

*A Brief History*  
OF  
**THE PEQUOT WAR:**

Especially of the memorable Taking of their Fort  
at Mistick in Connecticut in 1637.

Written by *Major John Mason*, a principal Actor there-  
in, as then chief Captain and Commander  
of Connecticut Forces.

With an Introduction and some Explanatory Notes  
by the *Reverend Mr. Thomas Prince*.

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

PSAL. CII. 18. *This shall be written for the Generation to come: and  
the People which shall be Created, shall praise the Lord.*

**BOSTON:**

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in Queen Street, 1736.

## Introduction.

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

Like those inspired Heroes of whom we read the History in the Eleventh Chapter to the Hebrews—By Faith, they not only rather chose to suffer Affliction with the People of God than to enjoy the Pleasures of Sin for a Season; esteeming the Reproach of Christ greater Riches than the Treasures of Egypt: But by Faith they even forsook the same, passed thro' the Sea, subdued Kingdoms, wrought Righteousness, obtained

Promises, waxed valiant in Fight, and turned to flight the armies of the Aliens.

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

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

Capt. Mason, the Writer of the following History, in which he was a principal Actor, as Chief Commander of the Connecticut Forces, is said to have been a Relative of Mr. John Mason the ancient Claimer of the Province of New-Hampshire: However, the Captain

was one of the first who went up from the Massachusetts about the Year 1635 to lay the Foundation of Connecticut Colony: He went from Dorchester, first settled at Windsor,<sup>1</sup> and thence marched forth to the Pequot War.

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

At that Time there were especially three powerful and warlike Nations of Indians in the South Western Parts of New England; which spread all the Country from Aquethneck, since called Rhode Island, to Quinipiack, since called New-Haven; viz, the Narragansetts, Pequots and Mohegans. The Narragansetts reached from the Bay of the same Name, to Pawcatuck River, now the Boundary between the Governments of

<sup>1</sup>The names of those who are known to have gone from Windsor are as follows: Capt. John Mason, Sergt. Benedict Alvord, Thomas Barber, Thomas Buckland, George Chappel, John Dyer, James Eggleston, Nathan Gillet, Thomas Gridley, Thomas Stiles, Sergt. Thomas Staires, Richard Osborn, Thomas Parsons, William Thrall. They were absent three weeks and two days. Every soldier received 15. 6d. per day, reckoning six days in the week; sergeants, 20d. per (lay; lieutenants, 20s. per week; the captain, 40s. per week.—Stiles' *History of Ancient Windsor*.

Rhode-Island and Connecticut: And their Head Sachem was Miantonimo. The Pequots reached from thence Westward to Connecticut River, and over it, as far as Branford, if not Quinnepiack; their Head Sachem being Sassacus. And the Mohegans spread along from the Narragansetts through the Inland Country, on the Back or Northerly Side of the Pequots, between them and the Nipmucks; their Head Sachem being Uncas.

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

They had earnestly solicited the Narragansetts to engage in their Confederacy: very politickly representing to them, That if they should help or suffer the English to subdue the Pequots, they would thereby make Way for their own future Ruin; and that they need not come to open Battle with the English; only Fire our Houses, kill our Cattle, lye in Ambusl and shoot us as we went about our Business; so we should be quickly forced to leave this Country, and the Indians not ex-

posed to any great Hazard. Those truly politick Arguments were upon the Point of prevailing on the Narragansetts: And had These with the Mohegans, to whom the Pequots were nearly related, joined against us; they might then, in the infant State of these Colonies, have easily accomplished their desperate Resolutions.

But the Narragansetts being more afraid of the Pequots than of the English; were willing they should weaken each other, not in the least imagining the English could destroy them; at the same time an Agency from the Massachusetts Colony to the Narragansetts, happily Preserved their staggering Friendship.<sup>2</sup> And as Uncas the Great Sachim of the Moheags, upon the first coming of the English, fell into an intimate Acquaintance with Capt. Mason, He from the Beginning entertained us in an amicable Manner: And though both by his Father and Mother He derived from the Royal Blood of the Pequots, and had Married the Daughter of Tatobam their then late Sachim; yet such was his Affection for us, as he faithfully adhered to us, ventured his Life in our Service, assisted at the Taking their Fort, when about Seven Hundred of them

<sup>2</sup> The proposed Indian league was prevented by the diplomacy of Roger williams. For, though he had been banished by the colony of Massachusetts, the magistrates sought his counsel, which he gave freely, and was thus able to render the infant colonies a service which proved to be of the greatest importance. In a letter to John Mason in 1670, when both were old men, he writes as follows: "When, the next year after my banishment, the Lord drew the bow of the Pequot war against the country the Lord helped me immediately to put my life in my hand, and scarce acquainting my wife, to ship myself all alone in a poor canoe, and to cut through a stormy wind with great seas, every minute in hazard of my life, to the sachem's house. Three days and nights my business forced me to lodge and mix with the bloody Pequot ambassadors, whose hands and arms reeked with the blood of my countrymen, murdered and massacred by them on Connecticut River, and from whom I could not but nightly look for their bloody knives at my own throat also."

were Destroyed, and thereupon in subduing and driving out of the Country the remaining greater Part of that fierce and dangerous Nation.

