

ACTUALLY, THE *MAYFLOWER* (*MAY-FLOURE*) WAS NOT

A “NEGRERO” SLAVE VESSEL



"It has been said that though God cannot alter the past, historians can; it is perhaps because they can be useful to Him in this respect that He tolerates their existence."

— [Samuel Butler](#), [EREWHON REVISITED](#)





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There is an historical circumstance, known to few, that connects the children of the Puritans with these Africans of Virginia in a very singular way. They are our brethren, as being lineal descendants from the *Mayflower*, the fated womb of which, in her first voyage, sent forth a brood of Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock, and, in a subsequent one, spawned slaves upon the Southern soil, — a monstrous birth, but with which we have an instinctive sense of kindred, and so are stirred by an irresistible impulse to attempt their rescue, even at the cost of blood and ruin. The character of our sacred ship, I fear, may suffer a little by this revelation; but we must let her white progeny offset her dark one, — and two such portents never sprang from an identical source before.



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In the course of the Civil War, the racist **Nathaniel Hawthorne**, who detested American of color and desired for the secessionist states to win, adverted that after bringing over the white people in 1620 the *Mayflower* had been re-purposed as a **negrero**. That seems quite unlikely to have been the case. Either Hawthorne had some indication now entirely lost to us — or, more than likely, he was merely making up **Fake News** like this as he went along (deliberately confounding a 17th-Century vessel with a 19th-Century vessel, and deliberately confounding a voyage east to deliver freed American blacks back to Liberia with a voyage west to deliver chained African blacks into American servitude), in malice aforethought in line with his agenda, and with the agendas of the racist politicians he supported such as the genocidal **Andrew Jackson** and the drunken **Franklin Pierce** — to muddying the waters while ridding America of its black Americans or retaining them in perpetual servitude.

There is an historical circumstance, known to few, that connects the children of the Puritans with these Africans of Virginia in a very singular way. They are our brethren, as being lineal descendants from the *Mayflower*, the fated womb of which, in her first voyage, sent forth a brood of Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock, and, in a subsequent one, spawned slaves upon the Southern soil, — a monstrous birth, but with which we have an instinctive sense of kindred, and so are stirred by an irresistible impulse to attempt their rescue, even at the cost of blood and ruin. The character of our sacred ship, I fear, may suffer a little by this revelation; but we must let her white progeny offset her dark one, — and two such portents never sprang from an identical source before.

We may note at this point that this author had changed his name from Hawthorn to Hawthorne, and that the English *haw-thorne* was identical with the *may-flower*. On a following screen is an image of the *May flower* of this *hawthorne* tree, with its autumn fruit.

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1609

The *Mayflower* is recorded as of this date as being a merchant ship travelling to Baltic ports, notably Norway, employed in the transportation of tar, lumber, and fish.¹ Possibly it was used in addition for whaling near Greenland.² Between voyages the humdrum vessel was maintained in Harwich harbor. Its owners were Christopher Nichols, Richard Child, Thomas Short, and Christopher Jones.³ There would not have been contemporary pictures, paintings, or measurements of such a workhorse as the *Mayflower* but its burthen is known to have been 180 tons⁴ and, from that hard fact, experts in 17th-Century merchant vessel construction establish its length as about 113 feet from the tip of its bowsprit beak to the back rail. Its keel would have been about 64 feet and its board width would have been something like 25 feet. Later in its career on the high seas, it would come to be employed in the Mediterranean, in the wine and spice trade, before being torn apart for construction materials in about 1624.⁵



1. Depositions of Thomas Haddon, John Cowbridge, and Thomas Thompson; Deposition of Thomas Haddon, January 27, 1609/10. Public Records Office, HIGH COURT OF ADMIRALTY EXAMINATIONS.
2. Edward Winslow et al. *MOURT'S RELATION: A JOURNAL OF THE PILGRIMS AT PLYMOUTH*. London 1622.
3. Deposition of John Cowbridge and Thomas Thompson, May 4 and 7, 1612. Public Records Office, HIGH COURT OF ADMIRALTY EXAMINATIONS.
4. William Bradford, *OF PLYMOUTH PLANTATION*, written 1630-1654, original at Massachusetts State Library, Boston.
5. "The 'Mayflower,' Her Identity and Tonnage." *The New England Historic and Genealogical Register*, October 1916, pages 337-342.



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THE VESSEL IN QUESTION

It has been surprisingly difficult to obtain information about the vessel in which the Brownists came to their "Plimoth" in the New World, for Governor William Bradford's history of Plimoth Plantation simply does not name this vessel. All that Bradford considered worthy of record was that this vessel had been "hired at London, of burthen about nine scoure...." (When he tells how John Howland fell overboard and was saved, he recounts that the man managed to catch hold of a topsail halyard, and this detail confirms to us that the vessel would have been one with topsails.) The name of the vessel does not appear in any other early accounts that are still of record, although one of them informs us that the name of the ship's master was Jones,⁶ but fortunately we do have an 1623 document the purpose of which had been to record the manner in which an acre of land had been assigned to each individual colonist. Whoever prepared that document just happened to enumerate these people in accordance with the various ship manifests, with the first group being registered under the heading, "The Falles of their grounds which came first over in May-Floure, according as their lotes were cast .1623." From that incidental mention we were able to establish the approximate name of the vessel: "May-Floure." (The

6. The transport *Elizabeth* had a name change when it was hired by the American Colonization Society, and became the *Mayflower of Liberia* in order to transport a load of freed blacks back to Africa — but the *Mayflower of Liberia* was in 1820 whereas this *Mayflower* was in 1620.

Refer online to R.G. Marsden's "The 'Mayflower'" in *The English Historical Review*, Volume 19, Number 76 (October 1904), pages 669-680, for an extensive examination of various ships of the 17th-Century period that had names similar to this, or had masters named Jones:

<http://www.jstor.org/view/00138266/ap020076/02a00040/0?frame=frame&userID=80947b1e@brown.edu/01cc99332300501afa730&dpi=3&config=jstor>

In that article no suggestion is made that this other shipmaster Jones **ever** was in command of a vessel that transported slaves!

The conclusion I draw from the detail of this is that, when in 1862 at a critical juncture of our Civil War — the point at which our Civil War was coming to be also about freeing the slaves rather than only about restoring the federal union— [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) suggested the identification of the [Mayflower](#) of the Brownists in 1620 under a Master Jones with some [Mayflower of Liberia](#) under a Master Jones that had supposedly sometime carried former slaves back to Africa two full centuries later, Hawthorne was behaving in a manner that at the very **least** must be described as **reckless of the truth**. Why a racist supporter of the Southern secession such as Hawthorne would have conducted himself in such a manner at such a critical juncture is a matter open to conjecture, but we do know that before the war his sympathies had always been with the white slavemasters and against the black slaves. He was a Democrat in an era in which the Democratic party was the party of the slavemasters. In his youth he had cheered President Andrew Jackson, a slavemaster, and in his adulthood he was the intimate chum of President Franklin Pierce, who had attained the presidency with the support of the South and has been generally recognized (at least until our "Wubya") as having been the very worst of our presidents. Hawthorne had almost as much contempt for people of color as he had for "scribbling women" such as Margaret Fuller. I cannot see his publication of such an identification at such a point as the result of some innocent now-forgotten mistake. To the contrary, this was "Fake News" intended to muddy the water and sow disruption. This was not only unnecessary, it was malicious.



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English mayflower is also known as the hawthorne or *Crataegus*. It is a deciduous tree that is a member of the apple family and therefore of the rose family. Its buds are interspersed with the newly opened leaves and look like tiny white balls. The buds open into a flower five snow-white petals around slender stamens with bright pink heads. The back of each flower has five green star-like sepals and below these the stalk is slightly swollen, containing the seed, which grows into a small green berry that ripens to shiny red.)

The English High Court of Admiralty Records list six candidate vessels named something like "May-Floure" that could have sailed from London between July 1620 and May 1621. One of these six, the *Mayflower* of Harwich, England, listed as its master a "Christopher Jones." The Port Books indicate that this *Mayflower* of Harwich had carried a cargo of hats, hemp, Spanish salt, hops, vinegar, and Gascon wine to Norway, and had returned to England with a cargo of tar, pine planks, and herring. More ordinarily, however, this vessel had been journeying to Rochelle and Bordeaux on the coast of France with cloth and returning to the coast of England with wine. In the summer of 1620 the Port Books indicate that this *Mayflower* was hired to transport a group of colonists to the "northern parts of Virginia," which according to the nomenclature of the time would have been in the vicinity of the mouth of the Hudson River. After this vessel's return to England in May 1621, it was again involved in cargo hauling between London and France. The last mention of this vessel in the Port Books bears the date October 31, 1621. Master Christopher Jones died in early 1622. There is no indication of traffic in slaves, but the name was a common one, and there was another such ship, master Thomas Jones, that transported slaves. On May 26, 1624, an application was received by the High Court of Admiralty from owners Robert Child, John Moore, and the widow of Christopher Jones, declaring this *Mayflower* of the Brownists to be *in ruinis* and requesting an appraisement. At this point the vessel was considered to be worth £128 8s 4p.

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DOWNY HAWTHORN
Crataegus mollis (T. & G.) Scheele
APPLE FAMILY



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1616

[Captain John Smith](#)'s A DESCRIPTION OF NEW ENGLAND, based on his 1614 explorations on land and on his coastal survey, was printed in London. The volume advocated the missionary position:

CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE

WORTHY is that person to starve that heere [*sic*] cannot live; if he have sense, strength and health: for there is no such penury of these blessings in any place, but that a hundred men may, in one houre [*sic*] or two, make their provision for a day: and he that hath experience to manage well these affaires [*sic*], with fortie [*sic*] or thirtie [*sic*] honest industrious men, might well undertake (if they dwell in these parts) to subject the Salvages [*sic*], and feed daily two or three hundred men, with as good corn, fish and flesh, as the earth hath of these kindes [*sic*], and yet make that labor but their pleasure: provided that they have engins [*sic*], that be proper for their purposes.

Who can desire more content, that hath small meanes [*sic*]; or but only his merit to advance his fortune, then to tread, and plant that ground he hath purchases by the hazard of his life? If he have but the taste of virtue, and magnanimitie [*sic*], what to such a mind can be more pleasant, then [*sic*] planting and building a foundation for his Posteritie [*sic*], gotte [*sic*] from the rude earth, by Gods [*sic*] blessing and his owne [*sic*] industrie [*sic*], without prejudice to any? If he have any grain of faith or zeal in Religion, what can he doe [*sic*] lese [*sic*] hurtfull [*sic*] to any; or more agreeable to God, then [*sic*] to seeke [*sic*] to convert those poore [*sic*] Salvages [*sic*] to know Christ, and humanitie [*sic*], whose labors with discretion will triple requite thy charge and paines [*sic*]? What so truely [*sic*] sutes [*sic*] with honour and honestie [*sic*], as the discovering things unknowne [*sic*]? erecting Townes [*sic*], peopling Countries, informing the ignorant, reforming things unjust, teaching virtue; and gaine [*sic*] to our Native mother-countrie [*sic*] a kingdom to attend her; finde [*sic*] imployment [*sic*] for those that are idle, because they know not what to doe[*sic*]: so farre [*sic*] from wronging any, as to cause Posteritie [*sic*] to remember thee; and remembering [*sic*] thee, ever honour that remembrance with praise? Consider: What were the beginnings and endings of the Monarkies [*sic*] of the Chaldeans, the Syrians, the Grecians, and Romanes [*sic*], but this one rule; What was it they would not doe [*sic*], for the good of the common-wealth, or their Mother-citie [*sic*]? For example: Rome, What made her such a Monarchesse [*sic*], but only the adventures of her youth, not in riots at home; but in dangers abroad [*sic*]? and the justice and judgement [*sic*] out of their experience, when they grewe [*sic*] aged. What was their ruine [*sic*] and hurt, but this; The excesse [*sic*] of idlenesse [*sic*], the fondnesse [*sic*] of Parents, the want of experience in Magistrates, the admiration of their



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undeserved honours [*sic*], the contempt of true merit, their unjust jealousies [*sic*], their politicke [*sic*] incredulities, their hypocriticall [*sic*] seeming goodnesse [*sic*], and their deeds of secret lewdnesse [*sic*]? finally, in fine, growing only formall [*sic*] temporists [*sic*], all that their predecessors got in many years, they lost in few daies [*sic*]. Those by their pains and vertues [*sic*] became Lords of the world; they by their ease and vices became slaves to their servants. This is the difference betwixt the use of Armes [*sic*] in the field, and on the monuments of stones [*sic*]; the golden age and the leaden age, prosperity and miserie [*sic*], justice and corruption, substance and shadowes [*sic*], words and deeds, experience and imagination, making Commonwealths and marring Commonwealths, the fruits of vertue [*sic*] and the conclusions of vice.

Then, who would live at home idly (or thinke [*sic*] in himselfe [*sic*] any worth to live) only to eate [*sic*], drink, and sleepe [*sic*], and so die? Or by consuming that carelesly [*sic*], his friends got worthily? Or by using that miserably, that maintained vertue [*sic*] honestly? Or, for being descended nobly, pine with the vaine [*sic*] vaunt of great kindred, in penurie [*sic*]? Or to (maintaine [*sic*] a silly shewe [*sic*] of bravery) toyle [*sic*] out thy heart, soule [*sic*], and time, basely, by shifts, tricks, cards, and dice? Or by relating newes [*sic*] of others [*sic*] actes, sharke [*sic*] here or there for a dinner, or supper; deceive thy friends, by faire [*sic*] promises, and dissimulation, in borrowing where thou never intendest to pay; offend the lawes [*sic*], surfeit with excesse [*sic*], burden thy Country, abuse thy selfe [*sic*], despaire [*sic*] in want, and then couzen [*sic*] thy kindred, yea even thine owne [*sic*] brother, and wish thy parents dead (I will not say damnation) to have their estates? though thou seest [*sic*] what honours, and rewards, the world yet hath for them will seeke [*sic*] them and worthily deserve them.

I would be sorry to offend, or that any should mistake my honest meaning: for I wish good to all, hurt to none. But rich men for the most part are growne [*sic*] to that dotage, through their pride in their wealth, as though there were no accident could end it, or their life. And what hellish care do such take to make it their owne [*sic*] miserie [*sic*], and their Countries [*sic*] spoile [*sic*], especially when there is most neede [*sic*] of their imployment [*sic*]? drawing by all manner of inventions, from the Prince and his honest subjects, even the vitall [*sic*] spirits of their powers and estates: as if their Bagges [*sic*], or Bragges [*sic*], were so powerfull [*sic*] a defence, the malicious could not assault them; when they are the only baite [*sic*], to cause us not to be only assaulted; but betrayed and murdered in our owne [*sic*] security, ere we well perceive it....

