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A Brief History of the Pequot War (1736)

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John Mason

A Brief History of the Pequot War (1736)

John Mason's posthumously published account is the most complete contemporary history of the Pequot War of 1636–1637. Written around 1670, and published in part in 1677 (although misattributed by Increase Mather to John Allyn), the complete text was issued by Thomas Prince in 1736. That text is reproduced here in a corrected and annotated edition that includes Prince's biographical sketch of Mason and various dedicatory and explanatory documents.

John Mason (c.1600–1672) commanded the Connecticut forces in the expedition that wiped out the Pequot fort and village at Mystic and in two subsequent operations that effectively eliminated the Pequots as a recognizable nation. He was among the original settlers of Windsor, Connecticut, and afterwards resided at Saybrook and Norwich. Little is known of his antecedents, except that he had served in the wars in the Netherlands before emigrating to Massachusetts.

This online electronic text edition includes the entire 12,000-word *Brief History* and runs to 49 pages, including notes and bibliography; it can be printed out on 25 sheets of letter-sized paper.

Major *Maſon*'s Brief HISTORY OF THE Pequot War.

A

Brief History

OF THE

Pequot War:

Especially

Of the memorable *Taking* of their FORT at MISTICK in CONNECTICUT

In

1 6 3 7.

Written by

Major *John Mason*,

A principal Actor therein, as then chief *Captain* and Commander of *Connecticut Forces*.

With an *Introduction* and some Explanatory *Notes*
By the Reverend

Mr. THOMAS PRINCE.

Psal. xliv. 1--3 *We have heard with our Ears, O* GOD, *our Fathers have told us, what Work Thou didst in their Days, in the times of old: How Thou didst drive out the Heathen with thy Hand, and plantedst Them: how Thou did afflict the People and cast them out. For they got not the Land in Possession by their own Sword, neither did their own Arm save them: but thy right Hand, and thine Arm, and the Light of thy Countenance, because Thou hadst a Favour unto them.*

Psal. cii. 18. *This shall be written for the Generation to come: and the People which shall be Created, shall praise the* LORD.

BOSTON: Printed & Sold by S. KNEELAND & T. GREEN
in Queen-street, 1736.

INTRODUCTION.

IN my Contemplations of the DIVINE PROVIDENCE towards the People of *New-England,* I have often tho't what a special Favour it was, that there came over with the first Settlers of *Plimouth* & *Connecticut Colonies*, which in those Times were especially exposed to the superiour Power of the *Barbarians* round about them; *Two brave Englishmen* bred to arms in the *Dutch Netherlands*, viz. Capt. MILES STANDISH of *Plimouth,* and Capt. JOHN MASON of *Connecticut:* Gentlemen of tried Valour, Military Skill and Conduct, great Activity, and warm Zeal for that noble Cause of *Pure Scriptural Religion,* and *Religious Liberty,* which were the chief original Design and Interest of the *Fathers of these Plantations*; and who were acted with such eminent Degrees of Faith and Piety, as excited them to the most daring Enterprizes in the Cause of GOD and of *his People,* and went a great way to their wonderful Successes.

Like those inspired *Heroes* of whom we read the History in the *Eleventh* Chapter to the HEBREWS—*By Faith,* they not only *rather chose to suffer Affliction with the People of* GOD *than to enjoy the Pleasures of Sin for a Season; esteeming the Reproach of* CHRIST *greater Riches than the Treasures of Egypt:* But *by Faith* they even *forsook* the same, *passed thro' the Sea, subdued Kingdoms, wrought Righteousness, obtained Promises, waxed valiant in Fight, and turned to Flight the Armies of the Aliens.*

The Judicious Reader that knows the *New English* History, cannot think these *Scripture Phrases* or religious Turns unsuitable on this Occasion: For as *these Colonies* were chiefly, if not entirely Settled by a *Religious People*, and for *those Religious Purposes*; It is as impossible to write an impartial or true History of *them,* as of the ancient *Israelites,* or the later *Vaudois* or *North-Britons,* without observing that

Religious Spirit and Intention which evidently run thro' and animate their Historical Transactions.

Capt. STANDISH was of a lower Stature, but of such a daring and active Genius, that even before the Arrival of the *Massachusetts Colony,* He spread a Terror over all the Tribes of *Indians* round about him, from the *Massachusetts* to *Martha's Vineyard,* & from *Cape-Cod Harbour to Narragansett.* Capt. MASON was Tall and Portly, but never the less full of Martial Bravery and Vigour; that He soon became the equal Dread of the more numerous Nations from *Narragansett* to *Hudson's River.* They were BOTH the Instrumental Saviours of this Country in the most critical Conjunctures: And as we quietly enjoy the Fruits of their extraordinary Diligence and Valour, both the present and future Generations will for ever be obliged to revere their Memory.

Capt. MASON, the Writer of the following History, in which He was a principal Actor, as Chief Commander of the *Connecticut* Forces, is said to have been a Relative of Mr. *John Mason* the ancient *Claimer* of the *Province of New-Hampshire*: However, the *Captain* was one of the first who went up from the *Massachusetts* about the Year 1635 to lay the Foundation of CONNECTICUT COLONY: He went from *Dorchester,* first settled at *Windsor,* and thence marched forth to the *Pequot War.*

But it being above *Threescore Years* since the following Narrative was Written, near *an Hundred* since the Events therein related, and the State of the *New England Colonies* being long since greatly Changed; it seems needful for the present Readers clearer Apprehension of these Matters, to Observe--That in the Year 1633, & 1634, several *Englishmen* arriving from *England,* at the *Massachusetts,* went up in the Western Country to discover *Connecticut River*; the *next Year* began to remove thither; and by the Beginning of 1637, *Hartford, Windsor* and *Weathersfield* were Settled, besides a *Fortification* built at *Saybrook* on the Mouth of the River.

At that Time there were especially *three* powerful and warlike *Nations* of *Indians* in the *South Western* Parts of *New-England*; which spread all the Country from *Aquethneck,* since call'd *Rhode Island,* to *Quinnepiack,* since called *New-Haven*; viz, the NARRAGANSETTS, PEQUOTS and MOHEGANS. The NARRAGANSETTS reached from the Bay of the same Name, to *Pawcatuck River,* now the Boundary be-

tween the Governments of *Rhode-Island* and *Connecticut*: And their Head Sachem was MIANTONIMO. The PEQUOTS reached from thence Westward to *Connecticut River,* and over it, as far as *Branford,* if not *Quinnepiack*; their Head Sachem being SASSACUS. And the MOHEGANS spread along from the *Narragansetts* thro' the Inland Country, on the Back or Northerly Side of the *Pequots,* between *them* and the *Nipmucks*; their Head Sachem being UNCAS.

The most terrible of all those Nations were then the PEQUOTS; who with their *depending Tribes* soon entered on a Resolution to Destroy the *English* out of the Country. In 1634, they killed Capt. *Stone* and all his Company, being *seven* besides Himself, in & near his Bark on *Connecticut River*. In 1635, they killed Capt. *Oldham* in his Bark at *Block-Island*; and at *Long-Island* they killed *two* more cast away there. In 1636, and the following *Winter* and *March,* they killed *six* & took *seven* more at *Connecticut River*. Those they took alive they tortured to Death in a most barbarous Manner. And on *April* 23. 1637, they killed *nine* more and carried *two* young Women Captive at *Weathersfield.*

They had earnestly solicited the *Narragansetts* to engage in their Confederacy: very politickly representing to them, *That if they shou'd help or suffer the* English *to subdue the* Pequots, *they wou'd thereby make Way for their own future Ruin; and that they need not come to open Battle with the* English; *only Fire our Houses, kill our Cattle, lye in Ambush and shoot us as we went about our Business; so we should be quickly forced to leave this Country, and the* Indians *not exposed to any great Hazard.* Those truly politick Arguments were upon the Point of prevailing on the *Narragansetts*: And had *These* with the *Mohegans,* to whom the *Pequots* were nearly related, join'd against us; they might *then,* in the infant State of these Colonies, have easily accomplished their desperate Resolutions.

But the *Narragansetts* being more afraid of the *Pequots* than of the *English*; were willing they shou'd weaken each other, not in the least imagining the *English* cou'd destroy *them*; at the same time an *Agency* from the *Massachusetts Colony* to the *Narragansetts,* happily Preserved their staggering Friendship. And as UNCAS the Great Sachim of the *Moheags,* upon the first coming of the *English,* fell into an intimate Acquaintance with Capt. *Mason,* He from the Beginning entertained us in an amicable Manner: And tho' both by *his Father and Mother* He derived from the *Royal Blood* of the *Pequots,* and had

Married the *Daughter* of TATOBAM their then late Sachim; yet such was his Affection for us, as he faithfully adhered to us, ventured his Life in our Service, assisted at the Taking their *Fort,* when about *Seven Hundred* of them were Destroyed, and thereupon in subduing and driving out of the Country the remaining greater Part of that fierce and dangerous Nation.

Soon after the War, Capt. *Mason* was by the Government of *Connecticut,* made the *Major General* of all their Forces, and so continued to the Day of his Death: The Rev. Mr. HOOKER of *Hartford,* being desired by the Government in their Name to deliver *the Staff* into his Hand; We may imagin he did it with that superiour Piety, Spirit and Majesty, which were peculiar to him: Like an ancient Prophet addressing himself to the Military Officer, delivering to him the Principal Ensign of Martial Power, to Lead the Armies & Fight the Battles of the Lord and of *his People.*

Major *Mason* having been trained up in the *Netherland War* under Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX; when the Struggle arose in *England* between K. *Charles* I. and the *Parliament* about the Royal Powers and the National Liberties; *that Famous General* had such an Esteem for the *Major*'s Conduct and Bravery, that *He* wrote to the *Major* to come over and help *Him.* But the *Major* excusing himself, continued in this Country as long as he lived, and had some of the greatest Honours his *Colony* cou'd yield him.