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

Major Mason having been trained up in the Netherland War under Sir Thomas Fairfax,<sup>3</sup> when the Struggle arose in England between K. Charles I. and the Parliament about the Royal Powers and the National Liberties; that Famous General had such an esteem for the Major's Conduct and Bravery, that He wrote to the Major to come over and help Him.<sup>4</sup> But the Ma-

<sup>3</sup> Fairfax went to the Netherlands in April of 1630, and though but eighteen, was a volunteer in the army and was with Sir Horace Vere at the siege of Bois-le-Duc, which surrendered in July of that year. Young Fairfax was then ordered by his grandfather to leave camp and travel in France; and there he remained for about eighteen months, returning to England in February of 1632. Since the total service of Fairfax in the Low Countries extended over but four months, and was somewhat in the nature of a youthful adventure, it can hardly be said that Mason was "trained up" under him, though the story has been repeated by nearly every biographer of Mason since Prince. He may, however, have been a companion in arms with Fairfax, though of this there is no direct proof.

statement by Prince seems to have been also without authority. However, Fairfax, who was no doubt the ablest general of the Civil War and a great organizer, must have known of the service of Captain Mason, and his "esteem" may have led him to write Mason in Connecticut to join Cromwell's army.

JOR excusing himself, continued in this Country as long as he lived, and had some of the greatest Honours his Colony could yield him.

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

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

I have only now to observe, that in The Relation of the Troubles which happened to New England by the Indians from 1614 to 1675, Published by the then Mr. Increase Mather in 1677, I find a copy of the following Narrative, but without the Prefaces, had been communicated to him by Mr. John Allyn then the Secretary of Connecticut Colony; which that Rev. Author took for Mr. Allyn's and calls it his. But we must inform

the Reader, that the Narrative was originally drawn by Major Mason. And as his Eldest Grandson **Capt.** John Mason now of New London has put it into my Hands; I have been more than usually careful in Correcting the Press according to the Original; as the most authentick Account of the Pequot War, and as a standing Monument both of the extraordinary Dangers and Courage of our pious Fathers, and of the eminent Appearance of Heaven to save them.

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

THOMAS PRINCE.

BosToN, Dec. 23, 1735.

## To The Honourable The General Court of Connecticut.

Honoured Gentlemen,

YOU well know how often I have been requested by yourselves to write something in reference to the Subject of the ensuing Treatise (who have power to Command) and how backward I have been, as being conscious to my own unfitness; accounting it not so proper, I being a Chief Actor therein myself. Yet considering that little hath been done to keep the memory of such a special Providence alive, though I could heartily have wished that some other who had been less interested and better qualified might have undertaken the Task, for I am not unacquainted with my own Weakness; yet I shall endeavour in plainness and faithfulness impartially to declare the Matter, not taking the Crown from the Head of one and putting it upon another. There are several who have Wrote and also Printed at random on this Subject, greatly missing the Mark in many Things as I conceive.<sup>5</sup> I shall not exempt my self from frailties, yet from material Faults I presume you may pronounce it not Guilty, and do assure you that if I should see or by any be convinced of an Error, I shall at once confess and amend it.

I thought it my Duty in the Entrance to relate the first Grounds upon which the English took up Arms against the Pequots; for the Beginning is the Moiety of the Whole; and not to mention some Passages at

Mason refers, no doubt, to the accounts by Underhill and Vincent. which had then been printed.

Rovers, as others have done, and not demonstrate the Cause. Judge of me as you please; I shall not climb after Applause, nor do I much fear a Censure; there being many Testimonies to what I shall say. 'Tis possible some may think no better can be expected in these distracting Times; it being so hard to please a few, impossible to please all: I shall therefore content myself that I have attended my rule: You may please to improve some others who were Actors in the Service to give in their Apprehensions, that so the severals being compared, you may enlarge or diminish as you shall see meet. I desire my Name may be sparingly mentioned: My principal Aim is that God may have his due praise.

By your unworthy Servant,  
JOHN MASON.

### To The American Reader.

Judicious Reader,

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

And when thou shalt have viewed over this Paper, thou wilt say the Printers of this Edition have done well to prevent the possible Imputation of Posterity; in that they have consulted the exhibition at least to

the American World, of the remarkable Providencies of God, which thou mayest at thy leisure read, consider and affect thy self with, in the Sequel.

