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Relation of the Pequot Warres (1660)

Lion Gardener

W.N. Chattin Carlton , editor
Acorn Club of Connecticut

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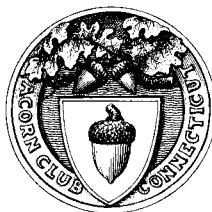
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RELATION of the PEQUOT WARRES

WRITTEN IN 1660 BY
Lieutenant Lion Gardener

AND NOW FIRST PRINTED FROM THE
ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

With an HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION



C I O I C C C C I

Fourth Publication



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INTRODUCTION

LION GARDENER, the author of the Relation which is here printed for the first time from the original manuscript, is a striking figure in early New England history. The main facts of his life are given by himself in the Relation; a few items are to be found in contemporary records and in his letters to John Winthrop the younger. These have all been gathered together and admirably summarized by Mr. Curtiss C. Gardiner, a descendant, in his work entitled *Lion Gardiner and His Descendants*.

Born in England in 1599, Lion Gardener belonged, probably, to a family of the lesser gentry, but his ancestry has never been successfully traced. From his later life and opinions it is certain that his sympathies were with the Parliamentary party as against Charles the First; and with the temporary ascendancy of the King, Gardener, in common with many other Englishmen of like political opinions, sought adventure and fortune as a soldier in the Low Countries. In 1635, while "Enginear & maſt^r of works of fortification in the legers of the prince of Orang," being persuaded thereto by John Davenport, Hugh Peters, and others, he agreed to enter the employ of the English Company then engaged in establishing a settlement on the lower Connecticut. His term of service was to be four years, with a compensation of £100 *per annum*. He was to serve the Company "only in the drawing, ordering, & Making of a cittie, Townes, or forts of defence," under the direction of John Winthrop, Jr. Having decided upon this new venture, he married, at Woerdon, in Holland, Mary Wilemson of that place, and on July 10, 1635,

they left Woerdon and embarked, probably at Rotterdam, in the ship *Batcheler* bound for New England by way of London. There we get a glimpse of them in a letter written to John Winthrop, Jr., by Edward Hopkins:

Per the shipp Batcheler whom God preserve.

London the 16^o of August, 1635.

Mr. Jno. Winthropp.

Sir,— My best respects premised &c., you may please to vnderstand I haue now cleared of from hence the North Sea Boatt, . . . Serieant Gardener and Wm. Job his worke-master, with the Serieants wifie and his mayd, come over in this barque. Yf you require it of them both Gardener & Job can shew you their covenants with the Company, whereby you may in part perceave what to require of them, and what to performe to them ; they are all to be att the Companies charge for matter of diett.¹

From the same letter it appears that Sergeant Gardener drew £30 of his first year's wages. There were probably no other passengers. Hopkins was not very enthusiastic in his description of the crew of the little bark. In the letter just quoted he says : “ I cannott say much for master nor men, to incourage you to keepe them the[re] yf you can provide your selfe of others that are fitting for the imployment. It was nott easy here to gett any att this tyme, to goe in soe small a vessell, and therefore I was forced to take some, that otherwise I would nott haue medled with-all. The master is able enough, but savours nott godlinnesse.”

The *Batcheler* got off to sea at Gravesend on the 18th of August and arrived at Boston late in November, 1635. Gardener's arrival is thus quaintly noted by Governor Winthrop, the elder, in his Journal under the date of November 28th : “ Here arrived a small Norsey bark of twenty-five tons sent by Lords Say, etc., with one Gardiner, an expert engineer or work base, and provisions of all sorts,

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VI, 325-327.

to begin a fort at the mouth of Connecticut. She came through many great tempests; yet, through the Lord's great providence, her passengers, twelve men, two women, and goods, all safe.”²

Owing to the fact that a severe winter had set in, Gardener remained for several months in Boston. While there he assisted in completing the fortifications on Fort Hill. The records show that at a general meeting on the “23^d of the 11th moneth, 1635, [Jan. 23, 1636, N. S.] . . . It was likewise agreed that for the rasing of a new Worke of fortification upon the Forthill, about that which is there alredy begune, the whole towne would bestowe fourteene dayes worke, . . . The Worke also is to be gon in hand with soe soone as Weather will permitt in regard that the Ingineere, M^r. Lyon Garner, who doth soe freely offer his help thereunto hath but a short time to stay.”³

In the spring Gardener and his party proceeded to their destination in the same ship in which they had crossed the Atlantic, and in March, probably, arrived at the mouth of the Connecticut river, where they found the small clearing and settlement begun during the winter by Winthrop's advance party. With the materials which he had brought with him in the *Batcheler*, Gardener at once began the construction of a fort, which was called Saybrooke after Viscount Say and Sele and Lord Brooke, two of the more prominent patentees of the Company.

On April 1st, 1636, John Winthrop, Jr., the Company's agent, arrived at the fort bringing friendly messages and remembrances for Gardener from Sir Richard Saltonstall, Hugh Peters, and William Pynchon. On the 29th of the same month his son, David Gardener, was born, being the first child born of English parents in Connecticut.

In the midst of his official labors of fortifying and direct-

² Winthrop, J., History of New England, 1853, I, 207.

³ Record Commission of the City of Boston, 2d Report, pp. 7, 8.

ing the affairs of the settlement, the Pequot war broke out, and Gardener found himself in the center of hostilities. The events of this brief, sanguinary, and decisive struggle between the first settlers and their Indian neighbors have been so frequently described and are so readily accessible in all our histories that it would be superfluous to even epitomize them here. Nor is it necessary to give a detailed account of Gardener's share in the proceedings. The part he played is set forth in the Relation itself, written for this express purpose, which it accomplishes both succinctly and picturesquely. It is one of the most valuable and interesting bits of colonial autobiography that we possess. But the distinctive facts which should be remembered regarding Gardener's actions at the time are, that he was rightly incensed at the blundering expedition under Endecott sent out from Massachusetts against the Pequots by Sir Henry Vane, and that, as a professional soldier he may well be pardoned for questioning the military strength and ability of the delegation under Mason. In putting the loyalty of Uncas and the Mohegan allies to a test, and in weeding out the physically unfit from Mason's company before reinforcing it with twenty men from his own command, Gardener was only exercising the rudiments of military caution. With the success of the united expedition against Mystic Fort no one was more pleased than he, for, with the suppression of the Indians, he was hopeful of his own work being more swiftly furthered—a hope which was soon dashed.

In 1639 his contract with the Saybrook Company expired, but as early as November, 1636, he had foreseen that upon the completion of his contract it was more than likely that he would be obliged to shift for himself. Writing to the younger Winthrop, 6 November, 1636, Gardener had said: "Heare hath come many vessels with provision, to goe vp to the plantations, but none for vs. It

seemes that wee have neather masters nor owners, but are left like soe many seruaunts whose masters are willinge to be quitt of them, . . . there shall be noe cause to complayne of our fidelitie and indeavours to you ward," but, "if I see that there be not such care for vs that owr lives may be preserved, then must I be fforced to shift as the Lord shall direct. I wish that it may be for God's glory and all your credits and proffitts. Heare is not 5 shillings of money and noe bevor."⁴ This letter shows clearly into what a necessitous condition the Saybrook settlement had soon fallen, and it is not to be wondered at that Gardener had begun to think of other employment or occupation.

On the 3rd of May, 1639, he purchased from the Indians the large island, east of Long Island, which now bears his name, but which he and his contemporaries always called the *Isle of Wight*. Subsequently, he procured a grant of the island from an agent of the Earl of Stirling, the grantee of the King of England, and in September 1686, Governor Dongan of New York issued a confirmatory grant to David Gardener, the son of Lion.

Gardener removed with his family to the island soon after the purchase, accompanied by a number of his old soldiers from the fort, and this little emigration resulted in what is said to have been the earliest English settlement within the present limits of the state of New York. His second daughter, Elizabeth, born September 14, 1641, was the first child born of English parents in New York state.

Gardener resided on his island for some fourteen years pursuing successfully the career of a farmer and landed proprietor. In 1653 he placed it in the hands of overseers and removed to East Hampton, L. I., where in 1649 he and some associates had purchased thirty thousand acres of land for a settlement. He was chosen a magistrate and

⁴ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 53.

took a leading part in the affairs of the town. In 1655 and 1657 he served on a committee that journeyed to Hartford to treat with the magistracy about placing East Hampton under the protection of Connecticut.

In the summer of 1660 he wrote the Relation, prefixing to it a letter to his friends, Robert Chapman and Thomas Hurlburt, it having been composed at their and Major John Mason's request. The probabilities are that it was forwarded to Chapman at Saybrook by some friend or servant of Gardener's. Robert Chapman was a member of the General Assembly of Connecticut at the sessions held in October 1660 and May 1661, and he doubtless took the manuscript up to Hartford with him when attending one or the other of these sessions and there carried out Gardener's suggestion of letting it be seen by his life-long friend, John Winthrop, Jr., then Governor of the Colony. At all events the manuscript found its way into the Governor's possession for it bears upon it an endorsement in his bold handwriting.

