of England, the Colonists reduced the bloody catalogue of crimes punishable by English law with death, down at once from one hundred and fifty to eleven! Dr. Bacon well remarks that "the greatest and boldest improvement which has been made in criminal jurisprudence by any one act since the dark ages, was that which was made by our fathers, when they determined that the judicial laws of God as they were delivered by Moses, should be accounted of moral equity, and generally bind all offenders, and be a rule to all the courts."<sup>1</sup>

On the greatness and wisdom of their legal reforms and precedents, Prescott Hall has likewise written with great beauty and power, somewhat in detail. He says that nearly all the important alterations made in the jurisprudence of New York within the last fifty years have been borrowed, directly or indirectly from the laws of New England, and especially from those of Connecticut. "Indeed, I may go further, and say that there is scarcely a change or an improvement called for or suggested by the distinguished Lord Brougham in his great speech upon law reforms in England, delivered in the House of Commons in the year 1828, but what may be found among the enactments of legislatures and the practice of courts in the Eastern States."

These great improvements were begun at once. "With a bold defiance," says Mr. Hall, "of customs immemorial, and of forms rendered sacred by antiquity, they commenced the progress of legal reform from the moment their feet first pressed the sod of their new found country. With no affected disregard for the wisdom and learning of their ancestors, with no

<sup>1</sup> Bacon's Historical Discourses.

pretensions to a more perfect knowledge of man's true social condition than that which prevailed at home, they did nevertheless at once institute the inquiry as to how much of an antiquated system was suited to their wants and condition. Having the common Statute law of England open and before them, and with a steady eye upon ancient precedents, they began a system of legal change at once radical, yet conservative." Mr. Hall speaks of the subject of non-imprisonment for debt, as considered and acted on in New England two hundred years ago, and upon the law for a complete registration of lands, and upon the explosion of the complicated unnecessary forms in civil and other proceedings; simple and clear statements, and direct straightforward pleadings coming in their place.

"And then," says he, "as to that law that prefers the first-born son to all others, in itself so iniquitous, what had our ancestors to say to that! They said it should be blotted out from the statute-book, once and for ever.

How otherwise could equal rights be maintained, or Republican forms of government be preserved? In the proud monarchies of Europe it became the policy of the aristocracy to preserve great estates in the same family in a direct line, that their influence might remain continuous and unbroken; thus transmitting from father to son, not only the wealth of the ancestor, but his political influence also.

But in a free country how should we stand, if even without political authority, the parent might entail upon his son whole towns, and counties, and states? Would freemen contentedly ride for thirty-seven miles by the side of a great estate (as you may now in some parts of Great Britain), with the reflection in their minds that in all time to come, the influence of that proprietor and his descendants must remain unchecked and undisturbed?

What caused the first outbreaks among the people of Rome when they left their city to take refuge on the sacred Mount? The monopoly of lands by the rich. What was the remedy there? A division of those lands among people who had no claim upon them but hard necessity. But what agrarian law did our ancestors provide to check, if not effectually destroy, this dangerous accumulation of wealth in the same hands? They said that lands, where there was no will to direct otherwise, should descend to the heirs alike. That personal property

should be equally distributed, and the power of entailment so limited that it must be renewed in every generation, in order to be kept alive. 'This,' says Judge Story, 'is the true agrarian law which, in all time to come, will guard the just rights of acquirement and possession, and correct the great public evils of inordinate accumulations; and you see how instantly our ancestors seized upon and adopted this indispensable improvement.'

Then the criminal laws of England, more bloody than the laws of Draco, were all remodelled and their severities softened down, even at that time when men's minds had not begun much to consider this important matter. In all things, I assert with confidence, in relation to the laws, both public and private, our ancestors made great and marvellous improvements upon those of the land from whence they took their origin. And these reforms became afterwards matters of the highest political concernment when they had shaken off the control of the mother country. Republican in their habits of thinking and acting, republican in their frugality, republican in their laws and forms of government, the States of New England were early prepared for that great change wrought out for them by the war of the Revolution.

Their civil and political rights were well understood from the very beginning: they were preserved and cherished through all their early struggles for existence, and were all prepared to be acted upon when the day of trial came."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. Prescott Hall's New England Society Address.

## CHAPTER XXII.

### THE FIRST TOWN MEETING.—PROVIDENTIAL DISCIPLINE AND DEVELOPMENT OF FREEDOM.

FROM the Town Meetings of New England, De Tocqueville deduces the whole grand fabric of civil liberty in these United States. There is much truth in the conclusion. The habit of thus meeting for consultation and decision on all common and important business, constituted a discipline of independence, freedom, and self-government, in the State, of which the pattern was first taken from the congregational independence and self-government under Christ, which had for so many years been practised in the Pilgrim Churches. This habit was the cradle of a well-ordered civil, as well as religious liberty. These Town Meetings were at first composed mainly of members of the Church; for the greater number of the early Colonists were such, by profession and covenant. And in the manner of this action in civil affairs, they naturally and spontaneously went on according to the habit they had formed in religious affairs. The one ran into the other as naturally as the oak grows out of the acorn, as spontaneously as from the hidden germinating power and process in the seed, or growth in the tree, spring to their development the blossom and the fruit. It was thus that the Vine out of Egypt, being caused to take deep root, filled the land. The hills were covered with the shadows of it, and the boughs thereof were like the goodly cedars. She sent out her boughs unto the sea, and her branches unto the river. They became so tough and strong, that the boar out of the European woods might whet his tusks upon them, but could not harm them.

The record of the first Town Meeting in New England, nay,

we might probably say in the whole world (for this was quite an original phenomenon), is in this Journal of the Pilgrims. The era of the Town itself is fixed by Mr. Prince, not upon the day on which the Pilgrims first broke ground for building, nor the day on which they began to erect the first house for settlement, but about a week afterwards, on the last day in the year 1620, (being the first Lord's Day that any kept the Sabbath in the place of their building,) they having, up to that time, assembled on board the May-Flower, no other shelter being possible. There is great propriety and beauty in this; if the Pilgrims could have determined upon it, they would have desired just such a record. "At this time," says Mr. Prince, "we therefore fix the era for 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."

The labour of building the Town goes on through the month of January, doubtless under the superintendence of Governor Carver, whom they had chosen on board the May-Flower. We may say that all their consultations and determinations, as on January 9, concerning the manner and division of labour in building, were the apparent germs or buds of the future fully developed institutions of the Town Meeting. But the first decisive record is on February 17, when they met to appoint "military orders," and chose and invested with power accordingly, Miles Standish for Captain. This, however, being mainly, if not solely, a meeting fixed for those military purposes alone, and having been moreover interrupted by the first alarming presentation of savages near the Town, which interruption was renewed on two other occasions on which they had a similar meeting, we pass to the last record in the Journal, March 23, 1621, where the bud is, as it were, in full and manifest development. It is a regular Town Meeting for common business, as well as for the completion of their "military orders," and for the forming of other laws convenient for their present state. They then likewise re-elected Governor Carver for the following year.

Soon after this, Governor Carver having been removed by death, there was another Town Meeting, at which Mr. Bradford was chosen governor, with Mr. Allerton for his assistant.

June 18th, there was another, in which those extraordinary duellists, the two family servants of Mr. Hopkins, were "adjudged by the whole company" to their suitable and disgraceful punishment. July 2nd, there was another Town Meeting; August 13th, another, on a very important occasion, called by the Governor, for aid of council. Thus these Town Meetings, begun in the infancy of the Colony, became its habit into manhood. They were assemblies of the freest, most independent, most mutually confidential character; for consultation, deliberation, decision, on the most important affairs that could come before the community. The Governor asked advice at those meetings.

March 23rd, 1623, we find the record of one of them as follows: "Being a Yearly Court Day, the Governor communicates his intelligence to the whole company (alarming intelligence in regard to a conspiracy among the Indians), and asks their advice; who leave it to the Governor, with his assistant and the Captain, to do as they think most meet." The election days were Town Meeting days. In the spring of 1624, we find the record of their proceedings, in Prince's Chronology, as follows: "The time of our electing officers for the year arriving, the Governor desires the people both to change the persons, and add more assistants to the Governor for council and help; showing the necessity of it; that if it were a benefit or honour, it was fit others should be partakers; or if a burthen, it was but equal others should help to bear it; and that this was to be the end of yearly elections. Yet they chose the same Governor, namely, Mr. Bradford. But whereas there was but one assistant, they now choose five, and give the Governor a double voice."

Thus the discipline of the Colony in self-government under God's good providence went on from year to year, from less to greater, from very small assemblies to very large ones, with which, if the Colony had begun, they would not also have begun in them these all important, open, free, deliberative meetings. God in his providence taught them little by little. And he let all these fixtures of the habits of a free State and people be confirmed and rendered more complete for several years, before he let the new and larger Colony at Salem come over to determine *their* settlement and fixtures. When they did come, they naturally fell both in religious and civil affairs, into the

same excellent habits, in their church covenant and business, and in free deliberation in Town Meetings, into which God had disciplined the Plymouth Pilgrims before them, and which by their example he had shown to be so admirably fitted for the purposes of piety, industry, virtue, public spirit, self denial, firmness, brotherly kindness, patience, wisdom, and freedom.