I have not beene [*sic*] so ill bred, but I have tasted of Plenty and Pleasure, as well as Want and Miserie [*sic*]: nor doth necessity yet, or occasion of discontent, force me to these endeavors: nor am I ignorant what small thanke [*sic*] I shall have for my paines [*sic*]; or that many would have the Worlde



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[sic] imagine them to be of great judgement, that can but blemish these my designes [sic], by their witty objections and detractions: yet (I hope) my reasons with my deeds, will so prevaile [sic] with some, that I shall not want imployment [sic] in these affaires [sic], to make the most blinde [sic] see his owne [sic] senselesnesse [sic], and incredulity....

I assure my selfe [sic] there are who delight extreemly [sic] in vaine [sic] pleasure, that take much more paines [sic] in England, to enjoy it, then I should doe [sic] heere [sic] to gaine [sic] wealth sufficient: and yet I thinke [sic] they should not have halfe [sic] such sweet content: for, our pleasure here is till gaines [sic]; in England charges and losse [sic]. Heer [sic] nature and liberty affords us that freely, which in England we want, or it costeth [sic] us dearely [sic]. What pleasure can be more, then (being tired with any occasion a-shore) in planting Vines, Fruits, or Hearbs [sic], in contriving their owne [sic] Grounds, to the pleasure of their owne [sic] mindes [sic], their Fields, Gardens, Orchards, Buildings, Ships, and other works, &c. to recreate themselves before their owne [sic] doores [sic], in their owne [sic] boates [sic] upon the Sea, where man, woman and childe [sic], with a small hooke [sic] and line, by angling, may take diverse sorts of excellent fish, at their pleasures? And is it not pretty sport, to pull up two pence, six pence, and twelve pence, as fast as you can hale [sic] and veare [sic] a line? He is a very bad fisher, cannot kill in one day with his hooke [sic] and line, one, two, or three hundred Cods: which dressed and dried, if they be sould [sic] there for ten shillings the hundred, though in England they will give more then [sic] twentie [sic]; may not both the servant, the master, and marchant [sic], be well content with this gaine [sic]? If a man worke [sic] but three dayes [sic] in seaven [sic], he may get more then [sic] hee [sic] can spend, unlesse [sic] he will be excessive. Now that Carpenter, Mason, Gardiner, Taylor, Smith, Sailer[sic], Forgers, or what other, may they not make this a pretty recreation though they fish but an houre [sic] in a day, to take more then they eate [sic] in a weeke [sic]: or? if they wil [sic] not eate [sic] it, because there is so much better choise [sic]; yet sell it, or charge it, with the fisher men, or marchants [sic], for any thing they want. And what sport doth [sic] yeeld [sic] a more pleasing content, and lesse [sic] hurt or charge then angling with a hooke [sic], and crossing the sweete [sic] ayre [sic] from Ile to Ile, over the silent streames [sic] of a calme [sic] Sea?



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This included a copy of the Map of New England which he had presented to Prince Charles, son of King James I, “humbly entreating his Highnesse hee would please to change their barbarous names for such English, as posteritie might say Prince Charles was their God-father...” Among the twenty-nine places the prince would rename was Accomack, given the new name of Plimoth, later marked on the map as New Plimoth. Smith at first gave the name Cape Trabigzanda to the first cape north of Boston, Charatza Trabigzanda having been his mistress in Istanbul, and Prince Charles would redesignate this as Cape Anne. Smith would offer his services to the Separatists at Leiden who were planning to emigrate to America, but they would hire Myles Standish instead, apparently because he asked for a lesser fee. It would appear that there would be a copy of Smith’s map showing the location of *Plymouth* aboard the *Mayflower*, for Smith would comment wryly in the TRUE TRAVELS, ADVENTURES AND OBSERVATIONS that he would publish in London in 1630 that the “Brownists of England, Amsterdam and Leyden, [who] went to New Plimouth, whose humorous [fanatical] ignorances, caused them for more than a yeare, to endure a wonderfull deale of misery, with an infinite patience; saying

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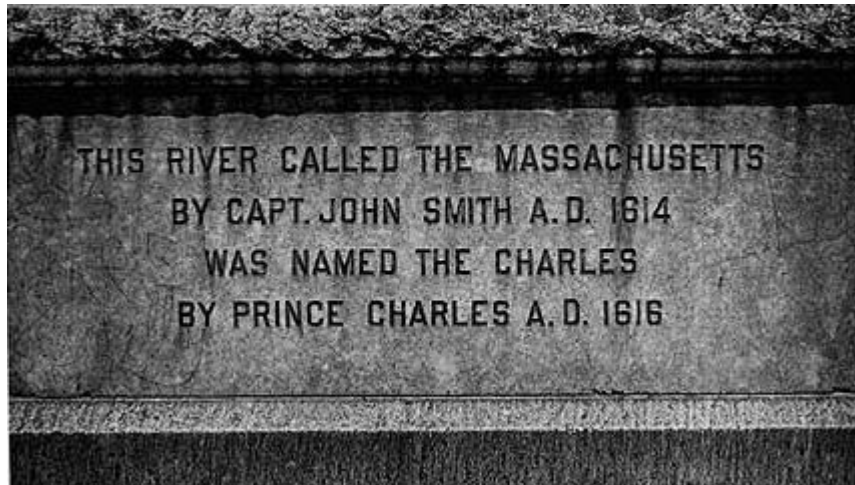
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my books and maps were much better cheape to teach them, than my selfe....”

CARTOGRAPHY

[Smith](#)’s 1616 map of New England would be republished in 1635 in a German edition.

By this point Smith’s royal patron, Prince Charles, would determine to rename the *Quinobequin*, which Smith had been calling the Massachusetts River, in honor of himself:



[Henry Thoreau](#) would jot in his Canadian Notebook that although the map created by [John Smith](#) in 1616 and displayed on a following screen:

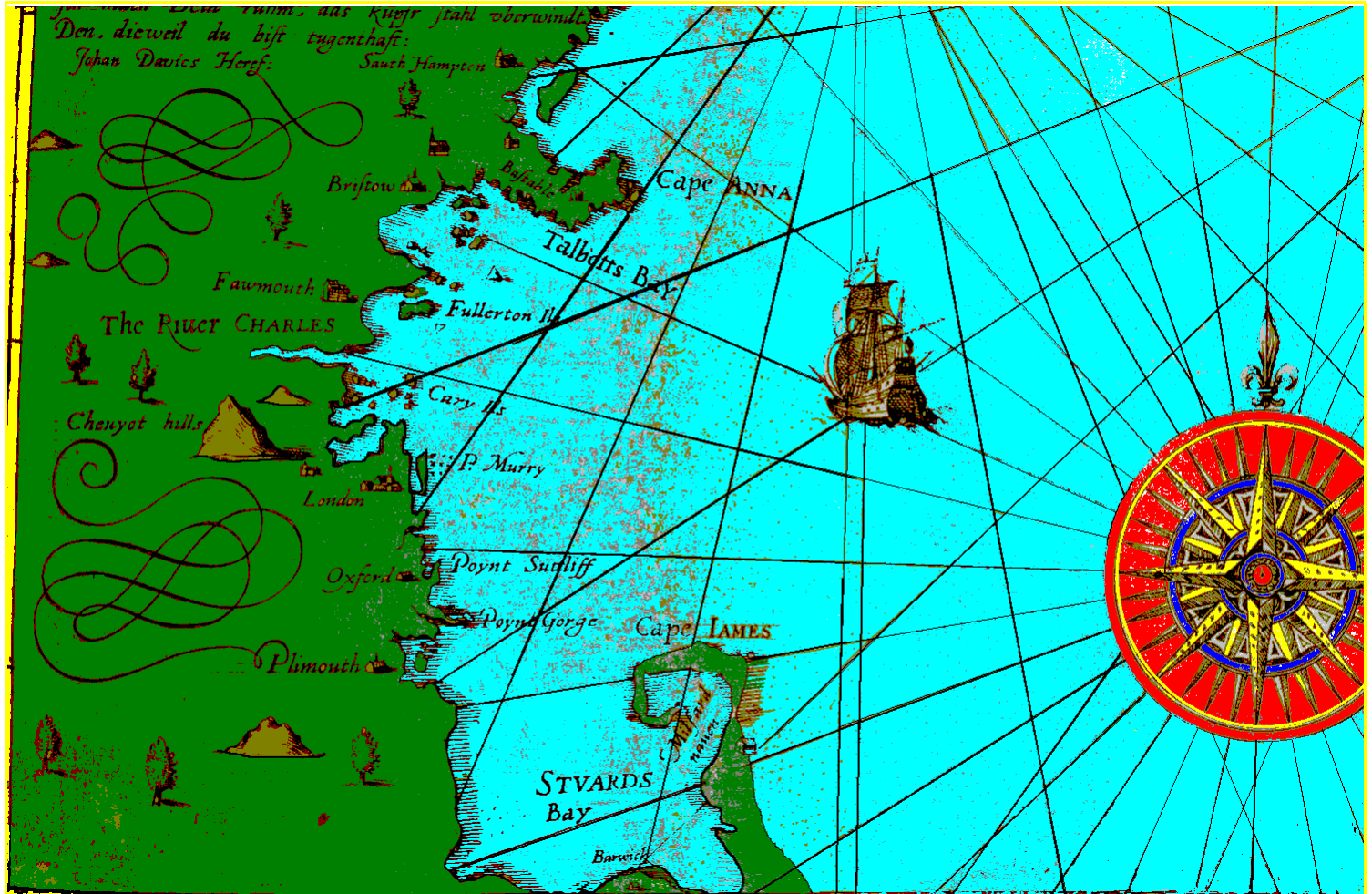
is by many regarded as the oldest map of New England ... there is a map of it made when it was known to Christendom as New France, *CARTE GÉOGRAPHIQUE DE LA NOUVELLE FRANCE ... 1612*, from his [Champlaine’s] observations between 1604 and 1607; a map extending from Labrador to Cape Cod and westward to the Great Lakes, and crowded with information, geographical, ethnographical, zöological, and botanical. He even gives the variation of the compass as observed by himself at that date on many parts of the coast.

The settlements by English colonists along this [Charles River](#) subsequent to 1616 are shown in the following 1635 update:

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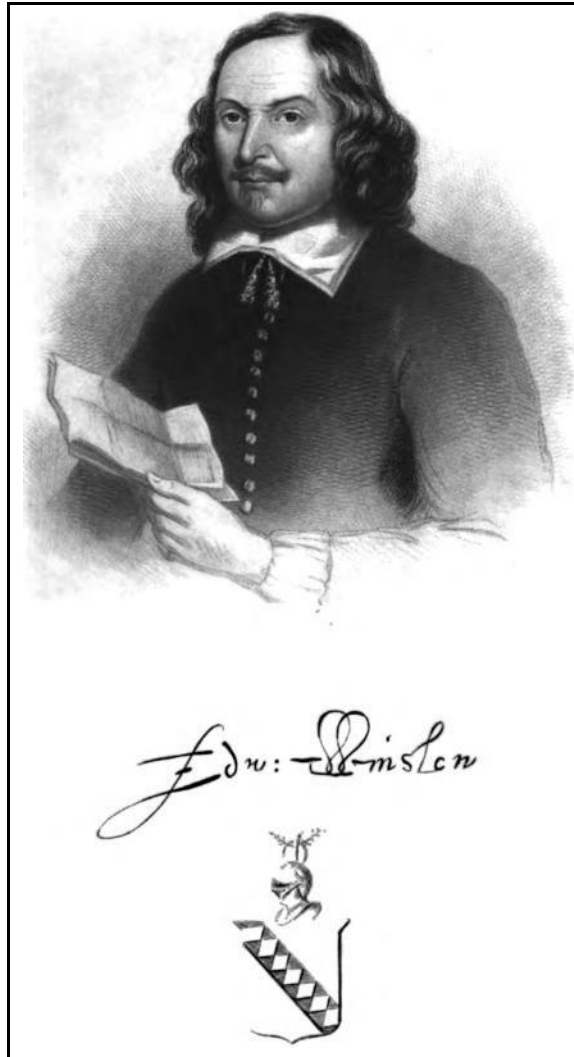


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1618

May 16, Saturday (Old Style): [Edward Winslow](#) and Elizabeth Barker, of the band of Separatists which he had joined, were wed. The Dutch record termed him printer of [London](#).



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The couple would come in the *Speedwell* from Delfshaven, Holland over to England, in order to meet up with the *Mayflower* at Southampton.





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1620

July: The “Pilgrims”⁷ sailed out in their marginally seaworthy *Speedwell* from Leyden in the Netherlands toward England. Thomas Weston, assisted by John Carver and Robert Cushman, had hired this ship and the *Mayflower* to undertake to plant a colony in “Northern Virginia” (this would not have been farther to the north than the mouth of the Hudson River) and when this one would prove unseaworthy, would pack as many of the people aboard the *Mayflower* as it could possibly contain.

Myles Standish from the Isle of Man had signed on as the military leader for the Brownist venture to the New World when he was 36 years old.

“So they lefte that goodly & Pleasant citie, which had been ther resting place, nere 12 years; but they knew they were pilgrimes, & looked not much on these things; but lift up their eyes to the heavens, their dearest cuntrie; and quieted their spirits.”

—*William Bradford*

Bradford, William: Of Plymouth Plantation

Chapter 9:

Of their voyage,

and how they passed the sea,

and of their safe arrival at Cape Cod

September 6. These troubles being blown over, and now all being compact together in one ship, they put to sea again with a prosperous wind, which continued divers days together, which was some encouragement unto them; yet according to the usual manner many were afflicted with sea sickness. And I may not omit here a special work of God’s providence. There was a proud and very profane young man, one of the sea-men, of a lusty, able body, which made him the more haughty; he would always be condemning the poor people in their sickness, and cursing them daily with grievous execrations, and did not let to tell them, that he hoped to help to cast half of them overboard before they came to their journey’s end, and to make merry with what they had; and if he were by any gently reprov’d, he would curse and swear most bitterly. But it pleased God before they came half seas over, to smite this young man with a grievous disease, of which he died in a desperate manner, and so was himself the first that was thrown overboard. Thus his curses light on his own head; and it was an astonishment to all his fellows, for they noted it to be the just hand of God upon him.

After they had enjoyed fair winds and weather for a season, they were encountered many times with cross winds, and met with many fierce storms, with which the ship was shroudly shaken, and her upper works made very leaky; and one of the main beams in the

7. These people were *Brownists*, separatists from the Anglican Church. Their congregation was from Scrooby in Nottinghamshire and had lived in exile in Holland for some years, first at Amsterdam and then at Leyden, and after this sail back to England aboard the *Speedwell*, they were going to sail toward the Virginia coast of the New World aboard the *Mayflower*. (Two-thirds of the settlers aboard the *Mayflower*; however, were actually not of this congregation but were mere economic refugees, with the religious separatists referring to them as “strangers.”)