The character of Lion Gardener is brought out with charming distinctness in the Relation. Common sense and splendid courage, the severity and grim humor of the soldier, love of justice and honesty in all things with all men — even Indians, — and the sturdy independence of the best type of liberal Puritan, are qualities that one may be quite sure the commander of Saybrook Fort possessed. Writing, probably, very much as he would have spoken, his language shows unmistakable traces of the influence of that Genevan Bible which doubtless was never far from his hand in leisure moments. Nor was this the only book that he possessed. Writing to Winthrop in April, 1650, about a young man, not named, for a minister, Gardener says: “ . . . and being he is but a yong man, hapily [haply] he hath not manie books, thearfore let him know what I have. First, the 3 Books of Martters, Erasmus,

moste of Perkins, Wilsons Dixtionare, a large Concordiance, Mayor on the New T[e]stement ; Some of theas, with other that I have, may be vcefull to him.”⁵ The Dictionary, in all likelihood, was Thomas Wilson’s *Christian Dictionary*, a work that enjoys the distinction of being the first attempt in English towards a dictionary of the Bible. “Moste of Perkins” would fill a good-sized shelf, that theological giant of the 16th century having been a most prolific writer. One cannot help wondering which of Erasmus’ works it was that Gardener had added as spice to his sombre little collection of books. But however much of theology he may have read, it did not, as was too often the case in his day, kill warm human sense and tolerance in him. The story of his long friendship with the great Indian chief, Wyandanch, a friendship that continued steadfast and unbroken till death, is one of the noblest chapters in the history of the relations of white man and Indian. Lion Gardener died in 1663 aged 64 and two years later his wife Mary followed him. Both were buried in the south-end burying ground at East Hampton. Their Island was entailed on the first male heirs of the Gardener family and was never to be alienated. This condition was observed for more than a century and a half, or until the death in 1829 of the eighth proprietor of the Island, when, he leaving no issue, it passed to a younger brother. It is still owned by members of the family and this remarkable record is the only illustration of the practical working of the law of primogeniture in this country, over so long a period of time.

The manuscript of the Relation as it exists to-day is in a remarkably good state of preservation though a trifle brown and stained. It consists of ten leaves seven and one-fourth by ten and three-fourths inches in size, excepting the last leaf which is some two inches narrower. The

⁵Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, VII, 59.

first eight leaves are stitched together as one signature, and the last two form a second. These last two leaves were undoubtedly written several months later than the date at the head of the prefatory letter to Chapman and Hurlburt, but there is no reason to suppose they were not attached to the first signature when they left the hands of Gardener. The first leaf is entirely blank. The first page of the second leaf contains the title. The letter to Chapman and Hurlburt appears on the reverse side of the third leaf and here also begins the pagination extending from 1 to 12 which is continued over the five succeeding leaves and the first page of the following, or ninth. On the first page of the tenth and last leaf, in the upper left hand corner, appears the name "Johnson" and a few other words too indistinct to be made out but which appear to be mere scribblings.

The title, if it may be so called, "Lieut. Lion Gardiner his relation of the Pequot Warres," is in the handwriting of John Winthrop, Jr. Closely following it is the note, written in the minute and rather illegible hand of William Trumbull Williams, Esq., "found among Gov Trumbulls papers 1809 by me," etc. The endorsement, "No 6—17 Papers," and the word "originall" are written in a hand strongly resembling that of Joseph Trumbull. The words "L^t Lion Gardiner" are in the easily recognized handwriting of the elder Governor Jonathan Trumbull. The last endorsement is in pencil and gives the date when the manuscript passed from Dr. Henry Barnard to C. J. Hoadly, LL. D.

The Relation was first printed in 1833 by the Massachusetts Historical Society.⁶ The original manuscript and a copy of it made in part by Governor Trumbull, Sr., were placed by his grandson, William T. Williams, in the hands of the Publishing Committee of that Society. Mr. Will-

⁶Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 3rd Series, III, 131-160.

iams also furnished the Committee with other early manuscripts relating to the Indians, which were printed in the same volume that the Relation appeared in. It was understood that these papers had formerly belonged to the Connecticut branch of the Winthrop family.

In the note prefixed to the Relation as printed by the Society, their Committee said that "on account of the difficulty the printer would find in deciphering the original," they had "followed the orthography of the copy, excepting in the proper names, where they thought it of more importance to adhere to the ancient orthography." Gardener's narrative has been reprinted at least five times since then but in every instance the text of the above version has been reproduced without change. The present edition alone gives the Relation exactly as it appears in Gardener's own manuscript, and a comparison with any of the previous issues will show how extensively, in orthography and other details, the original differs from the version hitherto printed. This fact may be considered a justifiable *raison d'être* for the present edition.

For more than half a century following its publication, in 1833, no mention is anywhere made of the whereabouts of this original manuscript, even the fact of its existence being unknown to the public at large. At least one historical writer made an unsuccessful search for it throughout New England. Its endorsements only partially show the sequence of its ownership; they give no clue as to where it was the greater part of the time between 1840 and 1896, when it was given to Dr. C. J. Hoadly, president of the Connecticut Historical Society, by the Hon. Henry Barnard, an ex-president of the same society. The copy of the manuscript made by Governor Trumbull, the elder, is, and has been ever since the receipt of the papers in 1840, among the Trumbull-Williams manuscripts in the Connecticut Historical Society, but when and in what man-

ner the original became separated from the copy cannot now be stated. Its previous history may, however, be traced or inferred with tolerable sureness. It is certain that the manuscript early reached the hands of Governor John Winthrop, Jr. The next indications of ownership among its endorsements are the handwriting of Jonathan Trumbull, Sr., and the statement by William T. Williams that he found it among his uncle's papers in 1809. No evidence is forthcoming to show where it was during the century intervening between Winthrop's death, in 1676, and the time when it may be supposed to have come into the elder Trumbull's possession, but there is nothing inherently improbable in assuming that it lay undisturbed among the mass of papers accumulated by four generations of the Winthrop family in New London. We do not know positively when or how Governor Trumbull obtained it, but we do know that it was once in his famous collection. And as the manuscripts in his possession at the time of his decease constituted one of the most important gatherings of documents ever brought together in this country, it may not be inappropriate to give here a somewhat detailed account of the formation, dispersal, and subsequent history of the "Trumbull Papers," as it forms a most interesting chapter in the annals of American historical archives.

At the outset of the Susquehannah controversy the officials of the colony found themselves hampered by a lack of important documents, deeds of conveyance, and other records which they thought should naturally have been found in the public archives. At its October session in 1769 the Assembly appointed Governor Trumbull and George Wylllys, Secretary of the State, a committee "to make diligent search after all deeds of conveyance relative to the title of the lands granted by the Crown to this colony by the royal charter," and in May, 1770, the committee not having re-

ported, "they are requested to make further search about the premises and to report what they may discover."⁷ In October of the same year the request was repeated.

Trumbull, always prudent and far-sighted, apparently thought that the lesson taught by this case should not be lost, for, in a message to the General Assembly in 1770 he took occasion to urge that it provide that "all papers and files belonging to the Colony" should be "collected, sorted, and deposited in a proper manner, in one place,"⁸ as necessary for the government and for use on all future occasions. The Assembly promptly acceded to his suggestion by passing the following broad and explicit resolution :

"This Assembly do appoint Gurdon Saltonstall, Esq., and Capt. Joseph Trumbull to enquire after and collect all the publick letters and other papers relating to the affairs of this Colony which properly belong to the Colony, in whose custody soever the same may be found, (except those in the hands of his Honor the present Governor or in the Secretary's office,) and properly sort, arrange and file the same, according to the order of the time in which they were written, and write on each file the sort of papers it contains and the year they belong to, and lodge the same with the Secretary."⁹

This resolution was succeeded by another in May, 1771, in which the Governor himself was "desired to collect all the publick letters and papers which may hereafter in any way affect the interest of this Colony and have the same bound together, that they may be preserved";¹⁰ a resolution which, in effect, added Governor Trumbull to the committee previously appointed.

That the committee set to work and diligently carried out the Assembly's instructions, is now known with cer-

⁷ Conn. Col. Records, XIII, 247, 304.

⁸ I. W. Stuart. Life of J. Trumbull, Sr., p. 145.

⁹ Conn. Col. Records, XIII, 367.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* XIII, 424.

tainty. In a letter written at Hartford under date of June 6, 1771, Joseph Trumbull, writing to ex-Governor Fitch, cited the above Resolve of the Assembly as his authority, and said: "I have Collected the most or all I can find or hear off, except those in Your Honor's keeping, which the distance & difficulty of Transportation during the Winter, has prevented . . . I have therefore desired the Fav^r of M^r Tho^s Belden, to wait on Your Hon[or] & Consult the most convenient & least expensive manner of Transp[or]-tations, & Advise me accordingly."¹¹ Writing from New London on February 12, 1772, to Joseph Trumbull, his colleague, Gurdon Saltonstall forwarded for Governor Trumbull some papers relating to Indian affairs and the Hopkins legacy, and said: "M^r. Winthrop¹² when he collects anything material, acquaints the Governor of it — & no doubt will continue in the same practice."¹³ In this last sentence we also get a possible inkling of the source through which the Governor obtained some of the precious Winthrop papers in his collection. At one time he had the two earliest of the three original manuscripts of the elder Winthrop's History of New England, "besides many other papers of the sons and grandsons of this father of the chief Colony."¹⁴ Lastly, in the Connecticut State archives, *Finance & Currency, V, doc. 82a*, in Governor Trumbull's account of contingent expenses rendered in 1774, there is an item showing Green, the official printer's charge of 5s. 6d. "for binding D^r. Johnson's Letters."¹⁵ These were the letters written to Governors Pitkin and Trumbull by William Samuel Johnson during his agency in England, from 1767 to 1771, as the colony's representative in the

¹¹ MS. copy in Conn. Hist. Soc. See, also, a modernized version of the whole letter in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1835-55, II, 344, note.

¹² John Still Winthrop, 1720-1776.

¹³ MS. letter in Conn. Hist. Soc.

¹⁴ Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1835-55, II, 332, note.

¹⁵ Conn. Colonial Records, XIII, 424, note.