The origin of town governments, which Mr. Baylies thinks involved in some obscurity, seems very plainly to be found in the condition of the Colony of Plymouth during the first twelve years, in which the town, being the whole Colony, "exercised all those functions of government, which are now performed in towns, counties, and commonwealths."<sup>1</sup> The town was also the Church. Afterwards, when other settlements were made, churches were formed to make them, and then by acts of incorporation they became towns. Even the ministers were settled by the towns in town meetings, and the salary was established and annually voted. Thus it is true that to the independent churches is to be traced the origin of those independent communities, which assumed the name of towns; in the independent churches, indeed, is the germ of all our liberties, both civil and religious.

Mr. Baylies has remarked that the system of town-governments is neither known in England, nor does it prevail in the Southern States. "Those who are strangers to our customs are surprised to find the whole of New England divided into a vast number of little democratic republics, which have full power to do all those things which most essentially concern the comforts, happiness, and want of the people. Under the government of these little republics, society is trained in habits of order, and the whole people acquire a practical knowledge of legislation within their own sphere. To this mode of government may be attributed that sober and reflecting character, almost peculiar to the people of New England, and their general knowledge of politics and legislation. Many distinguished orators and statesmen have made their first essays in town meetings."

Truly it was a process of God's guidance with our fathers, which we can never enough admire, in which he wrought out, by their gradual experience, the frame and model, the statutes and habits, of a free, well-ordered, self-governed, Christian

<sup>1</sup> Baylies' Hist. Memoir of Plymouth, 240, 241, 256.



State. This was not *speculation* on government, either ecclesiastical or civil, by men's theories, but *action*, by the light of God's Word, under the leadings of God's Providence. It was neither Milton, nor Algernon Sidney, nor Hooker, nor Bacon, teaching *how* a Christian freedom *might* be man's possibility and privilege; it was God revealing it in actual possession.

They were humble, unostentatious, obscure men, most of them, whom God chose as his instruments in this demonstration; men schooled in self-denial, prepared by a baptism in hardship and suffering; men of calm resolution, unrepining endurance, and cheerful trust in God. These men, and not the speculative philosophers of Church and State despotisms, were the instruments of God in opening and demonstrating to the world the truths essential to the world's peace, on which only the world's welfare could rest, by the working of which alone the world's kingdoms could be conducted to the enjoyment of an indestructible liberty. And not the Courts of regal, or representative, or hierarchial grandeur; not the parliaments or diets, or consulting assemblages of kingdoms a thousand years old; nor yet the applauded public stage of great cities, nor palace halls beneath the shadow of grand cathedrals, nor the magnificent cathedrals themselves, were the places which God chose for these last and grandest "births of time," for the suggestion or the demonstration of these simple, yet mighty truths; but the shadows of the primeval forest, log-huts in the wilderness, rough unbuilt hamlets of poor, wasted, dying men; conventicles, wigwams, and Town-meetings.

The opening of these truths was to be from point to point, not all at once, as a flood of supernatural light, but disciplinary, providential. And the experimental demonstration of these truths was to be as gradual as the growth of a vigorous, free, Christian State, in perfect religious liberty, beneath their light and influence. As a child passes from discipline to discipline, from school to school, from lower to higher masters and branches of knowledge, so from step to step God led on our Fathers. He led them so naturally, that at that time they could no more see the great end to which he was bringing them, or the expected and intended consummation of light, than a being ignorant of the material processes of our world, who should be placed for the first time where he could watch the dawning of the day, could measure the stealthy imperceptible steps of the

morning, or predict the glorious appearance of the sun. Indeed, at the time, they were often so overwhelmed with difficulties, and absorbed in the questions of this day's and the morrow's preservation, that as to God's providence and intentions, or their own discoveries of his future will, they were like men lost in catacombs, and feeling their way in almost total darkness. Nevertheless, they were coming to discoveries which were to renew the face of the earth; they were working out problems, by the solution of which the world was to be brought from its abode with the dead into the light of the living. Problems they were, upon the solution of which they could merely enter, merely take the first steps, while other generations would be requisite to complete them; but the right *entrance* was essential, a beginning in and from God's Word; and had not the first steps been steps in God, the after-progress would have been from intricacy to intricacy, instead of opening into perfect day. It is one of the most instructive things in the world, to watch the beginnings and utter shipwreck and failure of several other enterprises, side by side with that of our Pilgrim Fathers, but *not*, like that, conducted with a supreme regard to God's glory, in obedience to God's Word, and in entire dependence on God's providence and grace.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

### GOVERNOR BRADFORD'S LETTER BOOK.

It was an incomparable and most grievous carelessness that suffered the precious manuscript of Governor Bradford's Letter Book to be lost. The only remnant saved is to be found in the volume of the Massachusetts Historical Collections for 1794, having been accidentally discovered in a grocer's shop in Halifax. It begins on the 339th page, the whole 338 preceding pages being lost irrecoverably. Into this work Governor Bradford seems to have systematically copied the whole of his correspondence relating to the affairs of the Colony, interspersing and connecting it with remarks illustrative, and of the deepest interest, so that the whole formed an invaluable history.

The first document in 'it is a letter to Bradford, Allerton, and Winslow, and the rest of the Colony through them, written doubtless by Mr. Sherley, but signed by eight among the Adventurers, who were of a good spirit, if the temper of the letter were theirs collectively, as it surely was of some severally. The letter is dated April 7, 1624. Of the man Weston it speaks in the following terms:

“It is a dangerous case when a man groweth naught in prosperity, and worse in adversity; and what can the end of all this be, but more and more misery? And for conclusion with him, you may show him what we have wrote about him; and if that satisfy him not, but that he shall still follow his mad and malicious practices against you, warn him out of your precincts, and let it be upon his peril to set foot thereon; it being indeed no reason that a whole plantation should be disturbed or indamaged by the frantic humours of any one man whatsoever.”

There are the following admirable Christian counsels set down in this letter, and worthy to be extracted and read :

“ Let it not offend you that we wish you to look to yourselves, as first, that you walk close with God, being frequent and fervent in prayer, instruction, and doctrine, both openly and privately. Secondly, that you instruct and bring up your young ones in the knowledge and fear of God, restraining them from idleness and profanation of the Sabbath. Thirdly, that you freely and readily entertain any honest men into your church estate and society, though with great infirmities and difference of judgment; taking heed of too great straitness and singularity even in that particular. Fourthly, that there be fervent love and close cleaving together among you that are fearers of God, without secret whispering or undermining one of another, and without contempt or neglect of such as are weak and helpless, if honest, amongst you. This do, and in all things be humble, cheerful, and thankful; that if you cannot grow rich in this world, yet you may be rich in grace; and if you can send us no other treasure, yet let all that visit you bring from you the fame of honesty, religion, and godliness, which we trust shall comfort us more than all else you can send us in this world.”

It was comforting to the Pilgrims to know that there were some men of this spirit of piety still standing by them among the Adventurers; and it was good to receive such counsels, for it made the Colonists see and feel how the eyes of the world were upon them.

The next letter, Governor Bradford says, is the first received from England after the breach and separation between the Adventurers and the Pilgrims. It is signed by Messrs. Sherley, Collier, Fletcher, and Holland; but as Sherley at that time was sick, and thought to be nigh unto death, Governor Bradford concludes that the letter was written by Mr. Cushman at the request of the others. It bears internal evidence of being Mr. Cushman's. The following extract may show its excellent spirit and tenor in respect to advice and counsel.

“ Seeing our generality (that is, the Company of Adventurers) here is dissolved, let yours be the more firm; and do not you like those carnal people, which run into evils and inconveniences by examples, but rather be warned by your harms, to cleave faster together hereafter. Take heed of long

and sharp disputes and opposition; give no passage to the waters, no, not a tittle; let not hatred or heart-burning be harboured in the breast of any of you one moment, but forgive and forget all former failings and abuses, and renew your love and friendship together daily. There is often more sound friendship and sweeter fellowship in afflictions and crosses than in prosperity and favours; and there is reason for it; because envy flieth away when there is nothing but necessities to be looked on, but is always a bold guest where prosperity shows itself."

"And although we here, which are hedged about with so many favours and helps in worldly things and comforts, forget friendship and love, and oftentimes fall out for trifles, yet must not you do so, but must in these things turn a new leaf, and be of another spirit. We here can fall out with a friend and lose him to-day, and find another to-morrow; but you cannot do so; you have no such choice; you must make much of them you have, and count him a very good friend which is not a professed enemy. We have a trade and custom of tale-bearing, whispering, and changing of old friends for new, and these things with us are incurable. But you which do, as it were, begin a new world, and lay the foundation of sound piety and humanity for others to follow, must suffer no such weeds in your garden, but nip them in the head, and cast them out for ever; and must follow peace and study quietness, having fervent love amongst yourselves, as a perfect and entire bond to uphold you when all else fails you.

And albeit the company here, as a company, hath lost you; you know when Saul left David, yea and pursued him, yet David did not abuse his allegiance and loyalty to him; no more should you: the evil of us here cannot justify any evil in you, but you must still do your duty, though we neglect ours. We think it but reason, that after your necessities are served, you gather together such commodities as the country yields, and send them over to pay debts and clear engagements here, which are not less than 1400 pounds.

Have an eye rather on your ill-deservings at God's hand, than upon the failings of your friends towards you; and wait on him with patience and good conscience; rather admiring his mercies than repining at his crosses, with the assurance of faith, that what is wanting here shall be made up in glory a

thousaud fold. Go on, good friends, comfortably pluck up your hearts cheerfully, and quit yourselves like men in all difficulties, that through displeasure and threats of men, yet the work may go on which you are about, and not be neglected, which is as much for the glory of God and the furtherance of our countrymen, as that a man may with the more comfort spend his life in it, than live the life of Methusaleh in wasting the plenty of a tilled land, or eating the fruit of a grown tree."