History most properly is a Declaration of Things that are done by those that were present at the doing of them: Therefore this here presented to thee may in that respect plead for liking and acceptance with thee: The Historiographer being one of the principal Actors, by whom those English Engagements were under God carried on and so successfully effected. And for a President for him in this his Publication of his own, in Parte Rei Bellicæ, he hath that great Man at arms the first of the noble Cæsars, being the Manager and Inditer of his martial Exploits.

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

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

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

## To The Judicious Reader.

Gentlemen,

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

This with some other Reasons have been Motives to excite me to the enterprizing hereof; no man that I know of having as yet undertaken to write a general History or Relation; so that there is no Commemoration of Matters respecting this War; how they began, how carried on, and continued, nor what Success they had.\* They which think the mentioning of some Par-

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

ticulars is sufficient for the understanding of the General, in my Opinion stray no less from the Truth, than if by the separated Parts of a living Man one should think by this Means he knew all the Parts and Perfections of the Creature: But these separated Parts being together having Form and Life. one might easily discern that he was deceived.

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

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

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

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

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

Farewell

JOHN MASON.

*Norwich, in New England, in America.*

### Some Grounds of the War Against the Pequots.

ABOUT the Year 1632 one Capt. Stone arrived in the Massachusetts in a Ship from Virginia; who shortly after was bound for Virginia in a small Bark with one Capt. Norton; who sailing into Connecticut River about two Leagues from the Entrance cast Anchor; there coming to them several Indians belonging to that Place whom the Pequots Tyrannized over, being a potent and warlike People, it being their Custom so to deal with their neighbour Indians; Capt. Stone hay-

ing some occasion with the Dutch who lived at a trading House near twenty Leagues up the River, procured some of those Indians to go as Pilots with two of his Men to the Dutch: But being benighted before they could come to their desired Port, put the skiff in which they went, ashoar, where the two Englishmen falling asleep, were both Murdered by their Indian Guides: There remaining with the Bark about twelve of the aforesaid Indians; who had in all probability formerly plotted their bloody Design; and waiting an opportunity when some of the English were on Shoar and Capt. Stone asleep in his Cabbin, set upon them and cruelly Murdered every one of them, plundered what they pleased and sunk the Bark.

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

The Council of the Massachusetts being informed of their proceedings, sent to speak with the Pequots, and had some Treaties with them: But being unsatisfied therewith, sent forth Captain John Endicot Commander in Chief, with Captain Underhill, Captain Turner, and with them one hundred and twenty Men: who were firstly designed on a Service against a People living on Block Island, who were subject to the Narragansett Sachem; they having taken a Bark of one Mr. John Oldham, Murdering him and all his Company: They were also to call the Pequots to an Account about the Murder of Capt. Stone; who arriving at

Pequot had some Conference with them; but little effected; only one Indian slain and some Wigwams burnt. After which, the Pequots grew enraged against the English who inhabited Connecticut, being but a small Number, about two hundred and fifty, who were there newly arrived; as also about twenty Men at Saybrook, under the Command of Lieutenant Lyon Gardner, who was there settled by several Lords and Gentlemen in England. The Pequots falling violently upon them, slew divers Men at Saybrook; keeping almost a constant Siege upon the Place; so that the English were constrained to keep within their pallizado Fort; being so hard Beset and sometimes Assaulted, that Capt. John Mason was sent by Connecticut Colony with twenty Men out of their small Numbers to secure the Place: But after his coming, there did not one Pequot appear in view for one Month Space, which was the time he there remained.

In the Interim certain Pequots about One Hundred going to a Place called Weathersfield on Connecticut; having formerly confederated with the Indians of that Place (as it was generally thought) lay in Ambush for the English; divers of them going into a large Field adjoining to the Town to their Labour, were there set upon by the Indians: Nine of the English were killed outright, with some Horses, and two young Women taken Captives.

At their Return from Weathersfield, they came down the River of Connecticut (Capt. Mason being then at Saybrook Fort) in three Canoes with about one hundred Men, which River of necessity they must pass: We espying them, concluded they had been act-

ing some Mischief against us, made a Shot at them with a Piece of Ordnance, which beat off the Beak Head of one of their Canoes, wherein our two Captives were: it was at a very great distance: They then hastened, drew their Canoes over a narrow Beach with all speed and so got away.

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

\* May 1, 1637, was Monday.