Susquehannah case. This bound volume was afterwards found among Governor Trumbull's papers. Its contents have been printed in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.¹⁶

These three items of documentary evidence conclusively show that the Committee gathered what papers it could trace as fairly coming under the head of official documents ; that it forwarded to the Governor such as he had immediate need of, and that he himself arranged those in his possession relating to the Susquehannah Case and had them bound at the expense of the state. No report of the Committee is known to be extant and there is no record of its collections ever having been formally transferred to the archives of the Secretary of the State. It is extremely probable that most of the papers thus gathered were turned over to Governor Trumbull for final arrangement, filing, and binding in accordance with the Resolution of the Assembly. But the exciting events of the Revolution soon followed thick and fast ; both the Resolve and the Committee were naturally lost sight of and forgotten ; many papers that had been collected doubtless remained in the Governor's hands and, together with his own private papers, drafts, and copies of official documents, made up the splendid collection which, upon his death in 1785, passed to his heirs.

In April, 1794, David Trumbull, Esq., third son of Jonathan Trumbull, Sr., addressed the following letter to the Massachusetts Historical Society at Boston :

The Reverend Jeremy Belknap, Corresponding Secretary
of the Massa : Historical Society, Boston.

Sir,

My Father, the late Governor Trumbull collected with care, the most important official papers which pass'd thro his hands, during the very interesting Period of the Revolution, with the intention that they should be preserv'd &

¹⁶ 5th Series, IX, 211-490.

deposited in some public Library, as materials for future Historians.

Had the Massachusetts Historical Society existed during his Life, there is no doubt but He would have chosen to give them to an Institution whose Patriotic Views they would so directly subserve in preference to a Collegiate or other Library, where they probably would soon become "Food for Worms."

His Heirs therefore, think they cannot so well fulfill the Governor's intentions on this subject, as by Offering them, as I am commissioned to do — to the Massachusetts Historical Society.

You will be pleas'd to Communicate this Offer to the Society in Our names: — permitting us to suggest the propriety of their sending some person to make a selection of such papers as may be thought most usefull: — Should it be thought an object worth your personal attention. We shall be happy to give you the best evidences in our power of the Respect which we especially have for you.

I am Sir

Your most Obedient Servant

David Trumbull.

Lebanon 15th April 1794.
Rev^d J. Belknap.¹⁷

This letter was read at a meeting of the Society on June 11, 1794. The offer was gratefully accepted and the Corresponding Secretary instructed to write a letter of thanks to David Trumbull, informing him at the same time that a representative of the Society would be sent to Connecticut as soon as possible to make a selection.

One of the members, Judge William Wetmore of Boston, who was then in Connecticut, was requested to go to Lebanon and do this, but it does not appear that he was able to comply with the request, for at a meeting of the Society, April 28, 1795, it was voted, "That Dr. Belknap be requested to take a journey to Lebanon for the purpose of inspecting the papers of the late Governor Trumbull, and

¹⁷ Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 4th Series, II, 240.

that the Society engage to bear one half the expense of the journey.”¹⁸ On July 30 Dr. Belknap reported that he had been to Lebanon, examined the books and papers, a general list of which he read, and stated that they would be sent forward by the packet in August. They did not arrive, however, until some months later, for in Dr. Belknap’s interleaved almanac for 1795 under date of December 12, is the following entry: “Arrived at my house the chests and boxes of papers from Governor Trumbull’s, at Lebanon. They were sent from Norwich, carted across Cape Cod, and thence brought up to Boston in a vessel from Barnstable.”¹⁹

The Society has always regarded the Trumbull Papers as among the most precious in its archives and has pursued a generous policy in granting the use of them to historical investigators. The manuscripts have been arranged, indexed, and bound up into volumes, now thirty in number. One was unfortunately burned in 1825 while temporarily in the office of Mr. James Savage, who was then preparing for the press Winthrop’s History of New England and had taken several rare volumes from the Society’s Library for consultation, all of which were lost in the Court Street conflagration. But Mr. Savage stated that the most valuable portion of the Trumbull volume had already been printed in the first volume of the Third Series of the Society’s Collections. Others of the Trumbull Papers, viz., the letters of William Samuel Johnson, of Colonel Jedidiah Huntington, and the correspondence of Washington with Governor Trumbull, Sr., have also been printed by the Society.

While Dr. Belknap undoubtedly selected the most valuable part of the papers offered by the Trumbull heirs, there

¹⁸Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc. 1791–1836, I, 83.

¹⁹*Ibid.* p. 85 note.

²⁰Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., 5th Series, IX and X.

seems to have still remained in the family's possession a considerable and by no means unimportant mass of documents. Upon the death of Governor Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., in 1809, these appear to have passed to William Trumbull Williams, Esq., a nephew, who had made his ties of relationship to the Trumbull family still closer by marrying an own cousin, the daughter of David Trumbull, younger brother of Jonathan. As noted above, it was Mr. Williams who found Gardener's manuscript of the Relation among his uncle's papers and loaned it, with the elder Governor Trumbull's copy, to the Massachusetts Historical Society for publication.

In 1840 the Trumbull family presented to the Connecticut Historical Society a large number of manuscripts, papers, and books. These included what remained of the original Trumbull collection, together with the family papers of William T. Williams, Esq., and of his father, William Williams, the "Signer." Messrs. Charles Hosmer and Henry Barnard visited Lebanon as the official representatives of the society, and the papers were formally transferred to them in December, 1840, by Larned Hebard, Esq., administrator of the estate of William T. Williams. They were sent into Hartford consigned to Mr. Barnard. Their arrival, and the society's just pride in so rich an acquisition, are indicated in a letter of Thomas Day, president of the society, to ex-Governor John Cotton Smith, written December 16, 1840: "We have lately received from the administrator of the late Wm. T. Williams of Lebanon three large trunks filled with original letters and other documents that belonged to the first Gov. Trumbull and his son-in-law Col. Wm. Williams. Among them are letters to and from Gov. Saltonstall, Gov. Tallcott, Gov. Law, Gov. Roger Wolcott, the first Gov. Trumbull, and others. We now feel that we have got something that those who come after us will think worth

taking care of.”²¹ At a meeting of the society January 15, 1841, a cordial vote of thanks to “the heirs of His Excellency, Jonathan Trumbull, Senior,” was passed, and the society’s appreciation of the valuable donation suitably recorded.

Some years after the Trumbull-Williams manuscripts had been presented to the Connecticut Historical Society, an incident occurred which has its parallels in the history of other notable private collections after their final dispersal. At its May session in 1845 the General Assembly of Connecticut formally laid claim to the Trumbull Papers in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The reasons for this action were embodied in the following resolution :

Whereas, it is understood and believed by the General Assembly now in session, that numerous official letters and valuable correspondence intimately connected with executive and legislative acts of this State, during an important and interesting period of its history, was collected by His Excellency Governor Trumbull, during his administration, and which, in the opinion of this Assembly, ought to have been deposited in the office of the Secretary of this State, but are now in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society ; and,

Whereas, it is proper and desirable that said documents, &c., be obtained from said Society and deposited with the Secretary of this State ; therefore,

Resolved, That His Excellency the Governor be and he is hereby requested to adopt such measures as may be proper and expedient to obtain possession of the letters, correspondence, and documents above referred to, and the same to deposit for safe-keeping in the office of the Secretary of this State, in Hartford.

This resolve was duly communicated to the society by Governor Roger S. Baldwin, and it was read before the members at a meeting held on September 12, 1845. After some discussion, a committee was appointed to take the

²¹ Conn. Hist. Soc. Report, 1897, p. 19.

matter into consideration and report on it. The committee consisted of Messrs. I. P. Davis, Josiah Quincy, and James Savage. They reported in December, but for some reason or other it was voted to recommit the report, and in the following January they presented another. This was rather high-sounding in tone, but shrewdly drawn and worded. The society accepted it and ordered a copy sent to the Secretary of the State of Connecticut.

The report of the committee maintained "that it would hardly be presumed that the Governor of any independent Commonwealth would have withdrawn from the public archives large masses of official original documents, and transported the same a distance of many miles from the seat of government . . . unto his own home in a remote town"; it asserted that the collection was surely the gathering of a lifetime, and had always been regarded as private property by Governor Trumbull, and also by his heirs, in whose undisturbed possession it had remained for ten years after his death; that the papers of his predecessors in the office of Governor amounted to but a very small portion of the whole, and were, indeed, mostly private in nature, or else triplicate copies and not such complete documents as should be found in official archives. "Wherefore, the Committee conclude with a decided judgement that the opinion of the Assembly of Connecticut . . . is founded on a mistaken assumption; and that the exalted character of Governor Trumbull, and of his four immediate predecessors in the chair of chief magistrate of that Colony, may, in all future time, be confidently referred to as adequate and perfect vindication from the consequences of such assumption; and they recommend in conclusion, that the trust of this Society in preservation of the papers usually called the 'Trumbull Papers' be ever sacredly fulfilled."²²

²² Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1835-55, II, 331-333.

Some of the points in this report were indisputable, but the first, and perhaps the most important one, was very far from being so. Governor Trumbull did take large numbers (not necessarily *masses*) of official documents from the public archives, and he certainly did have them at his home in Lebanon, "many miles from the seat of government." Many expressions in his letters show this. For example, writing to Wyllys from Lebanon on August 17, 1770, in regard to the Mohegan case, he says, "I cannot find this passage in the Comiss^{rs} Book with me"; in the same letter reference is made to another important document of a public nature which he then had.²³ In November, 1770, writing from the same place to the same official, he says: "I have Sent my Son, with The Book of Records of the doings & proceedings of the Comiss^{rs} of the four United Colonies of N. E.," and at the close of the letter he adds, "please to return the Records, as well as the Copies &c."²⁴ Early in the previous month, as appears from still another letter, he had sent certain records and documents to Secretary Wyllys, thinking them needful to be laid before the General Assembly at New Haven. But the Governor had these papers for perfectly legitimate purposes, as, for example, in drawing up the argument for the colony in the Susquehannah case, and was acting clearly within his official rights in borrowing them from the office of the Secretary of the State. Nor was this an unusual thing, or a privilege exclusively granted to public officials. The General Assembly at one time granted the historian, Benjamin Trumbull, permission to borrow such State records as he desired to make use of, and retain them for a period of six months if needed. In fact, to any one acquainted with the reckless ways in which records and public papers were

²³ MS. in Conn. Hist. Soc. Trumbull-Williams Papers.