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mid ships was bowed and cracked, which put them in some fear that the ship could not be able to perform the voyage. So some of the chief of the company, perceiving the mariners to fear the sufficiency of the ship, as appeared by their mutterings, they entered into serious consultation with the master and other officers of the ship, to consider in time of the danger; and rather to return then to cast themselves into a desperate and inevitable peril. And truly there was great distraction and difference of opinion among the mariners themselves; fain would they do what could be done for their wages sake, (being now half the seas over,) and on the other hand they were loath to hazard their lives too desperately. But in examining of all opinions, the master and others affirmed they knew the ship to be strong and firm under water; and for the buckling of the main beam, there was a great iron screw the passengers brought out of Holland, which would raise the beam into his place; the which being done, the carpenter and master affirmed that with a post put under it, set firm in the lower deck, and other-ways bound, he would make it sufficient. And as for the decks and upper works they would caulk them as well as they could, and though with the working of the ship they would not long keep staunch, yet there would otherwise be no great danger, if they did not overpress her with sails. So they committed themselves to the will of God, and resolved to proceed. In sundry of these storms the winds were so fierce, and the seas so high, as they could not bear a knot of sail, but were forced to hull, for divers days together. And in one of them, as they thus lay at hull, in a mighty storm, a lusty young man (called John Howland) coming upon some occasion above the gratings, was, with a seele of the ship thrown into the sea; but it pleased God that he caught hold of the topsail halyards, which hung overboard, and ran out at length; yet he held his hold (though he was sundry fathoms under water) till he was hauled up by the same rope to the brim of the water, and then with a boat hook and other means got into the ship again, and his life saved; and though he was something ill with it, yet he lived many years after, and became a profitable member both in church and commonwealth. In all this voyage their died but one of the passengers, which was William Butten, a youth, servant to Samuel Fuller, when they drew near the coast. But to omit other things, (that I may be brief,) after long beating at sea they fell with that land which is called Cape Cod; the which being made and certainly known to be it, they were not a little joyful. After some deliberation had amongst themselves and with the master of the ship, they tacked about and resolved to stand for the southward (the wind and weather being fair) to find some place about Hudson's River for their habitation. But after they had sailed that course about half a day, they fell amongst dangerous shoals and roaring breakers, and they were so far entangled therewith as they conceived themselves in great danger; and the wind shrinking upon them withal, they resolved to bear up again for the Cape, and thought themselves happy to get out of those dangers before night overtook them, as by God's providence they did. And the next day they got into the Cape-harbor where they rid in safety. A word or two by the way of this cape; it was thus first named by Captain Gosnold and his



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company, Anno. 1602, and after by Captain Smith was called Cape James; but it retains the former name amongst seamen. Also that point which first showed these dangerous shoals unto them, they called Point Care, and Tucker's Terror; but the French and Dutch to this day call it Malabar, by reason of those perilous shoals, and the losses they have suffered there.

Being thus arrived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed the God of heaven, who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all the perils and miseries thereof, again to set their feet on the firm and stable earth, their proper element. And no marvel if they were thus joyful, seeing wise Seneca was so affected with sailing a few miles on the coast of his own Italy; as he affirmed, that he had rather remain twenty years on his way by land, then pass by sea to any place in a short time; so tedious and dreadful was the same unto him.

But here I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amazed at this poor people's present condition; and so I think will the reader too, when he well considers the same. Being thus passed the vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation (as may be remembered by that which went before), they had now no friends to welcome them, nor inns to entertain or refresh their weather-beaten bodies, no houses or much less towns to repair to, to seek for succor. It is recorded in scripture as a mercy to the apostle and his shipwrecked company, that the barbarians showed no small kindness in refreshing them, but these savage barbarians, when they met with them (as after will appear) were readier to fill their sides full of arrows then otherwise. And for the season it was winter, and they that know the winters of that country know them to be sharp and violent and subject to cruel and fierce storms, dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search an unknown coast. Besides, what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men? and what multitudes there might be of them they knew not. Neither could they, as it were, go up to the top of Pigsah, to view from this wilderness a more goodly country to feed their hopes; for which way soever they turned their eyes (save upward to the heavens) they could have little solace or content in respect of any outward objects. For summer being done, all things stand upon them with a weather-beaten face; and the whole country, full of woods and thickets, represented a wild and savage hew. If they looked behind them, there was the mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a main bar and gulf to separate them from all the civil parts of the world. If it be said they had a ship to succor them, it is true; but what heard they daily from the master and company? But that with speed they should look out a place with their shallop, where they would be at some near distance; for the season was such as he would not stir from thence till a safe harbor was discovered by them where they would be, and he might go without danger; and that victuals consumed apace, but he must and would keep sufficient for themselves and their return. Yea, it was muttered by some, that if they got not a place in time, they would turn them and their goods ashore and leave them. Let it also be considered what weak hopes of supply

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and succor they left behind them, that might bear up their minds in this sad condition and trials they were under; and they could not but be very small. It is true, indeed, the affections and love of their brethren at Leyden was cordial and entire towards them, but they had little power to help them, or themselves; and how the case stood between them and the merchants at their coming away, hath already been declared. What could now sustain them but the spirit of God and his grace?

May not and ought not the children of these fathers rightly say: "Our fathers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this wilderness; but they cried unto the Lord, and he heard their voice, and looked on their adversity, etc. Let them therefore praise the Lord, because he is good, and his mercies endure forever. Yea, let them which have been redeemed of the Lord, show how he hath delivered them from the hand of the oppressor. When they wandered in the desert wilderness out of the way, and found no city to dwell in, both hungry, and thirsty, their soul was overwhelmed in them. Let them confess before the Lord his loving kindness, and his wonderful works before the sons of men.



July: In jolly old England, a servant of the More family of Shropshire was assigned the task of conducting the four disinherited More children to [London](#)—as if they were four felons being transported rather than hanged⁸—and handing them off, by way of Philemon Powell, to John Carver and Robert Cushman of the Brownists who were embarking for the New World. For the considerable sum of £100 (which in fact the Brownists never would see, since it would be eaten up by the “expenses” of the middlemen) the [Brownists](#) were willing to enter into a bond “to transport them to Virginia and to see that they should be sufficiently kept and maintained with meate, drinks, apparrell, lodginge, and other necessities and at the end of seaven yeers they should have 50 acres of land a peece in the country of Virginia” (with their bond money having been shared out among these middlemen, obviously there would never be for any of them this “50 acres of land a peece in the country” in and around Plymouth, Massachusetts, even should any of them survive the vicissitudes of this ocean voyage plus the first winter on the shore). Although there was some talk of what fine religious people these new custodians were, it is obvious that the primary consideration was to dispose of the embarrassing products of this illicit union on the next available boat elsewhere. This next available boat elsewhere would turn out to be the [Mayflower](#), bound for the Virginia coast of England’s American colony.

It may be demanded how it came to pass that so many wicked persons and profane people should so quickly come over into this

8. Condemned prisoners had been being transported to England’s overseas colonies rather than hanged since at least 1617. On one such occasion fully “an hundred dissolute persons” had been packed off to the Virginia coast.



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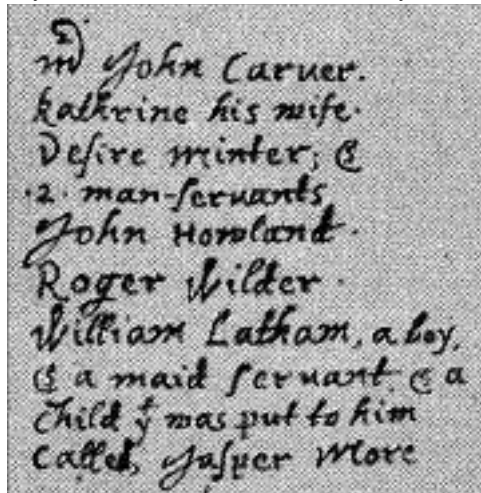
THE MAYFLOW

land.... There were sent by their friends some under hope that they would be made better; others that they might be eased of such burdens, and they kept from shame at home that would necessarily follow their dissolute courses.

CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE

(We may legitimately wonder whether the case of these four disinherited bastard More foundlings might not have been what was on the mind of [William Bradford](#), as he quilled the above generalization into his OF PLIMOTH PLANTATION manuscript.)

The 8-year-old Elinor or [Ellen More](#) (she had been born on May 12, 1612 and baptized on May 24th, 1612) would be assigned to the family of Edward Winslow, 7-year-old [Jasper More](#) (he had been born or baptized on August 8th, 1613) to the family of Governor John Carver, and 5-year-old [Richard More](#) (he had been born or



baptized on November 13th, 1614) and 4-year-old [Mary More](#) (she had been born or baptized in Shipton, Shropshire on April 16th, 1616) to the family of the senior person among the colonists, Reverend Elder William Brewster (the pastor of this congregation had chosen to remain behind with the greater body of his flock, in England).

August 15, Tuesday (August 5, Saturday, Old Style): The [Speedwell](#) sailed from Southampton toward the American coast. When the white intrusives had indicated that they intended to settle in “Northern Virginia,” they were referring imprecisely to the region which on our present-day maps would be southern New York State. [William Bradford's](#) OF PLIMOTH PLANTATION makes it appear that despite Long Island being considered Dutch territory, the group had intended to settle on that island near the Hudson River.

August 16, Wednesday (August 6, Sunday, Old Style): Worship services were held aboard the [Speedwell](#) heading toward the Virginia coast.

August 23, Wednesday (August 13, Sunday, Old Style): Worship services were held. The [Speedwell](#) put back to Dartmouth.

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September 2, Saturday (August 23, Wednesday, Old Style): The *Speedwell* sailed from Dartmouth toward the Virginia coast, but leaked so badly that it was unable to leave the coastal waters and was forced to put back a second time, to Plymouth.

September 16, Saturday (September 6, Wednesday, Old Style): After a couple of false starts, 149 white settlers again set forth from Plymouth, under Captain Christopher Jones, toward the distant “Northern Virginia” coast aboard the *Mayflower*:



Those passengers who had belonged to the church in Leyden were not Puritans but Separatists. Their pastor, the Reverend John Robinson, had put forth his beliefs on the separation movement in his book, *THE JUSTIFICATION FOR THE SEPARATION FROM THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND* in 1610. This distinction, between Separatists and Puritans, has been summarized in Thomas H. Johnson’s *THE PURITANS* and Eugene Aubrey Stratton’s *PLYMOUTH COLONY: ITS HISTORY AND ITS PEOPLE, 1620-1691* and has been elaborated in Perry Miller’s *ORTHODOXY IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1630-1650*: The Puritan agenda was that the Church of England was redeemable and ought to be purified, while the Separatist agenda was that the Church of England was irredeemable and they ought to separate themselves entirely from such a baleful influence. However, both Puritanism and the Separatist movement of the Pilgrims, as well as Presbyterianism in general, did equivalently trace their origins to the *Reverend John Calvin* and to the *Calvinism* of the mid-1500s. Puritans would only begin arriving in America starting in about 1629, and would be settling in the Massachusetts Bay Colony under the leadership of Governor John Winthrop. It would not be until after the English civil war that the Puritan and the Pilgrim/Separatist movements would become indistinguishable, though their descendants would tend to keep to separate Colonies even into the 1690s due to differing views on the proper relationship of Church and State. Even the most religious among the passengers did not shun color, and did not restrict themselves to only black and white clothes, nor did they use big buckles on their clothing, shoes, or hats — such buckles would not come into fashion until the late 1600s. Wearing only colorless clothing would be occasionally a Puritan extreme but was never typical of Separatists. Although black, white, grey, and brown were the most common colors worn because they were the least expensive, they were definitely not the only colors. Children wore a lot of blues and yellows and both men and women wore lots of reds and earthy greens. The only color that was “taboo” in this group was the dark purple which would have indicated royalty, or at least wealth.⁹

The average age was 32. The oldest of the passengers was 57. Only five of the 104 were over 50 and only fourteen were over 40. About 60 were between 20 and 40 years old. At least 30 were under the age of 17. There were about 51 men, 22 boys, 20 women, and 11 girls. The oldest passenger to survive to partake in the 1st Thanksgiving would be William Brewster, age 54.

Of the hundred-odd passengers stuffed into the *Mayflower* at least 30 were under the age of 17. There were 22 boys and 11 girls. Special notice should be taken of four of these children, named More, who had at the last

9. When a passenger died, an inventory of the person’s estate was taken by the Court for purposes of probate. From these inventories we know that John Howland had two red waistcoats, *William Bradford* had a green gown, violet cloak, lead colored suit with silver buttons, and a red waistcoat, and William Brewster had green drawers, a red cap, and a violet coat.

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moment been put aboard under the most peculiar circumstances. The Mores of Shipton in Shropshire, England prided themselves that they were directly descended from King Malcolm III of Scotland (1058-1093), King Edward I of England, and King Henry II of England (died 1189).



As early as the 12th Century, the family had been of recognized local importance on a moor near the Welsh border. By the 13th Century, the family had four manor houses on this moor and the head of the family was a constable of the crown of England pledged to provide 200 soldiers and “carry in his own two hands” the English banner against the Welsh. By the 15th Century the timber-and-plaster family home near Shipton was being referred to as Larden Hall. One of the members of the family came to be designated Lord of Linley, about 20 miles away. In 1607 Jasper More, Lord of Larden, had a son as well as a daughter, and was rebuilding part of Larden Hall in stone, when his inheriting son was killed in a pistol [duel](#) over a woman. There arose the inevitable problem in regard to inheritance of lands and properties by primogeniture, according to which such lands and properties might not be split, or inherited by a female offspring. In the normal course of events, rather than allow female offspring to inherit, the law would have awarded all these lands and properties in one bundle to a cousin, Richard More, Lord of Linley. The Lord of Larden and the Lord of Linley therefore arranged a marriage of convenience between Jasper More’s 23-year-old [Katherine More](#), and her relative, Richard More’s 16-year-old [Samuell More](#) (the two were related, but not within England’s proscribed terms of consanguinity). The signing of the marriage contract took place on February 9, 1610 and the actual ceremony took place on February 11, 1610 in the tiny chapel of Shipton, Shropshire, an Anglican ceremony. Their inventive marriage contract, instead of “tabling” them together in the usual manner, had specified that their family arrangement was to be “without tabling,” which is to say, this particular newlywed couple was to have the option of not residing together. Instead of a single allowance, in the care of the husband, the document awards the bride and the groom entirely separate allowances of £20 annually. Six years later, in 1616 when [Samuell More](#) finally turned 21 and became of age and thus gained control over the combined estates of Linley and Larden, and over the three children who had been produced so far by his wife (whether or not he was their biological father), he began to “forbear,” which is to say, to avoid, his wife, and implemented this decision by taking up the position of personal secretary to Edward, Lord Zouch, who presided over the Council of the Marches of Wales (he would remain in this position until His Lordship’s death in 1625). His Lordship’s estates were at Bramshill, just outside [London](#). After the birth of four children Ellen, Jasper, Richard, and Mary More, on April 20, 1616, four days after the birth of Mary, the husband would accuse the wife of infidelity, naming “a fellow of meane parantage and condicon” as obviously their biological father. He averred that “most of the children” had a greater resemblance to this local person [Jacob Blakeway](#) than to him “in their viseages and lineaments.” The husband’s chief concern seems to have been that rumors as to the shameful activities of his wife in Shropshire had been resulting in his loss of “preferment” at court, in and around [London](#). [Samuell More](#) filed for a “cutting of the entail,” which effectively would disinherit these children. He then went back to [London](#). The elder [Richard More](#) signed a document, that he would maintain “the grandchildren of the said J.M. for the 21 years,” referring not to whatever father had produced the four but instead to the only solid rock of their