This curious letter, which Governor Bradford says is in Cushman's hand, bears marks of the same style of authorship conspicuous in the discourse on self-love, which Mr. Cushman delivered to the Pilgrims when he was himself at Plymouth in 1621. But it is evident that he would not have written it, except at the desire and in behalf of the Adventurers. It is an apology for their own ill conduct, and a deprecation of any retaliation for the same on the part of the Pilgrims. The Adventurers wished to secure themselves, and although in breaking up the company, and the greater part of them turning against the Colony, they had forfeited all legal claim on account of the partnership, yet they must have their debts paid, and the other Pilgrims must pay them.

And whereas vicious courses may be pursued in England, and much worldly comfort still retained, and new friends gained in the place of old ones discarded, yet seeing this cannot be the case among the Pilgrims, they must at all hazards pursue the path of self-denial, and stick close to habits of virtue. And whereas in England money and goods were to be got at six per cent interest, the Colony, as expecting hardships, and now in some measure accustomed to them, must not think strange if they have to pay seventy per cent for the same. "And it standeth you in need the more carefully to look to, and make much of all your commodities, by how much the more they are chargeable to you; and though we hope you shall not want things necessary, yet we think the harder they are got the more carefully they will be husbanded. Good friends, as you buy them, keep a decorum in distributing them, and let none have varieties and things for delight, when others want for their mere necessities."

This was written to a people who were all labouring with their hands for their daily bread, and struggling also for the subsistence of others thrown upon them. Little need there

was, truly, of cautioning them to make much of such costly commodities, and to have a decorum about distributing them for mere delight and variety; when they were charged for them seventy per cent. advance on the prices which they cost the Adventurers in England! And yet these commodities about which they were to be so careful lest any should have them for superfluities, were the very necessities of life to the Colony; as cattle, cloth, hose, shoes, leather, and so forth. The Adventurers thought *the harder they were got, the more carefully they would be husbanded*; and therefore with kindly foresight made them seventy per cent. more costly than they were at home! A sure way to encourage industry, self-denial, and economical husbandry!

We think neither Mr. Sherley nor Mr. Cushman could have been partners, except from sheer necessity, and to avoid a greater evil, to such transactions. Indeed, we doubt if Mr. Sherley knew anything about the detail of these measures, for he was at this time at the point of death. And Mr. Cushman wrote, on his behalf and his own, to Governor Bradford, as follows:

“Mr. Sherley, who lieth even at the point of death, entreated me, even with tears, to write to excuse him, and signify how it was with him. He remembers his hearty, and as he thinks, last salutations, to you and all the rest, who love our common cause. And if God does again raise him up, he will be more for you, I am persuaded, than ever he was. His unfeigned love towards us hath been such as I cannot express; and though he be a man not swayed with passion, or led by uninformed affections, yet hath he cloven to us still, amidst all persuasions of opposites, and could not be moved to have an evil thought of us, for all their clamours. His patience and contentment in being oppressed hath been much. He hath sometimes lent eight hundred pounds at one time, for other men to adventure in this business, all to draw them on; and hath indeed by his free-heartedness, been the only glue of the company. And if God should take him now away, I scarce think much more would be done, save to inquire as to the dividend, what is to be had.”

This last sarcastic sentence shows Mr. Cushman's own opinion as to the men they had to deal with. Mr. Sherley was the only *glue* of the company.

Mr. Cushman himself was intending now to quit England for ever, and join the Pilgrims. In this, which was the last letter he ever wrote, he begs Governor Bradford to take care of his son, who was already in the Colony, as of his own; and he says, "I hope the next ships to come to you; in the mean space and ever, the Lord be all your direction, and turn all our crosses and troubles to his own glory and our comforts; and give you to walk so wisely and holily, as none may justly say but they have always found you honestly minded, though never so poor."

This letter was dated December 22nd, 1624, and it was his last. Instead of Mr. Sherley, he himself was taken, and Governor Bradford remarks, while recording his death, what cause have we ever to be ready! "He was now taken from these troubles, into which, by this division, we were so deeply plunged. And here I must leave him to rest with the Lord."

Governor Bradford's own letter in answer to Mr. Cushman, reached London of course, not till after Mr. Cushman's death. It is affecting to see in it the proofs of familiar confidence and love, and the interchange of little messages of affection. "Your son and all of us," he says, "are in good health, blessed be God, and he received the things you sent him. I hope God will make him a good man. My wife remembers her love unto you, and thanks you for her spice. Billington still rails against you, and threatens to arrest you, I know not wherefore. He is a knave, and so will live and die."

This Billington was the same who committed the first offence in the Colony at Plymouth. He was a profane, hardened wretch, and came to his death on the gallows, for the crime of murder.

Governor Bradford says in this letter, "Except we may have things, both more serviceable and at better rates, we shall never be able to rub through. Our people will never agree any way, again to unite with the Company, who have cast them off with such reproach and contempt, and also returned their bills and all debts upon their heads. But as for those our loving friends, who have and still do stick to us, and are deeply engaged for us, and are most careful of our goods, for our parts we will ever be ready to do any thing that shall be thought equal and meet.

"But I think it will be best to press a clearance with the



Company, either by coming to a dividend, or some other indifferent course of composition; for the longer we hang and continue in this confused and lingering condition, the worse it will be, for it takes away all heart and courage from men to do any thing. For notwithstanding any persuasion to the contrary, many protest they will never build houses or plant fruits for those, who not only forsake them, but use them as enemies, loading them with reproach and contumely. Nay, they will rather ruin that which is done, than they should possess it. Whereas, if they knew what they should trust to, the place would quickly grow and flourish with plenty, for they never felt the sweetness of the country till this year; and now not only we, but all planters in the land begin to do it. The Lord hath so graciously disposed, that when our opposites thought that many would have followed their faction, they so distasted their palpable dishonest dealings, that they stuck more firmly unto us, and joined themselves to the Church."

The next thing Governor Bradford did in this business, was to write a letter to the Council of New England, supplicating their help in compelling the Adventurers to come to some just composition. For the carrying and pursuit of this application in London, the Colony chose Captain Miles Standish, who, as we have seen, arrived on his business in the midst of a fervent pestilence, by reason of which he could accomplish little or nothing.

In this letter to the Council, Governor Bradford speaks of the many necessities the Pilgrims had undergone, "incident to the raw and immature beginnings of such great exertions, and the more to which they are still subject."

"We are many people consisting of all sorts, as well women and children, as men; and are now left and forsaken of our Adventurers, who will neither supply us with necessaries for our subsistence, nor suffer others that would be willing; neither can we be at liberty to deal with others, or provide for ourselves, but they keep us tied to *them*, and yet *they* will be loose from *us*. They have not only cast us off, but entered into particular courses of trading, and have by violence and force taken at their pleasure our possessions at Cape Ann. Traducing us with unjust and dishonest clamours abroad, disturbing our peace at home, and some of them threatening that if ever we grow to any good estate, they will nip us in the head. Which discour-

agements do cause us to slack our diligence and our care to build and plant, not knowing for whom we work, whether friends or enemies. Our humble suit therefore to your good lordships and honours is, that seeing they have so unjustly forsaken us, that you would vouchsafe to convene them before you, and take such order, as we may be free from them, and they come to a division with us, that we and ours may be delivered from their evil intents against us."

The visit of Captain Standish, though in the midst of the plague, was doubtless of some benefit towards inclining the Adventurers to come to some agreement with the Colony; and the next year, 1626, Mr. Allerton was sent to England to see what could be done. The documents are set down in Governor Bradford's Letter Book; first the bond of the Colonists, by which Mr. Allerton succeeded in getting a loan of two hundred pounds, at thirty per cent interest, as is stated in Governor Bradford's own words, as follows:

"Upon this order he got two hundred pounds, but it was at thirty in the hundred interest, by which it appears in what straits we were. And yet this was upon better terms than the goods which were sent us the year before, being at forty-five per cent., so that it was God's marvellous providence that we were ever able to wade through things; as will better appear, if God give me life and opportunity to handle them more particularly, in another treatise more at large, as I desire and purpose, if God permit, with many other things, in a better order."

Besides getting this supply of money at such usurious and destructive interest, Mr. Allerton succeeded in bringing the Adventurers to a composition and agreement, the deed of which is recorded in full in the Letter Book, with the signatures of the Adventurers thereto, in number forty-two. By this deed the Adventurers sold to Isaac Allerton, in behalf of the planters at New Plymouth, in consideration of the sum of eighteen hundred pounds sterling, all their property and right in the stocks, shares, lands, merchandise, and chattels of the Colony. The money to be paid 200 pounds yearly, beginning on the feast day of St. Michael, 1628.

"Thus all now is become our own," adds Governor Bradford, "and doubtless this was a great mercy of God with us, and a great means of our peace and better subsistence, and

wholly dashed all the plots and devices of our enemies both there and here, who daily expected our ruin, dispersion, and utter subversion by the same; but their hopes were thus far prevented, though with great care and labour we were left to struggle with the payment of the money."