²⁴ Gov. Trumbull's own draft in Conn. Hist. Soc. Trumbull-Williams Papers.

loaned, borrowed, and transported from place to place in colonial and even later times, it is a cause for wonder that so many have been preserved. Hence the major point in the Massachusetts Society's argument was not well taken.

Their position, however, was greatly strengthened by the weakness of the reply to the committee's report made by Governor Baldwin in behalf of Connecticut's claim. In repudiating the committee's implied charge of casting reflections on Governor Trumbull's character, he was obliged to admit that it had been the custom in Connecticut for the chief magistrate to keep in his own possession the papers of his administration pertaining to the executive department. It is true that he contended that this fact would not account for the presence in the Trumbull collection of the papers of former administrations. These, he claimed, were the result of the collections made by direction of the General Assembly under the authority of their various resolutions. This assumption, though a fair one, cannot be proven conclusively. Long-established usage had made official correspondence and similar documents the personal property of the Governor, who retained them when he passed out of office. The papers of former Governors that were turned over to Trumbull were given up voluntarily, and without doubt as a matter of courtesy, not as an obligation; though it may, indeed, have been understood that they were ultimately to go to the State. Of this, however, there is no direct evidence. So far as these personal papers are concerned, by no construction of law or custom were they ever the actual property of Colony or State, or at any time in the State's custody. Governor Baldwin's position on this point was clearly untenable.

At a meeting on May 28, 1846, the society referred the matter to the same committee for further consideration, and in the following November they brought in a second report, which rather indicates that their feelings had gotten

the best of their judgment. They asserted that the simple fact that the papers had been in the undisputed possession of the society for more than fifty years was of itself a sufficient answer to such a claim. "They remain in its Library, accessible . . . to all proper applicants; and copies of any of them may be taken by the State of Connecticut."²⁵

But the committee fell into error when it maintained that the resolution of the colonial assembly requesting Governor Trumbull to collect such State papers as he could find, and arrange and bind them for public use, was merely suggested by "the well known fact that Governor Trumbull was a most diligent collector of all sorts of manuscripts." The real reasons for the Assembly's action have been given above. The committee's further statements, "that to fulfill this request was no part of his official duty," and that "it is certain that he never complied with the request, *at least so far as these papers are concerned*; and there is no evidence that he ever agreed or intended to do so,"²⁶ were quite too sweeping and gratuitous. It certainly is part of an official's duty to execute the mandates of the legislature, and the evidence adduced above in connection with the Assembly's resolutions in 1770 and 1771 quite disproves the committee's hasty assertions. In conclusion, their report recommended the adoption of the following vote :

Voted, that the Historical Society of Massachusetts, having most respectfully considered the application of the State of Connecticut for the collection of papers, arranged and bound up by the said Society, and by them called the Trumbull Papers, beg leave to decline complying with it, being of opinion that it is their duty to preserve the same in their own Library, in conformity with the will of the donors.

²⁵ Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., 1835-55, II, 343-345.

²⁶ Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., II, 357-359.

The society voted unanimously "that the report of the Committee be accepted, and the vote they recommend be adopted." No further action seems to have been taken by the State of Connecticut, and the matter was dropped.

Such is the history of the famous collection of papers to which the original manuscript of Gardener's Relation once belonged, prior to its acquisition by Mr. Henry Barnard, who later gave it to Dr. Charles J. Hoadly. The latter, recognizing the importance of placing its text, exactly as written, in the hands of historical students, offered the use of it to the Acorn Club, of which he was an honorary member. But before the printing of it could be undertaken, Dr. Hoadly died, and the manuscript passed into the hands of his brother and executor, George E. Hoadley, who kindly continued the previous permission to the Club to make use of the manuscript for the purposes of this edition. It may also be mentioned here that Dr. Hoadly left a memorandum directing that the manuscript be presented to the library of Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, of which he was a distinguished graduate.

The proofs of the following pages have been compared throughout with the original manuscript, by Mr. Albert C. Bates, librarian of the Connecticut Historical Society.

W. N. Chattin Carlton.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

The Relation, as printed from the manuscript copy of the original made by Governor Jonathan Trumbull, Sr., has appeared in the following works and editions:

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Easthampton June 1st 1860

Dear friends Robert Chapman and Thomas Hubbard my few remembrances
to you tell, less even to informe of as you desired me when I was with you and
Marion Mason at Saabrook 2 years & a halfe ago. To complete and add to mine
the papers of Gates Pinches at Saabrook in about the time of a Peepit
Marion Mason I have now pronounced to copies of her's, and having written
and found sum old papers here written it was a great help to my memory, you
know no farre as to you I was an old man now or rather consider
is a little old but you know I could never lose all the books, for although for
my use of this I need forward sumthins to pass my suffing shield and my hand off
not you know I could never unders^{stand} useable for making glasses. I have
here but you a piece of timber I found and forwarded might be forme to any
hand some piece of wood. but sorry I have some of hand off wood you must
get lumber to shap it and to saw off splinters should give sum more
I prefer to make myself not do it often at all times taught so much knowledge
I have written nothing but half and you may take out as get in as you please
or if you will, may know all mds of fine but for this you may let go your
and Marion Mason had it, I have also marked sum in sections as follows of what
done since my former his "compleated last Oct" and less as it was when
I was with you so I remain this

Dear friend L. C. Gardner

Leift Lion Gardiner his
relation of the Pequot Warres.

Found among Gov Trumbulls papers 1809 by me &
presen^d to Com^{tee} of Historical So^y Mass (to Rev^d
Convers Francis) to be restrd When Called for

W T Williams

(Lebanon Con) 19th July 1832

N° 6 —
17 Papers
Original

L^t Lion Gardener
Received of H. B.
Feb 10, 1896
C. J. H.

(1)

[1]

Eaſthampton June the 12th. 1660

Louing ffrends Robert Chapman and Thomas Hurlburt my loue remembred to you both, theſe are to Informe, y^t as you defired me when I was with you and Maior Maſon at Seabrooke 2 years & a halfe agoe to confid^r and call to mind the paſſages of Gods p^ruidence at Seabrooke in and about the time of y^e Pequit warre whearin I haue now Indeuoured to anſwer yo^r deſires, and hauing rumiged and found ſum old papers then written it was a great help to my memorie, you know w^t I came to you I was an Ingeannere or archecktector whereof carpentry is a little p^rt, but you know I could neuer uſe all the tooles, for although for my neceſſitie I was forced ſumtimes to uſe my ſhifting chifell and my houldfast yet you know I could neuer endure nor abide the ſmoothing plane, I haue here ſent you a piece of Timbr ſkored and forehewed unfit to Joyne to any handsome piece of worke, but ſeing I haue done y^e hardest worke, you muſt get ſumbodie to chip it and to ſmooth it leaſt y^e ſplinters ſhould prick ſum mens fingers, for y^e truth Muſt not be ſpoken at all times though to my knowledg I haue written nothing but truth and you may take out or put in w^t you pleas or if you will, may throw all into y^e fire but I thinke you may let y^e Gouern^r and

Maior Mason se it, I haue allso inserted sum aditions
of things y^t wear done fince y^t they may be con-
fidered togeath^r/and thus as I was when I was
with you so I remaine still

Yor

Louing ffriend

Lion Gardener

[2] In the yeare 1635 I Lione Gardener Engineer & Maſt^r of works of fortification in the legers of the prince of Orang in the Low cuntries through the p^refwation of M^r John Dauenport M^r Hugh Peters with ſome oth^r well affected Englishmen of Roterdam; I made an agreement with the forenamed M^r Peters for 100^t p^r annum for 4 years to ferue the cumpanie of patentees, Namely the Lord Say, the Lord Brooks, Sir Arthur Hazilrig, Sir Mathew Bonnington, Sir Richard Saltingſtone, Esq[ue]re ffenwick, and the rest of th^r cumpanie, (I ſay, I was to ferue them only in the drawing, ordering, & Making of a Cittie, Townes, or forts of defence: And ſo I came f[rom] Holland to London, and from thence to New England, whear I was apoyned to atend Such ord[ers] as M^r John Winthrop Esquire the p^refent Gouern^r of Coneſtecott was to apoyn, wheth^r at pe[] riuers or Coneſtecott and y^t we ſhould chufe a place both for the conuenience of a good harbor and allſo for capablenes and fitnes for fortification: But I landing at Boston the latt^r end of Nouem[ber] the aforesaid M^r winthrop had ſent before one Leuten: Gibbons Sergiant Willard with ſome carp[enters] to take poſfeſſion of y^e riuers mouth, whear they began to build houſes againſt the Spring, wee expeſting acording to promife y^t there would haue come from England to us 300 able men whereof 200. ſhould atend ffortification, 50 to till y^e ground & 50 to build houſes but our great expeſtation at the riuers mouth came only to 2 men, viz. M^r ffenwick,

