1631


Thomas Dudley  
*Deputy Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony*

John Farmer, Editor (1834 edition)  
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The following copy of the Letter of Thomas Dudley to the Countess of Lincoln, written in March 1631, is the earliest complete printing of the text. It appeared in the New Hampshire Historical Collections, volume 4 (1834), pages 224–249. It was also issued separately in Concord, N.H., by Marsh, Capen and Lyon that same year.

Approximately three-quarters of the letter had previously appeared in 1696, in the volume published in Boston titled Massachusetts, or The First Planters, possibly compiled and edited by Joshua Scottow.

This present text was printed from a manuscript discovered “by one of the Publishing Committee” bound in a copy of Edward Johnson’s Wonder-Working Providence and Edward Winslow’s New England Salamander Discovered. The editor of this text, John Farmer, suggests that this manuscript was the printer’s copy for the text printed in 1696, relating that the excerpts are marked for the printer and correspond to the printed 1696 version.

This text of the letter was reprinted four years later (in 1838) at Washington, D.C., in volume II of Peter Force’s Tracts and Other Papers Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America, From the Discovery of the Country to the Year 1776. Force, however, altered and truncated the brief explanatory passage at the start, describing the manuscript’s discovery.

The letter has been printed many times since, in numerous modernized versions.


The copy of Gov. Dudley's Letter to the Countess of Lincoln, from which the following is printed, has lately been discovered by one of the Publishing Committee in a manuscript, of the chirography of the beginning of the 17th century, and bound up with Johnson's 'Wonder Working Providence' and Window's 'New England Salamander.'

It is valuable on account of its containing much more than the printed copy which was used by the annotist, Mr. Prince, and which is preserved in the 8th volume first series, of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It is to be regretted that the first part of the manuscript is missing — how much cannot be ascertained, but probably only a small part. The description of the Bays and Rivers is wanting, and a few lines, giving some account of the Indians. It has been copied and compared with scrupulous care, the chirography not only being retained, but the abbreviations, and divisions into paragraphs.

There is good reason to believe that the original printed copy was made from this manuscript, part of it being marked as was printed, and having the printer's mark for the end of the signature. The introduction being lost from the MS., it is here copied from the Collections referred to.

To the Right Honourable, my very good Lady, the Lady Bridget, Countess of Lincoln.

MA'DAM,

Your letters (which are not common nor cheap) following me hither into New England, and bringing with them renewed testimonies of the accustomed favours you honoured me with in the old, have drawn from me this narrative retribution, which (in respect of your proper interest in some persons of great note amongst us) was the thankfullest present I had to send over the seas. Therefore I humbly intreat your
Gov. Thomas Dudley's Letter.

Honour this be accepted as payment from him, who neither hath, nor is any more, than Your Honour's Old
Thankful Servant,
THOMAS DUDLEY.

Boston in New England,
March 12th 1630.*

For the satisfaction of your Honour, and some friends, and for the use of such as shall hereafter intend to increase our plantation in New England, I have in the throng of domestick, and not altogether free from publick business, thought fit to commit to memory our present condition, and what hath befallen us since our arrival here; which I will do shortly, after my usual manner, and must do rudely, having yet no table, nor other room to write in, than by the fire-side upon my knee, in this sharp winter; to which my family must have leave to resort, though they break good manners, and make me sometimes forget what I would say, and say what I would not.

(Here commences the ancient MS. copy, which probably contained an account of the Bays and Rivers, and then a brief notice of the Indian tribes living on them.)

* * * * * Sachim in New England whom I saw the last somer. Upon the river of Naponset neere to the Mattachusettts feilds dwelleth Chicka Talbott, who hath betweene 50 and 60 subjects. This man least favoureth the English of any Sagamore (for soe are the kinges with vs called, as they are Sachims Southwards) wee are acquainted with, by reason of

*That is, 1631, the double date being omitted.
the old quarrell betweene him and those of Plymouth, wherein hee lost 7 of his best men, yet hee lodged one night the last winter at my house in freindly manner. About 70 or 80 miles westward from theis, are seated the Nipnett men, whose Sagamore wee know not, but wee heare their numbers exceed any but the Pecoates and the Narragansets, and they are the only people wee yet heare of in the inland Country. Vppon the river of Mistick is seated Saggamore John,* and vppon the river Sawgus, Sagamore James† his brother, both soe named by the English.—The elder brother John is a handsome young (one line missing) conversant with vs, affecting English Apparel and howses and speaking well of our God. His brother James is of a farr worse disposition, yet repaireth often to vs. Both theis brothers command not above 30 or 40 men for aught I can learne. Neer to Salem dwelleth 2 or 3 families, subject to the Saggamore of Agawam, whose name he toould mee, but I have forgotten it. This Sagamore hath but few subjectts and them and himself tributary to Sagamore James, hauinge beene before the last yeare (in James his minority) tributary to Chicka Talbott. Vppon the river Merimack is seated Sagamore Passaconaway, hauing under his command 4 or 500 men, being esteemed by his countrymen a false fellow, and by vs a witch. For any more northernly I know not, but leave it to after relations. Hauing thus breifly and disorderly, especially in my description of the Bays and Rivers set downe what is come to hand touching the (one line missing)