For besides his Office of *Major General,* the Colony in *May* 1660 chose him their DEPUTY GOVERNOUR; continued him in the same Post by annual Re-elections, by virtue of their first Constitution to 1662 inclusively. The *same Year* K. CHARLES II. comprehending the *Colonies* of *Connecticut* and *New Haven* in *One Government* by the name of CONNECTICUT COLONY; He in the *Royal Charter,* signed *April* 23, appointed Major *Mason* their first *Deputy Governour* till the *second Thursday* of *October* following: After which, the *General Court* being left to chuse their Officers, they continued to chuse him their *Deputy Governour* every Year to *May* 1670; when his Age and Bodily Infirmities advancing, he laid down his Office and retired from Publick Business.

After the *Pequot War,* he had removed from *Windsor* to *Saybrook*: But in 1659, he removed thence to *Norwich*; where he *Died* in 1672, or 1673, in the 73d Year of his Age: leaving *three Sons,* viz. *Samuel, John* and *Daniel,* to imitate their Father's Example and inherit his Virtues.

I have only now to observe, that in *The Relation of the Troubles which happened to* New England *by the* Indians *from* 1614 *to* 1675, Published by the then Mr. INCREASE MATHER in 1677, I find a *Copy* of the *following Narrative,* but without the Prefaces, had been communicated to him by Mr. *John Allyn* then the *Secretary* of *Connecticut Colony*; which that Rev. Author took for Mr. *Allyn*'s, and calls it *his.* But we must inform the Reader, that *the Narrative* was originally drawn by Major *Mason.* And as *his Eldest Grandson* Capt. *John Mason* now of *New-London* has put it into my Hands; I have been more than usually careful in Correcting the Press according to the *Original*; as *the most authentick Account* of the *Pequot War,* and as a *standing Monument* both of the extraordinary Dangers & Courage of our pious *Fathers,* & of the eminent Appearance of HEAVEN to save them.

'The *other Actions* of Major *Mason* must be referred to the *General History* of *this Country,* when some Gentleman of greater Qualifications and Leisure than I may claim, shall rise up among us, to undertake it. I shall give some Hints in my *Brief Chronology*; which thro' numerous Hindrances, is now in such a Forwardness, that near 200 *Pages* are Printed already; and in a little Time, Life and Health allow'd, I hope to present the Publick with the *first* of the *two* intended *Volumns.* In the mean while I cannot but Regret it, that such considerable and ancient Towns as *Saybrook, Fairfield, Stamford, Canterbury, Groton* in the County of *Middlesex, Chelmsford, Billerica, Woburn, Dunstable* and *Bristol,* should afford no more than their *bare Names* in the Published Records of this Country.

Boston, Dec. 23,
1735.

Thomas Prince.

N. B. The only Word left out is *my* in Dedication, Page i, where it should be Read---*My own Unfitness*: the *few Mispellings* are only of the *English Words*; which with the *Mispointings,* are easily Descerned and Corrected.

TO

The Honourable

The General Court of *Connecticut.*

Honoured Gentlemen,

YOU well know how often I have been requested by your selves to write something in reference to the Subject of the ensuing Treatise (who have power to Command) and how backward I have been, as being conscious to my own unfitness; accounting it not so proper, I being a Chief Actor *therein my self. Yet considering that little hath been done to keep the Memory of such a special Providence alive, though I could heartily have wished that some other who had been less interested and better qualified might have undertaken the Task, for I am not unacquainted with my own Weakness; yet I shall endeavour in plainness and faithfulness impartially to declare the Matter, not taking the Crown from the Head of one and putting it upon another. There are several who have Wrote and also Printed at random on this Subject,*

greatly missing the Mark in many Things as I conceive. I shall not exempt my self from frailties, yet from material Faults I presume you may pronounce it not Guilty, and do assure you that if I should see or by any be convinced of an Error, I shall at once confess and amend it.

I thought it my Duty in the Entrance to relate the first Grounds *upon which the* English *took up Arms against the* Pequots; for the Beginning is the Moiety of the Whole; *and not to mention some Passages at Rovers, as others have done, and not demonstrate the Cause. Judge of me as you please: I shall not climb after Applause, nor do I much fear a Censure; there being* many Testimonies *to what I shall say. 'Tis possible some may think no better can be expected in these distracting Times; it being so hard to please a few, impossible to please all: I shall therefore content my self that I have attended my Rule: You may please to improve some others who were Actors in the Service to give in their Apprehensions, that so the severals being compared, you may inlarge or diminish as you shall see meet. I desire my Name may be sparingly mentioned: My principal Aim is that* God *may have his due Praise.*

By your unworthy Servant,

John Mason.

TO THE

American Reader.

Judicious Reader,

ALTHOUGH it be too true indeed that the Press labours under, and the World doth too much abound with pamphleting Papers; yet know that this Piece cannot or at least ought not to be disaccepted by thee: For by the help of this thou mayest look backward and interpret how God *hath been working, and that very wonderfully for thy Safety and Comfort: And it being the* Lord's doing, *it should be* marvellous in thine Eyes.

And when thou shalt have viewed over this Paper, thou wilt say the Printers of this Edition have done well to prevent the possible Imputation of Posterity; in that they have consulted the exhibition at least to the American *World, of the remarkable Providences of* God, *which thou mayest at thy leisure read, consider and affect thy self with, in the Sequel.*

History *most properly is a Declaration of Things that are done by those that were present at the doing of them: Therefore this here presented to thee may in that respect*

plead for liking and acceptance with thee: The Historiographer *being one of the principal Actors, by whom those* English *Engagements were under* God *carried on and so successfully effected. And for a* President *for him in this his Publication of his own,* in Parte Rei Bellicæ, *he hath that great Man at Arms the* first *of the noble* Cæsars, *being the Manager and Inditer of his martial Exploits.*

He has also that necessary Ingredient in an Historian; Ut nequid falsi dicere, et nequid veri non dicere audeat; *That he will tell the Truth and will not say a jot of Falshood.*

And Memorandum *that those divine Over-rulings, their Recollection, as they ought to be Quickeners of us up to a Theological Reformation, and Awakeners of us from a lethargilike Security, least the Lord should yet again make them more afflicting* Thorns in our Eyes *and slashing Scourges in our Sides; so also they may well be* Pledges *or Earnests to us of his future saving Mercies; and that if we by our Declensions from him in his ways do not provoke him, he will not forsake us, but have respect to us in our Dwellings, and lend us the desirable Providence of his perpetual Salvation.*

N. B. This Epistle to the American Reader appears to have been written by another Hand than *Major Mason*'s.

TO THE

Judicious Reader.

Gentlemen,

I Never had thought that this should have come to the Press, until of late: If I had, I should have endeavoured to have put a little more Varnish upon it: But being over perswaded by some Friends, I thought it not altogether amiss to present it to your courteous Disposition, hoping it might find your favourable Entertainment and Acceptance, though rude and impolish'd. I wish it had fallen into some better Hands that might have performed it to the Life: I shall only draw the Curtain and open my little Casement, that so others of larger Hearts and Abilities may let in a biger Light; that so at least some small Glimmering may be left to Posterity *what Difficulties and Obstructions their* Forefathers *met with in their first settling these desart Parts of* America; *how* God *was pleased to prove them, and how by his wise Providence he ordered and disposed all their Occasions and Affairs for them in regard to both their* Civils *and* Ecclesiasticals.

This with some other Reasons have been Motives to excite me to the enterprizing hereof; no Man that I know of having as yet undertaken to write a general History or Relation;

so that there is no Commemoration *of Matters respecting* this War; *how they began, how carried on, and continued, nor what Success they had.* * *They which think the mentioning of some Particulars is sufficient for the understanding of the General, in my Opinion stray no less from the Truth, than if by the separated Parts of a living Man one should think by this Means he knew all the Parts and Perfections of the Creature: But these separated Parts being joyned together having Form and Life, one might easily discern that he was deceived.*

If the Beginning be but obscure and the Ground uncertain, its Continuance can hardly perswade to purchase Belief: Or if Truth be wanting in History, *it proves but a fruitless Discourse.*

I shall therefore, God *helping, endeavour not so much to stir up the Affections of Men, as to declare in Truth and Plainness the Actions and Doings of Men: I shall therefore set down Matters in order as they Began and were carryed on and Issued: that so I may not deceive the Reader in confounding of Things, but the Discourse may be both Plain and Easy.*

And although some may think they have Wrote in a high Stile, and done some notable Thing, yet in my Opinion they have not spoken truly in some Particulars, and in general to little Purpose: For how can History *find Credit, if in the Beginning you do not deliver plainly and clearly from whence and how you do come to the Relation which you presently intend to make of Actions?*

* The Author *Died* before the Reverend Mr. *William Hubbard* and Mr. *Increase Mather* Published their Accounts of the *Pequot War.*

As a Rule, although it hath less length and breadth, yet notwithstanding it retains the Name if it hath that which is proper to a Rule. When the Bones are separated from a living Creature it becomes unserviceable: So a History, if you take away Order and Truth, the rest will prove to be but a vain Narration.