The next letter in Governor Bradford's Letter Book is from Mr. Sherley to his friend the Governor, dated London, Dec. 27, 1627, concerning the conclusion of this same agreement. He says, "We cannot but all take notice how the Lord hath been pleased to cross our proceedings, and caused many disasters to befall us therein; and sure I conceive the only cause to be that we, or many of us here, *aimed at other ends than God's glory*; but now I hope that cause is taken away, the bargain being fully completed." He speaks of the malice of some against himself on account of his unshaken friendship for the Pilgrims and the Colony; and he says, that now, if they do but have content and peace among themselves and with the natives, doubtless "the God of peace will bless your going out and returning in, and cause all to which you set your hand to prosper; the which I shall ever pray the Lord to grant, if it be his most blessed will, and that for Jesus Christ's sake."

Governor Bradford, out of the fulness of his heart, sets a star to this prophecy of God's blessing, and says in a note, "He hath hitherto done it, blessed be his name!"

In a letter of Mr. Sherley's to Governor Bradford, in November, 1628, he says, "It is true, as you write, your engagements are great, not only the purchase, but you are yet necessitated to take up the stock you work upon, and that not at six or eight per cent, as it is here let out, but at thirty, forty, yea and some fifty per cent, which were not your gains great, and God's blessing on your honest endeavours more than ordinary, it could not be that you should long subsist, in the maintaining and upholding of your worldly affairs."

After this letter follows a copy of the agreement made, as noted in Chapter III, between eight of the principal Pilgrims and the rest of the Colony, for an exclusive pursuit of the trade of the Colony for six years, in consideration of which they, the eight aforesaid, and four others, whom they procured to join them in London in this bargain, took upon themselves the payment of all the debts of the Colony; the trade to return to the Colony as before at the expiration of the six years. The

Governor gives the reasons for this engagement, particularly their desire to transport as many of their Leyden brethren to the Colony as possible, they being unable to come of themselves. The whole arrangement was one of admirable wisdom, and issued in complete success. The four friendly Adventurers of London, who were helpers in it, were Sherley, Beauchamp, Andrews, and Hatherly. Mr. Sherley wrote in 1629, as follows: "In all respects I do not see but you have done marvelously discreetly and advisedly, and no doubt it gives all parties good content." Mingled with these business letters are ever and anon interspersed pleasant and homely memorials of love. "My wife desires to be remembered to you and yours, and I think she has put up a small token, as a pair of stockings, for you."

"Mr. Bradford," adds Mr. Sherley in a postscript, "give me leave to put you in mind of one thing. Mr. Allerton hath been a trusty, honest friend to you all, either there or here; and if any do speak ill of him, believe them not. Indeed, they have been unreasonably chargeable, yet grudge, and are not contented. Verily, their indiscreet carriage here hath so abated my affection towards them, as, were Mrs. Robinson well over, I would not disburse one penny for the rest."

The Governor then explains this, saying that the offence was given by some of their Leyden friends, whom they had undertaken to transport to the Colony, but redounded to the prejudice of the whole. He says that this company were fewer in number than the one previous, though their expenses came to a hundred pounds more. "And notwithstanding this indiscretion, yet they were such as feared God, and were to us both welcome and useful for the most part; they were also kept at our charge eighteen months, and all new apparelled, and all other charges defrayed."

The next letter is from Mr. Sherley to the Governor and the Pilgrims, giving an account of the immense labour, turmoil, and expense, which it had cost Mr. Allerton to get a new patent of incorporation, for which they were suing; how he was put off and referred from one to another, and from place to place, day after day, from Lord Keeper to Lord Treasurer, and from Lord Treasurer to the Council Table, and at great cost of "many riddles which must be re-solved, and many locks opened with the silver, nay, the golden key; a costly and tedious business."

“Loving friends and partners,” says Mr. Sherley, “be no ways discouraged with the greatness of the debt. Let us not fulfil the proverb, ‘bestow twelve pence on a purse, and put sixpence in it;’ but as you and we have been at great charge, and undergone much for settling of you there, and to gain experience, so, as God shall please to enable us, let us make use of it, and not think with fifty pounds a year sent over, to raise such means to pay our debts.” “I know I write to godly, wise, and understanding men, such as have learned to bear one another’s infirmities, and rejoice at any one’s prosperity; and if I were able, I would press this the more, because *it is hoped by some of your and our enemies, that you will fall out among yourselves, and so overthrow our hopeful business. Nay, I have heard it credibly reported that some have said, that till you be disjointed by discontents and factions amongst yourselves, it boots not for any to go over, in hope of getting or doing good in these parts; but we hope better things of you.*”

Experience is indeed a costly commodity. What a picture is here of the malignity which the Pilgrims had to encounter. This fierce and spiteful hope against them was nothing less than an expectation and desire of the entire up-breaking of their whole system of religion, church, government, and Colony; and then a plantation of the Establishment of England should have been settled “to do good in those parts.”

Governor Bradford adds some particulars as to the greatness of the debts they had to assume and incur. “The last company of our friends,” he says, “came at such a time of the year, as we were fain to keep them eighteen months at our charge, ere they could reap any harvest to live upon; all which together fell heavy upon us, and made the burthen greater; that if it had not been God’s mercy, it is a wonder we had not sunk under it, especially other things occurring, whereby we were greatly crossed in our supplies for trade, by which these sums should have been repaid.”

From the perusal of these extracts my readers will see both with what method and care Governor Bradford kept his various records for the History of the Colony, and what great and valuable light the contents of his Letter Book must have shed upon the continuous course of their affairs from the beginning. Three hundred and thirty-eight pages of that precious register served as the wrappers of English groceries in Halifax.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF PLYMOUTH.—THE HOUSES AND ARMOUR OF THE PILGRIMS.—DESCRIPTION OF THEIR MODE OF PUBLIC WORSHIP.

IT is pleasant to feel, in visiting Plymouth, that there is no possibility of misplaced or mistaken enthusiasm. You may without doubt press with your own feet the spot first trodden by your fathers, to lay there the foundation of your New England home. The way in which this certainty has been preserved; and made now inextinguishable, is of no little interest. In the year 1741, there was living near Plymouth the last ruling elder in the first church of Plymouth, Thomas Faunce by name. He died not till the year 1745, at the great age of 99. Holmes, in his American Annals, says that Elder Faunce knew well the Rock on which the Pilgrims first landed, and that it was his tears, perhaps, which saved it from oblivion. In 1741, it formed part of the natural shore of the harbour where the water flowed at highest tide, as when the Pilgrims stepped out from their shallop. There seems to have been neither wharf nor made land interrupting or concealing it. In that year the project was entertained of building a wharf, which would cover it, and the idea of thus losing from sight this sacred memorial of the Pilgrims, was so distressing to the venerable patriarch, that he wept on hearing of it, left his home at the age of 95, and "in the presence of many citizens" at Plymouth, pointed out that Rock as the very spot declared by the Pilgrims themselves, with whom he had been contemporary, to be the identical rock on which they landed. Deacon Ephraim Spooner, who was 52 years town clerk of Plymouth, and who died in 1818, at the age of 83, was present at the above mentioned interview of the citizens at the Rock with Elder Faunce, in the year 1741.

When the Revolutionary conflict was impending, just before the breaking out of the war, the patriots of Plymouth are described as having undertaken, in the earnestness of their zeal, to remove the whole Pilgrim Rock, or a large part of it, to the Town square, in order to make there a patriotic rendezvous and liberty-pulpit, to excite the people against the oppressions of England. In these energetic efforts, having split off a huge fragment of the Rock, they concluded to let the original ledge remain as it was, and by means of some twenty yoke of oxen dragged their prize to the Town Square, where they put up a liberty pole, and made the Rock one of the stepping-stones of American independence. There it remained till 1834, when it was with suitable ceremonies inaugurated as a sort of monumental sarcophagus, within the iron railing in front of Pilgrim Hall, where it is now to be seen. The people of Plymouth will not have done their duty to the original Rock, till they make a little park around it, down to the water's edge, where annually there might be a pleasant ceremony of landing from the sea, as solemn and magnificent as that of dropping a ring into the Adriatic at Venice, and much more glorious in its meaning. The Rock now in front of the Hall, with the inscribed names in black around it, might be apt to suggest to the mind the idea of a coffin or monumental urn, with the pall-bearers. It looks too hearse-like, for a pleasant impression, such as one would wish to have before that relie, which is the emblem of life, not death, for New England.

The antiquities of the first band of the Puritans in New England are few, and therefore the more precious. What there are, are quite undoubted, and we have a feeling for them like that of Paul, when he spoke of the golden pot that had the manna, and Aaron's rod that budded; things, however sacred, which God did not suffer to be preserved, any more than the brazen serpent in the wilderness, lest they should produce a mongrel superstitious Romanism before its time, an earnest of the idolatry of the Man of Sin and Son of Perdition before his development. Nevertheless, we would have been grateful had there been preserved one or two houses, with their furniture, of the earliest Pilgrim settlers in Plymouth. It is little more than two hundred years, and yet not a dwelling remains.

The first habitations constructed must have been inferior and rude, and in the whole of the first year's time they had but

seven. Their houses were of thatched roofs, and from Mr. Winslow's letter contained in the volume of their Journal, it would appear that for windows, to keep out the weather and let in the light, they used paper saturated with linseed oil. On occasions of state, such as the reception of Massasoit, the Indian king, they had a green rug that they could spread, and some cushions. From the beautiful specimen preserved in Pilgrim Hall, of the needlework of one of the daughters of Captain Miles Standish, we see that the New England women knew how to adorn their houses and make them comfortable. "She seeketh wool and flax, and worketh willingly with her hands. She layeth her hands to the spindle, and her hands hold the distaff. She is not afraid of the snow for her household, for all her household are clothed with double garments." Not afraid of the snow! A New England characteristic, that. And how beautiful, with all that economy and industry of household comfort, the higher delineation of the sacred writer, "She stretcheth out her hand to the poor, yea, she reacheth forth her hands to the needy."