## An Epitome or brief History of the Pequot War.

IN the Beginning of May 1637 there were sent out by Connecticut Colony Ninety Men under the Command of Capt. John Mason against the Pequots, with Onkos an Indian Sachem living at Mohegan,\* who was newly revolted from the Pequots; being Shipped in one Pink, one Pinnace, and one Shallop; who sailing down the River of Connecticut fell several times a ground, the Water being very low: The Indians not being wonted to such Things with their small Canoes, and also being impatient of Delays, desired they might be set on Shoar, promising that they would meet us at Saybrook; which we granted: They hastening to their Quarters, fell upon Thirty or forty of the Enemy near Saybrook Fort, and killed seven of them outright; † having only one of their's wounded, who was sent back to Connecticut in a Skiff: Capt. John Underhill also coming with him, who informed us what was performed by Onkos and his Men; which we looked at as a special Providence; for before we were somewhat doubtful of his Fidelity: Capt. Underhill then offered his Service with nineteen Men to go with us, if Lieutenant Gardner would allow of it, Who was Chief Commander at Saybrook Fort; which was readily approved of by Lieutenant Gardner and accepted by us; In lieu of them we sent back twenty of our Soldiers to Connecticut.

\* Onkos; usually called Uncas, the Great Sachem of the Moheags.

† Mr. Increase Mather, in his History of the Pequot War, says this was on May 15.

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

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

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

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

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

But yet for all this our Counsel, all of them except the Captain, were at a stand, and could not judge it meet to sail to Narragansett: And indeed there was a

very strong Ground for it; our Commission limiting us to land our Men in Pequot River; we had also the same Order by a Letter of Instruction sent us to Saybrook.

But Capt. Mason apprehending an exceeding great Hazard in so doing, for the Reasons forementioned, as also some other which I shall forbear to trouble you with, did therefore earnestly desire Mr. Stone that he would commend our Condition to the Lord, that Night, to direct how and in what manner we should demean ourselves in that Respect: He being our Chaplain and lying aboard our Pink, the Captain on Shoar. In the Morning very early Mr. Stone came ashoar to the Captain's Chamber, and told him, he had done as he had desired, and was fully satisfied to sail for Narragansett.<sup>6</sup> Our Council was then called, and the several Reasons alledged: In fine we all agreed with one accord to sail for Narragansett, which the next Morning we put in Execution.

I declare not this to encourage any Soldiers to Act beyond their Commission, or contrary to it; for in so doing they run a double Hazard. There was a great Commander in Belgia who did the States great Service in taking a City; but by going beyond his Commission lost his Life: His name was Grubbendunk. But if a War be Managed duly by Judgment and Discretion as is requisite, the Shews are many times contrary to what they seem to pursue: Whereof the more an Enterprize is dissembled and kept secret, the more facil

<sup>6</sup>Mr. J. H. Bromley, in his *Oration on John Mason*, suggests that Mason, though a profoundly religious man, had the worldly wisdom to give to Mr. Stone such knowledge of the facts as to be able to lay them intelligently before the Lord."

to put in Execution; as the Proverb, The farthest way about is sometimes the nearest way home. I shall make bold to present this as my present Thoughts in this Case; In Matters of War, those who are both able and faithful should be improved; and then bind them not up into too narrow a Compass: For it is not possible for the wisest and ablest Senator to foresee all Accidents and Occurrents that fall out in the Management and Pursuit of a War: Nay although possibly he might be trained up in Military Affaires; and truly much less can he have any great Knowledge who hath had but little Experience therein. What shall I say? God led his People through many Difficulties and Turnings; yet by more than an ordinary Hand of Providence he brought them to Canaan at last.

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

On the Monday the Wind blew so hard at North-West that we could not go on Shoar; as also on the Tuesday until Sun set; at which time Capt. Mason landed and Marched up to the Place of the Chief Sachem's Residence; who told the Sachem, 'That we 'had not an opportunity to acquaint him with our 'coming Armed in his Country sooner; yet not doubting but it would be well accepted by him, there being 'Love betwixt himself and us; well knowing also that 'the Pequots and themselves were Enemies, and that 'he could not be unacquainted with those intolerable 'Wrongs and Injuries these Pequots had lately done 'unto the English; and that we were now come, God 'assisting, to Avenge our selves upon them; and that

'we did only desire free Passage through his Country.' Who returned us this Answer, 'That he did accept of 'our coming, and did also approve of our Design; only 'he thought our Numbers were too weak to deal with 'the Enemy, who were (as he said) very great Captains 'and Men skilful in War.' Thus he spake somewhat slighting of us.

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

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

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

In the Morning there came to us several of Miantomo \* his Men, who told us, they were come to assist us in our Expedition, which encouraged divers Indians of

\* He was usually called Miantonimo the Great Sachem of the Narragansett Indians.

that Place to Engage also; who suddenly gathering into a Ring, one by one, making solemn Protestations how galliantly they would demean themselves, and how many Men they would Kill.