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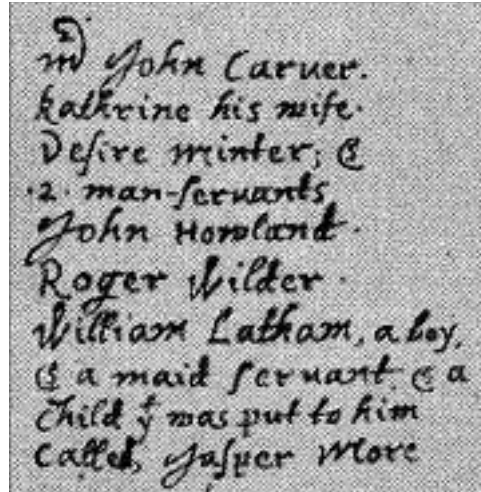
paternity, Jasper More — their maternal grandfather. At first [Katherine More](#) responded by alleging that her husband and his father, having at 21, the age of his maturity, acquired total control over her Larden lands and title, were merely seizing upon an opportunity to throw her out. The husband gave care of the four children to a tenant farmer and removed to [London](#). He explained that there was a reason why his parents were not able to take the four children into their own home: this was out of fear that “if it should have pleased God to visit any of them with death,” they would find themselves accused by the mother of murder. The mother apparently at this point went to reside with her [Jacob Blakeway](#), averring that since he and she had contracted marriage before the marriage of convenience and inheritance had been arranged, therefore she and he were “one before God,” and the formal marriage that had been forced upon her could only be a fiction. What she was alleging was that there had been a “precontract” between herself and this [Jacob Blakeway](#). Such a precontract would in fact have been recognized as valid under the law — had she been able to obtain the testimony of two witnesses. No evidence of any wedding ceremony would have been required. However, whatever “precontract” she had had with her beloved must have been a very private matter, entirely between themselves, because upon need [Katherine More](#) was entirely unable to produce the requisite two witnesses who would certify to such a “precontract” with her Jacob. The mother, according to the testimony of the cuckolded husband, “often repayed” during April to June 1616 to the tenant farm where her four children were residing “and there used divers exclamcons and slaunders and did teare the cloathes from their backes.” (The given interpretation for this conduct was that she was struggling to take physical possession of her children, to the point at which the cloth of their apparel was torn, but I wonder — might it not have been that the children had been given ragged dirty peasant costumes to wear, and she stripped them because she considered such attire to be an insult, as vicious punishment, as beneath their accustomed station?) The mother went before the diocesan court requesting a [divorce](#), and permission to formalize her actual marriage, while Blakeway himself confessed to adultery — and was granted the pardon of the king. (We need not presume that the King of England knew of this adultery, or that he sanctioned or forgave it, for such royal pardons were for sale for a fee. We need only presume that either [Jacob Blakeway](#) or, more likely, [Katherine More](#) had been able to come up with sufficient cash money to purchase said pardon document from the official who had them for sale. The pardon document is signed by Henry Marten, a judge of the High Court of the Admiralty who normally dealt with cases arising aboard England’s ships on the high seas and in England’s overseas colonies.) After securing his pardon, [Jacob Blakeway](#) had come to reside at the Larden estate. As the husband [Samuell More](#) would put the matter, [Jacob Blakeway](#) had been “about the howses & about the grounds of the sd Samuel.” In early 1619 [Jacob Blakeway](#) was charged with trespass, breaking and entering, and “enormities” which clearly went far beyond the minor trespassing involved in “treadinge his grasse,” and the complainant asked for damages in the amount of £1,000. A jury awarded £400, such a sum as neither Jacob nor his loving Katherine would be able to produce no matter what they did, and after an appeal of this judgment had failed, Jacob of necessity “fledd” to prevent “execucon” of this fine, as that would have involved an entirely indefinite stay in the debtors’ prison. No more will be heard of him (perhaps he fled to the colonies, changing his name). At first [Samuell More](#) had offered to support [Katherine More](#) to the extent of 20 “marks” per year on condition that she “absteine from the company of Blakeway,” but then after three years of this feud, Katherine being unwilling to do without her Jacob, at the end of June 1619 he counterfiled to be divorced at the Court of Audience, alleging his wife to be “impenitent and incorrigible.” When the husband’s divorce case succeeded during June or July 1619, the divorced woman appealed the decision to the High Court of Delegates. A panel of four knights was appointed by the bishops of Rochester and Ely, and after a lengthy delay and much consideration from December 1619 to July 8, 1620 (there were at least a dozen court appearances) they dismissed Katherine More’s case and confirmed the husband’s divorce decree. [Samuell More](#) was required to pay the court costs for both sides of the dispute. In July 1620 a servant of the More family was assigned the task of conducting the children to [London](#) and handing them off, by way of Philemon Powell, to John Carver and Robert Cushman of the Brownists who were embarking for the New World. For a considerable sum (which in fact they never would receive, since it would be eaten up by the middlemen) the Brownists were willing to enter into a bond “to transport them to Virginia and to see that they should be sufficiently kept and maintained with meate, drinks, apparrell, lodginge, and other necessities and at the end of seaven yeers they should have 50 acres of land a peece in the country of Virginia” (with their bond money having been eaten up by these middlemen, obviously



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there would never be for any of them this “50 acres of land a peece in the country” in and around Plymouth, Massachusetts). Although there was some talk of what fine religious people these new custodians were, it is obvious that the primary consideration was to dispose of the embarrassing products of this illicit union on the next available boat elsewhere. The 8-year-old Elinor or [Ellen More](#) (she had been born on May 12, 1612 and baptized on May 24, 1612) would be assigned to the family of Edward Winslow, 7-year-old [Jasper More](#) (he had been born or baptized on August 8, 1613) to the family of Governor John Carver, and 5-year-old [Richard](#)



[More](#) (he had been born or baptized on November 13, 1614) and 4-year-old [Mary More](#) (she had been born or baptized in Shipton, Shropshire on April 16, 1616) to the family of Reverend Elder William Brewster. When, after the [Mayflower](#) had sailed in September, [Katherine More](#) appeared before Sir James Lee, Lord Chief Justice of England, to find out what was happening to her four children, the mother was informed that:

The said Samuell upon good and deliberate advise thought fitt to settle his estate upon a more hopeful issue and to provide for the educacon and maintenance of these children in a place remote from these partes where these great blotts and blemishes may fall upon them and therefore took the opportunity of sendinge them when such yonge ones as they went over with honest and religeous people.

The passengers aboard the [Mayflower](#) were divided among the “Saints,” as the congregation of separatist [Brownists](#) imagined themselves, and “Strangers” who did not share their religious convictions. It is an interesting question, whether these First Comers would have regarded these bastards on board the [Mayflower](#) as of the Strangers, because they had not originated with their emigrating congregation, or as of the Saints, because they were attached to reputable families among the Saints. These four traumatized children had a tough time during the first winter at Plymouth. On December 6, 1620, the 7-year-old boy died in [Provincetown](#) Harbor while still aboard the [Mayflower](#), and then in January or February 1621 8-year-old and 4-year-old girls also died — in Plymouth colony, the 5-year-old [Richard More](#) would be growing up not only without any parents but also without any siblings. He would stay with the Brewster family until he returned to England at the age of about 13, shortly after 1627. Richard would arrive back in the New World on the ship [Blessing](#) in



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July 1635, bringing with him a young woman, Christian Hunter. The couple would be wed at Plymouth on October 20, 1636. Shortly after the wedding, Richard and Christian More would sell their land in the Plymouth Colony and relocate to [Salem](#) in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, where Richard would become a mariner and then captain of a ship. In 1643 Richard More became a freeman of Salem and joined the First Church there. Captain More sailed to Nova Scotia, Virginia, West Indies, and England at various times during the 1650s and 1660s. He carried cargos of tobacco east and manufactured goods west, and engaged in some routine smuggling. On October 23, 1645 Richard More apparently became a bigamist by marrying with Elizabeth Woolno at St. Duncan's, Stepney, Middlesex, England, while he already had a wife on the far side of the Atlantic (bigamy was being punished by execution, but this bigamy would not be brought to light until the 20th Century).

In 1627 in England, [Samuell More](#) remarried, and the More family would continue in its holdings absent this particular clutch of questionable children. During the Civil War, the Puritan [Samuell More](#) would arm 30 men and hold nearby Hopton Castle in the name of Lord Protector Cromwell and the Republic for a month against a siege by 500 soldiers of the monarchy. When they surrendered the Puritan soldiers were put to the sword, only Lord More himself being spared to be packed off to prison for the duration. At the end of the Civil War, of course, he would be set free by Lord Protector Cromwell, and eventually he would become a Puritan Member of Parliament. In his will there is no mention of the four children who had been disposed of. Larden Hall no longer pertains to the More family — in 1968 it was dismantled by a contracting firm which sold off its antiques materials as decorator items and the present Lord of Linley and Larden, Jasper More, a barrister and magistrate, now resides at a rebuilt Linley Hall.

In America:

- Samuel (!) and Thomas More would be born on March 6, 1641/1642 in Salem.
- Caleb More would be born on March 31, 1643/1644 in Salem, would not marry, and would die on January 4, 1678/1679 in Salem.
- Joshua More would be born on May 3, 1646 in Salem.
- Richard More would be born on January 2, 1647/1648, Salem, would marry with Sarah (---) before 1673, and would die after May 1, 1696.
- Susanna More would be born on May 12, 1650 in Salem, would marry with Samuel Dutch in about 1675, and would die after October 30, 1728, probably in Salem.
- Christian More would be born on September 5, 1652 in Salem, would marry with Joshua Conant on August 31, 1676 in Salem, and would die on May 30, 1680 in Salem.

Having wives in different ports clearly was not enough for this master mariner, Captain [Richard More](#), for according to the Salem Church Records of 1688,

Old Captain More having been for many years under suspicion and common fame of lasciviousness, and some degree at least of incontinency ... but for want of proof we could go no further. He was at last left to himself so farr as that he was convicted before justices of peace by three witnesses of gross unchastity with another mans wife and was censured by them.



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After the deaths of his wife in Salem and his wife in England, the sea captain took a third wife, Jane. He died in Salem sometime between March 19, 1693/1694 and April 20, 1696 in Salem, after having been witness to the 1692 [witchcraft](#) hysteria. More's gravestone survives, the only known original gravestone of a [Mayflower](#) passenger still in existence which was erected at the time of burial:

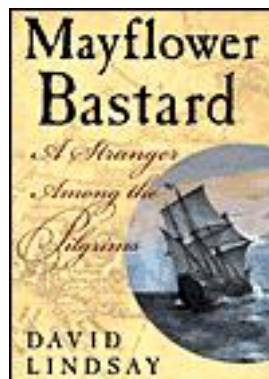


Around 1919, an unknown person has carved an inauthentic "DIED 1692" into [Richard More](#)'s stone.¹⁰ The inscriptions now read:

**HERE
LYETH BURIED
YE BODY OF CAPT
RICHARD MORE
AGED 84 YEARS
~~DIED 1692~~
MAYFLOWER
PILGRIM**

**JANE SECOND
WIFE TO CAPT
RICHARD MORE
SENR AGED 55
YEARS DEPARTED**

10. Refer to David Lindsay's *MAYFLOWER BASTARD: A STRANGER AMONG THE PILGRIMS* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 2002).



THIS LIFE Ye
8 OF OCTOBER
1686



September 20, Wednesday (September 10, Sunday, Old Style): Worship services were held aboard the [*Mayflower*](#) as it sailed from Plymouth toward the Virginia coast.



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September 27, Wednesday (September 17, Sunday, Old Style): Worship services were held aboard the [*Mayflower*](#) as it sailed from Plymouth toward the Virginia coast.

October 4, Wednesday (September 24, Sunday, Old Style): Worship services were held aboard the [*Mayflower*](#) as it sailed from Plymouth toward the Virginia coast.

October 11, Wednesday (October 1, Sunday, Old Style): Worship services were held aboard the [*Mayflower*](#) as it sailed from Plymouth toward the Virginia coast.

October 18, Wednesday (October 8, Sunday, Old Style): Worship services were held aboard the [*Mayflower*](#) as it sailed from Plymouth toward the Virginia coast.

October 25, Wednesday (October 15, Sunday, Old Style): Worship services were held aboard the [*Mayflower*](#) as it sailed from Plymouth toward the Virginia coast.

November 1, Wednesday (October 22, Sunday, Old Style): Worship services were held aboard the [*Mayflower*](#) as it sailed from Plymouth toward the Virginia coast.

November 8, Wednesday (October 29, Sunday, Old Style): Worship services were held aboard the [*Mayflower*](#) as it sailed from Plymouth toward the Virginia coast.

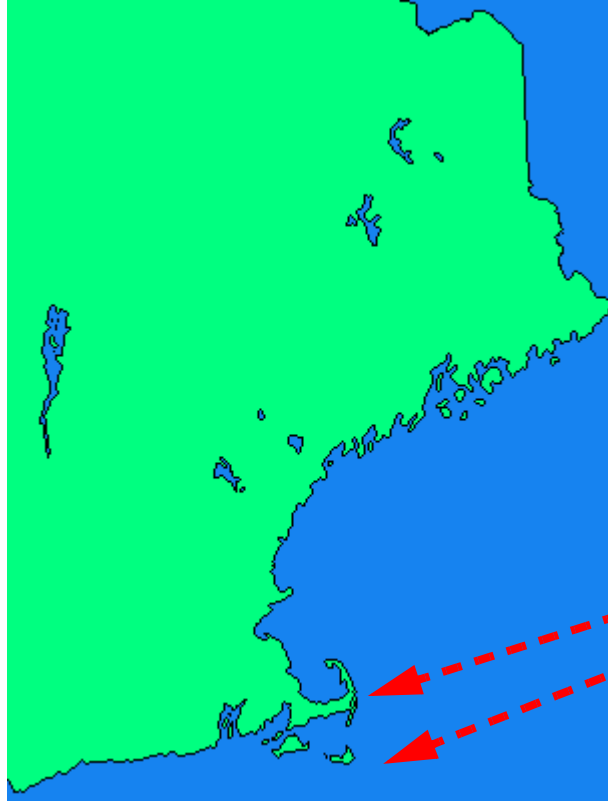
November 15, Wednesday (November 5, Sunday, Old Style): Worship services were held aboard the [*Mayflower*](#) as it sailed from Plymouth toward the Virginia coast.

November 16, Thursday (November 6, Monday, Old Style): Aboard the [*Mayflower*](#) at sea, a lad named William Batten died.

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November 19, Sunday (November 9, Thursday, Old Style): The intrusives aboard the [Mayflower](#) sighted [Cape Cod](#), outpost of their New World. They were not appreciably off course.



While the group had been at sea for more than two months out of the sight of land, [Elizabeth Hopkins](#) had given birth to a boy they named [Oceanus Hopkins](#), “he of the ocean.” They would turn the ship a bit toward the south in order to continue on toward their planned destination on Long Island or in the Hudson River; it would be bad weather and a near shipwreck that would cause them to alter their plans and drop their anchor instead at the tip of [Cape Cod](#).