and his man who came With M^r Hugh Peters, and
m^r oldham & Tho. Stanton bringing with them
Some otterskin coats and Beuer and scaines of
wampum which the Pequits had sent for a p^rsent
becaus the English had required thos pequits y^t had
kild a virginnean one Cap^t. Stone with his Barks
crew in conect^ecott riuver, for they said they would
haue th^r liues & not th^r p^rsents, then I answered
feing you will take M^r Winthrop to y^e Bay to see
his wife Newly brou[ght] to bed of her first child,
and though you Say he shall returne, yet I know if
you make war wi[th] thes pequits he will not come
hith^r again, for I know you will keepe yo^rselues
against Cap^t hung^r and let ffortification aloane awhile,
safe as you think in the bay but myselfe with thes
few you will leauue at the stake to be rosted or for
hung[er] to be starued, for Indean corn is now 12^s
p^r bushell and we haue but 3 akers planted, and if
the[y] will now make war for a virginian and
expose us to the Indiens whof mercies are cruel
they I say, they loue the virginnians better than us,
for haue they stayed thes 4 or 5 yea[rs] and wil they
begin now we being so few in the riuver and haue
scarce holes to put our heds in I pray aske the
Magistrats in the bay, if they haue forgot w^t I said
to the ~~w~~ I returned from Salem ! for M^r Winthrop,
M^r Haines, M^r Dudley, M^r ludlow, M^r Humfry,
M^r Belingam, M^r Coddington, & M^r Nowell, thes
entreated me to goe with M^r Humfry & M^r Peters
to vew the Cuntrie to see how fit it was for fortifica-
tion, and I tould them y^t Nature had done more

then halfe the worke alreddie & y^t I thought no forraigne potent enemie would doe th⁻ any hurt, but one y^t was neare, the asked me who that was & I said it was Cap^t Hung^r that threatned them most, for, said I war is like a 3 footed stoole, want one foot and down cum all and thes 3 feet are men, vi^ctualls, & munition, therfore seing in peace you are like to be famished w^t will or can be done if war, therfore I thinke said I it will be best only to fight and if need hereafter require it I can come to doe you any seruice, and they all liked my saying well, entreat them to rest awhile till wee get more strength here about vs, and y^t we here where the seat of y^e war will be; may aproue of it & prouide for it, for I had but 24 in all men women & boyes & girls, and not food for th⁻ for 2 moneths vnles we sauad our corne field, which could not possibly be if they came to war, for it is 2 miles from our home: M^r winthrop M^r ffenwick & M^r peters promised me that they would doe th^r vtmost Indeuour to p^rswade the bay men to desist from war a yeare or 2 till we could be better prouided for it, and then the Pequit Sachem was sent for, and the p^rfent returned, but full sore against my will, So they 3 returned to Boston and 2 or 3 dayes after came an Indian from pequit, whos name was cocommithus who had liued at Plimmoth and could speake good English, he defired y^t M^r Steuen winthrop would goe to pequit with an 100*l*'s worth of trucking cloath and all oth^r trading ware for they knew y^t we had a great cargo of goods of M^r Pincheons & M^r Steuen

winthrop had y^e disposing of it [3] And he said y^t if he would come he might put off all his goods and the pequit Sachem would giue him two horses y^t had been there a great while, So I sent the shallop with M^r Steuen winthrop Sargeant Tille who we cald afterward Sargeant kettle becaus he put the kettle on his hed, & Tho Hurlbut and 3 men more charging them y^t they should ride in y^e middle of y^e riuier & not goe ashore vntill they had done all th^r trade and y^t M^r Steuen winthrop shoud stand in y^e hould of y^e boate hauing th^r guns by them & fwords by th^r fides, the oth^r 4 to be 2 in the fore Cuddie & 2 in aft being armed in like maner y^t so they out of the loope holes might cleare the boat if they wear by the pequits asalted, and y^t they should let but one canoe cum abord at once with no more but 4 Indeans in her, & w^t she had traded ther an oth^r, and y^t they should lie no longer theare then one day and at night to goe out of the riuier, and if they brought the two horses to take them in at a cleare piece of land at y^e mouth of y^e riuier, 2 of them goe ashore to help the horses in and y^e rest stand reddie with th^r guns in th^r hands if need were to defend them from y^e pequits for I durst not trust them, So they went & found but little trade, and they hauing forgotten w^t I charged them, Tho Hurlbut and one went ashore to boyle the kettle and Tho Hurlbut steping into y^e Sachems wigwam not far from y^e shore enquiring for y^e horses, y^e Indeans went out of y^e wigwam, and Wuncumbone his Mothers sister was then the great

Pequit Sachems wife who made signes to him y^t he should be gone for they would cut off his hed which w^t he perceiued he drew his sword & ran to y^e oth^r and got abord, and immediately came abundance of Indeans to y^e wat^r side and cald them to cum ashore but they immediatly set saile and came home, and this caused me to keepe watch and ward for I saw they plotted our destruction / & suddenly after came Cap^t Endecott, Cap^t Turner, & Cap^t Vndrill with a cumpanie of Souldiers well fitted to Seabrook and made y^t place th^r rendeuow or seat of war and y^t to my great grieve for said I you come hith^r to raise thes wasps about my eares, and then you will take wing and flee away, but, when I had seen th^r commission I wondered and made many allegations against the Manner of it, but goe they did to pequit and as they came without aquainting any of vs in y^e riuer with it So they went against our will, for I knew y^t I should loose our corne field. then I entreated thē to heare w^t I would say to them which was this, Sirs, Seing you will goe I pray you if you doe not loade yo^r barkes with Pequits loadem them with corne for y^t is now gath'red with them & dry redie to put into th^r barns, and both you & we haue need of it, and I will send my shallop and hire this duchmans boate there p^rsent to goe with you, and if you can not attain yo^r end of y^e pequits yet you may load yo^r barks with corn which will be wellcome to Boston and to me, but they said they had no bags to load them with, then said I here is 3 dozen of new bags you shal haue

30 of them and my shallop to carie them, & 6 of them my men shall vse themselues, for I will with y^e duchmen send 12 men well p^ruied, and desired them to deuide the men into 3 parts, viz 2 parts to stand without the corne and to defend the oth^r $\frac{1}{3}$ p^rt y^t carrie the corn to y^e wat^r fide, till they haue loaden w^t they can and y^e men ther in armes \overline{w} the rest are abord, shall in order goe abord, y^e rest y^t are abord Shall with th^r armes clear the shore if y^e pequits doe afalt them in y^e reare, and then \overline{w} the Generall shall display his collers all to set faile togeath^r. To this motion they all agreed, and I put y^e 3 dozen of bags abord my Shallop and away they went, and demaunded y^e pequit Sachem to cum into parle but it was returned for answer y^t he was from home but within 3 hours he would cum and so from 3. to 6. & thence to 9. ther came none, but the Indeans came without armes to our men in great numbers, & they talked with my men whom they knew but in the end at a word giuen they all on a sudden ran away from our men as they stood in ranke and file and not an Indean more was to be seen ; and all this while before they caried all th^r stuff away and thus was y^t great parley ended, then they displayed th^r cullers & beat their drums, burnt sum wigwams and sum heapes of corne, and my men caried as much abord as they could but the armie went abord leauing my men ashore Which ought to haue marched abord first, but they all set faile and my men were pursued by the Indeans, and they hurt sum of the Indeans, and two of th⁻ came home

wounded, the bay men kild not a man saue y^t one
kichomiquin an Indean Sachem of y^e bay kild a
pequit, and thus began the wars between the In-
deans and vs in thes p^rts: So my men being cum
home and hauing brought a prittie quantitie of
corn with them, they Informed me both duch and
English of all paſſages, I was glad of y^e corn: After
this I imediately tooke men and went to our corn-
field to gath^r our corn, apoynting others to cum
about with the ſhallop and fetch it, and left 5 lustie
men in y^e ſtrong houſe with long guns, which houſe
I had buiilt for the defence of the corn, now theſe
men not regarding the charg I had giuen them, 3
of them went a mile from y^e houſe a foaling; and
hauing loaded themſelues with foule they returned,
but y^e pequits let them pas firſt till they had loaded
themſelues, but at th^r returne they arose out of th^r
ambuſh [4] And Shot them all 3. one of them
escaped through y^e corn Shot through the legge
y^e oth^r 2 they tormented, then the next day I ſent
y^e ſhallop to fetch y^e 5 men and y^e reſt of y^e corn,
y^t was broken downe and they found but 3 as is
aboue ſaid, and w^t they had gotten y^t, they left y^e
reſt and as ſoone as they weare gone a little way
from Shoare they ſaw the houſe on fire, Now ſo
ſoone as y^e boat came home and brought vs this
bad newes, old M^r Michell was verie vrgent with
me to lend him the boat to fetch hay home from
y^e .6. mile Illand, but I tould him they weare to few
men, for his 4 men could but carrie the hay abord
and one muſt ſtād in the boat to defend them and

they must haue 2 more at the foot of the rocke, with th^r guns to keepe the Indeans from runing downe vpon them. and in the first place before they carrie any of y^e cocks of hay to scoure y^e Meaddow with th^r 3 doggs to march al abreft from y^e low^r end vp to y^e rock, and if they found the meadow cleare, then to load th^r hay: but this was allso neglected, for they all went ashore and fell to carrying of th^r hay, and the Indeans p^rfently rose out of y^e long grasse and kild 3, and tooke the broth^r of M^r Michell who is y^e Minist^r of Cambridge, and rostet him aliue; and So they Serued a shallop of his cuming downe the riuier in the spring, hauing 2 men one wherof they kild at .6. mile Iland y^e oth^r came downe drowned to vs ashore at our doores, wth an arrow shot into his eye through his head

In y^e 22th of februarie I went out with 10 men and 3 doggs half a mile from the house to burne the weeds leaues and reedes vpon the neck of land, becaus we had feld 20 timber trees which we weare to roule to y^e wat^r fide to bring home euerie man carrying a length of Match with brimstone Matches with him to kindle the fier withall, but wth we came to y^e small of y^e Neck y^e reeds burning, I hauing before this set 2 sentinells on y^e small of y^e Neck, I called to y^e men y^t weare burning the reeds to cum away, but they would not vntill they had buit vp the rest of th^r matches, p^rfently th^r starts vp 4 Indeans out of y^e fierie reeds, but ran away, I calling to y^e rest of our men to cum away out of y^e Marsh; Then Robert Chapman and Tho