On the Thursday about eight of the Clock in the Morning, we Marched thence towards Pequot, with about five hundred Indians: But through the Heat of the Weather and want of Provisions some of our Men fainted: And having Marched about twelve Miles, we came to Pawcatuck River, at a Ford where our Indians told us the Pequots did usually Fish; there making an Alta, we stayed some small time: The Narragansett Indians manifesting great Fear, in so much that many of them returned, although they had frequently despised us, saying, That we durst not look upon a Pequot, but themselves would perform great Things; though we had often told them that we came on purpose and were resolved, God assisting, to see the Pequots, and to fight with them, before we returned, though we perished. I then enquired of Onkos, what he thought the Indians would do? Who said, The Narragansetts would all leave us, but as for Himself He would never leave us: and so it proved: For which Expressions and some other Speeches of his, I shall never forget him. Indeed he was a great Friend, and did great Service.

And after we had refreshed our selves with our mean Commons, we Marched about three Miles, and came to a Field which had lately been planted with Indian Corn: There we made another Alt, and called our Council, supposing we drew near to the Enemy: and being informed by the Indians that the Enemy had two

Forts almost impregnable; but we were not at all Discouraged, but rather Animated, in so much that we were resolved to Assault both their Forts at once. But understanding that one of them was so remote that we could not come up with it before Midnight, though we Marched hard; whereat we were much grieved, chiefly because the greatest and bloodiest Sachem there resided, whose name was Sassacous: We were then constrained, being exceedingly spent in our March with extream Heat and want of Necessaries, to accept of the nearest.

We then Marching on in a silent Manner, the Indians that remained fell all into the Rear, who formerly kept the Van; (being possessed with great Fear) we continued our March till about one Hour in the Night: and coming to a little Swamp between two Hills, there we pitched our little Camp; much wearied with hard Travel, keeping great Silence, supposing we were very near the Fort; as our Indians informed us; which proved otherwise: The Rocks were our Pillows; yet Rest was pleasant: The Night proved Comfortable, being clear and MoonLight: We appointed our Guards and placed our Sentinels at some distance; who heard the Enemy Singing at the Fort, who continued that Strain until Midnight, with great Insulting and Rejoycing, as we were afterwards informed: They seeing our Pinnaces sail by them some Days before, concluded we were afraid of them and durst not come near them; the Burthen of their Song tending to that purpose.

In the Morning, we awaking and seeing it very light, supposing it had been day, and so we might have lost our Opportunity, having purposed to make our

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

follow. Lieutenant Seeley endeavoured to enter; but being somewhat cumbred, stepped back and pulled out the Bushes and so entred, and with him about sixteen Men: We had formerly concluded to destroy them by the Sword and save the Plunder.

Whereupon Captain Mason seeing no **Indians**, entred a Wigwam; where he was beset with many **Indians**, waiting all opportunities to lay Hands on him, but could not prevail. At length William **Heydon**<sup>r</sup> espying the Breach in the Wigwam, supposing some English might be there, entred; but in his Entrance fell over a dead Indian; but speedily recovering himself, the **Indians** some fled, others crept under their Beds: The Captain going out of the Wigwam saw many **Indians** in the Lane or Street; he making towards them, they fled, were pursued to the End of the Lane, where they were met by Edward Pattison, Thomas Barber, with some others; where seven of them were Slain, as they said. The Captain facing about, Marched a slow Pace up the Lane he came down, perceiving himself very much out of Breath; and coming to the other End near the Place where he first entred, saw two Soldiers standing close to the Paflizado with their Swords pointed to the Ground: The Captain told them that We should never kill them after that manner: The Captain also said, We must Burn them; and im-

Notwithstanding the statement by Trumbull and others, that Davis cut the bowstring and saved the life of Mason, there is reason, well supported by tradition, for believing that this service was performed by Heydon, and that the incident occurred at this very moment. It will be seen that Mason entered the fort on one side, and that Davis entered on the opposite with Captain Underhill, and could therefore not have been near. The sword of Heydon that is said to have cut the bowstring is in the possession of the Connecticut Historical Society.

mediately stepping into the Wigwam where he had been before, brought out a Firebrand, and putting it into the Matts with which they were covered, set the Wigwams on Fire. Lieutenant Thomas Bull and Nicholas Omsted beholding, came up; and when it was thoroughly kindled, the **Indians** ran as Men most dreadfully Amazed.

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

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

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

But in reference to Captain Underhill and his Parlies acting in this Assault, I can only intimate as we were informed by some of themselves immediately after

the Fight, Thus They Marching up to the Entrance on the South West Side, there made some Pause; a valiant, resolute Gentleman, one Mr. Hedge, stepping towards the Gate, saying, 'If we may not Enter, wherefore came we here; and immediately endeavoured to Enter; but was opposed by a sturdy Indian which did impede his Entrance; but the Indian being slain by himself and Sergeant Davis, Mr. Hedge Entred the Fort with some others; but the Fort being on Fire, the Smoak and Flames were so violent that they were constrained to desert the Fort.