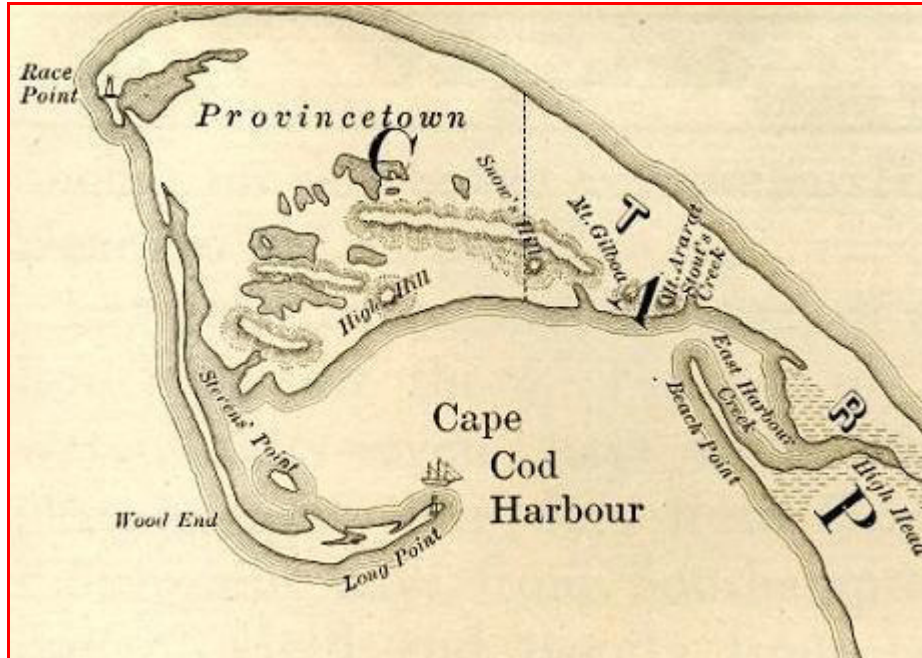
THE HOPKINS FAMILY



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November 21, Tuesday (November 11 on the Julian or Old Style calendar, which during the 16th and 17th Centuries, and the first half of the 18th Century, was ten days behind the Gregorian or New Style Calendar),¹¹ Saturday: The *Mayflower* anchored in [Provincetown](#) harbor at the tip of [Cape Cod](#), and the intrusives signed their compact and went ashore.



READ THE FULL TEXT

Bad weather and a near shipwreck had caused them to alter their plans to proceed on west toward Long Island and the Hudson River. While the *Mayflower* was in Provincetown Harbor with the Pilgrims searching out a suitable place to settle, Susanna White would give birth to a boy who they named Peregrine, the name meaning “one who journeys to foreign lands.” The English had a skirmish with the *Nauset*. The *Mayflower* would remain in American waters for that winter, its crew suffering the cold along with the Pilgrims, almost half of

11. For information on calendar conversion, see:

ON CONVERTING DATES

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these folks dying.¹²



The names of those which came over first, in y^e year 1620.
and were (by the blessing of god) the first beginners, and
(in a sort) the foundation, of all the plantations, and
colonies, in New-England (and their families)

Alden, John

Allerton, Isaac

- Mary (Norris) Allerton, wife
- Bartholomew Allerton, son
- Remember Allerton, daughter
- Mary Allerton, daughter

Allerton, John

Billington, John

- Eleanor Billington, wife
- John Billington, son
- Francis Billington, son

[William Bradford](#)

- Dorothy (May) Bradford, wife

Brewster, William

- Mary Brewster, wife
- Love Brewster, son
- Wrestling Brewster, son

Britteridge, Richard

Browne, Peter

Button, William

Carter, Robert

Carver, John

- Katherine (Leggett) (White) Carver, wife

Chilton, James

- Susanna (Furner?) Chilton, wife
- Mary Chilton, daughter

Clarke, Richard

Cooke, Francis

12. In addition to the live birth mentioned above, Mary Allerton would give birth to a stillborn boy just as the first houses were being built at Plymouth. Refer to [William Bradford](#), OF PLIMOTH PLANTATION, written 1630-1654, original at Massachusetts State Library, Boston.

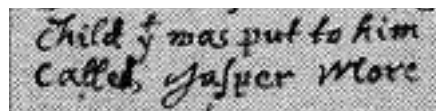
THE *MAYFLOWER*

THE *MAYFLOWER*

- John Cooke, son
- Cooper, Humility
- Crackstone, John
- John Crackstone, son
- Eaton, Francis
- Sarah Eaton, wife
- Samuel Eaton, son
- English, Thomas
- Fletcher, Moses
- Fuller, Edward
- Mrs. Edward Fuller, wife
- Samuel Fuller, son
- Fuller, Samuel
- Gardinar, Richard
- Goodman, John
- Holbeck, William
- Hooke, John
- [Stephen Hopkins](#)
- Elizabeth (Fisher) Hopkins, wife
- Giles Hopkins, son by first marriage
- Constance Hopkins, daughter by first marriage
- Damaris Hopkins, daughter
- Oceanus Hopkins, born en route, would soon die
- Doty, Edward, servant of Stephen Hopkins
- Leister, Edward, servant of Stephen Hopkins

- Howland, John
- Langmore, John
- Latham, William
- Margesson, Edmund
- Martin, Christopher
- Mary (Prower) Martin, wife
- Minter, Desire
- More, Ellen
- Jasper More, brother

THE HOPKINS FAMILY



[Captain [Richard More](#) of Salem]

- Richard More, brother
- Mary More, sister¹³
- Mullins, William
- Alice Mullins, wife

13. When, after the *Mayflower* had sailed in September, [Katherine More](#) had appeared before Sir James Lee, Lord Chief Justice of England, to find out what was happening to her four children, the desperate mother had been informed only that:

The said Samuell upon good and deliberate advise thought fitt to settle his estate upon a more hopeful issue and to provide for the educacon and maintenance of these children in a place remote from these partes where these great blotts and blemishes may fall upon them and therefore took the opportunity of sendinge them when such yonge ones as they went over with honest and religeous people.



THE *MAYFLOWER*

- Priscilla Mullins, daughter
- Joseph Mullins, son
- Priest, Degory
- Prower, Solomon
- Rigsdale, John
 - Alice Rigsdale, wife
- Rogers, Thomas
 - Joseph Rogers, son
- Samson, Henry
- Soule, George
- [Standish, Myles](#) (military leader of the Plymouth colony)
 - Rose Standish, wife
- Story, Elias
- Thompson, Edward
- Tilley, Edward
 - Ann (Cooper) Tilley, wife
- Tilley, John
 - Joan (Hurst) (Rogers) Tilley, wife
 - Elizabeth Tilley, daughter
- Tinker, Thomas
 - Mrs. Thomas Tinker, wife
 - boy Tinker, son
- Trevore, William
- Turner, John
 - boy Turner, son
 - boy Turner, son
- Warren, Richard
- White, William
 - Susanna White, wife
 - Resolved White, son
- Wilder, Roger
- Williams, Thomas
- Winslow, Edward
 - Elizabeth Barker Winslow, wife
- Winslow, Gilbert
- Mr. Ely
- Dorothy, maidservant of John Carver

THE *MAYFLOWER*

[EDWARD WINSLOW](#)

THE MAYFLOWER

THE MAYFLOWER

Thoreau entered these quotations in his Journal after October 15, 1849:

"MOURT'S RELATION"



The 11th of Nov (all old style) they "set ashore 15 or 16 men, well armed, with some to fetch wood";—"as also to see what the land was, and what inhabitants they could meet with" They found "the ground or earth" to be "sand hills, much like the downs in Holland, but much better; the crust of the earth a spit's depth, excellent black earth: (We found that the crust of the earth was gone and that there was no soil except in a swamp called the shank painter, and a few other small swamps full of water—unless the inhabitants might affirm that there was some under the sand in their front yards—which we should not have thought from appearances. The land had completely lost its upper crust & instead of black earth—it was all yellow & white sand. we did not see enough to fill a flower pot unless it were the coarse swamp muck full of root & water.): all wooded with oaks, pines, sassafras, juniper, birch, holly, some ash, walnut: the wood for the most part open and without underwood, fit either to go or ride in." (We saw no trees only a few small specimens of some of the above kinds, on the sand hills near the town, all thick shrubbery & underwood without any larger wood above it, very unfit either to go or ride in, but the greater part of the land was a perfect desert of yellow sand, rippled like waves by the wind in which only a littl beech-grass grew here and there.) At night our people returned, but found not any person, nor habitation; (As we have said we found a populous town, and the side walk was crowded with many more persons; sailors who belonged to the mackerel fleet in the harbor) and laded their boat with juniper, which smelled very sweet and strong, and of which we burnt the most part of the time we lay there. (We saw no wood to burn but a little that was brought from the eastward, but were warmed at Fullers hotel by hard coal brought from Pennsylvania)

On Wednesday the 15 of Nov. sixteen men were set ashore to see whether the land might be fit for them to seat in or no, "with every man his musket, sword, and corslet, under the conduct of Capt. Miles Standish; unto whom was adjoined, for counsel and advice, Wm Bradford, Stephen Hopkins, & Edward Tilley"— and when they had ordered themselves in order of a single file, and marched about the space of a mile by the sea, they espied five or six people, with a dog, coming towards them, who were savages; who, when they saw them, ran into the woods, and whistled the dog after them." They soon afterwards saw many traces of these savages—their cornfields & graves & houses—&c.

(We saw no savages but we were informed by a very old white man that he could remember when there were a few in this neighborhood, and on the high bank in Truro, looking for traces of them we picked up an Indian's arrowhead.) They say "we marched through boughs and bushes, and under hills and vallies, which tore our very armor in pieces, &c & again "About ten o'clock we came into a deep valley, full of brush, wood-gaile, and long grass, through which we found little paths or tracks: (We marched over the same region but we saw neither bush nor wood-gale nor any herb almost but a little beach and poverty grass & sorrel enough to color the surface, it was a particularly barren & desolate moorland—which seemed good for nothing but to hold the cape together—not a shrub to tear our clothes against if we would where a sheep would loose none of its fleece provided it found enough herbage to sustain it.) And all the while they could not find any fresh water "which," say they "we greatly desired and stood in need of; for we brought neither beer nor water with us, and our victuals was only biscuit and Holland cheese, and a little bottle of aquavitae, so as we were sore athirst." This makes me think that those pilgrims were no great travellers for (We did not think it necessary to carry either beer or water with us—but if we can drink at a pond or brook once a day we can get along very well, and our victuals were a little home-made bread & butter which we brought along with us and some doughnuts which were left from our breakfast of the day before. We had no bottle of aquavitae, nor anything whatever in a bottle.) But at the last mentioned valley they say "we saw a deer & found springs of fresh water, and sat us down and drunk our first New England water, with as much delight as ever we drunk drink in all our lives." (We saw no wild animal but one fox in these parts, and drank at a shallow pond in the sand.) A little further on they found a heap of sand newly made "we might see," say they, "how they paddled it with their hands; which we digged up, and in it we found a little old basket full of fair Indian Corn; And digged further and found a fine great new basket, full of very fair corn of this year, with some six and thirty goodly ears of corn, some yellow & some red, and others mixed with blue, which was a very goodly sight." And afterward they found a bag of beans & more corn "So as we had in all about ten bushels, which will serve us sufficiently for seed." (We saw thereabouts some fair fields of Ind. corn left out to ripen for it was not so late in the season—but all yellow—& also beans, remarkably good we thought to grow in that sand.

To the Pilgrims I think have not given the most trustworthy account of the Cape— They exaggerated the fairness & attractiveness of the land for they were glad to get to any land at all after that anxious voyage every thing appeared to them of the color of the rose and had the scent of Juniper or sassafras— They do not speak like navigators— Archer who accompanied Gosnold has given a truer account on the whole.

They looked at the land of the New world with infant's eyes, in describing the country described their own feelings & hopes.— How different is the account given by Capt John Smith who speaks like an old traveller voyager & soldier as he was, who had seen too much of the world to exaggerate a part of it.



THE *MAYFLOWER*

THE *MAYFLOWER*

He was Silenus & we the boys Chromis & Mnasilus who listened to his stories. about sunsquawl & sea-clams
& wars & shipwrecks & the principles of things. until long after vesper made her appearance.?

Nec tantum Phoebo gaudet Parnassia rupes,
Nec tantum Rhodope miratur et Ismarus Orphea.”

Quid loquar? aut Scyllam Nisi, quam fama secuta est,
Candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstis,
Dulichias vexasse rates, et gurgite in alto
Ah! timidos nautas canibus lacerasse marinis?

“As we wandered” say they, “we came to a tree where a young sprit was bowed down over a bow (?), and some acorns strewn underneath. Stephen Hopkins said, it had been to catch some deer. So, as we were looking at it, William Bradford being in the rear, who came looking also upon it, and as he went about it gave a sudden jerk up, and he was immediately caught by the leg. It was a very pretty device, made with a rope of their own making, and having a noose as artificially made as any roper in England can make, and as like ours as can be; which we brought away with us. In the end we got out of the wood—and were fallen about a mile too high above the creek; where we saw three bucks, but we had rather have had one of them. We also did spring three couple of partridges; and as we came along by the creek, we saw great flocks of wild geese and ducks, but they were very fearful of us.” (We saw none of these things there—but the same old man of whom we have spoken, remembered when there were a few deer in those parts as well as a great many wild fowl of all various kinds) N.E. {*MS torn*} violent {*MS torn*}