*His Indian name was Wenokquaum.]*
†His original name was Montowampato. He died three years after the date of this letter. Lewis, Hist. Lynn, 16, 17.
Now concerninge the English that are planted here, I find that about the year 1620, certaine English sett out from Leyden, in Holland, intending their course for Hudson's river; the mouth whereof lyeth south of the river of the Pecocates, but ariseth as I am informed, northwards in about 43 degrees, and see a good part of it within the compass of our Patent. This being much weather beaten and wearied with seeking the river after a most tedious voyage, arrived at length in a small Bay, lyeing north east from Cape Cod, where, landing about the month of December, by the favour of a calm winter, such as was never seene here since, beganne to build their dwellings in that place, which now is called New Plymouth, where, after much sickness, famine, poverty and great mortality, (through all which God by an unwonted Providence caried them) they are now growne vp to a people, healthfull, wealthy, politique and religious: such thinges doth the Lord for those that waite for his mercies. This of Plymouth came with Patents from King James, and have since obtained others from our Sovereigne King Charles, havinge a Governour and Counsaile of their owne. There was about the same time one Mr. Weston,* an English merchant, who sent diverse men to plant and trade who sate downe by the river Wesaguscus, but theirs not coming for see good ends as those of Plymouth spedd not soe well, for the most of them dyinge and languishing away, they who survived were rescued by those of Plymouth out of the hands of

*Thomas Weston, who commenced in May 1622, the settlement of Weymouth, a town, although the settlement was suspended a short time, probably the oldest in Massachusetts, out of Plymouth Colony. He returned to England, and died at Bristol.
Chicka Talbott, and his Indians, who oppressed these weak English, and intended to have destroyed them, and the Plymoteans also, as is set downe in a tract written by Mr. Winslow of Plymouth. Also since, one Capt. Wollaston with some 30 with him, came neer to the same place, and built on a hill, which he named Mount Wollaston; but being not supplied with renewed provisions, they vanished away as the former did. Also, diverse merchants of Bristow and some other places have yearly for their years or thereabouts sent ships hether at the fishing times to trade for Beaver where there factors dishonestly for their gaines, have furnished the Indians with guns, swords, powder and shot.

Touching the plantation which wee here hane begun, it fell out thus:—About the yeare 1627, some friends beeing togethther in Lincolnshire, fell into some discourse about New England, and the plantinge of the gospell there; and after some deliberation we imparted our reasons by lres. and messages to some in London and the west country, where it was likewise deliberately thought upon, and at length with often negotiation soe ripened that in the year 1628, wee procured a patent from his Matie for our planting betweene the Matachuets Bay and Charles River on the south and the River of Merimack on the North; and 3 miles on eyther side of those Rivers and Bay; as also for the government of those who did or should inhabit with in that compass; and the same yeare, we sent Mr. John Endicott* and

[*The Planters Petia, printed at London, by William Jones, in 1630, gives the following account of this emigration: "Master Endecott was sent over Governour assisted with a few men, and arriving in safety there, in September 1628, and uniting his own men with those which were formerly planted in the country, into one body; they made up in all not much above fifty or sixtie persons. His prosperous journey and safe arrival of himselfe and all his Company, and good report he sent backe of the Country, gave such encouragement to the worke. that
some with him to begin a plantacon; and to strengthen such as he should find there, which we sent hither from Dorchester and some places adjoyning; from whom the same year receiving hopeful newes, the next yeare, '1629, we sent diverse ships over with about 300 people, and some cows, goates and horses, many of which arrived safely. This by their too large commendations of the Country, and the commodities thereof, invited us so strongly to goe on that Mr. Wentthropp of Suffolke (who was well knowne in his owne country and well approved here for his pyety, liberality, wisedom and gravity) cominge in to us, wee came to such resolution that in April, '1630, wee sett saile from old England with 4 good ships.† And in May following, 8 more followed; 26 having gone before in February and March, and 2 more following in June and August, besides another set out by a private merchant. These 17 ships arrived all safe in New England for the increase of the plantacon here this yeare '1630—but made a long, a troublesome and costly voyage, beeing all windbound long in England, and hindered with contrary winds, after they sett saile and soe scattered with mists and tempests that few of them arrived together. Our 4 ships which sett out in April arrived here in June and July,
where wee found the Colony in a sad and unexpected condition, above 80 of them beeing dead the winter before, and many of those alike, weake and sicke; all the corne and bread amongst them all, hardly sufficient to feed upon a fortnight, insomuch that the remainder of 180 servants wee had the two yeares before sent over, cominge to vs for victualls to sustaine them, wee found ourselves wholly unable to feed them by reason that the provisions shipped for them were taken out of the shipp they were put in, and they who were trusted to shipp them in another, failed vs, and left them behind; wherevpon necessity enforced vs to our extreme loss to giue them all libertie, who had cost vs about 16 or 20 £. a person furnishing and sending over. But bearing theis things as wee might, wee beganne to consult of the place of our sitting downe; for Salem,* where wee landed, pleased us not.—And to that purpose, some were sent to the Bay to search vpp the rivers for a convenient place; who vpon their returne, reported to have found a good place vpon Mistick; but some other of vs seconding theis to approove or dislike of their judgment, wee found a place [that] liked vs better, 3 leagues vpp Charles river; and therevpon unshipped our goods into other vessells and with much cost and labour, brought them in July to Charlestowne: but there receiving advertisements by some of the late arrived shipps from London and Amsterdam, of some French preparations against vs (many of our people brought with vs beeing sick of feavers and the scurvy, and wee thereby