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

And here we may see the just Judgment of God, in sending even the very Night before this Assault, One hundred and fifty Men from their other Fort, to join with them of that Place, who were designed as some of themselves reported to go forth against the English, at that very Instant when this heavy Stroak came upon them where they perished with their Fellows. So that the Mischief they intended to us, came upon their own Pate: They were taken in their own snare, and w through Mercy escaped. And thus in little more than

one Hour's space was their impregnable Fort with themselves utterly Destroyed, to the Number of six or seven Hundred, as some of themselves confessed. There were only seven taken captive, and about seven escaped.\*

Of the English, there were two Slain outright, and about twenty Wounded: Some Fainted by reason of the sharpness of the Weather, it being a cool Morning, **and** the want of such Comforts and Necessaries as were needful in such a Case; especially our **Chyrurgeon**<sup>8</sup> was much wanting, whom we left with our Barks in Narragansett Bay, who had Order there to remain until the Night before our intended Assault.

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

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

We had no sooner discovered our Vessels, but immediately came up the Enemy from the other Fort; Three Hundred or more as we conceived. The Captain lead out a file or two of Men to Skirmish with them, chiefly to try what temper they were of, who put them to a

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

This surgeon, whose name was Fell, had been attached to Saybrook Fort, and was sent on the expedition by Gardener.

stand: we being much encouraged thereat, presently prepared to March towards our Vessels: Four or Five of our Men were so wounded that they must be carried with the Arms of twenty more. We also being faint, were constrained to put four to one Man, with the Arms of the rest that were wounded to others; so that we had not above forty Men free: at length we hired several Indians, who eased us of that Burthen, in carrying of our wounded Men. And Marching about one quarter of a Mile; the Enemy coming up to the Place where the Fort was, and beholding what was done, **stamped** and tore the Hair from their Heads: And after a little space, came mounting down the Hill upon us, in a full career, as if they would over run us; But when they came within Shot, the Rear faced about, giving Fire upon them: Some of them being Shot, made the rest more wary: Yet they held on running to and fro, and shooting their Arrows at Random. There was at the Foot of the Hill a small Brook, where we rested and refreshed our selves, having by that time taught them a little more Manners than to disturb us.

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

age as to fetch their Heads. And thus we continued, until we came within two Miles of Pequot Harbour; where the Enemy gathered together and left us; we Marching on to the Top of an Hill adjoining to the Harbour, with our Colours flying; having left our Drum at the Place of our Rendezvous the Night before: We seeing our Vessels there Riding at Anchor, to our great Rejoycing, and came to the Water-Side, we there sat down in Quiet.

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

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

Shorty after our coming a Board, there fell out a great Contest between Captain Underhill and Capt. Patrick: Captain Underhill claiming an Interest in the Bark where Captain Patrick was, which indeed was Underhill's Right; The Contest grew to a great Heighth. At length we propounded, that if Patrick would Ride there with that Bark in Contention, and secure the Narragansett Indians, it being also the Place of Rendezvous to those Vessels that were expected from Massachuset, until we Transported our

Wounded Men to Saybrook five Leagues distant; then we would immediately return our Pink to convey the Narragansetts home: The which Captain Patrick seemed very readily to accept.

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

About the midway between that and Saybrook, we fell upon a People called Nayanticks, belonging to the Pequots, who fled to a Swamp for Refuge: They hearing or espying of us, fled: we pursued them a while by the Track as long as they kept together: But being much spent with former Travel, and the Sabbath drawing on, it being about Two or Three of the Clock on the Saturday in the Afternoon; we leaving our Pursuit, hasted towards Saybrook, about Sun set we

Arrived at Connecticut River Side; being nobly Entertained by Lieutenant Gardner with many great Guns: But were forced there to Quarter that Night: On the Morrow we were all fetched over to Saybrook, receiving many Courtesies from Lient. Gardner.

And when we had taken Order for the safe Conduct of the Narragansett Indians, we repaired to the Place of our Abode: where we were Entertained with great Triumph and Rejoycing and Praising God for his Goodness to us, in succeeding our weak Endeavours, in Crowning us with Success, and restoring of us with so little Loss. Thus was God seen in the Mount, Crushing his proud Enemies and the Enemies of his People: They who were ere while a Terror to all that were round about them, who resolved to Destroy all the English and to Root their very Name out of this Country, should by such weak Means, even Seventy seven (there being no more at the Fort) bring the Mischief they plotted, and the Violence they offered and exercised, upon their own Heads in a Moment: burning them up in the fire of his Wrath, and dunging the Ground with their Flesh: It was the Lord's Doings, and it is marvellous in our Eyes! It is He that hath made his Work wonderful, and therefore ought to be remembered.