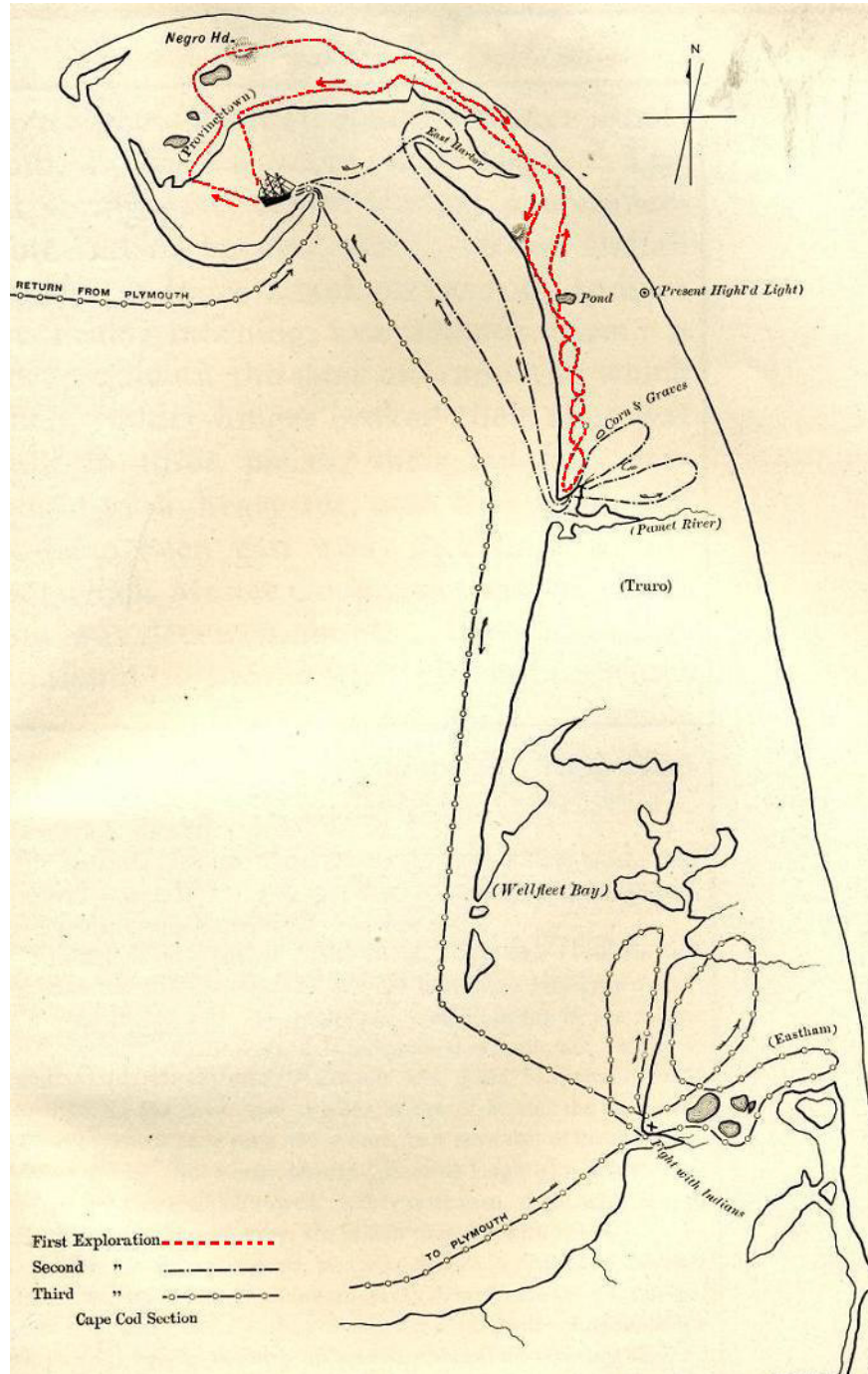
November 22, Wednesday (November 12, Sunday, Old Style): The intrusives staged their worship services aboard the *Mayflower* at anchor in *Provincetown* harbor.

November 23, Thursday (November 13, Monday, Old Style): The intrusives unshipped the shallot of the *Mayflower*, and went on shore to wash, etc.

THE MAYFLOW

THE MAYFLOW

November 25, Saturday (November 15, Wednesday, Old Style): The white intrusives of the *Mayflower* started on their 1st expedition inland, and then camped for the night at Stout's Creek (follow the red line).



November 26, Sunday (November 16, Thursday, Old Style): The white intrusives of the *Mayflower* found the Truro Springs, made fire, went to Pond Village, the Pamet River, and Cornhill, where they dug up corn, etc., and then returned to Pond Village for the night.



THE *MAYFLOWER*

THE *MAYFLOWER*

November 27, Monday (November 17, Friday, Old Style): Sinking a kettle in the pond to conceal it, the intrusives returned to the [Mayflower](#).

November 29, Wednesday (November 19, Sunday, Old Style): The intrusives staged their worship services aboard the [Mayflower](#) at anchor in [Provincetown](#) harbor.

December 6, Wednesday (November 26, Sunday, Old Style): The intrusives staged their worship services aboard the [Mayflower](#) at anchor in [Provincetown](#) harbor.¹⁴

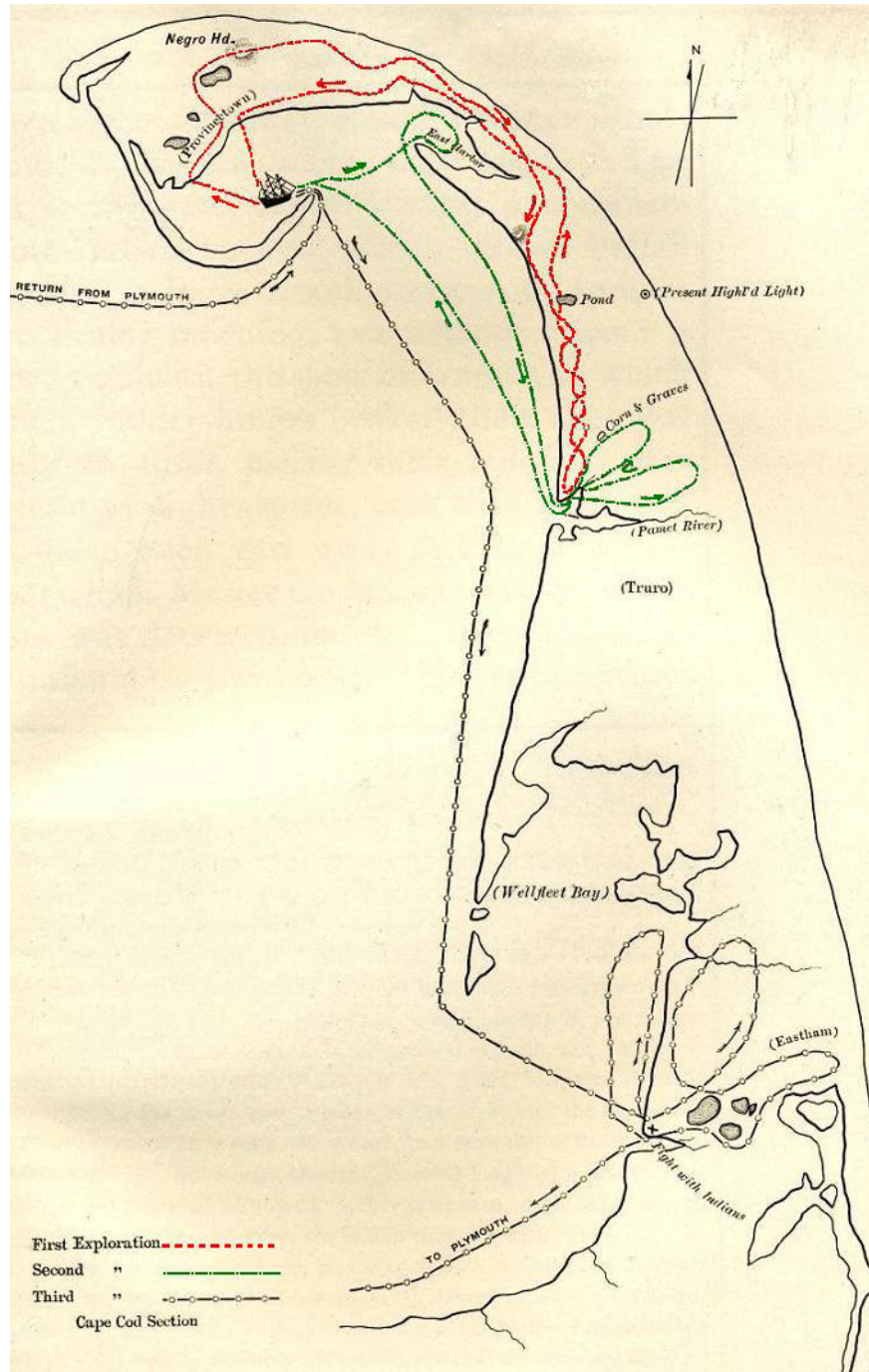
14. According to Jill Lepore's "Plymouth Rocked: Of Pilgrims, Puritans, and professors" in [The New Yorker](#) for April 24, 2006, pages 164-70, in all probability it was during this month of December that [Dorothy May Bradford](#) committed suicide:

William Bradford's distressed wife, Dorothy, who had left her three-year-old son behind in Holland ... in sight of land, fell—or more likely threw herself—over the gunwales, and drowned.

THE MAYFLOW

THE MAYFLOW

December 7, Thursday (November 27, Monday, Old Style): The white intrusives of the *Mayflower* sent out a large exploring party with their ship's shallop, getting as far as East Harbor Creek before they camped for the night (follow the green line).



December 8, Friday (November 28, Tuesday, Old Style): The exploring party of white intrusives of the *Mayflower* traveled from their overnight camp at East Harbor Creek on up the Pamet River, and inland from it.



THE MAYFLOWER

THE MAYFLOWER

December 9, Saturday (November 29, Wednesday, Old Style): The white intrusives of the *Mayflower* revisited Cornhill after which Master Christopher Jones and a part of the exploration party returned.

December 10, Sunday (November 30, Thursday, Old Style): The intrusives found wigwams, graves, and other evidence of native American occupancy on Cape Cod, and returned to the *Mayflower*, where they found that during their absence *Peregrine White* had been born.

"MOURT'S RELATION"



July 31, Thursday: Those same round shells (*Scutella parma (placenta)* ?) on the sand as at Cape Cod, the live ones reddish the dead white— Went off early this morning with Uncle Ned to catch bass with the small fish I had found on the sand the night before— 2 of his neighbor Albert Watson's boys were there —not James the oldest—but Edward the sailor & Mortimer —(or Mort —) in their boat They killed some striped bass (*Labrax lineatus*) with paddles in a shallow creek in the sand —& caught some lobsters. I remarked that the sea shore was singularly clean for notwithstanding the spattering of the water & mud & squirting of the clams & wading to & fro the boat my best black pants retained no stains nor dirt as they would acquire from walking in the country. I caught a bass with a young — haik? (perchance) trailing 30 feet behind while Uncle Ned paddled.— They catch them in England with a "trawl-net" sometimes they weigh 75 lbs here

"UNCLE NED" WATSON

At 11 AM set sail to Plymouth. We went somewhat out of a direct course to take advantage of the tide which was coming in. Saw the site of the first house which was burned —on Leyden Street —walked up the same. — parallel with the Town Brook. Hill from which Billington Sea was discovered hardly a mile from the shore on Watsons grounds. Watsons Hill where treaty was made across brook South of Burying Hill At [Marston] Watsons— The Oriental Plane— *Abies Douglasii*— ginkgo tree q.v. on Common. —a foreign hardhack —Eng. oak —dark colored small leaf —Spanish chestnut. Chinese arbor-vitæ— Norway spruce like our fir balsam— A new kind of fir-balsam— Black eagle one of the good cherries— fuchsias in hot house— Earth bank covered with cement.

PEREGRINE WHITE



Mr Thomas Russel —who cannot be 70 —at whose house on Leyden st. I took tea & spent the evening —told me that he remembered to have seen Ebenezer Cobb a nat. of Plymouth who died in Kingston in 1801 aged 107 who remembered to have had personal knowledge of Peregrine White saw him an old man riding on horse back —(he lived to be 83)— White was born at Cape Cod harbor before the Pilgrims got to Plymouth— C. Sturgis's mother told me the same of herself at the same time. She remembered Cobb sitting in an arm chair like the one she herself occupied with his silver locks falling about his shoulders twirling one thumb over the other— Russell told me that he once bought some *primitive* woodland in P. which was sold at auction the biggest Pitch pines 2 ft diameter —for 8 *shillings* an acre— If he had bought enough it would have been a pasture. There is still forest in this town which the axe has not touched says Geo. Bradford. According to Thatchers Hist. of P. there were 11,662 acres of woodland in '31. or 20 miles square. Pilgrims first saw Bil. sea about Jan 1st —visited it Jan 8th. The oldest stone in the Plymouth Burying ground 1681 (Coles? hill where those who died the first winter were buried —said to have been levelled & sown to conceal loss from Indians.) Oldest on our hill 1677 In Mrs Plympton's Garden on Leyden st. running down to Town Brook. Saw an abundance of pears —gathered excellent June-eating apples —saw a large lilack about 8 inches diameter— Methinks a soil may improve when at length it has shaded itself with vegetation.

Wm S Russel the Registrar at the Court House showed the oldest Town records. for all are preserved —on 1st page a plan of Leyden st dated Dec. 1620 —with names of settlers. They have a great many folios. The writing plain. Saw the charter granted by the Plymouth Company to the Pilgrims signed by Warwick date 1629 & the box in which it was brought over with the seal.

Pilgrim Hall— They used to crack off pieces of the Forefathers Rock for visitors with a cold chisel till the town forbade it. The stone remaining at wharf is about 7 ft square. Saw 2 old arm chairs that came over in the *May flower*.— the large picture by Sargent.— Standish's sword.— gun barrel with which Philip was killed — mug & pocket-book of Clark the mate— Iron pot of Standish.— Old pipe tongs. Ind relics a flayer

KING PHILLIP PLYMOUTH ROCK





THE *MAYFLOWER*

THE *MAYFLOWER*

a pot or mortar of a kind of fire proof stone very hard—



only 7 or 8 inches long. A Commission from Cromwell to Winslow? —his signature torn off. They talk of a monument on the rock. The burying hill 165 ft high. Manomet 394 ft high by state map. Saw more pears at Washburn's garden. No graves of Pilgrims.

Seaweed generally used along shore— Saw the *Prinos glabra*, inkberry at Bil. sea. Sandy plain with oaks of various kinds cut in less than 20 yrs— No communication with Sandwich— P end of world 50 miles thither by rail road— Old. Colony road poor property. Nothing saves P. but the rock. Fern-leaved beach—

Saw the King crab *Limulus polyphemus* —horseshoe & saucepan fish —at the island covered with sea green & buried in the sand —for concealment.

In P. the *Convolvulus arvensis* —small Bindweed.

CLARK'S ISLAND
BOSTON HARBOR

December 13, Wednesday (December 3, Sunday, Old Style): The intrusives staged their worship services aboard the *Mayflower* at anchor in *Provincetown* harbor.