I shall not make a long Discourse, nor labour to hold the Reader in doubt, using a multitude of Words, which is no sure Way to find out the Truth; as if one should seek for Verity in the Current of Pratling, having nothing but a conceit worthy to hold the Reader is suspence: (Sed quo vado) *In a word, the* Lord *was as it were pleased to say unto us,* The Land of Canaan will I give unto thee tho' but few and Strangers in it: And when we went from one Nation to another, yea from one Kingdom to another, he suffered no Man to do us Wrong, but reproved Kings for our sakes: *And so through Mercy at length we were settled in Peace, to the Astonishment of all that were round about us: unto whom be ascribed all Glory and Praise for ever and ever.*

Norwich in New-England, in *America.*

Farewell

John Mason.

SOME

Grounds of the *War*

Against

the *Pequots.*

ABOUT the Year 1632 one Capt. *Stone* Arrived in the *Massachusett* in a *Ship* from *Virginia*; who shortly after was bound for *Virginia* again in a small *Bark* with one Capt. *Norton*; who sailing into CONNECTICUT RIVER about *two Leagues* from the *Entrance* cast Anchor; there coming to them several *Indians* belonging to that Place whom the *Pequots* Tyrannized over, being a potent and warlike People, it being their Custom so to deal with their neighbour Indians; Capt. *Stone* having some occasion with the *Dutch* who lived at a trading House near *twenty Leagues* up the River, procured some of those *Indians* to go as Pilots with *two* of his Men to the *Dutch*: But being benighted before they could come to their desired Port, put the *Skiff* in which they went, ashore, where the *two Englishmen* falling asleep, were both Murdered by their *Indian* Guides : There remaining with the *Bark* about *twelve* of the aforesaid *Indians*; who had in all probability formerly plotted their bloody Design; and waiting an opportunity when some of the *English* were on Shoar and Capt. *Stone* asleep in his Cabbin, set upon them and

cruelly Murdered every one of them, plundered what they pleased and sunk the Bark.

These *Indians* were not *native Pequots,* but had frequent recourse unto them, to whom they tendered some of those Goods, which were accepted by the *Chief Sachem* of the *Pequots*: Other of the said Goods were tendered to NYNIGRETT *Sachem* of *Nayanticke,* who also received them.

The *Council* of the *Massachusetts* being informed of their Proceedings, sent to speak with the *Pequots*, and had some Treaties with them: But being unsatisfied therewith, sent forth Captain *John Endicot* Commander in Chief, with Capt. *Underhill,* Captain *Turner,* and with them *one hundred and twenty Men*; who were firstly designed on a Service against a People living on *Block Island,* who were subject to the *Narragansett Sachem*; they having taken a *Bark* of one Mr. *John Oldham,* Murdering him and all his Company: They were also to call the *Pequots* to an Account about the Murder of Capt. *Stone*; who arriving at *Pequot* had some Conference with them; but little effected; only one *Indian* slain and some *Wigwams* burnt. After which, the *Pequots* grew inraged against the *English* who inhabited CONECTICOT, being but a small Number, about *two hundred and fifty,* who were there newly arrived; as also about *twenty Men* at SAYBROOK, under the Command of Lieutenant *Lyon Gardner,* who was there settled by several Lords and Gentlemen in *England.* The *Pequots* falling violently upon them, slew divers Men at *Saybrook*; keeping almost a constant Siege upon the Place; so that the *English* were constrained to keep within their pallizado *Fort*; being so hard Beset and sometimes Assaulted, that Capt. *John Mason* was sent by *Connecticut Colony* with *twenty Men* out of their small Numbers to secure the Place: But after his coming, there did not one *Pequot* appear in view for one *Month* Space, which was the time he there remained.

In the Interim certain *Pequots* about *One Hundred* going to a Place called *Weathersfield* on *Connecticut*; having formerly confederated with the *Indians* of that Place (as it was generally thought) lay in Ambush for the *English*; divers of them going

into a large Field adjoyning to the Town to their Labour, were there set upon by the *Indians*: *Nine* of the *English* were killed out right, with some Horses, and *two young Women* taken *Captives.*

At their Return from *Weathersfield,* they came down the *River* of *Connecticut* (Capt. *Mason* being then at *Saybrook Fort*) in *three Canoes* with about *one hundred Men,* which River of necessity they must pass: We espying them, concluded they had been acting some Mischief against us, made a Shot at them with a Piece of Ordnance, which beat off the Beak Head of one of their *Canoes,* wherein our *two Captives* were: it was at a very great distance: They then hastened, drew their *Canoes* over a narrow Beach with all speed and so got away.

Upon which the *English* were somewhat dejected: But immediately upon this, a *Court* was called and met in *Hartford* the *First* of *May,* 1637,* who seriously considering their Condition, which did look very Sad, for those *Pequots* were a great People, being strongly fortified, cruel, warlike, munitioned, &c, and the *English* but an handful in comparison: But their outragious Violence against the *English,* having Murdered about *Thirty* of them, their great Pride and Insolency, constant pursuit in their malicious Courses, with their engaging other *Indians* in their Quarrel against the *English,* who had never offered them the least Wrong; who had in all likelihood Espoused all the *Indians* in the Country in their Quarrel, had not God by more than an ordinary Providence prevented: These Things being duly considered, with the eminent Hazard and great Peril they were in; it pleased God so to stir up the Hearts of all Men in general, and the *Court* in special, that they concluded some Forces should forthwith be sent out against the *Pequots*; their Grounds being Just, and necessity enforcing them to engage in an offensive and defensive *War*: the Management of which *War* we are nextly to relate.

* *May* 1. 1637 was *Monday.*

AN

Epitome or brief History

OF THE

Pequot War.

IN the Beginning of *May* 1637 there were sent out by Connecticut Colony *Ninety* Men under the Command of Capt. *John Mason* against the Pequots, with Onkos an *Indian Sachem* living at *Mohegan,*† who was newly revolted from the *Pequots*; being Shipped in one *Pink*, one *Pinnace*, and one *Shallop*; who sailing down the *River* of *Connecticut* fell several times a ground, the Water being very low: The *Indians* not being wonted to such Things with their small *Canoes,* and also being impatient of Delays, desired they might be set on Shoar, promising that they would meet us at *Saybrook*; which we granted: They hastening to their Quarters, fell upon *Thirty or forty* of the *Enemy* near *Saybrook Fort,* and killed *seven* of them outright; ‡ having only one of their's wounded, who was sent back to *Connecticut* in a *Skiff*: Capt. *John Underhill* also com-

† *Onkos,* usually called *Uncas,* the *Great Sachem* of the Moheags.
‡ Mr. *Increase Mather* in his History of the *Pequot War,* says this was on *May* 15.

ing with him, who informed us what was performed by *Onkos* and his Men; which we looked at as a special Providence; for before we were somewhat doubtful of his Fidelity: Capt. *Underhill* then offered his Service with *ninteen* Men to go with us, if Lieutenant *Gardner* would allow of it, who was Chief Commander at *Saybrook Fort*; which was readily approved of by Lieutenant *Gardner* and accepted by us: In lieu of them we sent back *twenty* of our Soldiers to *Connecticut.*

Upon a *Wednesday* we arrived at *Saybrook,* where we lay Windbound until *Friday*; often consulting how and in what manner we should proceed in our Enterprize, being altogether ignorant of the Country. At length we concluded, God assisting us, for *Narragansett,* and so to March through their Country, which Bordered upon the *Enemy*; where lived a great People, it being about *fifteen Leagues* beyond *Pequot*; The *Grounds* and *Reasons* of our so Acting you shall presently understand:

‘ First, *The Pequots our Enemies, kept a continual Guard* ‘ *upon the River Night and Day.*

‘ Secondly, *their Numbers far exceeded ours; having* sixteen ‘ Guns *with Powder and Shot, as we were informed by the* two ‘ *Captives forementioned* (*where we declared the Grounds of this* ‘ *War*) *who were taken by the* Dutch *and restored to us at* Say- ‘ brook; *which indeed was a very friendly Office and not to be* ‘ *forgotten.*

‘ Thirdly, *They were on Land, and being swift on Foot,* ‘ *might much impede our Landing, and possibly dishearten our* ‘ *Men; we being expected only by Land, there being no other Place* ‘ *to go on Shoar but in that River, nearer than* Narragansett.

‘ Fourthly, *By* Narragansett *we should come upon their* ‘ *Backs and possibly might surprize them unaware, at worst we* ‘ *should be on firm Land as well as they*: All which proved very successful as the Sequel may evidently demonstrate.

But yet for all this *our Counsel,* all of them except the *Captain* were at a stand, and could not judge it meet to sail to *Narragansett*: And indeed there was a very strong Ground for it; our Commission limiting us to land our Men in *Pequot River*; we had also the same Order by a Letter of Instruction sent us to *Saybrook.*

But Capt. *Mason* apprehending an exceeding great Hazard in so doing, for the Reasons fore mentioned, as also some other which I shall forbear to trouble you with, did therefore earnestly desire Mr. *Stone* that he would commend our Condition to the Lord, *that Night,* to direct how & in what manner we should demean our selves in that Respect; He being our *Chaplin* and lying aboard our *Pink,* the Captain on shoar. In the *Morning* very early Mr. *Stone* came ashoar to the Captain's Chamber, and told him, he had done as he had desired, and was fully satisfied to sail for *Narragansett.* Our Council was then called, and the several Reasons alledged: In fine we all agreed with one accord to sail for *Narragansett,* which the *next Morning* we put in Execution.