Immediately the whole Body of Pequots repaired to that Fort where Sessacous the Chief Sachem did reside; charging him that he was the only Cause of all the Troubles that had befallen them; and therefore they would Destroy both him and his: But by the Intreaty of their Counsellors they spared his Life; and consulting what Course to take, concluded there was

no abiding any longer in their Country, and so resolved to fly into several Parts. The greatest Body of them went towards Manhatance: \* And passing over Connecticut, they met with three English Men in a Shallop going for Saybrook, whom they slew: The English Fought very stoutly, as themselves confessed, Wounding many of the Enemy.

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

Connecticut Colony being informed hereof, sent forthwith forty Men, Captain Mason being Chief Commander; with some other Gent, to meet those of the Massachusetts, to consider what was necessary to be attended respecting the future: Who meeting with them of the Massachusetts in Pequot Harbour; after some time of consultation, concluded to pursue those Pequots that were fled towards Manhatance, and so forthwith Marched after them, discovering several Places where they Rendezvoused and lodged not far distant from their several Removes; making but little haste, by reason of their Children, and want of Provision; being forced to dig for Clams, and to procure

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

such other things as the Wilderness afforded: Our Vessels sailing along by the Shore. In about the space of three Days we all Arrived at New Haven Harbour, then called **Quinnypiag**. And seeing a great Smoak in the Woods not far distant, we supposing some of the Pequots our Enemies might be there; we hastened ashore, but quickly discovered them to be Connecticut Indians. Then we returned aboard our Vessels, where we stayed some short time, having sent a Pequot Captive upon discovery, we named him Luz; who brought us Tydings of the Enemy, which proved true: so faithful was he to us, though against his own Nation. Such was the Terror of the English upon them; that a Moheage Indian named Jack Eatow going ashore at that time, met with three Pequots, took two of them and brought them aboard.

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

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

two or three of themselves were Wounded: The rest of the English coming up, the Swamp was surrounded.

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

We being loth to destroy Women and Children, as also the Indians belonging to that Place; whereupon Mr. Tho. Stanton a Man well acquainted with Indian Language and Manners, offered his Service to g<sup>o</sup> int

the Swamp and treat with them: To which we **were** somewhat **backward**, by reason of some Hazard and Danger he might be exposed unto: But his importunity prevailed: Who going to them, did in a short time return to us, with near Two Hundred old Men, Women and Children; who delivered themselves, to the Mercy of the English. And so Night drawing on, we beleaguered them as strongly as we could. About half an Hour before Day, the Indians that were in the Swamp attempted to break through Captain Patrick's Quarters; but were beaten back several times; they making a great Noise, as their Manner is at such Times, it sounded round about our Leaguer: Whereupon Captain Mason sent Sergeant Stares to inquire into the Cause, and also to assist if need required; Capt. Traske coming also in to their Assistance: But the Tumult growings to a very great Heighth, we raised our Siege; and Marching up to the Place, at a Turning of the Swamp the Indians were forcing out upon us; but we sent them back by our small Shot.

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

Thus did the Lord scatter his Enemies with his strong Arm! The Pequots now became a Prey to all

Indians. Happy were they that could bring in their Heads to the English: Of which there came almost daily to Winsor, or Hartford. But the Pequots growing weary hereof, sent some of the Chief that survived to mediate with the English; offering that If they might but enjoy their Lives, they would become the English Vassals, to dispose of them as they pleased. Which was granted them. Whereupon Onkos and Myantonimo were sent for; who with the Pequots met at Hartford. The Pequots being demanded, how many of them were then living? Answered, about One Hundred and Eighty, or two Hundred. There were then given to Onkos, Sachem of Monheag, Eighty; to Myantonimo, Sachem of Narragansett, Eighty; and to Nynigrett, \* Twenty, when he should satisfy for a Mare of Edward Pomroye's killed by his Men. The Pequots were then bound by Covenant, That none should inhabit their native Country, nor should any of them be called Pequots any more, but Moheags and Narragansetts forever. Shortly after, about Forty of them went to Moheag; others went to Long Island; the rest settled at Pawcatuck, a Place in Pequot Country, contrary to their late Covenant and Agreement with the English.

Which Connecticut taking into Consideration, and well weighing the several Inconveniencies that might ensue; for the Prevention whereof, they sent out forty Men under the command of Captain John Mason, to supplant them, by burning their Wigwams, and bringing away their Corn, except they would desert the Place: Onkos with about One Hundred of his Men in

\* He was usually called Ninnicraft.

twenty Canoes, going also to assist in the Service. As we sailed into Pawcatuck-Bay We met with three of those Indians, whom we sent to inform the rest with the end of our coming, and also that we desired to speak with some of them: They promised speedily to return us an Answer, but never came to us more.