They were all poor and sad and needy that first year, and many were dying; yet did they work while the day lasted, with cheerful indefatigable courage. "We agreed," say the Pilgrims in their Journal, "that every man should build his own house, thinking by that course men would make more haste than working in common. The common house, in which for the first year we made our rendezvous, being nearly finished (a month or so after the landing), wanted only covering, it being about twenty feet square. Some should make mortar, and some gather thatch; so that in four days half of it was thatched. Frost and foul weather hindered us much." Little room there was for ornament. Each man building his own house in this winter weather, would think himself but too happy in a dwelling of rough logs. And the timber had to be felled, and the stuff provided, in intervals between storms, and sometimes with musket in hand, for fear of sudden assaults from the savages. Would that one of those earliest houses, erected that first winter, had been preserved!

We have spoken of the mildness of this first winter. Wood says in his *New England's Prospect*,<sup>1</sup> that it is observed by the Indians that every ten years there is little or no winter, an

<sup>1</sup> Wood's *New England Prospect*, p. 5.



observation confirmed by the experience of the English; for the year of the Plymouth men's arrival was no winter in comparison; and in the tenth year likewise after that, when the great company settled in Massachusetts bay, it was a very mild season. There was little frost and less snow, but clear serene weather, with but few north-west winds, which was a great mercy to the settlers, so little protected from the severity of the weather. He adds that the climate is much less cold-catching than in England, and in proof of this he gives the decorum of men's noses at meeting. In the public assemblies he says it is strange to hear a man sneeze or cough as ordinarily they do in Old England.

We find from the Journal that the Pilgrims not only had muskets and other weapons, but some of them went clad in suits of complete armour, as is manifest from the description of their encounters with the Indians. Sometimes they were surprised without their armour, which would be a complete defence against the arrows of their enemies. They had their armour at hand on the morning of the great encounter with some twenty or thirty of the savages, Dec. 8th, 1620; but it being yet dark, and just after morning prayers, and they just preparing for breakfast, when they had just camped and gathered fire-wood, they had not yet girded it on; and indeed, not expecting any use for it that day, they were for carrying it down to the shallop, where it would be all ready for their embarkation. Two or three among them declared they would not carry theirs till they were ready to go themselves. Meantime some had carried theirs down, and left it lying on the sands, while they themselves came up again for breakfast; when suddenly a terrific war-whoop sounded from the woods, and a whole volley of arrows came flying in amongst them. The men ran out, and by the good providence of God, say the Pilgrims, recovered their arms, but they could not then have had time to buckle on their armour. Yet not a single arrow hit any one of them, though the conflict lasted a good while. They had nothing but matchlocks to their muskets, so that it took some time to light their matches, and while doing this with the firebrands, they afforded a plain mark for the Indians. In the dark of the morning, as they said, they could not themselves so well discern the Indians among the trees, as the Indians could see them by their fireside. It was a most perilous

interruption of their breakfast, and altogether a terrible encounter, though most providentially, with not the slightest injury on their part. They gathered up eighteen of the arrows, brazen-headed, horn-headed, and otherwise, and sent them to their friends in England.

Their armour is described in some of the records of the Colonists. Of the settlers at Virginia, Captain John Smith says that they all had, besides each his "piece," a jack, coat of mail, and sword, or rapier. In a record concerning the Salem Colonists in 1629,<sup>1</sup> there is note of an agreement "with Mr. Thomas Stevens, armourer in Buttolph Lane, for twenty arms, namely, corset, breast, back, culet, gorget, tasses and head piece to each, varnished all black, with leathers and buckles, at seventeen shillings each armour, excepting four which are to be with close head pieces, and these four armours at twenty-four shillings a piece." Forty bandileers of neat's leather in broad girdles, with boxes for twelve cartridges, were also contracted for. For a scouting party, or a tramp through the woods, this heavy armour must have been a great incumbrance, but it would render them fire-proof against all the weapons of the Indians. On one occasion, they say, we marched through boughs and bushes, and under hills and valleys, which tore our very armour in pieces. They were then in pursuit of the Indians, whom they had followed long already without success, and who now took to another wood, and set their pursuers, with their armour and snaphances, at defiance. Indeed, what could a heavy armed warrior of the disappearing age of knighthood do in the chase with a half naked savage, as fleet and accustomed to the woods as a panther!

Thus much for their material armour. They were all experienced Christian soldiers, but with the wars and weapons of this world they had little to do. God had appointed for them one disciplined military hero, and but one, Captain Standish, to be the soul and leader in every enterprise, where martial discipline and skill were requisite. And so well fitted was he, by a vigorous judgment, and a daring, energetic, almost reckless courage, for the post he occupied, that after the Indians had gained, by one or two experiences, some little knowledge of his character, the very terror of his name was a defence to the

Colony. But they were PILGRIMS, all the way through life, and the weapons of their warfare were spiritual, not carnal, and well, with the whole armour of God, did they wrestle against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places. Their feet were shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace, their loins were girt about with truth, and they had on the breast-plate of righteousness, and theirs was the shield of faith, and the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, and they prayed always, with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, watching thereunto. Yea, they were overshadowed, according to that touching letter to the Church of England, in which the second Colony of Pilgrims from the mother country poured out the desires of their hearts for her welfare, with the spirit of supplications, in their poor cottages in the wilderness.

Twenty years after the May-Flower anchored in Plymouth harbour, only twenty years after the first New England Sabbath, there was a circle of sister churches, one after another, like unseen constellations, in the beautiful imagery used by Cotton Mather, silently stolen into the sky, where the order of Christ's House was to be seen in its primitive simplicity, perhaps more comely and holy than anywhere else in the world. And yet the order of those simple services seemed strange and rude to the European gazers, so long had the world been accustomed to the prodigality and pomp of circumstance and ceremony, native and home-born in the Papacy, or borrowed from that. What a forcible, heavenly, significant contrast of Spirit and Truth, against rites and traditions, in the free, rising, *prophesying* churches of New England! A minute and interesting account of the manner of public worship in the meeting-houses there, at the close of twenty years from the first planting of the Vine in the wilderness, was published in London in the year 1641, in a curious volume, from which we take the following extracts:

“The public worship is in as fair a *meeting-house* as they can provide, wherein, in most cases, they have been at great charges. Every Sabbath or Lord's Day they come together at Boston, by ringing of a bell about nine of the clock or before. The pastor begins with solemn prayer, continuing about a quarter of an hour. The teacher then readeth and

expoundeth a chapter; then a psalm is sung, whichever one of the ruling elders dictates. After that the pastor preacheth a sermon, and sometimes *ex tempore* exhorts. Then the teacher concludes with prayer and a blessing.

Once a month is a Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, whereof notice is usually given a fortnight before, and then all others departing except the Church, which is a great deal less in number than those that go away, they receive the Sacrament, the ministers and ruling elders sitting at the table, the rest in their seats or upon forms. Any one, though not of the Church, may in Boston come in and see the Sacrament administered, if he will. But none of any church in the country may receive the Sacrament there without leave of the congregation, for which purpose he comes to one of the ruling elders, who propounds his name to the congregation before they go to the Sacrament.

About two in the afternoon they repair to the meeting-house again; and then the pastor begins, as before noon, and a psalm being sung, the teacher makes a sermon. He was wont, when I came first, to read and expound a chapter also before his sermon in the afternoon. After and before his sermon he prayeth.

After that ensues baptism, if there be any, which is done either by pastor or teacher, in the deacon's seat, the most eminent place in the church, next under the elder's seat. The pastor most commonly makes a speech or exhortation to the church and parents concerning baptism, and then prayeth before and after. It is done by washing or sprinkling. One of the parents being of the church, the child may be baptized. No sureties are required.

Which ended, follows the contribution, one of the deacons saying, Brethren of the congregation, now there is time left for contribution, wherefore as God hath prospered you, so freely offer. Upon some extraordinary occasions, as building and repairing of churches or meeting-houses, or other necessities, the ministers press a liberal contribution, with effectual exhortations out of Scripture. The magistrates and chief gentlemen first, and then the elders, and all the congregation of men, and most of them that are not of the church, all single persons, widows, and women in absence of their husbands, come up, one after another, one way, and bring their offerings to the deacon

at his seat, and put it into a box of wood for the purpose, if it be money or papers; if it be any other chattel they set or lay it down before the deacons, and so pass another way to their seats again. This contribution is of money, or of papers promising so much money. I have seen a fair gilt cup with a cover offered there by one, which is still used at the communion. Which moneys and goods the deacons dispose towards the maintenance of the ministers and the poor of the church, and the church's occasions, without making account ordinarily.

Also, when a minister preacheth abroad, in another congregation, the ruling elder of the place, after the psalm sung, saying publicly, 'If this present brother hath any word of exhortation for the people at this time, in the name of God let him say on.' This is held prophesying. Also, when a brother exerciseth in his own congregation, taking a text of Scripture, and handling the same according to his ability. Notwithstanding, it is generally held in the Bay by some of the most grave and learned men among them, that none should undertake to prophesy in public unless he intend the work of the ministry."<sup>1</sup>

Here we close these chapters of attempted historical and illustrative notices of the developments of God's providence and grace. In recounting some of those particulars upon which we have dwelt, I have quoted from the historian Grahame. The reperusal of a part of the *poet* Grahame's fine descriptive sketches of the Sabbath in Scotland brings to mind a class of Christians, with whom the stern experiences and noble qualities of our Pilgrim Fathers link them in many points of resemblance. And I know not how I can more fitly end this volume than with Grahame's beautiful description of the character and Sabbath of the Scottish COVENANTERS, hunted and persecuted because they would be free to worship God.