I declare not this to encourage any Soldiers to Act beyond their Commission, or contrary to it; for in so doing they run a double Hazard. There was a great Commander in *Belgia* who did the *States* great Service in taking a City; but by going beyond his Commission lost his Life: His name was *Grubbendunk.* But if a War be Managed duly by Judgment and Discretion as is requisite, the Shews are many times contrary to what they seem to pursue: Wherefore the more an Enterprize is dissembled and kept secret, the more facil to put in Execution; as the Proverb, *The farthest way about is sometimes the nearest way home.* I shall make bold to present this as my present Thoughts in this Case; In Matters of War, those who are both able and faithful should be improved; and then bind them not up into too narrow a Compass: For it is not possible for the wisest and ablest Senator to foresee all Accidents and Occurrents that fall out in the Management and Pursuit of a War:

Nay although possibly he might be trained up in Military Affairs; and truly much less can he have any great Knowledge who hath had but little Experience therein. What shall I say? God led his People thro' many Difficulties and Turnings; yet by more than an ordinary Hand of Providence he brought them to *Canaan* at last.

On *Friday Morning,* we set Sail for Narragansett-Bay, and on *Saturday* towards *Evening* we arrived at our desired Port, there we kept the *Sabbath.*

On the *Monday* the Wind blew so hard at North-West that we could not go on Shoar; as also on the *Tuesday* until *Sun set*; at which time Capt. *Mason* landed and Marched up to the Place of the *Chief Sachem*'s Residence; who told the Sachem, '*That we had not an opportunity to acquaint him with our com-* '*ing Armed in his Country sooner; yet not doubting but it would* '*be well accepted by him, there being Love betwixt himself and* '*us; well knowing also that the* Pequots *and themselves were En-* '*emies, and that he could not be unacquainted with those intoler-* '*able Wrongs and Injuries these* Pequots *had lately done unto the* 'English*; and that we were now come,* God *assisting, to Avenge* '*our selves upon them; and that we did only desire free Passage* '*through his Country.*' Who returned us this Answer, *That he* '*did accept of our coming, and did also approve of our Design;* '*only he thought our Numbers were too weak to deal with the* '*Enemy, who were* (as he said) *very great Captains and Men* '*skilful in War.* Thus he spake somewhat slighting of us.

On the *Wednesday Morning,* we Marched from thence to a Place called Nayanticke, it being about *eighteen* or *twenty Miles* distant, where another of those *Narragansett Sachems* lived in a *Fort*; it being a *Frontier* to the *Pequots.* They carryed very proudly towards us; not permitting any of us to come into their Fort.

We beholding their Carriage and the Falshood of *Indians,* and fearing least they might discover us to the Enemy, especially they having many times some of their near Relations among their greatest Foes; we therefore caused a strong Guard to be set about their Fort, giving Charge that no *Indian* should be suffered to pass in or out: We also informed the *Indians,* that none of them should stir out of the *Fort* upon peril of their Lives: so as they would not suffer any of us to come into their *Fort,* so we would not suffer any of them to go out of the *Fort.*

There we quartered *that Night,* the Indians not offering to stir out all the while.

In the *Morning,* there came to us several of Myantomo† his Men, who told us, they were come to assist us in our Expedition, which encouraged divers *Indians* of that Place to Engage also; who suddenly gathering into a Ring, one by one, making solemn Protestations how galliantly they would demean themselves, and how many Men they would Kill.

On the *Thursday* about *eight of the Clock* in the *Morning,* we Marched thence *towards* Pequot, with about *five hundred Indians*: But through the Heat of the Weather and want of Provisions some of our Men Fainted: And having Marched about *twelve Miles,* we came to *Pawcatuck-River,* at a *Ford* where our *Indians* told us the *Pequots* did usually Fish; there making an *Alta,* we stayed some small time: The *Narragansett Indians* manifesting great Fear, in so much that many of them returned, although they had frequently despised us, saying, *That we durst not look upon a* Pequot, *but themselves would perform great Things*; though we had often told them *that we came on purpose and were resolved,* God *assisting, to see the* Pequots,

† He was usually called *Miantonimo* the Great Sachem of the *Narraganset Indians.*

and to Fight with them before we returned, though we perished. I then enquired of ONKOS, *what he thought the Indians would do?* Who said, *The* NARRAGANSETTS *would all leave us, but as for* HIMSELF *He would never leave us:* and so it proved: For which Expressions and some other Speeches of his, I shall never forget him. Indeed he was a great Friend, and did great Service.

And after we had refreshed our selves with our mean Commons, we Marched about *three Miles,* and came to a *Field* which had lately been planted with *Indian Corn:* There we made another *Alt,* and called our Council, supposing we drew near to the Enemy: and being informed by the *Indians* that the Enemy had *two Forts* almost impregnable; but we were not at all Discouraged, but rather Animated, in so much that we were resolved to Assault both their Forts at once. But understanding that *one of them* was so remote that we could not come up with it before *Midnight,* though we Marched hard; whereat we were much grieved, chiefly because the greatest and bloodiest *Sachem* there resided, whose name was SASSACOUS: We were then constrained, being exceedingly spent in our March with extream Heat and want of Necessaries, to accept of the *nearest.*

We then Marching on in a silent Manner, the *Indians* that remained fell all into the *Rear,* who formerly kept the *Van*; (being possessed with great Fear) we continued our March till about *one Hour in the Night*: and coming to a *little Swamp between two Hills,* there we pitched our little Camp; much wearied with hard Travel, keeping great Silence, supposing we were very near the *Fort* as our *Indians* informed us; which proved otherwise: The Rocks were our Pillows; yet Rest was pleasant: The *Night* proved Comfortable, being clear and Moon Light: We appointed our Guards and placed our Sentinels at some distance; who heard the Enemy Singing at the *Fort,* who continued that Strain until Midnight, with great Insulting and Rejoycing, as we were afterwards informed: They

seeing our *Pinnaces* sail by them some Days before, concluded we were affraid of them and durst not come near them; the Burthen of their Song tending to that purpose.

In the *Morning,* we awaking and seeing it very light, supposing it had been day, and so we might have lost our Opportunity, having purposed to make our Assault before Day; rowsed the Men with all expedition, and briefly commended ourselves and Design to GOD, thinking immediately to go to the Assault; the *Indians* shewing us a *Path,* told us that it led directly to the *Fort.* We held on our March about *two Miles,* wondering that we came not to the *Fort,* and fearing we might be deluded: But seeing Corn newly planted at the Foot of a *great Hill,* supposing the *Fort* was not far off, a Champion Country being round about us; then making a stand, gave the Word for some of the *Indians* to come up: At length ONKOS and one WEQUOSH appeared; We demanded of them, *Where was the Fort?* They answered: *On the Top of that Hill:* Then we demanded, *Where were the Rest of the Indians?* They answered, *Behind, exceedingly affraid:* We wished them to tell the rest of their Fellows, *That they should by no means Fly, but stand at what distance they pleased, and see whether* ENGLISH MEN *would now Fight or not.* Then Captain *Underhill* came up, who Marched in the Rear; and commending our selves to GOD divided our Men: There being *two Entrances* into the *Fort,* intending to enter both at once: Captain *Mason* leading up to that on the *North East Side;* who approaching within one Rod, heard a Dog bark and an *Indian* crying *Owanux! Owanux!* which is *Englishmen! Englishmen!* We called up our Forces with all expedition, gave Fire upon them through the Pallizado; the *Indians* being in a dead indeed their last Sleep: Then we wheeling off fell upon the *main Entrance,* which was blocked up with Bushes about Breast high, over which the *Captain* passed, intending to make good the Entrance, ecouraging the rest to follow. Lieutenant *Seeley* endeavoured to enter; but being somewhat cumbred, stepped back and pulled out the Bushes and so

entred, and with him about *sixteen Men:* We had formerly concluded to destroy them by the Sword and save the Plunder.

Whereupon Captain *Mason* seeing no *Indians,* entred a *Wigwam*; where he was beset with many *Indians,* waiting all opportunities to lay Hands on him, but could not prevail. At length *William Heydon* espying the Breach in the *Wigwam,* supposing some *English* might be there, entred; but in his Entrance fell over a dead *Indian;* but speedily recovering himself, the *Indians* some fled, others crept under their Beds: The *Captain* going out of the *Wigwam* saw many *Indians* in the Lane or Street; he making towards them, they fled, were pursued to the End of the Lane, where they were met by *Edward Pattison, Thomas Barber,* with some others; where *seven* of them were Slain, as they said. The *Captain* facing about, Marched a slow Pace up the Lane he came down, perceiving himself very much out of Breath; and coming to the other End near the Place where he first entred, saw *two Soldiers* standing close to the Pallizado with their Swords pointed to the Ground: The *Captain* told them that *We should never kill them after that manner:* The *Captain* also said, WE MUST BURN THEM; and immediately stepping into the *Wigwam* where he had been before, brought out a Fire-Brand, and putting it into the Matts with which they were covered, set the *Wigwams* on Fire. Lieutenant *Thomas Bull* and *Nicholas Omsted* beholding, came up; and when it was throughly kindled, the *Indians* ran as Men most dreadfully Amazed.

And indeed such a dreadful Terror did the ALMIGHTY let fall upon their Spirits, that they would fly from us and run into the very Flames, where many of them perished. And when the *Fort* was thoroughly Fired, Command was given, that all should fall off and surround the *Fort*; which was readily attended by all; only one *Arthur Smith* being so wounded that he could not move out of the Place, who was happily espied by Lieutenant *Bull,* and by him rescued.

The Fire was kindled on the *North East Side* to windward; which did swiftly over-run the *Fort,* to the extream Amazement of the Enemy, and great Rejoycing of our selves. Some of them climbing to the Top of the Palizado; others of them running into the very Flames; many of them gathering to windward, lay pelting at us with their Arrows; and we repayed them with our small Shot: Others of the Stoutest issued forth, as we did guess, to the Number of *Forty,* who perished by the Sword.