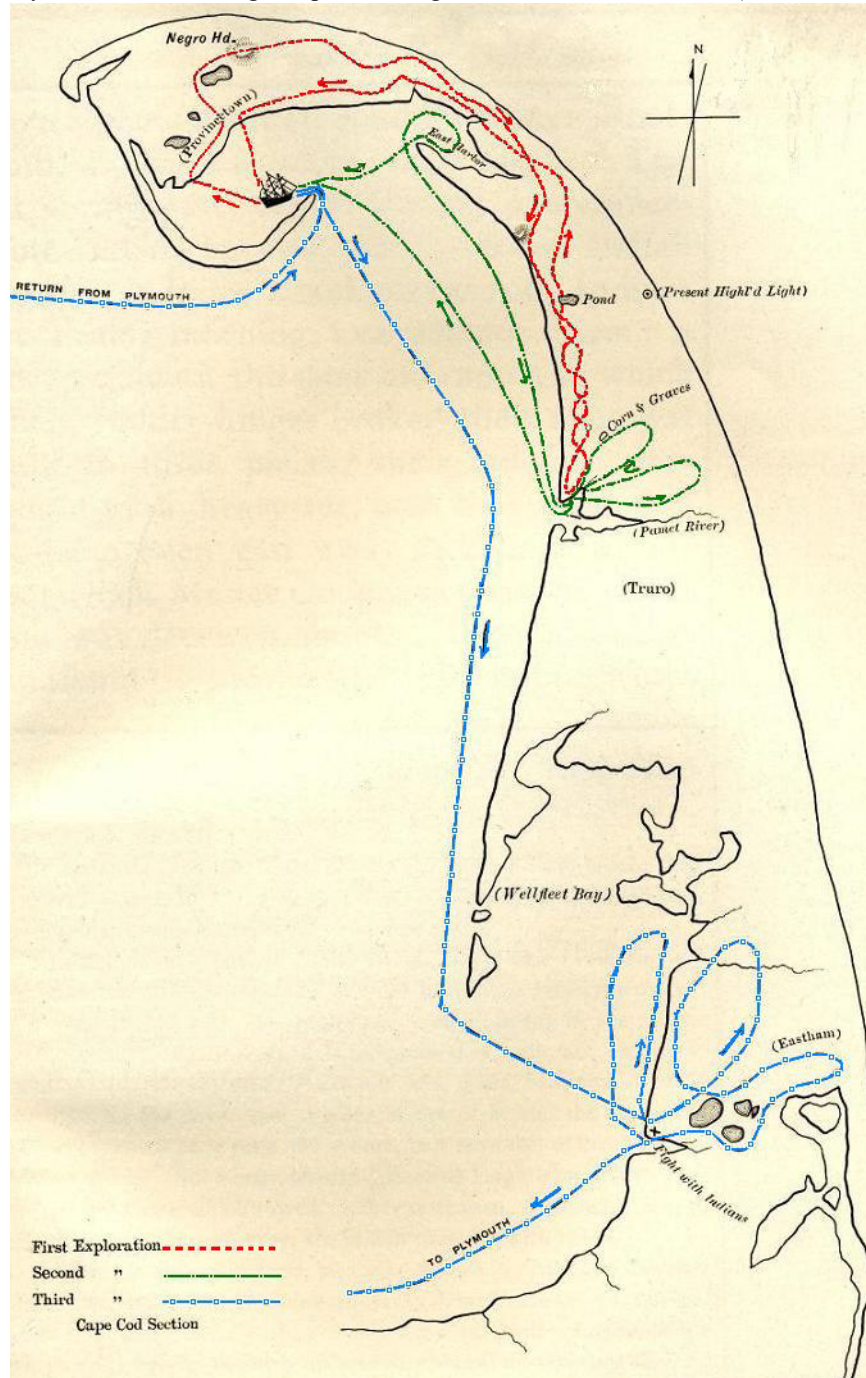
December 15, Friday (December 5, Tuesday, Old Style): The *Mayflower* was nearly blown up by Francis Billington.

December 16, Saturday (December 6, Wednesday, Old Style): The 3d exploring party of the white intrusives of the *Mayflower* started in their ship's shallop, and got as far as Eastham.

THE MAYFLOWER

THE MAYFLOWER

December 17, Sunday (December 7, Thursday, Old Style): The white intrusives of the *Mayflower* explored up toward Wellfleet Bay, and inland, making camp for the night at Great-Meadow Creek (follow the blue line).



THE MAYFLOW

THE MAYFLOW

December 18, Monday (December 8, Friday, Old Style): The intrusives and the indigenes 1st encountered one another (unless, that is, there had been prior observations by the *Patuxet*, which had gone undetected). The intrusives then coasted round, and ran in under the lee of [Clark's Island](#) in [Plymouth Harbor](#), in a north-easter that evening.



Next to the fugitives whom [Moses](#) led out of Egypt, the little shipload of outcasts who landed at Plymouth are destined to influence the future of the world. The spiritual thirst of mankind has for ages been quenched at Hebrew fountains; but the embodiment in human institutions of truths uttered by the Son of Man eighteen centuries ago was to be mainly the work of Puritan thought and Puritan self-devotion. ...If their municipal regulations smack somewhat of Judaism, yet there can be no nobler aim or more practical wisdom than theirs; for it was to make the law of man a living counterpart of the law of God, in their highest conception of it.

— [James Russell Lowell](#), 1913, THE

ROUND TABLE

As [Henry Thoreau](#) would record the event in his journal in August 1851 while bumming around on the coast, “On Friday night Dec 8th o.s. the Pilgrims exploring in the shallop landed on Clark’s Island (so called from the Master’s mate of the *May Flower*) where they spent 3 nights & kept their first sabbath.”¹⁵

BOSTON HARBOR

“MOURT’S RELATION”

Clark’s Island¹⁶ Sunday night On Friday night Dec 8th o.s. the Pilgrims exploring in the shallop landed on Clark’s Island (so called from the Master’s mate of the *May Flower*) where they spent 3 nights & kept their first sabbath. On Monday or the 11th o.s. they landed on the rock. This island contains about 86 acres and was once covered with red cedars which were sold at Boston for gate posts— I saw a few left—one 2 ft in diameter at the ground—which was probably standing when the pilgrims came. Ed. Watson who could remember them nearly fifty years—had observed but little change in them. Hutchinson calls this one of the best islands in Mass. Bay. The Town kept it at first as a sacred place—but finally sold it in 1690 to Sam. Lucas, Elkanah Watson, & Geo.

15. It is believed that the name of the 1st mate of the *Mayflower* was Thomas Clark.

16. [Clark’s Island](#): Bear in mind, Thoreau was “a-botanizing” here on the grounds of another former racial concentration camp for Christian Indians like the one on [Deer Island](#) in Boston harbor.



THE MAYFLOWER

THE MAYFLOWER

Morton.... Mr Thomas Russel –who cannot be 70 –at whose house on Leyden st. I took tea & spent the evening –told me that he remembered to have seen Ebenezer Cobb a nat. of Plymouth who died in Kingston in 1801 aged 107 who remembered to have had personal knowledge of Peregrine White saw him an old man riding on horse back –(he lived to be 83)– White was born at Cape Cod harbor before the Pilgrims got to Plymouth– C. Sturgis’s mother told me the same of herself at the same time. She remembered Cobb sitting in an arm chair like the one she herself occupied with his silver locks falling about his shoulders twirling one thumb over the other–

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EDWARD WINSLOW

KING PHILLIP

PLYMOUTH ROCK

OLIVER CROMWELL

MYLES STANDISH

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

THE *MAYFLOWER*

THE *MAYFLOWER*

TIME Magazine, at the end of 1991, got this picture from the Granger Collection to use to illustrate their Columbus Special about how certain strange and divisive people are now insisting on the celebration of American diversity:



"MOURT'S RELATION"

The Patuxents were not altogether mistaken about the Pilgrims



THE *MAYFLOWER*

THE *MAYFLOWER*

December 19, Tuesday (December 9, Saturday, Old Style): The intrusives remained on [Clark's Island](#) in [Plymouth Harbor](#), presumably refitting their broken mast, etc.

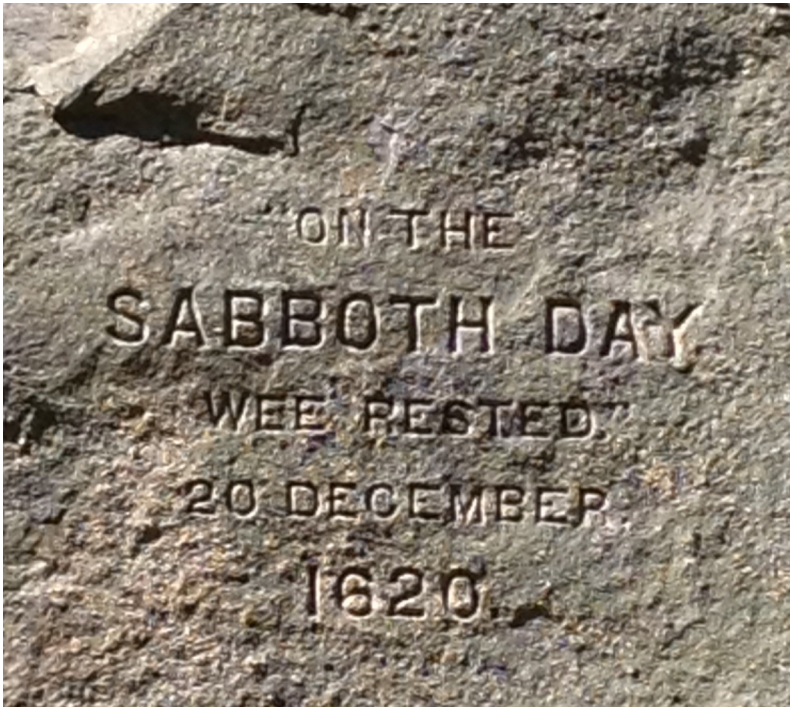
[MAYFLOWER](#)

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

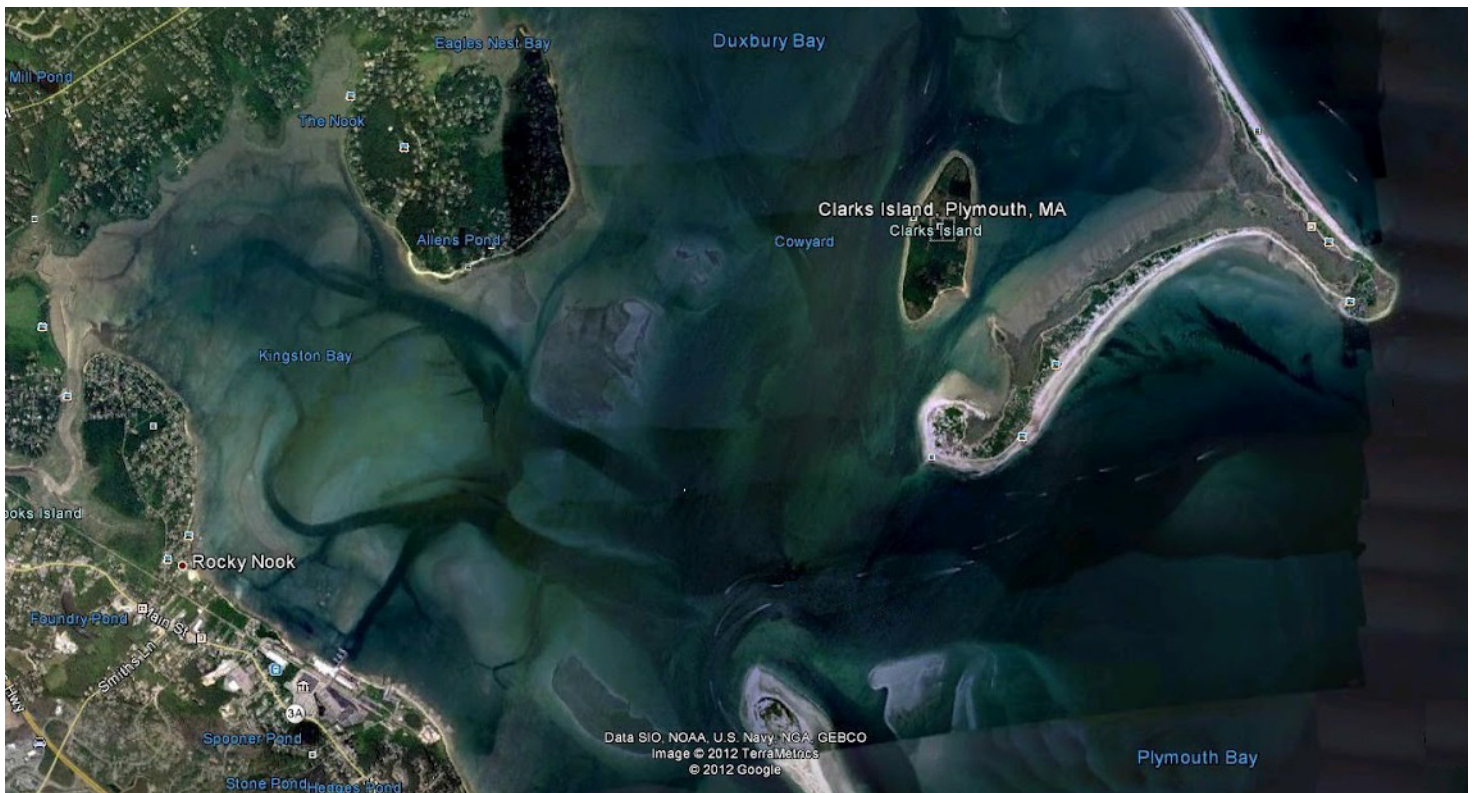
THE *MAYFLOWER*

THE *MAYFLOWER*

December 20, Wednesday (December 10, Sunday, Old Style): The intrusives kept the Sabbath on board the *Mayflower* moored at [Clark's Island](#) in [Plymouth Harbor](#).



ON THE
SABBOTH DAY
WEE RESTED
20 DECEMBER
1620



THE *MAYFLOWER*

THE *MAYFLOWER*

December 21, Thursday, (December 11, Monday, Old Style): The intrusives landed on the coast side of [Cape Cod](#) Bay and did a little exploring there. As [Henry Thoreau](#) would record the event in his journal, “On Monday or the 11th o.s. they landed on the rock. This island contains about 86 acres and was once covered with red cedars which were sold at Boston for gate posts— I saw a few left—one 2 ft in diameter at the ground—which was probably standing when the pilgrims came. Ed. Watson who could remember them nearly fifty years—had observed but little change in them. Hutchinson calls this one of the best islands in Mass. Bay.”

[CLARK'S ISLAND](#)

[BOSTON HARBOR](#)

[“MOURT'S RELATION”](#)

[MAYFLOWER](#)

December 22, Friday (December 12, Tuesday, Old Style): The intrusives started back from the continental coast toward where the [Mayflower](#) was moored out at the tip of Cape Cod, and presumably reached there during the day or evening.



When the people we would come to term “Pilgrims” stepped onto the sands at Plymouth, we find in the manuscript of [William Bradford's](#) OF PLIMOTH PLANTATION which is now at the Massachusetts State House no indication of any particular boulder upon which they were stepping ashore. Incidentally, the Pilgrims, landing at Plymouth, were relying on a book by [John Smith](#).¹⁷

December 25, Monday (December 15, Friday, Old Style): The [Mayflower](#) weighed anchor for Plymouth, but could not reach that harbor and was obliged to turn back toward the refuge offered by Cape Cod.

December 26, Tuesday (December 16, Saturday, Old Style): The intrusives dropped the anchor of the [Mayflower](#) inside Plymouth Beach.

17. A DESCRIPTION OF NEW ENGLAND, based on his 1614 explorations on land and on his coastal survey, printed in London in 1616.



THE *MAYFLOWER*

THE *MAYFLOWER*

December 27, Wednesday (December 17, Sunday, Old Style): The intrusives kept the Sabbath aboard the [*Mayflower*](#) moored inside Plymouth Beach.



December 28, Thursday (December 18, Monday, Old Style): The intrusives landed from the [*Mayflower*](#) and did some exploration of contiguous areas of the mainland, returning to their ship for the night.