* [Mather (Magnalia I. 62) says the first settlers „called it Salem for the peace which they had hoped in it;“ but the Planter's Plea, (page 14) probably a better authority, says, its original name was changed into the name of Salem, „though upon a faire ground in remembrance of a peace settled upon a conference at a generall meeting between them and their neighbours, after expectation of some dangerous jure.”]
vnable to carry vp our ordinance and baggage soe farr) wee were forced to change counsaile and for our present shelter to plant dispersedly, some at Charles Towne which standeth on the North side of the mouth of Charles river; some on the south side thereof, which place wee named Boston; (as wee intended to have done the place wee first resolved on) some of vs upon Mistick, which wee named Meadford; some of vs westwards on Charles river, 4 miles from Charles Towne, which place wee named Watertowne; others of vs 2 miles from Boston, in a place wee named Rocksbury; others vppon the the river of Sawgus betweene Salem and Charles Towne; and the western men 4 miles South from Boston, at a place wee named Dorchester. This dispersion troubled some of vs, but helpe it wee could not; wanting ability to remoue to any place fitt to build a Towne vppon, and the time too short to deliberate any longer, least the winter should surprize vs before wee had builded our houses. The best counsel wee could find out was, to build a fort to retire to, in some convenient place, if an enemy pressed thereunto, after wee should have fortified ourselves against the injuries of wett and cold. So ceasing to consult further for that time, they who had health to labour fell to building, wherein many were interrupted with sicknes and many dyed.
weekly, yea almost dayly.* Amongst whom were Mrs. Pinchon† Mrs. Coddington,‡ Mrs. Philips, § and Mrs. Acock,‖ a sister of Mr. Hookers. Insomuch that the ships being now upon their returne, some for England, some for Ireland, there was, as I take it not much less than an hundred (some think many more) partly out of dislike of our government which restrained and punished their excesses, and partly through fear of famine, not seeing other means than by their labour to feed themselves, which returned buck againe. And glad were we so to bee ridd of them. Others also afterwards hearing of men of their owne disposition, which were planted at Pascataway, went from vs to them, whereby our numbers were lessened, yet we accounted ourselvesnothing weakened by their removeall. Before the departure of the shipps, we contracted with Mr. Petre Mr. of the Lyon of Bristow, to returne to vs with all speed with fresh supplies of victuals, and gave him directions accordingly. With this shipp returned Mr. Revell,¶ one of the 5 undertakers here for the joint stock of the company; and Mr. Vassall,** one of the assistants, and his family; and also Mr. Bright,†† a minister, sent hither the yeare before. The ships beinge gone, victu-

*†[Gov. Winthrop was of opinion that the sickness was caused by "ill dietat sea," and that it became infectious. He lost twelve out of his family, which he thus commiserates, "Waters and his wife, and two of his children, Mr. Gager and his man Smith of Buxall, and his wife and two children, the wife of Taylor of Havrehill and their child; my son H. makes the twelve." The last was Henry Winthrop, who was drowned.]  
†[She was wife of William Pynchon, one of the Assistants.]  
‡[Wife of William Coddington, who was also one of the Assistants.]  
§[Wife of Rev. George Phillips, the first minister of Watertown.]  
‖[Her husband was Deacon George Acock, one of the first settlers of Roxbury.]  
¶[John Revell, who was chosen assistant, 20 October, 1629, and came over the next year.]  
**[William Vassall, who returned to New England in 1634 and settled in Scituate, Mass. He finally settled in the Barbadoes, in the West Indies, and died in 1655.]  
††[Rev. Francis Bright, who arrived at Salem in June, 1639.]
alls wastinge, and mortality increasinge, was held diverse fasts in our several congregations, but the Lord would not yet bee depreicated; for about the beginning of September, dyed Mr. Gager, a right godly man, a skilful chirurgeon, and one of the deacons of our congregation; and Mr. Higginson,* one of the ministers of Salem, a zealous and a profitable preacher;—this of a consumption, that of a fever, and on the 30th of September, dyed Mr. Johnson† another of the 5 undertakers (the Lady Arrabella, his wife, being dead a month before.) This gentleman was a prime man amongst vs, hauing the best estate of any, zealous for religion and greatest furtherer of this plantation. He made a most godly end, dying willingly, professing his life better spent in promoting this plantation than it would have bee any other way. He left to vs a loss greater than the most conceived.—Within a month after, dyed Mr. Rossiter;‡ another of our assistants, a godly man, and of a good estate, which still weakened vs more; so that there now were left of the 5 undertakers but the Governour, Sir Richard Saltonstall and my selfe, and 7 other of the Assistants. And of the people who came over with vs, from the time of their setting saile from England in Aprill, 1630, vntill December followinge, there dyed by estimation about 200 at the least—Soe lowe hath the Lord brought vs! Well, yet they who survived were not discouraged, but bearing God's