What I have formerly said, is according to my own Knowlege, there being sufficient living Testimony to every Particular.

But in reference to Captain *Underhill* and his Parties acting in this Assault, I can only intimate as we were informed by some of themselves immediately after the Fight, Thus *They* Marching up to the *Entrance* on the *South West Side,* there made some Pause; a valiant, resolute Gentleman, one Mr. HEDGE, stepping towards the *Gate,* saying, *If we may not Enter, wherefore came we hear;* and immediately endeavoured to Enter; but was opposed by a sturdy *Indian* which did impede his Entrance: but the *Indian* being slain by himself and Serjeant *Davis,* Mr. *Hedge* Entred the *Fort* with some others; but the *Fort* being on Fire, the Smoak and Flames were so violent that they were constrained to desert the *Fort.*

Thus were they now at their Wits End, who not many Hours before exalted themselves in their great Pride, threatning and resolving the utter Ruin and Destruction of all the *English,* Exulting and Rejoycing with Songs and Dances: But GOD was above them, who laughed his Enemies and the Enemies of his People to Scorn, making them as a fiery Oven: Thus were the Stout Hearted spoiled, having slept their last Sleep, and none of their Men could find their Hands: Thus did the LORD judge among the Heathen, filling the Place with dead Bodies!

And here we may see the just Judgment of God, in sending even the very *Night before* this Assault, *One hundred and fifty Men* from their other *Fort,* to join with them of that Place, who were designed as some of themselves reported to go forth against the *English,* at that very Instant when this heavy Stroak came upon them, where they perished with their Fellows. So that the Mischief they intended to us, came upon their own Pate: They were taken in their own snare, and we through Mercy escaped. And thus in *little more than one Hour's space* was their impregnable *Fort* with themselves utterly Destroyed, to the Number of *six* or *seven Hundred,* as some of themselves confessed. There were only *seven* taken *Captive* & about *seven escaped.* *

Of the *English,* there were *two Slain* outright, and about *twenty Wounded:* Some Fainted by reason of the sharpness of the Weather, it being a cool Morning & the want of such Comforts & Necessaries as were needful in such a Case; especially our *Chyrurgeon* was much wanting, whom we left with our *Barks* in *Narragansett-Bay,* who had Order there to remain until the *Night* before our intended Assault.

And thereupon grew many *Difficulties*: Our Provision and Munition near spent; we in the Enemies Country, who did far exceed us in Number, being much inraged: all our *Indians,* except Onkos, deserting us; our *Pinnaces* at a great distance from us, and when they would come we were uncertain.

But as we were consulting what Course to take, it pleased God to discover our *Vessels* to us before a fair Gale of Wind, sailing into *Pequot Harbour,* to our great Rejoycing.

* The Place of the Fort being called Mistick, this Fight was called Mistick-Fight: And Mr. *Increase Mather,* from a *Manuscript* He met with, tells us; It was on *Friday, May* 26, 1637, *a memorable Day!*

We had no sooner discovered our *Vessels,* but immediately came up the *Enemy* from the other Fort; *Three Hundred or more* as we conceived. The *Captain* lead out *a File or two* of Men to Skirmish with them, chiefly to try what Temper they were of, who put them to a stand: we being much encouraged thereat, presently prepared to March towards our Vessels: *Four* or *Five* of our Men were so wounded that they must be carried with the Arms of *twenty* more. We also being faint, were constrained to put *four* to *one* Man, with the Arms of the rest that were wounded to others; so that we had not above *forty* Men free: at length we hired several *Indians,* who eased us of that Burthen in carrying of our wounded Men. And Marching about *one quarter of* a *Mile*; the Enemy coming up to the Place where the *Fort* was, and beholding what was done, stamped and tore the Hair from their Heads: And after a little space, came mounting down the *Hill* upon us, in a full career, as if they would over run us; But when they came within Shot, the Rear faced about, giving Fire upon them: Some of them being Shot, made the rest more wary: Yet they held on running to and fro, and shooting their Arrows at Random. There was at the *Foot of the Hill* a *small Brook,* where we rested and refreshed our selves, having by that time taught them a little more Manners than to disturb us.

We then Marched on towards *Pequot Harbour*; and falling upon several *Wigwams,* burnt them: The Enemy still following us in the Rear, which was to windward, though to little purpose; yet some of them lay in Ambush behind Rocks and Trees, often shooting at us, yet through Mercy touched not one of us: And as we came to any Swamp or Thicket, we made some Shot to clear the Passage. Some of them fell with our Shot; and probably more might, but for want of Munition: But when any of them fell, our *Indians* would give a great Shout, and then would they take so much Courage as to fetch their Heads. And thus we continued, until we came within *two Miles* of *Pequot Harbour*; where the Enemy gathered together and

left us: we Marching on to the *Top* of an *Hill* adjoining to the Harbour, with our Colours flying; having left our Drum at the Place of our Rendezvous the *Night before*: We seeing our *Vessels* there Riding at Anchor, to our great Rejoycing, and came to the *Water-Side,* we there sat down in Quiet.

Captain *Patrick* being Arrived there with our *Vessels,* who as we were informed was sent with *Forty Men* by the *Massachusetts* Colony, upon some Service against the *Block Islanders:* Who coming to the Shore in our Shallop with all his Company, as he said, to Rescue us, supposing we were pursued, though there did not appear any the least sign of such a Thing.

But we could not prevail with Him by any Means to put his Men ashore, that so we might carry our Wounded Men a Board; although it was our own Boat in which he was: We were very much Troubled; but knew not how to help our selves. At length we were fetched a Board to the great Rejoycing of our Friends.

Shortly after our coming a Board, there fell out a great Contest between Captain *Underhill* and Capt. *Patrick*: Captain *Underhill* claiming an Interest in the Bark where Captain *Patrick* was, which indeed was *Underhill*'s Right; The Contest grew to a great Heighth. At length we propounded, that if *Patrick* would Ride there with that *Bark* in Contention, and secure the *Narragansett Indians,* it being also the Place of Rendezvous to those Vessels that were expected from *Massachuset,* until we Transported our Wounded Men to *Saybrook* five *Leagues* distant; then we wou'd immediately return our *Pink* to convey the *Narragansetts* home: The which Captain *Patrick* seemed very readily to accept.

Captain *Underhill* soon after set sail in one of our *Barks* for *Saybrook*: But before he was out of Sight; Captain *Patrick* signified by Writing, that he could not attend that Service, but

he must wait for the *Bay Vessels* at *Saybrook,* wishing us, having the Honour of that Service to compleat it, by securing the *Narragansett Indians*; which at first seemed very Difficult, if not Impossible: For our *Pink* could not receive them, and to march by *Land* was very Dangerous; it being near *twenty Miles* in the Enemies Country, our Numbers being much weakened, we were then about *twenty Men*; the rest we had sent home for fear of the *Pequots* Invasion. But absolutely necessitated to March by Land, we hasted ashore, with our *Indians* and small Numbers. Captain *Patrick* seeing what we intended, came ashore also with his Men; although in truth we did not desire or delight in his Company, and so we plainly told him: However he would and did March a long with us.

About the *midway* between that and *Saybrook*, we fell upon a People called *Nayanticks,* belonging to the *Pequots,* who fled to a Swamp for Refuge: They hearing or espying of us, fled: We pursued them a while by the Track as long as they kept together: But being much spent with former Travel, and the *Sabbath* drawing on, it being about *Two* or *Three* of the *Clock* on the *Saturday* in the *Afternoon*; we leaving our Pursuit, hasted towards *Saybrook,* about *Sun set* we Arrived at *Connecticut River Side*; being nobly Entertained by Lieutenant *Gardner* with many great Guns: But were forced there to Quarter that Night: On the Morrow we were all fetched over to *Saybrook,* receiving many Courtesies from Lieut. *Gardner.*

And when we had taken Order for the safe Conduct of the *Narragansett Indians,* we repaired to the Place of our Abode: where we were Entertained with great Triumph and Rejoycing and Praising God for his Goodness to us, in succeeding our weak Endeavours, in Crowning us with Success, and restoring of us with so little Loss. *Thus was God seen in the Mount, Crushing his proud Enemies and the Enemies of his People: They who were ere while a* Terror *to all that were round about them, who resolved to Destroy all the* English *and to Root*

their very Name out of this Country, should by such weak Means, even SEVENTY SEVEN (*there being no more at the* FORT) *bring the Mischief they plotted, and the Violence they offered and exercised, upon their own Heads in a Moment*; *burning them up in the Fire of his Wrath, and dunging the Ground with their Flesh: It was the* LORD's Doings, *and it is marvellous in our Eyes! It is* HE *that hath made his Work wonderful, and therefore ought to be remembred.*

Immediately the whole Body of *Pequots* repaired to *that Fort* where SASSACOUS the *Chief Sachem* did reside; charging him that he was the only Cause of all the Troubles that had befallen them; and therefore they would Destroy both him and his: But by the Intreaty of their *Counsellors* they spared his Life; and consulting what Course to take, concluded *there was no abiding any longer in their Country,* and so resolved *to fly into several Parts.* The greatest Body of them went towards MANHATANCE:* And passing over *Connecticut,* they met with *three English Men* in a *Shallop* going for *Saybrook,* whom they slew: The *English* Fought very stoutly, as themselves confessed, Wounding many of the Enemy.