Hurlbut being Sentenells called to me, Saying ther came a numb^r of Indeās out of y^e oth^r fide of y^e Marsh, then I went to stop them that they shoulde not get y^e woodland, but Tho Hurlbut cried out to me y^t sum of the men did not follow me, for Tho Rumble & Arthur branch threw downe th^r 2 guns and ran away, then the Indians shot 2 of them y^t weare in the reeds, and Sought to get between vs & home but durst not cum before vs, but kept vs in a halfe moone, we retreating, & exchanging many a shot, So y^t Tho Hurlbut was shot almost through the thigh John Spencer in the back into his kidneys myself into the thigh, 2 more weare shot dead; but in our retreat I kept Hurlbut and spencer still before vs, we defending our selues with our naked swards or els they had taken vs all alive, So y^t y^e 2 fore wounded men by our slow retreat got home with th^r guns, wth our 2 Sound men ran away and left th^r guns behind them, but wth I saw y^e cowards y^t left vs, I resolued to let draw lots which of them shoulde be hanged, for the articles did hang vp in the haule for them to read and they knew they had been published long before, but at y^e Intercession of old M^r Michell, M^r Higgifson and M^r Pell I did forbeare; Within a few dayes aft^r when I had cured myself of my wound I went out with 8 men to get some foule for our relieve and found y^e guns y^t weare throune away, and the bodie of one man shot through, the arrow going in at y^e right fide, y^e hed sticking fast halfe through a rib at the left fide which I tooke out and clenfed it and p^rfumed to

send to y^e bay, becaus they had faid y^t y^e arrowes
of y^e Indeans weare of no force. Anthonie Dike
Mas^r of a barke, hauing his barke at Road Iland in
the wint^r was sent by M^r Vane, then Gouern^r,
Anthonie came to Road Iland by land and from
thence he came with his barke to me with a letter,
wherein was desired y^t I should confid^r and pr^rscribe
the best way I could to quell thes pequots which I
allso did, and with my lett^r sent y^e mans rib for a
token A few dayes after came Tho Stanton downe
the Riuier and Staying for a wind, while he was
theare came a troupe of Indeans within Musket shot
laying themselues and th^r armes downe behind a
little rising hill & 2 great trees, which I perceiuing
called the Carpenter^r whom I had Shewed how to
charge and leuell a gun & y^t he should put 2
Cartridges of musket bullets into 2 Sakers guns y^t
lay about and we leuelled th⁻ against the place, and
I tould him y^t he must looke towards me, and when
he saw me wawe my hat above my head he should
giue fire to both the guns, then p^rfently came 3
Indeans creeping out and calling to vs to speake
with vs, & I was glad y^t Tho Stantō was theare, and
I sent .6. men downe by the garden peales, to looke
y^t none should cum vnder the hill behind vs, and
hauing placed the rest in places conuenient closely,
Tho & I with my sword pistoll & carbine went 10
or 12 poale without y^e gate to parlee with them
[5] And when y^e six men came to y^e garden pales
at y^e corner they found a great numb^r of Indeans
creeping behind y^e fort or betwixt vs and home,

but they ran away. Now I had said to Thomas Stanton w^t soeuer they say to you tell me first for we will not answer y^m directly to any thing; for I know not y^e mind of y^e rest of y^e English: So they came forth calling vs nearer to th⁻, & we th⁻ nerer to vs: but I would not let Thomas goe any furth^r then y^e great stump of a tree, and I stood by him then they asked who we weare, and he answered Thomas and Liefennat but they said he lied for I was Shott with many arrowes and So I was but my buff Coate p^rserued mee; only one hurt mee, but w^t I spake to y^m they knew my voyce for one of th⁻ had dwelt 3 moneths with vs but ran away w^t the bay men came first: Then they asked vs if we would fight with Niantecut Indeans, for they weare our frends & came to trade we said we knew not the Indeans one from anoth^r and therfore would trade with none, then they said have you fought ynough, we said we knew not yet. then they asked if we did vse to kill women & childr^e we said they should see y^t heraft^r, So they weare silent a small space and then they said we are pequits and haue killed Englishmen and can kill them as musketoes, & we will goe to conetcott and kill men women & children and we will take away y^e horses Cowes & hoggs / When Tho Stanton had tould me this he praid me to shoot y^t Rogue for said he, he hath an Englishmans coat on and Saith y^t he hath kiled 3 and thes oth^r 4 haue th^r cloaths on th^r backs, I said no, it is not the manner of a parlee but haue patience, and I shall fit them ere they goe, Nay

now or neuer said he, so w^t he could get no oth^r answer but this last I bid him tell them y^t they shold not goe to conetcott for if they did kill all the men and take all y^e rest as they said it would doe them no good, but hurt for English women are lazie and cannot doe th^r work horses and Cowes will spoyle yo^r cornefields, and y^e hogs th^r clam banks and So vndoe them: Then I poynted to our great hous: and bid him tell them there lay 20 pieces of truking cloath of M^r pinfions with howes hatchets and all manner of trade, they were bett^r fight still with vs and so get all y^t, & then goe vp the riuier after they after they had killed all vs; hauing herd this they weare mad as doggs and ran away: Then w^t they came to y^e place from whence they came I waued my hatt about my head, and y^e 2 great guns went off, So y^t there was a great hub bub amongst them

Then 2 dayes after came downe Cap^t Mason & Sergeant Seely with 5 men more to see how it was with vs, and whilst they weare theare came downe a duch boat telling vs the Indeans had kild 14 English for by that boute I had sent vp letters to conetcott w^t I herd and w^t I thought and how to pruent y^t threatned dang^r, and receiued back again rath^r a scoff than any thanks for my care and paines, but as I wroat so it fell out to my great grief and theirs, for the next or 2nd day aft^r as Maior Mason well knowes came downe a great many Canoes going downe the crik beyond y^e Marsh before the fort many of them hauing whit shirts, then I

cumanded the carpent^r whom I had shewed to leuell great guns to put in 2 round Shot into y^e 2 fackers and we leuelled them at a certaine place, and I stood to bid him giue fire ~~w~~ I thought the canoe would meet the bullet, and one of them tooke off y^e nose of a great Canoe wherein the 2 maids weare y^t weare taken by the Indeans whom I redeemed & cloathed, for the duchmen whom I sent to fetch them brought them away allmost Naked from pequit they putting on th^r owne linnen Jackets to couer th^r Nakednes, and though the redemption cost me 10^{li} I am yet to haue thanks for my care and charge about them thes things are knowne to Maior Mafon.

Then came from the bay M^r Tille with a pink to goe vp to Harford and cuming ashore he saw a paper nailed vp ouer the gate wheron was written y^t noe boat or barke should paff y^e fort but y^t they came to an ankchor first y^t I might see wheth^r they weare armed and mand sufficently and they weare not to land any wheare after they paffed the fort till they came to wetherffield and this I did becaus M^r Michell had lost a shallop before cuming downe from wetherffield wth 3 men well armd, this M^r Tille gaue me ill language for my p^rsumption as he called it wth oth^r expressions to long here to write, ~~w~~ he had done I bid him goe to his ware houfe which he had built before I came to fetch his goods from thence for I would watch no long^r ouer it, So he knowing nothing went, and found his houfe burnt, and one of M^r Plums wth oth^rs and he tould me to my face y^t I had caused it to be done, but M^r

Higgiffon, M^r Pell Tho Hurlbut & John Green
can witnes y^t the same day y^t our house was burnd
at cornfield poynt I went wth M^r Higgeffon M^r Pell
& 4 men more broake open y^e dore and tooke a
noate of all y^t was in y^e house and gaue it to M^r
Higgeffon to keepe and so brought all the goods to
our houf and deliuerd it all to them again w⁻ they
came for it without any penney of charge Now
y^e verie next day after I had taken the goods out
before the sun was quit down [6] And we all
togeath^r in y^e great Haule, all them houses weare
on fier in one Instant the Indeans ran away but I
would not follow them, Now wth M^r Tille had
receiued all his goods I said vnto him I thought I
had deserued for my honest care both for th^r boddies
& goods of thes y^t paffed by heare at y^e least bett^r
language and am resolued to order such Mallepert
persons as you are, therfore I wish you and allso
charge you to obserue y^t w^{ch} you haue red at
y^e gate, tis my dutie to god, My Masters, and my
loue I beare to you all which is the ground of this
had you but eyes to see it, but you will not till you
feele it, So he went vp the riuer, and wth he came
downe again to his place which I called Tilles ffolle,
now called Tilles poynt, in our fight in dispight
hauing a faire wind he came to an anchor and with
one man more went ashore discharged his gun and
y^e Indeans fell vpon him and kild the oth^r, and
caried him aliu ouer the riuer in our fight before
my shollop could cum to them for immediately I
sent 7 men to fetch y^e pinke downe or els it had

been taken & 3 men more, So they brought her downe and I sent M^r Higgeffon & M^r pell abord to take an Inuoyce of all y^t was in y^e veffell y^t nothing might be lost,— 2 dayes after came to me as I had written to Sir Henerie vane then Gouern^r of the bay I say came to me Captain vndrill with 20 lustie men well armed to stay with me 2 moneths or till Sumthing should be done about the pequits, he came at y^e charge of my Masters, Soone after came downe from Harford Maior Mason, lieftennant Seely, acumpnied with M^r Stone, and 80 English men and 80 Indeans, with a Cummifhion from M^r Ludlo and M^r Steele and Some oth^s, thes came to goe fight with the pequits, but w Capt vndrill and I had seen th^r commifhion, we both faid they were not fitted for such a designe and we said to Maior Mason we wondred he would venture himfelfe being no bett^r fitted and he said the Magistrats could not or would not fend bett^r, the we said y^t none of o^r men should goe with them neythr^r should they goe vnleff we y^t weare bred fouldiers fom our youth could see some likelihood to do better than the bay men with th^r Strong commifhion laft yeare, then I asked them how they durst trust the Mohegin Indeans who had but y^t yeare come from the pequits, they said they would trust them for they could not well goe without them for want of guids, yea said I, but I will try them before a man of ours shall goe with you or them, & I cald for Vncas & said vnto him you say you will help Maior Mason but I will first see it, therfore fend you now 20 men