*Rev. Francis Higginson, who came with Mr. Bright, and died at Salem in August, 1630, aged 42.
†Isaac Johnson was of a very respectable family. His father Abraham Johnson, who resided in Clipsham, in Rutlandshire married a daughter of William Glatton, bishop of Lincoln. His grandfather, Robert Johnson, was Archdeacon of Leicester in 1584, and was the founder of the free schools in Rutlandshire. He died about 1616.
‡Edward Rossiter, who was chosen an assistant in 1629. He died 28 October 1630.
corrections with humility and trusting in his mercies, and considering how after a greater ebb hee had raised vpp our neighbours at Plymouth, wee begane againe in December to consult about a fit place to build a towne vpon, leaveinge all thoughts of a Fort, because vpon any invasion wee were necessarly to loose our howses when wee should retire therunto; soo after diverse meetings at Boston, Roxbury and Waterton on the 28th day of December, wee grew to this resolucon to bind all the Assistants (Mr. Endicott and Mr. Sharpe excepted, which last purposeth to return by the next shipps into England) to build howses at a place, a mile East from Waterton, neere Charles river, the next spring, and to winter there the next year, that soo by our examples and by removing the ordinance and munition thether, all who were able, might be drawne thether, and such as shall come to vs hereafter to their advantage bee compelled soo to doe, and soo if God would, a fortified Towne might there grow vpp, the place sitting reasonably well thereto. I should before haue mentioned how both the English and Indian corne beeinge at tenne shillings a strike, and beaver beeinge valued a. 6 shilling a pound, wee made laws to restrainge the selling of corne to the Indians, and to leaue the price of beauer at libertie, which was presentely sold for tenne and 20 shillings a pound. I should alsoe haue remembred how the halfe of our cowes and almost all our mares and goats, sent vs out of England dyed at sea in their passage hither, and that those

*The cows and horses sent over in 1628, are thus mentioned in the Plantaers plea--They sent over a commissioun of rather Beastie, to the number of sixty or seventy or thereabout and some Mares and Horses, of which the Kine came safe for the most part, but the greater part of the Horses dyed, so that there remained not above twelve or fourteen alive.*
intended to be sent out of Ireland were not sent at all; all which together with the loss of our six months building, occasioned by our intended remove all to a Towne to bee fortified weakened our estates, especially the estates of the undertakers, who were 3 or 4000£. engaged in the joynt stock, which was now not above soe many hundreds; yet many of vs laboured to beare it as comfortably as wee could, remem- bringe the end of our comeinge hether and knowinge the power of God who canne support and raise vs againe, and vseth to bring his servants lowe that the meeke may bee made glori- ous by deliverance. Psal. 112.

In the end of this December, departed from vs the shipp Handmaid of London, by which wee sent away one Thomas Morton, a proud insolent man who has lived here diverse years, and had beene an Attorney in the West Countryes while he lived in England. Multitude of complaints were received against him for injuries done by him both to the English and Indians, and amongst others for shootinge hail shott at a troope of Indians, for not bringing a Cannowe vnto him to cross a river withal, whereby hee hurt one, and shott through the garments of another; for the satisfacon of the Indians wherein, and that it might appear to them and to the English that wee meant to doe justice impartially, wee caused his hands to be bound behind him and sett his feete in the hill bowes, and burned his bowse to the ground, all in the sight of the Indians, and soe kept him prisoner till wee sent him for England, whether wee sent him, for that my Lord Cheife Justice there soe required that he might punish him capitally for fowler misdemeaners there perpetrated as wee were informed.
I have no leisure to review and insert things forgotten, but out of due time and order must sett them downe as they come to memory.