About a *Fortnight* after our *Return* home, which was about one *Month* after the *Fight* at MISTICK, there Arrived in PEQUOT RIVER several *Vessels* from the MASSACHUSETS, Captain *Israel Stoughton* being Commander in Chief; and with him about *One hundred and twenty Men*; being sent by that Colony to pursue the War against the *Pequots*: The Enemy being all fled before they came, except some few Straglers, who were surprised by the *Moheags* and others of the *Indians,* and by them delivered to the *Massachusets Soldiers.*

Connecticut Colony being informed hereof, sent forthwith *forty Men,* Captain *Mason* being Chief Commander; with some

*I suppose this the same which is sometimes called *Manhatan* or *Manhatoes*; which is since called *New York.*

other Gent, to meet those of the *Massachusetts,* to consider what was necessary to be attended respecting the future: Who meeting with them of the *Massachusetts* in *Pequot Harbour*; after some time of consultation, concluded to pursue those *Pequots* that were fled towards *Manhatance,* and so forthwith Marched after them, discovering several Places where they Rendezvoused and lodged not far distant from their several Removes; making but little haste, by reason of their Children, and want of Provision; being forced to dig for Clams, and to procure such other things as the Wilderness afforded: Our *Vessels* sailing along by the Shore. In about the space of *three Days* we all Arrived at *New Haven Harbour,* then called *Quinnypiag.* And seeing a great Smoak in the Woods not far distant, we supposing some of the *Pequots* our Enemies might be there; we hastened ashore, but quickly discovered them to be *Connecticut Indians.* Then we returned aboard our Vessels, where we stayed some short time, having sent a *Pequot Captive* upon discovery, we named him *Luz*; who brought us Tydings of the Enemy, which proved true; so faithful was he to us, though against his own Nation. Such was the Terror of the *English* upon them; that a *Moheage Indian* named *Jack Eatow* going ashore at that time, met with *three Pequots,* took *two* of them and brought them aboard.

We then hastened our March towards the Place where the Enemy was: And coming into a Corn Field, several of the *English* espyed some *Indians,* who fled from them: They pursued them; and coming to the Top of an Hill, saw several *Wigwams* just opposite, only a *Swamp* intervening, which was almost divided in two Parts. Serjeant *Palmer* hastening with about *twelve Men* who were under his Command to surround the smaller Part of the *Swamp,* that so He might prevent the *Indians* flying; Ensign *Danport,** Serjeant *Jeffries* &c, entering the Swamp, intended to have gone to the *Wigwams,* were there set upon by several *Indians,* who in all

* It should be *Davenport,* who was afterwards Captain of the *Castle* in *Boston Harbour.*

probability were deterred by Serjeant *Palmer.* In this Skirmish the *English* slew but few; *two* or *three* of themselves were Wounded: The rest of the *English* coming up, the *Swamp* was surrounded.

Our *Council* being called, and the *Question* propounded, *How we should proceed,* Captain *Patrick* advised that we should cut down the *Swamp*; there being many *Indian Hatchets* taken, Captain *Traske* concurring with him; but was opposed by others: Then we must pallizado the *Swamp*; which was also opposed: Then they would have a Hedge made like those of *Gotham*; all which was judged by some almost impossible, and to no purpose, and that for several Reasons, and therefore strongly opposed. But some others advised to force the *Swamp,* having time enough, it being about *three* of the *Clock* in the *Afternoon*: But that being opposed, it was then propounded to draw up our Men close to the *Swamp,* which would much have lessened the Circumference; and with all to fill up the open Passages with Bushes, that so we might secure them until the *Morning,* and then we might consider further about it. But neither of these would pass; so different were our Apprehensions; which was very grievous to some of us, who concluded the *Indians* would make an Escape in the *Night,* as easily they might and did: We keeping at a great distance, what better could be expected? Yet Captain *Mason* took Order that the Narrow in the *Swamp* should be cut thro'; which did much shorten our Leaguer. It was resolutely performed by Serjeant *Davis.*

We being loth to destroy *Women* and *Children,* as also the *Indians* belonging to that Place; whereupon Mr. *Tho. Stanton* a Man well acquainted with *Indian Language* and Manners, offered his Service to go into the *Swamp* and treat with them: To which we were somewhat backward, by reason of some Hazard and Danger he might be exposed unto: But his importunity prevailed: Who going to them, did in a short time return to us, with near *Two Hundred old Men, Women* and *Children*; who delivered themselves to the Mercy of the *English.*

And so *Night* drawing on, we beleaguered them as strongly as we could. About *half an Hour before Day,* the *Indians* that were in the *Swamp* attempted to break through Captain *Patrick's Quarters*; but were beaten back several times; they making a *great Noise,* as their Manner is at such Times, it sounded round about our Leaguer: Whereupon Captain *Mason* sent Serjeant *Stares* to inquire into the Cause, and also to assist if need required; Capt. *Traske* coming also in to their Assistance: But the Tumult growing to a very great Heighth, we raised our Siege; and Marching up to the Place, at a Turning of the *Swamp* the *Indians* were forcing out upon us; but we sent them back by our small Shot.

We waiting a little for a second Attempt; the *Indians* in the mean time facing about, pressed violently upon Captain *Patrick,* breaking through his Quarters, and so escaped. They were about *sixty* or *seventy* as we were informed. We afterwards searched the *Swamp,* & found but few *Slain.* The *Captives* we took were about *One Hundred and Eighty*; whom we divided, intending to keep them as *Servants,* but they could not endure that Yoke; few of them continuing any considerable time with their Masters.

Thus did the LORD *scatter his Enemies with his strong Arm*! The *Pequots* now became a Prey to all *Indians.* Happy were they that could bring in their Heads to the *English*: Of which there came almost daily to *Winsor,* or *Hartford.* But the *Pequots* growing weary hereof, sent some of the Chief that survived to *mediate* with the *English*; offering that *If they might but enjoy their Lives, they would become the* English *Vassals, to dispose of them as they pleased.* Which was granted them. Whereupon ONKOS and MYANTONIMO were sent for; who with the *Pequots* met at *Hartford.* The *Pequots* being demanded, *How many of them were then living?* Answered, about *One Hundred and Eighty,* or *Two Hundred.* There were then given to ONKOS, Sachem of MONHEAG, *Eighty*; to MYAN-

TONIMO, Sachem of NARRAGANSETT, *Eighty*; and to NYNIGRETT,† *Twenty,* when he should satisfy for a *Mare* of *Edward Pomroye*'s killed by his Men. The *Pequots* were then bound by COVENANT, *That none should inhabit their native Country, nor should any of them be called* PEQUOTS *any more, but* MOHEAGS *and* NARRAGANSETTS *for ever.* Shortly after, about *Forty* of them went to *Moheag*; others went to *Long Island*; the rest settled at *Pawcatuck,* a Place in *Pequot Country,* contrary to their late Covenant and Agreement with the *English.*

Which *Connecticut* taking into Consideration, and well weighing the several Inconveniences that might ensue; for the Prevention whereof, they sent out *forty Men* under the command of Captain *John Mason,* to supplant them, by burning their *Wigwams,* and bringing away their Corn, except they would desert the Place: ONKOS with about *One Hundred of his Men* in *twenty Canoes,* going also to assist in the Service. As we sailed into *Pawcatuck-Bay* We met with *three* of those *Indians,* whom we sent to inform the rest with the end of our coming, and also that we desired to speak with some of them: They promised speedily to return us an Answer, but never came to us more.

We run our *Vessel* up into a *small River,* and by reason of Flatts were forced to land on the *West Side*; their *Wigwams* being on the *East* just opposite, where we could see the *Indians* running up and down Jeering of us. But we meeting with a *narrow Place* in the *River* between *two Rocks,* drew up our *Indians Canoes,* and got suddenly over sooner than we were expected or desired; Marching immediately up to their *Wigwams*; the *Indians* being all fled, except some old People that could not.

We were so suddenly upon them that they had not time to convey away their Goods: We viewed their Corn, whereof there

† He was usually called NINNICRAFT.

was Plenty, it being their time of *Harvest:* And coming down to the Water Side to our Pinnace with *half* of ONKOS's his *Men,* the rest being plundering the *Wigwams*; we looking towards a *Hill* not far remote, we espyed about *sixty Indians* running towards us; we supposing they were our absent Men, the *Moheags* that were with us not speaking one word, nor moving towards them until the other came within *thirty* or *forty Paces* of them; then they run and met them and fell on pell mell striking and cutting with Bows, Hatchets, Knives, &c, after their feeble Manner: Indeed it did hardly deserve the Name of *Fighting.* We then endeavoured to get between them and the Woods, that so we might prevent their flying; which they perceiving, endeavoured speedily to get off under the *Beach*: We made no Shot at them, nor any hostile Attempt upon them. Only *seven* of them who were NYNIGRETT's *Men,* were taken. Some of them growing very outragious, whom we intended to have made shorter by the Head; and being about to put it in Execution; one *Otash* a Sachem of *Narragansett,* Brother to MYANTONIMO stepping forth, told the *Captain, They were his Brother's Men, and that he was a Friend to the* English, *and if we would spare their Lives we should have as many Murtherers Heads in lieu of them which should be delivered to the* English. We considering that there was no Blood shed as yet, and that it tended to Peace and Mercy, granted his Desire; and so delivered them to ONKOS to secure them until his Engagement was performed, because our *Prison* had been very much pestered with such Creatures.