to y^e bass riuer, for there went yest^rnight 6 Indeans in a Canoe hith^r, fetch them now dead or aliue and then you shall goe with Maior Mason els not, So he sent his men who kild 4 brought one a traytor to vs aliue whos name was kifwas and one ran away and I gaue him 15 yards of trading Cloath on my own charge to giue vnto his men according to th^r deserte, & hauing Stayed theare 5 or 6 dayes before we could agree at last we old Souldiers agreed about y^e way and act, and tooke 20 insufficient men from y^e 80 y^t came from Harford, & sent them vp again in a shollop, and Captain Vndrill with 20 of y^e lustiest of our men went in th^r roome, and I furnisht them with such things as they wanted & sent M^r Pell the surgeon with them, and y^e Lord God blessed th^r designe & way so y^t they returned with victorie to y^e glorie of God & hon^r of our Nation hauing flaine 300 burd th^r fort & taken many prisoners, Then came to me an Indian called wequash and I by M^r Higgeffon enquired of him how many of y^e pequits wear yet aliue y^t had heped to kill English men & he declared them to M^r Higgeffon & he writ them downe as may apeare by his own hand here enclosed and I did as therin is written, Then 3 dayes after the fight came waiandance Next broth^r to the old Sachem of long Iland and hauing been recommended to me by Mior Gibbons he came to know if we were angrie with all Indians, I answere No, but only with such as has kild Englishmen, he asked me wheth^r they y^t liued vpon long Iland might cum to trade with vs, I said no, nor we

with them for if I should send my boate to trade for corne and you haue pequits with you and if my boat should cum into sum crik by reason of bad weath^r they might kill my men, & I shall thinke y^t you of long Iland haue done it, and So we may kill all you for y^e pequits but if you will kill all the pequits y^t come to you and send me th^r heads yⁿ I will giue to you as to weakwash and you shall haue trade with vs, then, Said he I wil goe to my broth^r, for he is the great Sachem of all long Iland and if we may haue peace and trade with you we will giue you tribute as we did the pequits, then I said if you haue any Indeans y^t [7] haue killed English you must bring th^r heads also, he answered not any one, and said that Gibbons my broth^r would haue tould you if it had been so, So he went away and did as I had said and sent me 5 heads, 3. & 4. heads for w^h I paid them y^t brought them as I had promised Then came Captaine Stoten with an armie of 300 men from y^e bay to kill the pequits, but they wear fled beyond New hauen to a swamp, I sent Wequash after them who went by Night to spie them out and y^e armie folloed him, and found them at y^e great Swamp who killed sum and tooke oth^rs and y^e rest fled to y^e Mowhakues with th^r Sachem then y^e Mohakues cut off his hed & sent it to Harford for then they all fered vs, but now it is oth^rwise for they say to our faces y^t our commishon^rs Meeting once a yeare and speake a great deale or write a lett^r & thers all for they deare not fight, but before

they went to y^e great swamp they sent Tho Stanton ouer to long Iland & Shelt^r Iland to find pequits theare but there was none for y^e Sachem waiandance y^t was a plimmoth ~~w~~ y^e Comish^rs weare there and set there last, I say he had kild so many of y^e pequits and sent th^r heds to me y^t they durst not cum there and he and his men went with y^e English to y^e swamp and thus y^e pequits weare queld at y^t time, But there was like to be a great broyle between Miantonomie, & vnchus, who should haue y^e rest of y^e pequits but we mediated between them and pacified them, also vnchus challenged y^e Naraganset Sachem out to a single Cumbate but he would not fight without all him men, but they weare pacified tho y^e old grudg remains still as it doth apeare, Thus fare I had written in a booke y^t all men and posterite might know how & why so many honnest men had th^r bloud shed yea & sum fleid alive oth^r cut in pieces & sum rosted alive only becauf kichamokin a bay Indean kild one pequit and thus fare of y^e pequit warre which was but a Commedie in Comparisfon of y^e tragedies which hath been here threatned fince and may yet come if God doe not open y^e eyes ears & harts of some y^t I thinke are willfully deafe and blind and thinke becauf th^r is no chāg y^t y^e vifion failes and put y^e euil threatned day far off for say they we are now, 20 to one to w^t we weare then and none dare meddle with vs, Oh woe be to y^e prid & securitie which hath bee y^e ruine of many nations as wofull experiance hath proued

But I wond^r and so doth many more with me

y^t y^e bay doth no bett^r reueng y^e murdering of M^r Oldham an honnest man of th^r owne, seing they were at such cost for a virginian, the Narragansets y^t weare at Block Iland kild him & had 50^{li} of gold of his for I saw it w^t he had 5 peices of me and put it vp into a clout and tied it vp altogeath^r w^t he went away from me to block Iland, but y^e Narragansets had it and punched holes into it and put it about th^r necks for Jewels and afterward I saw y^e duch haue sum of it w^th they had of the Naragansets at a small rate—— And now I find y^t to be true which our frend Waiandance toald me many years agoe and y^t was this y^t seing all y^e plots of y^e Naragansets weare allwayes discouered he said they would let vs aloane till they had destroyed vncas and him and then they w^th the mowquakes and Mowhakues and the indeans beyond y^e ducth and all y^e Northirne & Easterne Indeans would eifly destroy vs Man & Moth^rs Sonn this haue I informed the Gou^rnours of thes parts But all in vaine for I see they haue done as thos of weth^rfield not regarding till they were impelled to it by blood and thus we may be sure of the fatteſt of y^e flock are like to goe first if not all togeath^r and then it wil be to late to read. Jer. 25^c. for drinke we Shall if y^e lord be not y^e more mercifull to vs, for our extreame pride and base securitie which canot but ſtinke before y^e lord, and we may expect this y^t if th^r ſhould bee wars againe between England & holland our ffrends at y^e duch and our duch Englishmen would proue as true to vs Now

as they weare w^t y^e fleet came out of England but no more of y^t, a word to y^e wife is ynough / And now I am old, I would faine die a naturall death or like a souldier in y^e field with honnor and not to haue a sharp stake set in the ground and thrust into my fundament and to haue my skin flaid of by piece-meale and cut in pieces and bits and my flesh rosted and thrust downe my throat as thes people haue done and I know will be done to y^e chieftest in y^e Cuntry by hundreds if god should deliuer vs into th^r hands as Justly he may for our sins

[8] I going ouer to Meantacut & vpon y^e Easterne end of Long Iland vpon sum ocotion y^t I had theare, I found 4 Naragansets theare talking with y^e Sachem and his old counsellers, I asked an Indean w^t they weare, he said y^t they weare Narraganfits & y^t one was Miannemo a Sachem, w^t came they for faid I, he said he knew not for they talked secretly, So I departed to anoth^r wigwam, Shortly aft^r came the Sachem waiandance to me and Said, doe you know w^t thes came for, No Said I; Then he said: they say I must giue no more wampum to the English, for they are no Sachems, nor none of th^r children Shall be in th^r place if they die, and they haue no tribute giuen them, ther is but one king in England who is ouer them all, and if you would send him 100000 fathams of wampum he would not give you a knife for it, nor thank you, and I said to them then they will come and kill vs all as they did y^e pequits, then they said, No, the Pequits gaue them wampum and beuer, which they

loued so well, but they sent it them again and killed them becaus they had kild an Englishman, but you haue kiled none therfore giue them nothing, Now friend tell me w^t I shall say to them for one of them is a great man. Then said I tell them y^t you must goe first to y^e farth^r end of long Iland and Speake with all y^e rest, & a moneth hence you will giue them an anser Meane time you may goe to M^r Haines and he will tell you w^t to doe, and I will write all this now in my booke y^t I haue here, and So he did, and y^e Narraganfits departed, and this Sachem came to me at my house : And I wroat this Matt^r to M^r Haines, and he went vp with it to M^r Haines, who forbid him to giue any thing to the Narraganfit: & writ to me So: and w^t they came againe they came by my Iland and I knew them to be the same men : and I tould them they might goe home againe, & I gaue them M^r Haynes his letter for M^r Williams to read to y^e Sachem : So they returned back again; for I had Said to them that if they would goe to Mantacut I would goe likewise with them, and y^t long Iland must not giue wampum to Naraganfit