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

We were so suddenly upon them that they had. not time to convey away their Goods: We viewed their Corn, whereof there was Plenty, it being their time of Harvest: And coming down to the Water Side to our Pinnacle with half of Onkos's his Men, the rest being plundering the Wigwams; we looking towards a Hill not far remote, we espyed about sixty Indians running towards us; we supposing they were our absent Men, the Moheags that were with us not speaking one word, nor moving towards them until the other came within thirty or forty paces of them; then they run and met them and fell on pell mell striking and cutting with Bows, Hatchets, Knives, &c. after their feeble Manner: Indeed it did hardly deserve the Name of Fighting. We then endeavoured to get between them and the Woods, that so we might prevent their flying;

which they perceiving, endeavoured speedily to get off under the beach: we made no Shot at them, nor any hostile Attempt upon them. Only seven of them who were Nynigrett's Men, were taken. Some of them growing very outrageous, whom we intended to have made shorter by the Head; and being about to put it in Execution; one Otash a Sachem of Narragansett, Brother to Myantonimo stepping forth, told the Captain, They were his Brother's Men, and that he was a Friend to the English, and if he would spare their Lives we should have as many Murtherer's Heads in lieu of them which should be delivered to the English. We considering that there was no Blood shed as yet, and that it tended to Peace and Mercy, granted his Desire; and so delivered them to Onkos to secure them until his Engagement was performed, because our Prison had been very much pestered with such Creatures.

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

They answered saying, The Pequots were good Men, their Friends, and they would Fight for them, and protect them: At which we were somewhat moved, and told them, It was not far to the Head of the Creek where we would meet them, and then they might try what they could do in that Respect.

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

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

Thus we may see, How the Face of God is set against them that do Evil, to cut off the Remembrance of them from the Earth. Our Tongue shall talk of thy Righteousness all the Day long; for they are confounded, they are brought to Shame that sought our Hurt! Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, who only doth wondrous Things; and blessed be his holy Name for ever: Let the whole Earth be filled with his Glory! Thus the Lord was pleased to smite our Enemies in the hinder Parts, and to give us their Land for an Inheritance: Who remembered us in our low Estate, and redeemed us out of our Enemies Hands: Let us therefore praise the Lord for his Goodness and his wonderful Works to the Children of Men!

#### ADDITION.

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

OUR Commons were very short, there being a general scarcity throughout the Colony of all sorts of Provision, it being upon our first Arrival at the Place. We had but one Pint of strong Liquors among us in our whole March, but what the Wilderness afforded; (the Bottle of Liquor being in my Hand) and when it was empty, the very smelling to the Bottle would presently recover such as Fainted away, which happened by the extremity of the Heat: And thus we Marched on in an uncoath and unknown Path to the English, though much frequented by Indians. And was not the Finger

of God in all this? By his special Providence to lead us along in the Way we should go: Nay though we knew not where their Forts were, how far it was to them, nor the Way that led to them, but by what we had from our Indian Guides; whom we could not confide in, but looked at them as uncertain: And yet notwithstanding all our Doubts, we should be brought on the very fittest Season; nay and which is yet more, that we should be carried in our March among a treacherous and perfidious People, yea in our allodgment so near the Enemy, all Night in so populous a Country, and not the least notice of us; seemeth somewhat strange, and more than ordinary: Nay that we should come to their very Doors: What shall I say: God was pleased to hide us in the Hollow of his Hand; I still remember a Speech of Mr. Hooker at our going aboard; That they should be Bread for us. And thus when the Lord turned the Captivity of his People, and turned the Wheel upon their Enemies; we were like Men in a Dream; then was our Mouth filled with Laughter, and our Tongues with Singing; thus we may say the Lord hath done great Things for us among the Heathen, whereof we are glad. Praise ye the Lord!

I shall mention two or three special Providences that God was pleased to vouchsafe to Particular Men; viz. two Men, being one Man's Servants, namely, **John Pier** and **Thomas Stiles**, were both of them Shot in the Knots of their Handkerchiefs, being about their Necks, and received no Hurt. Lieutenant Seeley was Shot in the Eyebrow with a flat headed Arrow, the Point turning downwards I pulled it out myself.

Lieutenant Bull had an Arrow Shot into a hard piece of Cheese, having no other Defence: Which may verify the old Saying, A little Armour would serve if a Man knew where to place it. Many such Providences happened; some respecting my self; but since there is none that Witness to them, I shall forbear to mention them.

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

FINIS.

\* Since called Deerfield.