O BLISSFUL day!

When all men worship God as conscience wills.  
 Far other times our fathers' grandsires knew,  
 A virtuous race, to godliness devote.  
 What though the sceptic's scorn hath dared to soil  
 The record of their fame! What though the men  
 Of worldly minds have dared to stigmatize  
 The sister-cause, religion and the law,  
 With superstition's name! yet, yet their deeds,  
 Their constancy in torture and in death,

<sup>1</sup> Lechford's Plain Dealing, Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc., third series, vol. iii.

These on tradition's tongue still live; these shall  
 On history's honest page be pictured bright  
 To latest times. Perhaps some bard, whose muse  
 Disdains the servile train of fashion's choir,  
 May celebrate their unambitious names.  
 With them each day was holy, every hour  
 They stood prepared to die, a people doomed  
 To death, old men, and youths, and simple maids.  
 With them each day was holy; but that morn  
 On which the angel said, *See where the Lord*  
*Was laid*, joyous arose; to die that day  
 Was bliss. Long ere the dawn, by devious ways,  
 O'er hills, through woods, o'er dreary wastes, they sought  
 The upland moors, where rivers, there but brooks,  
 Dispart to different seas. Fast by such brooks  
 A little glen is sometimes scooped, a plat  
 With green sward gay, and flowers that strangers seem  
 Amid the heathery wild, that all around  
 Fatigues the eye: in solitudes like these  
 Thy persecuted children, SCOTIA, foiled  
 A tyrant's and a bigot's bloody laws.  
 There, leaning on his spear, (one of the array  
 Whose gleam, in former days, had scathed the rose  
 On England's banner, and had powerless struck  
 The infatuate monarch and his wavering host,)  
 The lyart veteran heard the word of God,  
 By Cameron thundered, or by Renwick poured  
 In gentle stream. Then rose the song, the loud  
 Acclaim of praise: the wheeling plover ceased  
 Her plaint; the solitary place was glad,  
 And on the distant cairns, the watcher's ear  
 Caught doubtfully at times the breeze-borne note.  
 But years more gloomy followed; and no more  
 The assembled people dared, in face of day,  
 To worship God, or even at the dead  
 Of night, save when the wintry storm raved fierce,  
 And thunder peals compelled the men of blood  
 To couch within their dens; then dauntlessly  
 The scattered few would meet, in some deep dell  
 By rocks o'er-canopied, to hear the voice,  
 Their faithful pastor's voice. He, by the gleam  
 Of sheeted lightning, oped the sacred book,  
 And words of comfort spake. Over their souls  
 His accents soothing came; as to her young  
 The heathfowl's plumes, when, at the close of eve,  
 She gathers in, mournful, her brood dispersed  
 By murderous sport, and o'er the remnant spreads  
 Fondly her wings; close nestling 'neath her breast,  
 They, cherish'd, cower amid the purple blooms.

<sup>1</sup> Sentinels were placed on the surrounding hills to give warning of the approach of the military.

There is now a Free Church in Scotland, as there is in New England, because the ancestral piety of both countries was that of a free, voluntary covenant with God.

The Old World are even yet but beginning to learn the nature, the truth, and the power of a voluntary piety, a voluntary covenant, and voluntary churches. Men are beginning to see that a State can be religious only in proportion as the individuals who compose it are true voluntary Christians, and the acts and laws that emanate from it and manifest its character are in correspondence with the Gospel; that the grace of God alone, and not an Ecclesiastical or State-Sacrament, can make Christians; that the grace of God is free, and makes men freemen; that the Church does not include the State, except as God, by his grace, brings the subjects of the State into Christ's fold; and that the State does not include the Church in its spiritual existence and privileges, as contained in its charter in God's Word, and has no authority over it, and no responsibility in regard to it, except to protect the Christian and civil liberties of all its members, as of all citizens, from all annoyance and all injury. When these principles are thoroughly learned and prevalent, then, and not till then, will the fever of intolerance and the fire of persecution die out of existence. When Christ reigns, then, and not till then, will the world rest.

THE END.

---

GLASGOW:

WILLIAM COLLINS AND CO., PRINTERS.

---



SELECT POPULAR WORKS



PUBLISHED BY

WILLIAM COLLINS,

PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON,

AND NORTH MONTROSE STREET, GLASGOW,

AND SOLD BY ALL BOOKSELLERS.





## COLLINS' SERIES

OF

## VALUABLE AND POPULAR WORKS.

THIS Series is designed to embrace a variety of popular and interesting Works in History, Biography, Science, and Theology, selected from the rich stores of American and Continental, as well as British Literature. The History of those great events which effected mighty moral revolutions in the world, and the Biographies of those great men who were the chief actors in their accomplishment, will form one department of the Series; while another will be occupied with the best Theological treatises, both of a doctrinal and practical character, illustrative of the great truths of Divine Revelation, and also of select Scientific treatises illustrative of the Works of God, as unfolded in the discoveries of Science.

The Works of recent Travellers will also be introduced to illustrate the social state and moral condition of the People in various countries, and the Works will be selected with a special reference to the spirit and character of the age. The Publisher therefore trusts, that, from the great moderation in the price, and the superior character and intrinsic excellence of the Works, this Series will both merit and obtain a liberal share of public support.

"A more refreshing sample of Christian Literature has not issued from the Press in modern times."—*Evangelical Magazine*.

"From the Works in this economical Series, a perfect Library in Practical Divinity and Instructive Knowledge may be gathered, at little more than the ordinary cost of a single Work."—*Gloster Journal*.

### VOLUMES ALREADY PUBLISHED,

*Price 1s. 6d. Sewed in a handsome wrapper, or 2s. Cloth lettered.*

**D'AUBIGNE'S HISTORY** of the REFORMATION in the SIXTEENTH CENTURY. **Complete Edition**, 4 Vols. With Portrait of Luther.

"Of its transcendent merits, it were superfluous, if not impertinent, to utter another word."—*Christian Witness*.

**CHEEVER'S LECTURES ON THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS, AND ON THE LIFE AND TIMES OF BUNYAN.** Complete Edition, with a Portrait of Bunyan.

"A marvellously cheap edition. . . . In Dr. Cheever, Bunyan has found a penetrating and genial critic."—*Tait's Magazine*.

"We have rarely read any thing of a biographical kind more entertaining as well as instructive, and we highly recommend the volume."—*Dumfries Standard*.

COLLINS' CHEAP SERIES CONTINUED.

**DICK'S CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHER**; or the Connection of Science and Philosophy with Religion, illustrated with Engravings, 2 Volumes, or in turkey red Cloth, 2 vols. in one, price 4s. This popular Work has been greatly enlarged and improved by the Author, for this Series.

"We hail with a hearty welcome this valuable and deservedly popular Work. The facts and theories are spiritualized in such a way as to leave deep traces in the memory of the attentive reader."—*Sheffield Iris*.

"We know no Work so perfectly fitted for the hand of the intelligent youth, or the man of mature age, whose education has been scanty in range and depth."—*Midland Counties' Herald*.

"A book of established reputation."—*Baptist Magazine*.

**ESSAYS AND DISCOURSES BY J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNE, D.D.**, Author of the History of the Reformation. Translated from the French. With a Frontispiece of Dr. D'Aubigne's Residence on Lake Lemman.

"These discourses are very striking, both for their simplicity and originality."—*Methodist N. C. Magazine*.

"We cannot do better than recommend (which we do most earnestly) this admirable Work."—*Derby Reporter*.

**CHEEVER'S WANDERINGS OF A PILGRIM IN THE SHADOW OF MONT BLANC AND THE JUNGFRAU ALP.** With an Engraving of Mont Blanc.

"It is one of the most fascinating volumes we have read for years, abounding with animated and gorgeous descriptions of the classic scenes of his Wanderings."—*Wiltshire Independent*.

"This is one of the most attractive volumes Mr. Collins has yet issued. We have followed the Wanderings of Dr. Cheever with intense interest, admiring sometimes the fidelity of his descriptions, and at all times the rich outpourings of holy meditations."—*Biblical Review*."

"We know not when we have enjoyed so delightful an excursion. . . . Of the effect of avalanches, floods, and the fall of rocks, many astonishing details are given."—*Howitt's Journal*.

**SPRING'S (DR. GARDINER) OBLIGATIONS OF THE WORLD TO THE BIBLE.** A Series of Lectures to Young Men. With an Engraving.

"The Volume is one of a highly original class. The Author generally carries home his conceptions with great force to the judgment and heart of his readers."—*Evangelical Magazine*.

"We hope many of the Young Men in our large cities will take advantage of this cheap issue of Dr. Spring's excellent Work."—*Baptist Record*.

**VINET'S (Professor) VITAL CHRISTIANITY**; or the Religions of Man and the Religion of God. With a Frontispiece of Lausanne.

"Luminous Expositions, and powerful Defences."—*Eclectic Review*.

"Among the most sterling of all the Publisher has issued."—*Biblical Review*.

"It gives evidence of the profound thinker, and the eloquent writer. Dr. D'Aubigne speaks of the Author as the 'Chalmers of Switzerland.'"—*Norfolk News*.