About the end of October this year, 1630, I joined with the Governour and Mr. Maverick* in sendinge out our pinnace to the Narragansetts to trade for corne to supply our wants, but after the pinnace had doubled Cape Cod, shee putt into the next harbour shee found, and there meetinge with Indians, who shewed their willingness to truck, shee made her voyage their, and brought vs 100 bushells of corne, at about 4s. a bushell, which helped vs somewhat. From the coast where they traded, they saw a very large island, 4 leagues to the east, which the Indians commended as a fruiteful place, full of good vines, and free from sharpe frosts, haueinge one only entrance into it, by a navigable river, inhabited by a few Indians, which for a trifle would leave the island, if the English would sett them uppon the maine; but the pinnace haueinge noe direction for discovery, returned without sayling to it, which in 2 hours they might haue done. Upon this coast, they found store of vines full of grapes dead ripe, the season beeing past—whether wee purpose to send the next yeare sooner, to make some small quantitie of wine, if God enable vs, the vines growinge thinne with vs and wee not haueinge yet any leisure to plant vineyards. But now haueing some leisure to discourse of the motives for other men's comeinge to this place, or their abstaininge from it, after my breif manner I say this;—That if any come hether to plant for

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*Samuel Maverick, who resided on Nodde's Island. He came over several years before Gov. Dudley, and was very useful to the early emigrants, being according to Joselyn "the only hospitable man in all the country, giving entertainment to all comers gratis." He died 10 March, 1664.
worldly ends that canne live well at home, he committs an error, of which he will soone repent him. But if for spirituall, and that noe particular obstacle hinder his removeall, hee may finde here what may well content him vizt: materials to build, fewell to burne, ground to plant, seas and rivers to fish in, a pure ayre to breathe in, good water to drinke, till wine or beare canne be made; which, togeather with the cowes, hoggs and goates brought hether already, may suffice for food; for as for foule and venison, they are dainties here as well as in England. For cloaths and bedding, they must bringe them wth. them, till time and industry produce them here. In a word, wee yett enjoy little to be envyed, but endure much to be pityed in the sickness and mortality of our people. And I do the more willingly use this open and plaine dealinge, least other men should fall short of their expectacon when they come hether, as wee to our great preiudice did, by meannes of letters sent vs from hence into England, wherein honest men out of a desire to draw over others to them, wrote somewhat hyperbolically of many things here. If any godly men, out of religious ends, will come over to helpe vs in the good worke wee are about, I think they cannot dispose of themselves nor of their estates more to God's glory, and the furtherance of their owne reckoninge, but they must not bee of the poorer sort yett, for diverse years; for wee haue found by experience that they haue hindred, not furthered the worke—And for profaine and deboshed persons, their oversight in comeinge hether is wondered at, where they shall find nothing to content them. If there bee any endued with grace and furnished with means to feed them-
selues and theirs for 18 months, and to build and plant, lett them come over into our Macedonia and helpe vs, and not spend themselues and their estates in a less p.fittable employment; for others I conceive they are not yet fitted for this busines.

Touching the discouragements which the sicknes and mortality which every first year hath seized vpon vs, and those of Plymouth as appeareth before, may give to such who have cast any thoughts this way (of which mortality it may bee said of us almost as of the Egyptians, that there is not an howse where there is not one dead; and in some howses many) the natu ral causes seem to bee in the want of warm lodgings and good dyet, to which Englishmen are habituated at home; and in the suddain increase of beate which they endure that are land ed here in somer, the salt meetes at sea houseinge prepared their bodyes thereto, for those onely 2 last yeares dyed of feavers who landed in June and July; as those of Plymouth who landed in the winter dyed of the scirvy, as did our poorer sort, whose howses and bedding kept them not sufficiently warm, nor their dyet sufficiently in heart. Other causes God may have, as our faithfull minister Mr. Wilsoune* (lately handlinge that poyn) shewed vnto vs, which I forbeare to mention, leaving this matter to the farther dispute of phisitions and divines—Where fore to returne, vpon the third of January dyed the daughter of Mr. Sharpe,† a godly virginne, making a comfortable end, after a long sickness.

*Rev. John Wilson, the first minister of Boston. He sailed for England with Sir Richard Stogurshall and others, mentioned at the close of this letter, but ret urned hither again.
†This was Thomas Sharp, who was an assistant chosen in England, and came over in 1620. He returned to England as will be seen at the close of the letter.
Gov. Thomas Dudley's Letter

The plantacon here received not the like loss of any woman since we came hether, and therefore shee well deserves to be remembred in this place; and to add to our sorrowes, vpon the 5th day, came letters to vs from Plymouth, adverteisinge vs of this sadd accident followinge.—