A while after this came Miantonomie from block Iland to Mantacut with a troop of men, Waian-dance being not at home, and in Stead of receiuing p^rsents w^{ch} they vse to doe in th^r progresse, he gaue them gifts, calling them brethren & frends, for So are we all Indeans as y^e English are, and Say broth^r to one anoth^r, So must we be one as they are, oth^r-wise we shall be all gone shortly, for you know our

fathers had plentie of deare, & Skins, our plaines weare full of dear as also our woods and of Turkeies, and our Coues full of fish and foule, but thes English hauing gotten our land, they with Sithes cut downe y^e graff, and with axes fell the trees their Cowes & horses eat y^e graff, and th^r hoggs spoyle our Clambanks, and we Shall all be starued: therfore it is best for you to doe as wee for wee are all the Sachems from East to west both Moquakues & Mowhauks Joyning with vs, and we are all resolued to fall vpon them all at one apoynted day, and therfore I am cum to you priuately first becaus you can p^rsuade the Indeans and Sachem to w^t you will & I will send ouer 50 Indeans to block Iland, and 30 to you from thence and take an 100 of Southampton Indeans with an 100 of yo^r owne heere, and when you see the 3 fires y^t will be made 40 dayes hence in a cleare night then do as wee: and y^e next day fall on and kill men women & children, but no Cowes for they will serue to eate till our dear be Increased again: And our old men thought it was well So y^t Sachem came home and had but little talke with them, yet he was tould thear had been a secret consultation between the old men and miantinomie; but they tould him nothing in 3 dayes, So he came ouer to me and aquainted me with the manner of y^e Naraganfits being theare with his men and asked me what I thought of it, and I tould him y^t y^e Naraganfit Sachem was naught to talke with his men Secretly in his absence and I bid him goe home and tould

him a way how [9] he might know all and then y^t
he should come and tell me, and So he did and
found all out as is aboue written, and I Sent intelli-
gence of it ouer to M^r Haynes and M^r Eaton, but
becauf my boat was gone from home it was 15
dayes before they had any letter, and Miantonomie
was gotten home before they had Newes of and
y^e ould men w^t they saw how I and y^e Sachem had
beguiled them and y^t he was come ouer to me, they
Sent secretly a Canoe ouer in a mooneshine night
to Naraganfit to tell them al was discouered, So y^e
plot failed bleffed be God, & y^e plotter next spring
after did as ahab did at ramoth Gillead So he to
Mohegin and there had his fall

Two years aft^r this, Ninechrat sent ouer a Captain
of his who acted in euerie poynt as y^e former, him y^e
Sachem tooke and bound and brought him to me and
I wroat the fame to Gouern^r Eaton & sent an Indean
y^t was my seruant and had liued 4 years with me
him with 9 more I Sent to carie him to New hauen
and gaue them foode for 10 dayes, but y^e wind
hindred them at Plum Iland, then they went to
Shelt^r Iland, where the old Sachem dwelt waian-
dances elder brth^r and in y^e night they let him goe,
only my letter they sent to New hauen and thus
thes 2 plots was discouered but now my frend and
brth^r is gone, who will now do the like

But if the p^rmiffes be not sufficent to proue
Waiandance a true frend to y^e English for sum may
say he did all this out of malice to y^e pequits and
Naraganfits, Now I shall proue the like with respect

to y^e long Ilanders his own men for I being at Me-
antacut it hapened y^t for an old grudg of a pequit
who was put to death at Southampton being known
to be a murderer and for this his frends beare a
spight against y^e English So as it came to pas at
y^t day I was at Mantacut a good honest woman was
kild by them at Southampton but it was not known
then who did this Murder and y^e broth^r of this
Sachem was Shinacock Sachem could or would
not find it out, at y^t time M^r Gofmore & M^r How-
ell being Magistrates sent an Indean to fetch y^e Sa-
chem thither and it being in y^e Night I was laid
downe when he came, and being a great cry amongst
them vpon which all the men gathered togeath^r and
the storie being tould, all of them said the Sachem
Should not goe, for said they, they will eyth^r bind
you or kill you and then vs both men women and
Children, therfore let yo^r broth^r find it out or let
them kill you & vs we will liue and die togeath^r,
so ther was a great silence for a while and then the
Sachem said Now you haue all done I will heare
w^t my frend will fay for knowes w^t they will doe,
So they wakend me as they thought, but I was not
asleep, and tould me the storie but I made strang
of y^e Matter and said if y^e Magistrats haue sent for
you why do you not goe, They will bind me or
kill me Saith hee, I think So said I if you haue kild
the woman, or known of it and did not reueale it
but you weare heare and did it not, but was any
of yo^r Mantauket Indeans there to day, they all an-
swered not a man thes 2 dayes for we haue Inquired

concerning y^t alredie, then said I did none of you euer here any Indean say he would kill English No said they all then I Said I shall not goe home till tomoro though I thought to haue been gone So Soone as y^e Moone was vp, but I will stay heare till you all know it is well with yo^r Sachem, if they bind him then bind you me, if they kill him kill me, but this you must find out him y^t did the murder and all y^t know of it them they will haue and no more [10] Then they with a great cry thanked me, and I wroat a small noate with the Sachem that they should not stay him long in th^r houses but let him eat & drinke and be gone for he had his way before him, So they did and y^t Night he found out 4 y^t weare consent's to it & knew of it and brought them to them at Southampton & they weare all hanged at harford wheof one of thes was a great Man amongst them comonly cald y^e blew Sachem

A further Instance of his faithfullnes is this about y^e pequit war time one William Hamman of y^e Bay killed by a giant like Indean toward the duch I herd of it and tould Waiandance y^t he must kill him or bring him to me, but he said it was not his brothers mind and he is y^e great Sachem of all long Iland, likewise y^e Indean is a mightie gret man and no man durst meddle with him and hath many friends, So this rested vntil he had killed anoth^r, one Thomas ffarrington, after this y^e old Sachem died and I spake to this Sachem again about it and he answered he is so cuning y^t when he hears y^t I come y^t way a hunting y^t his frends tell him and

then he is gone but I will goe at Sum time when nobodie knowes of it and then I will kill him and So he did, and this was y^e last act which he did for vs, for in y^e time of a great Mortallitie among them he died, but it was by poyson also 2 thirds of y^e Indians vpon long Iland died, els y^e Naraganfits had not made such hauoke here as they haue and might not help them

And this I haue written chiefly for our own good, y^t we might consid^r w^t danger we are all in, and also to declare to the Cuntrie y^t we had found an an heathen yea an Indean in this respect to parallel the Jewis^h Mordacay but now I am at a stand, for all we English would be thought and called christians, yet though I haue seene this before spoken hauing been thes 24 years in y^e mouth of y^e p^rmises yet I know not wheare to find or whose name to Insert to parallell Ahasuerous liing on his bed and could not sleep and called for the cronacles to be read, and when he heard Mordacaie named said w^t hath been done for him, but who will say as he said or doe answerable to w^t he did, but our New England 12 penne chronacle is stuffed with a cattalogue of y^e names of Some as if they had deserued Immortal fame but the right New England Millitarie worthies are left out for want of roome as Maior Mason Captain vndrill liefenant Sielley &c who vnder tooke the desparate way and designe to Mistick fort and kild 300 burnt the fort and tooke many prisoners, though they are not once named but honnest Abraham thought it no shame to name the confed-

erates y^t helped him to warre when he redeemed his broth^r lot, but vncas of Mistik and Waiandance at y^e great Swamp, and euer since yo^r trustie frend is forgotten and for our sakes perfecuted to this day with fire and sword & Ahasuerous of New England is still asleep, and if there be any like to Ahasuerous let him remember what glorie to God and honner to our natiō hath followed th^r wisdome and vallor, awake, awake Ahasuerous if there be any of thy seed or spirit here and let not haman destroy vs as he hath done our mordecay

[11] And although there hath been much bloud Shed here in thes parts among vs, God and we know it came not by vs, but if all must drinke of this cup that is threatened then shortly the king of sheshack shall drink last and tremble and fall when our paine will be past, / Oh y^t I weare in y^e Cuntryes againe, that in their but 12 years truce repaired Citties and townes, made strong forts and prepared all things needfull against a time of warre, like Sollomon, I thinke the Soyle hath almost infected me but what they or our enemies will doe hereafter I know not I hope I shal not liue so long to here or se it for I am old & out of date els I might be in feare to see and heare y^t I thinke ere long will come vpon vs /

[12] Thus for our tragicall storie Now to the
commadie, When we weare all at Supper in the
great haule they the pequits gau vs a larum to draw
vs out 3 times before wee could finish our short
supper, for we had but little to eate, but you know
y^t I would not goe out the reas ons you know. 2^{ndly}
you, Robert Chapman, you know, y^t w^t you and
John Bagley weare beating sump at y^e garden pales,
the fentenells called you to run in for theare was
a number of pequits creeping to you to catch you
I hearing it went vp to y^e redout and put two
croff bar shot into the 2 guns y^t lay aboue and leueld
them at y^e trees in y^e middle of y^e limbs and
boughes and gau order to John ffrend and his man
to stand with handspickes to turn them this or y^t
way, as they shoulde heare the Indeans shout, for they
shoulde know my shout from theirs for it shoulde be
verie short, then I cald 6 men and the doggs and
went out runing to y^e place, and keeping all
abrest in fight, close togeath^r, and when I saw my
time I said stand, and called all to mee saying looke
on me and when I hould vp my hand then shout as
loud as you can, and when I hould downe my hand
then leaue and so they did, then the Indeans began
a long Shout, & then went off y^e 2 great guns and
toare the limbs of y^e trees about th^r ears so y^t diuers
of them weare hurt as may yet apeare, for you tould
me when I was vp at harford this p^rsent yeare 60 in

y^e moneth of Septemb^r y^t theare is one of them lieth aboue Harford y^t is faine to creepe on all fower, & we shounted once or twice more but they would not answer vs again, so we returned home laughing, an oth^r prittie pranke we had, with 3 great doares of 10 foot long & 4 foot broad, being boared full of hoales, and driuen full of long nailes as sharp as all blades Sharpned by thomas hurlbut thes we placed in Certain places, wheare they should come, fearing least they should come in y^e Night and fire our redout or batterie and all y^e place, for wee had seen their footing, wheare they had been in y^e night when they shot at our sentenells but could not hit the for y^e boards & in a dry time and a darke night they came as they did before, and found the way a little too sharp for them, and as they skipt from one they trod vpon anoth^r and left the Nailes and doores died with th^r bloud which you know we saw y^e Next Morning laughing at it: & this I write y^t young men may learn if they should meet with such tryals as we mett with theare and haue not opportunitie to cut off th^r enemies, yet they may with such pritty pranks preferue themselues from dang^r, for pollicie is Needfull in warres as well as strength