We then drew our *Bark* into a *Creek,* the better to defend her; for there were *many Hundreds* within *five Miles* waiting upon us. There we Quartered that *Night*: In the *Morning* as soon as it was Light there appeared in Arms at least *Three Hundred Indians* on the other Side the *Creek*: Upon which we stood to our Arms; which they perceiving, some of them fled, others crept behind the Rocks and Trees, not one of them to be seen. We then called to them, saying, *We desired to speak with them, and that we would down our Arms for*

that end: Whereupon they stood up: We then informed them, *That the Pequots had violated their Promise with the* English, *in that they were not there to inhabit, and that we were sent to supplant them:* They answered saying, *The* Pequots *were good Men, their Friends, and they would Fight for them, and protect them:* At which we were somewhat moved, and told them, *It was not far to the Head of the* Creek *where we would meet them, and then they might try what they could do in that Respect.*

They then replyed, *That they would not Fight with* ENGLISH MEN, *for they were* SPIRITS, *but would Fight with* ONKOS. We replyed, *That we thought it was too early for them to Fight, but they might take their opportunity; we should be burning* Wigwams, *and carrying Corn aboard all that Day.* And presently beating up our Drum, we Fired the *Wigwams* in their View: And as we Marched, there were *two Indians* standing upon a *Hill* jeering and reviling of us: Mr. *Thomas Stanton* our Interpreter, Marching at Liberty, desired to make a Shot at them; the *Captain* demanding of the *Indians, What they were*? Who said, *They were Murtherers*: Then the said *Stanton* having leave, let fly, Shot one of them through both his Thighs; which was to our Wonderment, it being at such a vast distance.

We then loaded our *Bark* with Corn; and our *Indians* their *Canoes*: And *thirty* more which we had taken, with Kittles, Trays, Matts, and other *Indian* Luggage. That *Night* we went all aboard, & set Sail homeward: It pleased GOD in a short Time to bring us all in safety to the Place of our Abode; although we strook and stuck upon a Rock. The Way and Manner how GOD dealt with us in our Delivery was very Remarkable: The Story would be somewhat long to trouble you with at this time; and therefore I shall forbear.

Thus we may see, *How the Face of* GOD *is set against them that do Evil, to cut off the Remembrance of them from the Earth. Our Tongue shall talk of thy Righteousness all the Day long; for they are*

confounded, they are bro't to Shame that sought our Hurt! Blessed be the LORD GOD *of* Israel, *who only doth wondrous Things; and blessed be his holy Name for ever: Let the whole Earth be filled with his Glory! Thus the* LORD *was pleased to smite our Enemies in the hinder Parts, and to give us their Land for an Inheritance: Who remembred us in our low Estate, and redeemed us out of our Enemies Hands: Let us therefore praise the* LORD *for his Goodness and his wonderful Works to the Children of Men!*

ADDITION.

I shall add a Word or two by way of COMENT.

OUR *Commons* were very short, there being a general scarcity throughout the *Colony* of all sorts of Provision, it being upon our first Arrival at the Place. We had but one Pint of strong Liquors among us in our whole March, but what the Wilderness afforded; (the Bottle of Liquor being in my Hand) & when it was empty, the very smelling to the Bottle would presently recover such as Fainted away, which happened by the extremity of the Heat: And thus we Marched on in an uncoath and unknown Path to the *English,* though much frequented by *Indians.* And was not the Finger of GOD in all this? By his special Providence to lead us along in the Way we should go: Nay though we knew not where their Forts were, how far it was to them, nor the Way that led to them, but by what we had from our *Indian* Guides; whom we could not confide in, but looked at them as uncertain: And yet notwithstanding all our Doubts, we should be brought on the very fittest Season; nay and which is yet more, that we should be carried in our March among a treacherous and perfidious People, yea in our allodgment so near the Enemy, all Night in so populous a Country, and not the least Notice of us; seemeth somewhat strange, and more than ordinary: Nay that we should come to their very Doors: *What shall I say*? GOD was pleased to hide us in the Hollow of his Hand; I

still remember a Speech of Mr. HOOKER at our going aboard; THAT THEY SHOULD BE BREAD FOR US. And thus when the LORD turned the Captivity of his People, and turned the Wheel upon their Enemies; we were like Men in a Dream; then was our Mouth filled with Laughter, and our Tongues with Singing; thus we may say the LORD hath done great Things for us among the Heathen, whereof we are glad. Praise ye the LORD!

I shall mention two or three *special Providences* that GOD was pleased to vouchsafe to *Particular Men*; viz. *two Men,* being one Man's Servants, namely, *John Dier* and *Thomas Stiles,* were both of them Shot in the Knots of their Handkerchiefs, being about their Necks, and received no Hurt. Lieutenant *Seeley* was Shot in the Eyebrow with a flat headed Arrow, the Point turning downwards: I pulled it out my self. Lieutenant *Bull* had an Arrow Shot into a hard piece of Cheese, having no other Defence: Which may verify the old Saying, *A little Armour would serve if a Man knew where to place it.* Many such Providences happened; some respecting my self; but since there is none that Witness to them, I shall forbear to mention them.

The *Year ensuing,* the *Colony* being in extream Want of Provision, many giving *twelve Shillings* for *one Bushel* of *Indian Corn*; the *Court* of *Connecticut* imploying Captain *Mason*, Mr. *William Wadsworth* and Deacon *Stebbin*, to try what Providence would afford, for their Relief in this great Straight: Who notwithstanding some discouragement they met with from some *English,* went to a Place called *Pocomtuck*:‡ where they procured so much *Corn* at reasonable Rates, that the *Indians* brought down to *Hartford* and *Windsor*, FIFTY CANOES laden with *Corn* at one time. Never was the like known to this Day! So although the LORD was pleased to shew his People hard Things; yet did he execute Judgment for the Oppressed, and gave Food to the Hungry. O let us meditate on the Great Works of GOD: Ascribing all Blessing and Praise to his Great Name, for all his Great Goodness and Salvation! *Amen, Amen.*

‡ Since called *Deerfield.*

F I N I S.

Notes

ii.9 MILES STANDISH] (c.1584–1656); he probably joined the English forces at Ostend in 1601, and may have become an officer before the truce with Spain in 1609. He served in the peacetime garrisons of Holland until 1616.

ii.10 JOHN MASON] (c.1600-1672); his parentage and ancestry are not known.

ii.30 *Vaudois*] Waldensians, a reformist Christian movement of the twelfth through the sixteenth centuries, centered in southern France and northern Italy. They were condemned and persecuted by the Roman Catholic authorities, and were ultimately absorbed into the Protestant Reformation.

ii.30 *North-Britons*] This phrase usually means the Scots.

iii.17–18 *John Mason ... New-Hampshire*] (1586–1635), governor of Newfoundland 1615-1621 and author of *A Briefe Discourse of the New-Found-Land* (1620). In 1622 he became associated with Sir Ferdinando Gorges to develop land grants in New England, with Mason having proprietorship of the region between the Merrimac and Piscataqua rivers.

iv.2 MIANTONIMO] or Miantonomo (c.1565–1643). In a later war with the Mohegans, he was captured by Uncas and delivered to the English, tried, and executed.

iv.4 SASSACUS] (c.1560–1637); he was killed by the Mohawks.

iv.4–5 MOHEGANS] An Algonquian-speaking tribe of Connecticut; not the Mohicans or Mahicans of the Hudson River valley.

iv.7 UNCAS] (c.1588–1682)

iv.10–11 1634 ... Capt. Stone] John Winthrop's journal records the news of this killing on January 21, 1634 (new style). John Stone had stopped in Boston in the summer of 1633 carrying cattle and salt from Virginia. During his brief stay he was arrested twice on suspicion of piracy and charges of adultery and cursing the magistrates. He was fined and ordered out of

port. Walter Norton (c.1580–1633), who was associated with Gorges' New England trading ventures and had settled in Maine in 1623, embarked with Stone at Agamenticus (York, Maine) following Stone's eviction from Boston.

iv.12 *1635 ... Capt. Oldham*] The murder of John Oldham (c.1600–1636) occurred in July 1636. Oldham was active in the Indian trade and the Bay colony's negotiations with the western tribes. Originally, an emigrant to the Plymouth Colony in 1623, he was exiled from that community in 1624. He had resettled in Hull, and moved to Watertown in 1632. In 1634 he established a trading post on the Connecticut River at the future site of Wethersfield. Evidence suggests that Oldham was killed by members of the Narragansetts, two of whom were serving among his crew, and not by their rivals the Pequots.

v.9 Rev. Mr. HOOKER] Thomas Hooker (1585–1647), one of the founders of Connecticut.

v.17 Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX] The third Lord Fairfax of Cameron (1612–1671); he served in the Netherlands under Horace Vere, Baron Vere of Tilbury, 1629–1632. He was commander in chief of the New Model army 1644–49.

vi.5 *John Allyn*] Lt. Col. John Allyn (1630-1696) of Hartford; he was the secretary of Connecticut Colony for 30 years (1664–65, 1667–1696).

vi.27 *Thomas Prince*] (1687–1758); he was, from 1718, minister of the Old South Church in Boston. He was a lifelong collector of books, manuscripts, maps, and materials relating to the history of New England; he published *A Chronological History of New-England in the Form of Annals ... from the Discovery by Capt. Gosnold in 1602, to the arrival of Governor Belcher, in 1730* (2 vols.: 1736 & 1755).

ii.9 *at Rovers*] In archery, at a target selected at random.

iv.4 President] *i.e.,* precedent

iv.6 first *of the noble* Cæsars] Julius Caesar, who wrote *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* (*Commentaries on the Gallic War*) and *Commentarii de Bello Civili* (*Commentaries on the Civil War*).