About a fortnight before, there went from vs in a shallop to Plymouth 6 men and a girle, who in an hour or two before night, on the same day they went forth, came near to the mouth of Plym-outh Bay, but the wind then coming strongly from the shore, kept them from entering and drove them to sea wards, and they haveing no better means to helpe themselves, lett down their killick, that soe they might drive the more slowly, and bee nearer land when the storm should cease. But the stone slipping out of the killick, and thereby they driving faster than they thought all the night, in the morninge, when they looked out, they found themselves out of sight of land, which soe astonished them, the frost being extreme and their hands soe benummed with cold, that they could not handle their oares, neyther had any compass to steere by, that they gave themselves for lost, and lay downe to dye quietly, onely one man who had more naturall heate and courage remaining then the rest, continued soe long looking for land, that the morning waxing clearer, hee discovered land, and with difficulty hoysted the saile, and soe the winde a little turninge, 2 days after they were driven from Plymouth Bay, they arrived at a shore unknowne vnto them. The stronger helped the weaker out of the boate and taking their saile on shore, made a shelter thereof, and made a fire; but the frost had soe peirced their bodyes that one of them dyed about 3 days after their
landinge, and most of the others grew worse, both in bodye and courage;—noe hope of releife beeinge within their viwe. Well, yett the Lord pittyinge them and two of them who onely could use their leggs goeing abroad, rather to seeke then to hope to find helpe, they mett first with 2 Indian women, who sent vnto them an Indian man, who informed them that Plymouth was within 50 miles, and offered togethether to procure releife for them, which they gladly accepting, hee perfourm-ed, and brought them 3 men from Plymouth (the governour and counsell of Plymouth liberally rewardinge the Indian and tooke care for the safety of our people) who brought them all alieue in their boate thether, save one man, who with a guide chose rather to goe over land, but quickly fell lame by the way, and getting harbour at a trucking house the Plymothians had in those partes: there he yet abides. At the others landing at Plymouth, one of them dyed as hee was taken out of the boate; another (and he the worst in the company) rotted from the feete upwards where the frost had gotten most hold; and soe dyed within in a few days. The other 3, after God had blessed the Chirurgeon's skill used towards them, returned safe to vs. I sett downe this the more largely, partly because the first man that dyed was a godly man of our congregation; one Richard Garrad,* who, at the time of his death, more feared hee should dishonour God than cared for his own life;—As also because diverse boates have been in manifest perill this year, yett the Lord preserved them all, this one excepted. Amongst those who dyed about

*[In the original MS. of Gov. Winthrop, this name is spelled Gurrard, but the true name of the sufferer, says Mr. Savage, was Garrett. Henry Harwood was one of the party.]
the end of this January, there was a girl of 11 years old, the daughter of one John Ruggles* of whose family and kindred dyed so many, that for some reason it was matter of observacon amongst vs; who in the time of her sicknes expressed to the minister and to those about her, soe much faith and assurance of salvation, as is rarely found in any of that age, which I thought not unworthy here to committ to memory; and if any taxe mee for wastinge paper with recordinge theis small matters, such may consider that little mothers bring fourth little children, small common wealths;—matters of small moment, the reading whereof yet is not to be despised by the judicious, because small things in the beginning of naturall or politique bodyes are as remarkable as greater in bodyes full growne.

Vpon the 6 of February, arrived here Mr. Peirce with the ship Lyon of Bristow† with supplyes of victuals from England, who had sett fourth from Bristow the first of December before. He had a stormy passage hether, and lost one of his saylors not far from our shore, who in a tempest having helped to take in the spritt saile, lost his hold as he was comeinge downe and fell into the sea; where after long swimminge hee was drowned, to the great dolour of those in the shipp, who beheld so lamentable a spectacle, without beeing able to minister help to him; the sea swa soe high and the shipp droue soe fast before the wind, though her sailes were taken downe. By this shipp wee vnderstood of the fight of 3 of our shippes and 2 English men of war cominge out of the straites with 14 Dunkirkes, vpon the

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*John Ruggles, came over in 1630, and was admitted freeman 1632.
†[This name for Bristol was common among a number of the first settlers.—This spelling conformed somewhat to the Saxon pronunciation, the name having been ancienly Brightstow among the Saxons.]
coast of England as they returned from us in the end of the last summer, who through God’s goodness with the loss of some 13 or 14 men out of our 3 ships; and I know not how many out of the 2 men of war gott at length clear of them. The Charles, one of our 3, a stout ship of 300 tunne, being soe torne, that she had not much of her left whole above water.—

By this shipp wee also understood the death of many of those who went from vs the last year to Old England, as likewise of the mortallity there, whereby wee see are graces in other places as well as with us.

Also to increase the heape of our sorrows, wee received advertisement by letters from our friends in England, and by the reports of those who came hether in this shipp to abide with vs, (who were about 26) that they who went discontentedly from vs the last year, out of their evil affections towards us, have raised many false and scandalous reports against vs, affirming vs to be Brownists in religion, and ill affected to our state at home and that theirs vile reports have wonne credit with some who formerly wished vs well. But wee doe desire, and cannot but hope, that wise and impartial men will at length consider that such malcontents have ever p.sed this manner of casting dirt to make others seeme as fowle as themselves, and that our godly freinds, to whom wee have beeene known, will not easily believe that wee are not soe soon turned from the profession wee soe long have made in our native country.