COLLINS' CHEAP SERIES CONTINUED.

**WYLIE'S (Rev. J. A.) SCENES FROM THE BIBLE.** With a Portrait.

"Thirty-two Scenes, strikingly and eloquently delineated. The volume abounds with beautiful touches, evidently from a pen directed by love to the Sacred Record."—*Oxford Chronicle*.

"In point of style, clear and elegant. It relieves Theology of a large portion of the lead which usually marks the production of its literature."—*Nottinghamshire Review*.

"The book is a good specimen of mental picturing. . . . It is exactly the book for a Sunday-School Teacher."—*S. S. Union Magazine*.

**DICK'S PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION;** or, an Illustration of the Moral Laws of the Universe. With an Engraving.

"One of the best issues in Mr. Collins' admirable Series. Dr. Dick is one of the most popular religious writers of the day: the conceptions are philosophical; the illustrations striking and pertinent; the style easy and flowing."—*Newcastle Guardian*.

"We know not where to find a better compendium of moral philosophy, properly so called."—*Bath & Cheltenham Gazette*.

"If we are not mistaken, his Philosophy of Religion will be among his most useful productions. We earnestly recommend it to the notice particularly of all our Young Men's Societies."—*Evangelical Magazine*.

**BUNYAN'S PILGRIM'S PROGRESS;** with Original Notes by the Rev. Thomas Scott, and an Introductory Essay by James Montgomery, Esq. With a Portrait of Bunyan.

**BAIRD'S SKETCHES OF PROTESTANTISM IN ITALY,** Past and Present; with an Account of the Origin, History, and Present State of the Waldenses. With a Portrait of the Duchess of Ferrara.

"The Work has a peculiar value at the present time, and true Protestants will peruse its pages with lively interest."—*Eclectic Review*.

"A very interesting and valuable Work."—*Nonconformist*.

"We cannot commend a single volume on Italy, to the intelligent Christian, promising him more gratification."—*British Quarterly Review*.

"It is certainly amongst the marvels of Cheap Publications."—*Watchman*.

**DICK'S PHILOSOPHY OF A FUTURE STATE.** A New Edition, with an Engraving.

"We cannot speak too highly of this Work. Every page elicits our admiration, and we strongly recommend it to general perusal."—*Cambridge Independent Press*.

"Dr. Dick has brought forward the usual arguments at once powerfully and attractively."—*Sheffield Iris*.

"The Work of Dr. Dick which has been for some years in existence, is now, through the meritorious enterprise of Mr. Collins, presented to the public in a very cheap but elegant form. The language and thoughts are sublime. Much originality is manifest, whilst a profound deference is paid to the supreme authority of Revelation. Books of this class expand the views and invigorate the mind of the reader. The volume before us also states such facts, abounds in such reasonings, and urges such appeals, as cannot fail to leave the most powerful and solemn impressions on the heart and conscience."—*Methodist N. C. Magazine*.

COLLINS' CHEAP SERIES CONTINUED.

**SPRING'S BIBLE NOT OF MAN, AND SKINNER'S RELIGION OF THE BIBLE**, in one Volume.

"Two compositions which merit a place amongst the standards of Religious Literature."—*Watchman*.

"Of this Volume we entertain the very highest opinion. The Work with which it opens, from the pen of Dr. Spring, is replete with beauty and with grandeur."—*British Banner*.

**SPRAGUE'S (REV. DR.) CONTRAST BETWEEN TRUE CHRISTIANITY AND VARIOUS OTHER SYSTEMS.**

"These Lectures form an admirable volume, and have the merit of being written in a clear and intelligible style."—*Cambridge Advertiser*.

"The author's lucid style."—*Glo'ster Journal*.

**TURNBULL.—THE PULPIT ORATORS OF FRANCE AND SWITZERLAND: Sketches of their Character, and Specimens of their Eloquence.**

This volume contains a short sketch and specimens of the eloquence of the following French and Swiss Divines: Bossuet, Flechier, Bourdaloue, Fenelon, Massillon, Saurin, Vinet, Monod, Grandpierre, Lacordaire, Merle D'Aubigne, and Gaussen.

**GOSPEL STUDIES.** By the late Professor VINET, Lausanne. Author of 'Vital Christianity,' etc. Translated from the French.

"The Chalmers of Switzerland."—*Dr. D'Aubigne*.

**THE PILGRIM FATHERS; or, the Journal of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, New England, in 1620: with Historical and Local Illustrations of Principles, Providences, and Persons, By GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D.D., Author of 'Wanderings of a Pilgrim in the Shadow of Mont Blanc and the Jungfrau Alp,' 'Lectures on the Pilgrim's Progress, and on the Life and Times of John Bunyan,' etc. Just Published.**

**LECTURES TO YOUNG MEN** on their Educational, Moral, and Religious Improvement, with Dr. Sprague's Letters to Young Men, founded on the History of Joseph, 2 vols. *Just Published.*

These volumes contain Lectures by the following eminent Divines:

Rev. Dr. Buchanan, Glasgow.

Rev. Dr. Wardlaw, Glasgow.

Rev. Dr. Candlish, Edinburgh.

Rev. J. A. Wylie, Edinburgh.

Rev. Dr. Paterson, Glasgow.

Rev. Dr. Heugh, Glasgow.

Rev. Dr. Symington, Glasgow.

Rev. Dr. Smyth, Glasgow.

Rev. John Macnaughtan, Paisley.

Rev. Dr. Harper, Leith.

Rev. James Paterson, Glasgow.

Rev. Dr. Bryce, Belfast.

Rev. Dr. Hetherington, Edinburgh.

Rev. J. J. Wood, Edinburgh.

Rev. Dr. Alexander, Edinburgh.

Rev. John Edwards, Glasgow.

Rev. Dr. Lee, Edinburgh.

Rev. Dr. Robson, Glasgow.

Rev. Dr. Burns, Paisley.

Rev. William Anderson, Glasgow.

"We hail with great satisfaction the appearance of this Work. A better Work, saving always the Bible, for putting into the hands of young persons does not exist."—*Witness*.

"It would be invidious to particularise where all are so admirable; but we may be forgiven for mentioning those of Dr. Lee, Dr. Symington, and Dr. Wardlaw, as productions of the highest excellence."—*Scottish Guardian*.

Other Popular Works in Progress.

SELECT CHRISTIAN AUTHORS,  
WITH INTRODUCTORY ESSAYS:

PRINTED UNIFORMLY IN 12MO, AND NOW ISSUED HANDSOMELY  
BOUND IN CLOTH, LETTERED.

GREATLY REDUCED IN PRICE.

- A'KEMPIS.** The Imitation of Christ, In three Books, By Thomas A' Kempis. Essay by the Rev. Dr. Chalmers. *Tenth Edition*, 2s. 6d.
- BAXTER.** The Saint's Everlasting Rest. Essay by Thomas Erskine, Esq., *Ninth Edition*, 3s.
- BAXTER.** A Call to the Unconverted to Turn and Live, Now or Never; and Fifty reasons why a Sinner ought to turn to God without delay. By Richard Baxter. Essay by the Rev. Dr. Chalmers. *Third Edition*, 3s.
- BAXTER, &c.** The Christian's Companion in Solitude. Essay by Rev. Dr. Young. 3s. 6d.
- BEVERIDGE.** Private Thoughts on Religion, and a Christian Life; in two parts. By W. Beveridge, D.D., late Lord Bishop of St. Asaph's. Essay by the Rev. Dr. Chalmers, 4s.
- BOSTON.** Human Nature in its Fourfold State, of Primitive Integrity, Entire Depravity, Begun Recovery, and Consummate Happiness or Misery. By the Rev. T. Boston. Essay by the Rev. Dr. Young; 4s.
- BUNYAN.** The Pilgrim's Progress. By John Bunyan. With Original Notes by the Rev. T. Scott, and Essay by J. Montgomery, Esq., 4s.
- BUTLER.** The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature; to which are added two Brief Dissertations. By Joseph Butler, D.D. Essay by Rev. Dr. Wilson, Lord Bishop of Calcutta. *Eighth Edition*, 4s.
- COWPER.** Poems by W. Cowper, Esq. Essay by James Montgomery, Esq. *Sixth Edition*, 3s. 6d.
- DICKINSON.** Religious Letters. By the Rev. J. Dickinson. Essay by Rev. Dr. Young. 3s. 6d.
- DODDRIDGE.** The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul. By P. Doddridge, D.D. Essay by John Foster. *Ninth Edition*, 4s.
- EDWARDS.** A Treatise concerning Religious Affections. By J. Edwards, D.D. Essay by Rev. Dr. Young. *Second Edition*, 4s. 6d.
- FLAVEL.** The Mourner's Companion. Essay by Rev. Dr. Gordon. *Fourth Edition*, 3s.
- FLAVEL.** The Saint Indeed, and the Touchstone of Sincerity. By the Rev. John Flavel. Essay by Rev. Dr. Young. 3s.
- GAMBOLD.** The Works of the Rev. John Gambold, A.M., late one of the Bishops of the United Brethren. Essay by Thomas Erskine. *Second Edition*, 2s. 6d.
- GILPIN.** The Life of Bernard Gilpin. By W. Gilpin, A.M. Essay by Rev. Edward Irving, London. *Second Edition*. 2s. 6d.
- GUTHRIE.** The Christian's Great Interest; in two parts. By the Rev. W. Guthrie. Essay by Rev. Dr. Chalmers. *Fifth Edition*, 2s. 6d.
- HALE.** On the Knowledge of Christ Crucified, and other Contemplations. By Judge Matthew Hale. Essay by Rev. Dr. Young. 3s. 6d.
- HALYBURTON.** Memoirs of the Rev. T. Halyburton. Essay by Rev. Dr. Young. *Fourth Edition*, 3s.