v.23–24 *no Man ... general History*] "P. Vincentius" (Philip Vincent) had published *A True Relation of the Late Battell fought in New England, between the English, and the Salvages: With the present state of things there* (1637), which relates only the Mystick Fight; John Underhill had published *Newes from America; Or, A New and Experimentall Discoverie of New England; Containing, A Trve Relation of Their War-like Proceedings These Two Yeares Last Past, with a Figure of the Indian Fort, or Palizado* (1638), which relates the Block Island expedition and the Mystick Fight; neither work covers the later campaigns after May 1637. Lion Gardener had written an account around 1660, but it remained in manuscript in the colony archives until rediscovered and published in the early nineteenth century.

vi.29 Reverend Mr. *William Hubbard*] *The History of the Indian Wars in New England, from the First Settlement to the Termination of the War with King Philip in 1677* (Boston, 1677)

viii.5 Capt. *Stone*] see note iv.10–11

viii.15–16 *Dutch* ... up the River] Dutch traders from New Amsterdam had established a post fifty miles up the Connecticut River, near the present site of Hartford, in 1633.

ix.11 *John Endicot*] John Endicott (1588–1665) is generally considered the most intolerant and least conciliable of the early Masachusetts magistrates and governors.

ix.15 *John Oldham*] see note iv.12

ix.23 *Lyon Gardner*] Lion Gardener, or Gardiner, (1599-1663) was an English military engineer, formerly in the service of the prince of Orange, who was hired by members of the Connecticut Company in 1635 to oversee construction of fortifications for their new colony. On arriving in Connecticut in early 1636, his first assignment was to finish and garrison Saybrook Fort, at the mouth of the Connecticut River. Gardener later (1639) acquired and gave his name to Gardiners Island.

1.11 one *Pink*] from the Dutch *pincke*, a small ship with a narrow stern.

1.20 Capt. *John Underhill*] John Underhill (c.1608–1672) was born in the Netherlands to English parents and received military training in the service of William, Prince of Orange. In 1630 he was hired by the Massachusetts Bay Colony with the rank of captain to help train the colony's militia. Following his service in the Pequot War, he faced charges of Antinomianism and adultery. He was removed from office and disenfranchised in 1637, banished in 1638, and excommunicated in 1640. He settled in Dover (New Hampshire) and ultimately was reconciled with the Massachusetts authorities after a public repentance. He removed to Connecticut in 1642, but left in 1653 to accept a captaincy in New Netherland's military forces. He prosecuted their war with the Natives of Long Island and southwestern Connecticut, destroying villages at Massapequa and Stamford. He lived in Flushing until 1653, when he served with the English in their war with the Dutch. He afterwards returned to Long Island and settled at Oyster Bay, where he died in 1672.

3.10 Mr. *Stone*] Samuel Stone (1602–1663), minister at Hartford

3.22–25 *Belgia* ... *Grubbendunk*] The "*States*" are the States-General (Staten-Generaal), the parliament of the Netherlands. Antoine Schetz (1560-1640), baron of Grobendonk, was the governor of Bois-le-Duc (*Dutch,* s' Hertogenbosch) and commanded its defense in the siege of 1629. However, he served on the side of the Spanish, not the States, and does not appear to have died as a result of military action. Jan Janszn Orlers in *The triumphs of Nassau: or, A description and representation of all the victories both by land and sea, granted by God to the noble, high, and mightie lords, the Estates generall of the vnited Netherland Prouinces Vnder the conduct and command of his excellencie, Prince Maurice of Nassau* (1613), does report that "Grobbendonck" gave safe passage to the surrendered garrison of Huy, preventing their murder by the Spaniards in February 1595.

4.28 NAYANTICKE] Probably near present-day Charlestown, Rhode Island.

5.23 *Pawcatuck-River*] This river flows southwest from central Rhode Island; its lower 10 miles form the present border with Connecticut.

7.34 Lieutenant *Seeley*] Robert Seeley (d.1668) of Wethersfield

8.6 *William Heydon*] William Haydon (d.1669) of Hartford.

8.12–13 *Edward Pattison*] of Windsor, later of Saybrook.

8.13 *Thomas Barber*] of Windsor (d.1662).

8.24 Lieutenant *Thomas Bull*] of Hartford (d.1684).

8.24 *Nicholas Omsted*] or Olmstead, of Hartford (d.1684).

8.32 *Arthur Smith*] of Hartford (d.1655).

9.16–17 Mr. HEDGE] William Hedge or Hedges (1612–1670) of Lynn, Mass.; he later removed to Sandwich, Yarmouth, and Taunton.

9.20–21 Serjeant *Davis*] Philip Davis (d.1689) of Hartford.

12.6 Captain *Patrick*] Daniel Patrick (d.1643), a veteran of the Low Country wars, was hired by the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1630 to train soldiers and manufacture ammunition. He later moved to New Haven Colony and was involved in the founding of Greenwich, Conn. On his death and loose morals, see *The Journal of John Winthrop, 1630–1649* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 67, 491–92.

14.24 *Israel Stoughton*] (1603–1644) of Dorchester, Mass. He returned to England in 1643 and became lieutenant colonel in the Parliamentary army.

15.29 Serjeant *Palmer*] Nicholas Palmer (d.1689) of Windsor.

15.32 Ensign *Danport*] Richard Davenport (1605–1665) of Boston.

15.32–33 Serjeant *Jeffries*] Thomas Jefferies, or Jeffrey (c.1613–1661), of Dorchester; later (1639) removed to New Haven.

16.8 Captain *Traske*] William Trask (c.1587–1666) of Salem.

16.10–11 Hedge ... *Gotham*] According to legend, the twelfth-century inhabitants of Gotham, Nottinghamshire, feigned idiocy to prevent King John from establishing a residence there. In the tale "The Cuckoo Bush of Gotham," in *The Merry Tales of the Mad Men of Gotham* (1540), villagers build a hedge around a tree to entrap a cuckoo.

16.26 *Leaguer*] A military camp, especially one engaged in a siege; an investing force. (OED)

16.29 Mr. *Thos. Stanton*] (d.1678) of Hartford, and later (1658) of Stonington.

17.7 Serjeant *Stares*] Thomas Staires (d.1640) of Windsor.

18.2–3 *Edward Pomroye*'s] probably Eltweed Pomeroy (1585–1673) of Hartford.

22.10 *John Dier*] or Dyer, of Windsor (d.1659).

22.10 *Thomas Stiles*] or Styles, of Windsor; he later removed to Long Island.

22.21 Mr. *William Wadsworth*] (1594–1675) of Hartford.

22.22 Deacon *Stebbin*] Edward Stebbins (1595–1663) of Hartford.

Note on the Text

This online electronic edition of *A Brief History of the Pequot War* is based on the first book edition, edited and published by Thomas Prince in Boston in 1736. The spelling, punctuation, capitalization, italics, and pagination scheme follow the original source. The text was transcribed from digital page images of the the Library of Congress copy of the 1736 edition, accessed in the Sabin Americana collection, and was collated against the Readex Microprint edition of the American Antiquarian Society's copy (Evans no. 4033). Some typographical errors have been corrected and a list is provided below, keyed to page and line of the present edition (the line count includes chapter headings, but not running heads or hairlines):

Page.line	*1736 edition*	*emended to*
i.19	*dist*	*didst*
ii.9	Capt	Capt.
i.11	*to own*	*to my own*
iv.24	*Mason'*s	*Mason'*s.
vi.30	Accoun s	Accounts
x.26	pelased	pleased
10.19	*Ba ks*	*Barks*
10.21	*Diffi ulties*	*Difficulties*
21.24	condfie	confide
22.12–13	Eyebrew	Eyebrow

It appears that the original printers, Samuel Kneeland (1697–1769) and his cousin Timothy Green II (1703–1763), put considerably greater effort and care into the ornamentation than into the justification of the type. Many lines lack even word spacing, and separate words are often run together, even where adequate word spacing exists elsewhere on the same line. The following passages have been emended by the addition of word space:

Page.line	*1736 edition reading*
i.20	*howThou*
i.22	*theLight*
ii.6–7	*Cape-CodHarbour*
iii.8	thatHe
iii.27	theseMatters
iii.27	toObserve
iii.34	*SouthWestern*
v.11	superiourPiety
ii.8	*the*Pequots
x.23–24	theCountry
3.10–11	ourCondition
3.12–13	our *Chaplin*
6.9	*IndianCorn*
6.13	allDiscouraged
6.31	MoonLight
7.31–32	withBushes
9.18–19	toEnter
10.14	outright,and
10.15	SomeFainted
10.20	intendedAssault
13.8	the*Pequots*Invasion
13.24	thatNight
14.16–17	towardsMANHATANCE
14.27	fewStraglers
16.1–2	thisSkirmish
16.30	aMan
17.28	English*Vassals*
18.23	the *West*
19.22	*the*English
19.23	noBlood
19.27	suchCreatures
21.15–16	myHand
21.27	perfidiousPeople
22.9–10	oneMan's

Since most involve the lack of space before an upper-case letter, this may be an indication that the capital letters represent changes in type where the line spacing was not readjusted.

This online edition is set in IM Fell DW Pica, a typeface cut in the late seventeenth century by Peter de Walpergen for John Fell, Bishop of Oxford, and digitized and furnished by Igino Marini: http://www.iginomarini.com/fell.html. For the convenience of modern readers and for more accurate searching and excerpting, the long s (ſ, or *ſ*) and its ligatures have not been used, except in the title page and running heads. The ornaments, borders, and initials are reconstructions of those in the 1736 edition. The pagination sequence follows that of the original edition: there are two sets of roman numerals (i–vi and i–x), corresponding to Prince's "Introduction" and restarting with Mason's preliminary materials. The page layout and design are based on the first edition, and page breaks correspond approximately to those of the original.

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