And for our further cleareinge, I truely affirm, that I know noe one person who came over with vs the last yeare to bee altered in judgment and

[The other two were the Success and the Whale.]
affection, eyther in ecclesiasticall or civil respects since our coming hither; but wee doe continue to pray dayly for our Soveraigne lord the King, the Queene, the Prince, the royal blood, the counsaile and whole state, as duty bindes vs to doe, and reason perswades others to believe, for how vngodly and vnthankfull should wee bee if wee should not thus doe, who came hether by vertue of his Maj.ties letters patent, and vnder his gracious protection, vnder which shelter wee hope to liue safely, and from whome [whose?] kingdom and subjects, wee now haue received and hereafter expect reliefe. Lett our friends therefore give noe credit to such malicious aspersions, but be more ready to answer for vs, then we hear they haue been: we are not like those which have dispensations to lye; but as wee were free enough in Old England, to turne our in sides outwards, somtimes to our disadvantage, very unlike is it that now (beinge procured a fulmine) wee should be so unlike ourselves: lett therefore this bee sufficient for vs to say, and others to heare in this matter.

Amongst others who dyed about this time was Mr. Robert Welden, whom in the time of his sickness, wee had chosen to bee Capitaine of 100 foote, but before hee tooke possession of his place, he dyed the 16 of this February, and was buried as a soldier with 3 volleys of shott. Vpon the 22 day of February, wee held a general day of Thanksgiveinge throughout the whole Colony for the safe arrivall of the shipp which came last with our provisions.

About this time, wee apprehended one Robert Wright, who had been sometimes a lynnens dra-

*There was a Robert Wright of Boston after this period, who was a member of the Artillery Company in 1628.*
per in Newgate market, and after that a brewer on the Banke side and on Thames streete. This man wee lately vnderstood had made an escape in London from those who came to his howse to apprehend him for clipping the kinges coyne [one or two words wanting] had stolen after vs.—Vpon his examinacon, hee confessed the fact and his escape, but affirmed hee had the kinges pardon for it, vnder the broade seale, which hee yet not being able to prooue, and one to whom he was known chargeing him with untruth in some of his answers, wee therefore committed him to prison, to be sent by the next shipp into England.

Likewise, wee were lately informed that one Mr. Gardiner* who arrived here a month before vs (and who had passed here for a knight by the name of Sr. Christopher Gardiner all this while) was noe knight, but instead thereof, had two wives now liueinge in an house at London, one of which came about September last from Paris in France (where her husband had left her years before) to London, where she had heard her husband had married a second wife, and whom by enquiryg she found out, and they both condoling each others estate, wrote both their Ires. to the governour (by Mr. Pierce who had conference with both the women in the presence of Mr. Allerton of Plymouth;) his first wife desiring his returne and conversion; his second, his destruccon for his foule abuse, and for robbing her of her estate, of a part whereof she sent an Inventory hether, compriseinge therein many rich jewels, much plate and costly lynnens. This man had in his family (and yet hath) a gentlewo-

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*Much may be found of this man in Savage's Winthrop, 1. 55, 56, 57, 106 102. 106. ff. 12, 189.
man whom he called his kinswoman, and whom one of his wives in her letter, names Mary Grove, affirming her to be a knowne harlot, whose sending back into Old England she also desired, together with her husband. Shortly after this intelligence, wee sent to the house of the said Gardiner (which was 7 miles from vs) to apprehend him and his woman, with a purpose to send them both to London to his wives there; but the man, who having heard some rumour from some who came in the shipp, that lyes, were come to the Governor, requiring justice against him, was readily prepared for flight, soe soon as he should see any crossing the river, or likely to apprehend him, which hee accordingly performed; for hee dwelling alone, easily discerned such who were sent to take him, halfe a mile before they approached his house, and with his pence on his neck, went his way, as most men think northwards, hoping to find some English there like to himselfe; but likely enough it is, which way so ever hee went, hee will loose himselfe in the woods and be stopped with some rivers in his passing, notwithstanding his compass in his pockett, and soe with hunger and cold, will perish before hee find the place hee seekes. His woman was brought vs and confessed her name, and that her mother dwells 8 miles from Beirdly in Salopshire, and that Gardiner's father dwells in or near Gloucester, and was (as shee said) brother to Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester,* and did disinherit his sonne for his 26 years absence in his travailes in France, Italy, Germany and Turkey; that he had (as he told

*This story was probably invented by the pretended knight, to raise him in estimation of his paramour. Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, who was an illegitimate son of Lionel Woodville, the bishop of Salisbury, was born 147 years before this examination, and had been dead 56 years.
her) married a wife in his travailes, from whom hee was divorced, and the woman long since dead; that both herselffe and Gardiner were both Catholiques till of late, but were now Protestants; that shee takes him to be a knight, but never heard when he was knighted. The woman was impenitent and close, confessing noe more then was wrested from her by her owne contradictions, see wee haue taken order to send her to the two wiuues in Old England to search her further.