SELECT CHRISTIAN AUTHORS CONTINUED.

- HENRY** The Communicant's Companion, or Instructions for the right Receiving of the Lord's Supper. By the Rev. W. Henry. Essay by Rev. Dr. Brown. *Fourth Edition*, 2s.
- HOWE**. The Redeemer's Tears wept over Lost Souls, and two Discourses on Self-dedication, and on yielding Ourselves to God. By the Rev. John Howe. Essay by Rev. Dr. Gordon. *Fifth Edition*, 2s. 6d.
- LAW**. A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life; adapted to the State and Condition of all orders of Christians. By W. Law, A.M. Essay by the Rev. Dr. Young. *Fourth Edition*, 3s. 6d.
- MATHER**. Essays to do Good. By Cotton Mather, D.D. Essay by Andrew Thomson, D.D. 2s. 6d.
- MEAD**. The Almost Christian Discovered, or the False Professor tried and cast. By the Rev. M. Mead. Essay by Rev. Dr. Young. 2s. 6d.
- NEWTON & COWPER**. Olney Hymns; in three Books. Essay by James Montgomery, Esq. *Sixth Edition*, 3s. 6d.
- SCOU GAL**. Works of the Rev. H. Scougal, A.M. sometime Professor of Divinity in the University of Aberdeen; Essay by Rev. R. Watson, 3s.
- SHAW**. Immanuel, or the Discovery of True Religion, as it imparts a Living Principle in the minds of Men, and on Communion with God. By S. Shaw. Essay by Rev. Dr. Gordon, Edinburgh. 2s. 6d.
- SHOWER**. Serious Reflections on Time and Eternity. By John Shower. And on the Consideration of our Latter End, and other Contemplations. By Sir M. Hale, Knt. Essay by Rev. Dr. Chalmers. 2s. 6d.
- TAYLOR**. Memoir of Mrs. S. L. Taylor, or an Illustration of the Work of the Holy Spirit, in Awakening, Renewing, and Sanctifying the Heart. By Lot Jones, A.M. Essay by Rev. Dr. Paterson. 2s. 6d.
- VENN**. The Complete Duty of Man, or a System of Doctrinal and Practical Christianity; with Prayers for Families and Individuals. By the Rev. H. Venn, A.M. Essay by the Rev. Dr. Brown. *Second Edition*, 4s.
- WILBERFORCE**. A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious system of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes in this Country, contrasted with Real Christianity. By W. Wilberforce, Esq. Essay by Rev. Dr. Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta. *Tenth Edition*, 4s.
- WITHERSPOON**. Treatises on Justification and Regeneration. By John Witherspoon, D.D. Essay by W. Wilberforce, Esq. *Third Edition*, 2s. 6d.

SELECT CHRISTIAN AUTHORS.

ROYAL 24MO EDITIONS.

- MONTGOMERY**. The Christian Psalmist; or Hymns Selected and Original. By James Montgomery, Esq. 2s. Gilt back and edges, 2s. 6d.
- COWPER**. Poems, by William Cowper, Esq. Essay by James Montgomery, Esq. 2s. Gilt back and edges, 2s. 6d.
- NEWTON & COWPER**. Olney Hymns. Essay by James Montgomery, Esq. 2s. Gilt back and edges, 2s. 6d.

**DR. DICK'S WORKS.**

FINE EDITIONS.

The **CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHER**; or, The Connection of Science and Philosophy with Religion, Illustrated with Engravings, 12mo cloth, 8s.

The following subjects are treated of in the above Work:—The Wisdom, Power, and Benevolence of God as displayed in his Works. Variety of Nature. Mechanism of Animated Beings. Natural History. Geography. Geology. Astronomy. Natural Philosophy. Mechanics. Hydrostatics. Hydraulics. Pneumatics. Acoustics. Light. Optics. The Daguerrotype. Electricity. Galvanism. Magnetism. Electro-Magnetism. Chemistry. Anatomy and Philosophy. History. Printing. Navigation. The Telescope. Steam Navigation. Air Balloons. Acoustic Tunnels. Electric Telegraphs, etc.

“An excellent Work to put into the hands of an intelligent youth; and likely, by the Divine blessing, to create a thirst at once for true piety and useful knowledge.”—*Evangelical Magazine*.

“This is a Publication which we can most earnestly recommend every Christian parent to put into the hands of his children, as a most judicious initiatory Work into the mysteries of Science viewed in connection with Religion.”—*Congregational Magazine*.

“This Work forms a most excellent and appropriate present for young persons, and perhaps there are few books more frequently presented in this manner than the *Christian Philosopher*, and the *Philosophy of Religion*.”

The **PHILOSOPHY of RELIGION**; or, an Illustration of the Moral Laws of the Universe, Third Edition, 12mo cloth, 8s.

“Dr. Dick has spared no pains to make his Work both valuable and popular, and as far as our recommendation may serve him we give it cordially. The historical and scientific illustrations, which are profusely scattered throughout the volume, add much to its interest.”—*Eclectic Review*.

The **PHILOSOPHY of a FUTURE STATE**. Third Edition, 12mo cloth, 6s.

“We have seldom risen up from the perusal of any human composition with loftier conceptions of the Divinity, than we have been insensibly led to cherish in the reading of this highly philosophical and Christian publication.”—*Evangelical Magazine*.

“We trust this very valuable publication will be most extensively read. We especially recommend it to the young, and to all those not yet possessed of a reason of the hope that is in them.”—*Home Miss. Mag.*

On the **MENTAL ILLUMINATION and MORAL IMPROVEMENT of MANKIND**, Illustrated with Engravings. Second Ed., 12mo cl., 6s.

“We have always regarded Dr. Dick as an eminently industrious and useful writer. The whole subject of education, considered with a view to man's intellectual and moral nature, is here treated, and treated with the hand of a master. The errors and defects of existing systems are faithfully pointed out; the plans adopted in various countries described; and a new and better method is laid down, applicable to all the several kinds of schools, and embraces an excellent outline of religious and moral instruction. The entire volume is full of interesting details, and is worthy of the attention of all who look with anxiety upon our national prospects.”

**LECTURES ON IMPORTANT SUBJECTS.**

BY MINISTERS OF VARIOUS EVANGELICAL DENOMINATIONS IN GLASGOW  
AND NEIGHBOURHOOD.

**EVIDENCES.** Lectures on the Evidences of Revealed Religion, 12mo cloth, 3s. 6d.

"The volume contains nearly 600 pages, and will be found one of the most cheap, useful, and powerful compendiums of almost every kind of evidence on the credibility of the Divine Revelations which we have seen."

"Rich in material and forcible in style, they reflect credit on the individuals by whom they were delivered, displaying as they do solid learning, judicious treatment, and copious information. We believe that no single volume, professing to take up the same topics, will be found to handle them in so clear and comprehensive a manner, and withal with such brevity and force. And when we say that it contains twice as much matter as books sold at the same price, we do not by any means overstep the strict limits of the truth."

**INFIDELITY.** Lectures on Infidelity, being a Sequel to the Lectures on the Evidences of Revealed Religion, 12mo cloth, lettered, 3s. 6d.

"These Lectures are intended as a sequel to the admirable course previously delivered at Glasgow, on the Evidences of Revealed Religion, and which were entirely defensive in their object, offering to the reader 'an armour of proof,' for the protection of his faith against the assaults of the wicked: while the present course is more of an aggressive nature, presenting to the believer 'a quiver full of arrows, wherewith to attack the strongholds of the enemy.' The Lectures exhibit throughout much comprehensive research, a deep and earnest piety, and a powerful and convincing style. And we cannot doubt that the present work will be favoured with as great an amount of popularity and usefulness as the former volume. To the young we could not recommend a better Monitor and guide on this vitally important subject; and as the work is unprecedentedly moderate in its price, it will be found to be within the reach of all classes."—*Western Watchman*.

**THE JEWS.** Lectures on the Past History, Present Condition, and Future Prospects of the Jews, 12mo cloth, 3s. 6d.

"Christians need to be informed respecting the Jews, and they need to be stirred up to pray and exert themselves for their conversion. A better book for enlarging their understanding, and operating upon their hearts, they cannot procure than the present."—*Orthodox Presbyterian*.

**THE PEOPLE.** Lectures on the Physical, Educational, and Religious Improvement of the People, especially in Large Towns, 1s. 6d.

**REVIVALS.** Lectures on the Revival of Religion, with an Introduction by the Rev. Dr. Hetherington, Author of the 'History of the Church of Scotland,' etc., 12mo cloth, 3s. 6d.

"The Glasgow Lectures, with an able preface by Dr. Hetherington, embraces the subject in all its richness, and concentrate upon it a weight of talent, spiritual wisdom, and sound sense very rarely to be met with in any one volume, and entitling this one to the name of a standard volume."—*Christian Instructor*.

**CHURCH HISTORY.** Lectures on the Constitution and History of the Church of Scotland, 12mo, cloth lettered, 2s. 6d.

**SABBATH SCHOOLS.** Lectures on Sabbath Schools, 12mo cloth, lettered, 1s. 6d.