Upon the 8 of March, from after it was faire day light untill about 8 of the clock in the forenoon, there flew over all the towns in our plantacons see many flocks of doues, each flock containing many thousands, and some see many that they obscured the light, that passeth credit, if but the truth should bee written; and the thing was the more strange, because I scarce remember to have scene tenne doues since I came into this country. They were all turtles, as appeared by diverse of them wee killed flyning, somewhat bigger than those of Europe, and they flew from the north east to the south west; but what it portends I know not."

The shipp now waits but for wind, which when it blows, there are ready to go aboard therein for England Sr. Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Sharpe, Mr. Coddington, and many others, the most whereof purpose to returne to vs again, if God will. In the mean time, wee are left a people poor and contemptible, yet such as trust in God and are contented with our condition, being well assured that he will not faile vs nor forsake vs.

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**Gov. Winthrop notices the great number of Pigeons in 1643 and 1648. In the first named year, he says, “The Pigeons came in such flocks, (above 10,000 in one flock,) that beat down and eat up a very great quantity of English grain.”**
I had almost forgotten to add this, that the wheate we received by this last shipp stands us in 13 or 14 shillings a strike, and the pease about 11s. a strike, besides the adventure, which is worth 3 or 4 shillings a strike, which is an higher price than I ever tasted bread of before.

Thus, MADAM, I haue as I canne, told your Hon. all ourmatters, knowing your wisedome canne make good vse thereof. If I liue not to performe the like office of my dutie hereafter, likely it is some other will doe it better.

Before the depparture of the Shipp(wch. yet was wind bound) there came vnto vs Sagamore John and one of his subject and satisfac

for the burning of two wigwams by some of the English, which wiggwams were not inhabited, but stod in a place convenient for their shelter, when vpon occasion they shoule travaile that wayes. By examination, wee found that some English fowlers hauing retired into that which belonged to the subject and leaueinge a fire there in carelesly which they had kindled to warm them, were the cause of burninge thereof; for that which was the Sagamores, wee could find no certaine proofe how it was fired, yet least hee should thinke vs not seedulous enough to find it out, and soe should depart discontentedly from vs, wee gaue both him and his subject satisfac

The like accident of fire also befell Mr. Sharpe and Mr. Colborne upon the 17 of this March, both whose howses, which were as good, and as well furnished as the most in the plantacon, were in 2 hours space burned to the ground, together with much of their houseould stuff, appar-

*William Colborne or Colborn was a gentleman of great influence in Boston; was long a ruling elder, after ceasing to be deacon, and died 1 Augst, 1663.

Note in Savage's Winthrop, 1. 87.]
ell and other things, as allsoc some goods of others who soiourned with them in their howses; God soo pleaseing to exercise us with corrections of this kind, as hee hath done with others: for the prevention whereof in our new towne, intended this somer to bee builded, wee haue or-dered that noe man there shall build his chimney with wood, nor cover his house with thatch, which was readily assented vnto, for that diverse other howses haue beeene burned since our arri-vall (the fire allwaies beginninge in the woodden chimneys) and some English wigwams, which haue taken fire in the roofes covered with thatch or boughs.

And that this shipp might returne into Old England with heavy newes, vpon the 18 day of March, came one from Salem and told vs, that vpon the 15 thereof, there dyed Mrs. Skelton, the wife of the other minister there, who, about 18 or 20 dayes before, handling cold thinges in a sharpe morninge, put hersel:fe into a most violent fitt of the wind colleck and vomitting, which con-tinuinge, shee at length fell into a feaver and soo dyed as before. She was a godly and an helpfull woman, and indeed the maine pillar of her family, haueinge left behind her an husband and 4 children, weake and helpeles, who canne scarce tell how to liue without her—She liued desired and dyed lamented, and well deserves to bee honourably remembred,

Vpon the 25 of this March, one of Water-ton haueing lost a calfe, and about 10 of the clock at night, hearinge the howlinge of some woules not farr off, rysesd many of his neigh-bours out of their bedds, that by dischargeinge their muskeets neere about the place where hee heard the woules, hee might so putt the woules
to flight, and saue his calfe—The wind serveing
fitt to cary the report of the musketts to Rocks-
bury, 3 miles of at such a time; the inhabitants
there tooke an alarume beate vpp their drume,
armed themselues, and sent in post to vs to Bos-
ton to raise vs allsoe. Soe in the morninge the
calfe beeing found safe, the wolues affrighted,
and our danger past, wee went merrily to breake-
fast.
I thought to have ended before, but the stay
of the shipp and my desire to informe your honr.
of all I canne, hath caused this additon, and ev-
ery one haueinge warninge to prepare for the
shipps departure tomorrow, I am now this 28th
of March, 1631, sealing my lres.