A RELATION OR JOURNAL OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE PLANTATION SETTLED AT [PLYMOUTH](#) IN NEW ENGLAND (1620/21 attributed to Edward Winslow and William Bradford):

Thursday, the 28th December, so many as could went to work on the hill where we purposed to build our platform for our ordnance, and which doth command all the plain and the bay, and from whence we may see far into the sea, and might be easier impaled, having two rows of houses and a fair street. So in the afternoon we went to measure out the grounds, and first we took notice how many families there were, willing all single men that had no wives to join with some family, as they thought fit, that



THE *MAYFLOWER*

THE *MAYFLOWER*

so we might build fewer houses, which was done, and we reduced them to nineteen families. To greater families we allotted larger plots, to every person half a pole in breadth, and three in length [83 by 492 feet], and so lots were cast where every man should lie, which was done, and staked out. We thought this proportion was large enough at the first for houses and gardens, to impale them round, considering the weakness of our people, many of them growing ill with cold, for our former discoveries in frost and storms, and the wading at Cape Cod had brought much weakness amongst us, which increased so every day more and more, and after was the cause of many of their deaths. (MOURT'S RELATION (London 1622), ed. by Dwight B. Heath (Bedford, Mass, Applewood, 1963), p. 42.)

December 29, Friday (December 19, Tuesday, Old Style): The intrusives again went ashore, for a 2d expedition, and returned to their ship for the night.

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December 30, Saturday (December 20, Wednesday, according to the Old Style dating system then in use):



The intrusives went ashore a 3d time, and some settled near Burial Hill and town Brook for the night while others stayed aboard the *Mayflower*. The “Old Comers” (as they knew themselves, although we term them the “Pilgrim Fathers”) decided to settle on the beach at a location variously known as *Ompaam* or *Accomack* or *Patuxet*. They renamed this place “*Plymouth*.”¹⁸

“MOURT’S RELATION”

The names of those which came over first, in y^e year 1620.
and were (by the blessing of god) the first beginners, and
(in a sort) the foundation, of all the plantations, and
colonies, in New-England (and their families)

In the manuscript of *William Bradford’s* OF PLIMOTH PLANTATION which is now at the Massachusetts State House, we find no mention of any particular boulder upon which they stepped ashore.



PLYMOUTH ROCK

18. A sketch by *William Bradford* entitled “The meersteads & garden plots of which came first layed out 1620” is the only known map of the earliest town layout. The original sketch was found bound into the front of a manuscript volume entitled PLIMOTH’S GREAT BOOK OF DEEDS OF LANDS ENROLLED FROM ANO 1627 TO ANO 1651. The first part of this volume is in the handwriting of Governor Bradford, as is the map. The volume now comprises Volume 12 of the Plymouth Colony Records: DEEDS, &C. VOL. 1 1620-1651. The sketch in question shows seven lots, which face “the streete” and are bisected by a “high way.” The lots are located on what Bradford terms “The south Side,” “The north Side” being essentially bare. The lots on the south side above the highway carry the names Peter Brown, John Goodman, and Mr. Wm Brewster while those below the highway carry the names John Billington, Isaak Allerton, Francis Cooke, and Edward Winslow.

Consideracons for the plantacon of
New England

- 1 It wilbe a service of greate consequence
to the church of god; to carry y^e gospell
of Christ to those parts of the world, and
to raise by a bulwarke against y^e Kingdom
of Antichrist; which the fittest labour
to recte up in all places of y^e world: ~
- 2 The thorough of Europe is brought
with noise to desolation, and it cannot be
but the like indymment is coming upon
us, and whot knowe, but that god
hath provided this place as a refuge for
many whom hee moened to save out
of that goddall fearfull destruction:
- 3 This land groweth weary of y^e inhabitants
for as man wth the most precious of all
creatures; it heere maketh with a better
then the earth they tread upon, for as
children neighbours & friends (especially
if they be poore) are counted the greatest
burthens (which yf the most weare rightly
carried, would be counted y^e chiefest
blessing: ~
- 4 Wee are growne to y^e height of intemper
ance in all excess of riot as noe man
(state almost) will suffise to keepe saile
with his quall, and see that saile in
his state, must live in scorn & contempt
and hence it cometh to pass, that all

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Q. When and by whom was the first settlement made in New England ?

A. In 1620, by a company of Dissenters or Puritans,* a part of the congregation of Rev. John Robinson of Leyden, in Holland, who with his people *emigrated* to that place from England, in the year 1608, to enjoy that religious freedom which was denied them in their own country.

The principal reasons of their *dissent* from the established church were, objections to its rites and ceremonies, which they conceived were not wholly free from the corruptions of the Romish church, and the low state of piety among its *dignitaries* and ministers.

Q. What were their declared reasons for removing from Holland to America ?

A. "The unhealthiness of the low country where they resided ; the hard labours to which they were subjected ; the dissipated manners of the Hollanders, particularly their lax observance of the Lord's day ; and the apprehension of war" between Holland and Spain.

They were also animated with the hope of spreading the gospel in the remote parts of the earth, and forming a system of civil government unfettered with the *arbitrary* institutions of the old world.

Q. What measures did they take preparatory to their removal ?

Emigrate, v. to remove from one place to another.
Dissent, v. to disagree in opinion.
Dignitary, s. a clergyman of higher rank.
Arbitrary, s. despotic, absolute.

* So called because they dissented from the Church of England, and sought greater purity in simple forms of worship and church discipline.

A. They first sent agents to England to procure a *patent*, and ascertain whether the king would grant them liberty of conscience in the distant country of America.

Q. Did those agents effect their object ?

A. They did not ; but, the following year, (1619,) agents were again sent, who, after long attendance, and much expense and labour, obtained a patent under the seal of the Virginia company.*

But they could prevail with the king no further than to engage he would not *molest* them, provided they were peaceable subjects.

Q. What further preparations did they make ?

A. They agreed that some of their number should go to America to prepare a place for the rest. Mr. Robinson, their minister, was persuaded to stay in Leyden with the greater part of the congregation, and Mr. Brewster, their elder, was to accompany the first adventurers. Several of them sold their estates and made a common bank. This, with money received from other adventurers, enabled them to buy the *Speedwell*, a ship of 60 tons, and to hire in England the *May-Flower*, a ship of 180 tons, for the intended *enterprise*.

Patent, s. a writing comprising some right or privilege.
Molest, v. to disturb, to trouble, to vex.
Enterprise, s. a hazardous undertaking.

* A company which had been formed in England, and had obtained grants of American territory, from King James I.

VIEW THE PAGE IMAGES

THE MAYFLOWER

Q. When did they leave Leyden ?

A. On the 2 of July 1620, and sailed for Southampton, England, on the 5 of August same year. On the 10 of November, they arrived in Cape Cod harbour.

The adventurers, 120 in number, after an affecting parting with their brethren and friends,* left Leyden and sailed for England, in July, and embarked for America from Southampton, August 5 ensuing. On account of the leakiness of the small vessel, they were twice obliged to return, and at length dismissing it as unfit for service, the passengers, to the number of 101 (19 being obliged to remain behind for want of accommodation in the ship) put to sea in the May-Flower on the 6 of September. After a boisterous passage, they, at break of day on November 9, discovered land at Cape Cod.

Q. Was this the place of their destination ?

A. It was not.

They had intended to settle near Hudson's river, but the captain, having been bribed in Holland, steered his course northward, and after encountering dangers from shoals and breakers, near the coast, a storm coming on, they dropped anchor in Cape Cod harbour. Here they were secure from winds and shoals, and as the season was far advanced, and sickness raged among them, it became necessary that they should take up their abode at this place.

Q. What did they do previously to their landing ?

A. They drew up a civil compact, in which they agreed to be governed by the majority.† This was signed by 41 of their number, on

Destination, s. purpose for which any thing is appointed.

Shoal, s. a shallow, a sand bank.

Breaker, s. a wave broken by rocks or sand banks.

Compact, s. a contract, an agreement.

* On this occasion Mr. Robinson preached to them from zra viii. 21.

† This was the more important on account of their being thout the limits of their patent.

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the 11 of November, and Mr. John Carver was chosen their governor for one year.

Q. What was their next proceeding ?

A. To explore the adjacent country.

The same day, 16 men, well armed, with a few others, were sent on shore to make discoveries, but they returned at night without having found any person or habitation. On Monday the 15 the company again disembarked, for further discoveries, and on Wednesday, Myles Standish and others, in searching for a convenient place for settlement, saw 5 or 6 Indians, whom they followed until night, and not overtaking, they were constrained to lodge in the woods. Next day they discovered heaps of earth, which they dug open, and finding within implements of war, concluded they were Indian graves; replaced what they had taken out, and left them inviolate. In different heaps of sand they found baskets of corn, a large quantity of which they carried away, in a great kettle,* found at the ruins of an Indian house, intending to pay the owners when they should find them. This providential discovery gave them seed for future harvest, and preserved the colony from famine.†

Q. What other event took place among them during the month of November ?

A. The birth of Peregrine, son of William and Susanna White. This was the first European child born in New-England.

Q. What were some of the most important events in the ensuing month ?

A. The discovery of a place for settlement, their landing, and building a house for common habitation.

On the 6 of December, the *shallop* was sent out with seven.

Adjacent, a. lying close, bordering on.

Constrain, v. to compel.

Inviolable, a. unhurt, unbroken.

Shallop, s. a small sail-boat.

* Some ship's kettle, and brought from Europe.

† It is remarked, by Gov. Bradford, that for this corn, six months after, the owners were paid to their satisfaction.

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ral of the principal men, Carver, Bradford, Winslow, Standish, and 8 or 10 seamen, to sail round the bay in search of a place for settlement. The next day they separated, part of them travelling on shore, and the others coasting in the shallop. On the morning of the 8, those on the shore were surprised by a flight of arrows, from the Indians; but on the discharge of the English muskets, they quickly disappeared. The shallop, after *imminent* danger from the loss of its rudder and mast in a storm, and from shoals which it narrowly escaped, reached a small island on the night of the 8, and the next day, which was the last of the week, the company here reposed themselves, with pious gratitude for their preservation.* On the same island they kept the Christian sabbath. The day following, December 11,† they sounded the harbour and found it fit for shipping, went on shore, and explored the adjacent land, where they saw cornfields and brooks, and, judging the situation fit for settlement, they returned with the welcome intelligence to the ship. On the 15, they weighed anchor, and proceeded with the ship to the newly-discovered port, where they arrived the following day. On the 18 and 19, they went on shore for discovery, but returned at night to the ship. On the morning of the 20, after imploring divine guidance, they went on shore and fixed on a place for settlement on a high ground, facing the bay, where the land was cleared and the water excellent. On Saturday the 23, they commenced felling and carrying timber to the spot for the erection of a building for common use. On Sabbath day the 24, the people on shore were alarmed by the cry of Indians, and expected an assault, but they continued *unmolested*: and on Monday, 25, they began to build the first house. On the 28, they began a platform for their *ordnance* upon a hill, which commanded an extensive prospect of the plain beneath, of the expanding bay, and the distant ocean.‡ In the afternoon, they divided their whole company into 19 families, measured out the ground, and assigned to every person, by lot, half a rod in breadth three rods in length, for houses and gardens. Although of the company were on board the ship on the Sabbath, 31, yet some of them kept sabbath for the first time in new house.

Imminent, a. impending, near.
Unmolested, a. free from disturbance.
Ordnance, s. cannon, great guns.

* This was afterwards called Clark's island, "because Mr. Clark, the Master's mate, first stepped ashore thereon;" which name it still retains.

† Corresponding to Dec. 22, N. S. which is annually observed at Plymouth, in commemoration of the Landing of the Fathers.

‡ The fortification was made on the summit of the hill, on which Plymouth burying ground now lies, and the relics of it are still visible.

Q. What precise time may be fixed as the *epoch* of their settlement?

A. December 31, 1620, the first day of occupying their new house.

Q. What name did they give their infant plantation?

A. Plymouth.

Probably in grateful remembrance of the Christian friends whom they found at the last town they left in their native country; or, as some suppose, from respect to the company within whose *jurisdiction* they found themselves situated.

This was the foundation of the first English town in New-England.

Q. What were some of the most prominent traits in the character of the early Plymouth settlers, who are now spoken of by the characteristic appellation of THE PILGRIMS?

A. Wisdom, patience, perseverance, energy and decision, courage, fortitude, self-denial, fervent and rational piety, conscientious *adherence* to what they believed to be right, and an unconquerable attachment to civil and religious liberty.

They were strictly a religious people. They voluntarily made the greatest of all earthly sacrifices, in forsaking friends, home and country, and *relinquishing* the comforts of civilized life, to enjoy the privilege, which man in power often denies to his fellow man, viz. FREEDOM TO WORSHIP GOD agreeably to the dictates of conscience. Many were martyrs in the noble cause; but those who survived obtained the reward of this glorious privilege, which was transmitted to succeeding generations, and is now enjoyed by the people of New-England in the greatest perfection that civil authority has power to bestow.

Epoch, s. the time at which a new computation is begun, from which dates are numbered.

Jurisdiction, s. extent of power, district.

Adherence, s. attachment.

Relinquish, v. to forsake, to quit.

December 31, Sunday (December 21, Thursday, Old Style): This was such a stormy and wet day that those still aboard the *Mayflower* could not get ashore, while those already ashore could only huddle in what little shelter they could improvise. Richard Britteridge died.



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1621

January 1 (December 22, Saturday, 1620 Old Style): This was another very stormy day. The infant of the goodwife of Isaac Allerton was stillborn.

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January 2 (December 23, Sunday, 1620 Old Style): The intrusives commenced to gather stuff for building.

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January 3 (December 24, Monday, 1620 Old Style): The intrusives ashore fancied they heard a cry of savages. The worship serviced were held aboard ship. Solomon Prower died.

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January 4 (December 25, Tuesday, 1620 Old Style): The intrusives made themselves busy in the erection of a common house. That evening they supposed they heard natives. Having gone through all the beer they had brought with them, they began to consume the ship's stores of water.

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January 5 (December 26, Wednesday, 1620 Old Style): Experiencing further foul weather, the intrusives stayed aboard their ship.

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January 6 (December 27, Thursday, 1620 Old Style): The intrusives got to work again on shore in the erection of a common house.

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January 7 (December 28, Friday, 1620 Old Style): Figuring that they were generally divided into 19 families, the intrusives measured out 19 portions of land.

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January 8 (December 29, Saturday, 1620 Old Style): The intrusives tried to work on their common house, but it was just raining too hard to get anything much done.

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January 9 (December 30, Sunday, 1620 Old Style): Again it was raining too hard to get much done. The intrusives fancied they saw "Indian smokes."

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January 10 (December 31, Monday, 1620 Old Style): Worship services were held aboard the *Mayflower*.

January 11 (January 1, Tuesday, 1621 or 1621/1622 Old Style): The intrusives resumed work on their common house. Digory Priest died.

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January 13 (January 3, Wednesday, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): The intrusives, while cutting thatch, fancied again that they saw “Indian smokes.” However, no-one reported sighting any actual natives.

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January 14 (January 4, Thursday, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): Returning from inspecting the general area with an armed party, Captain *Myles Standish* reported that they had found wigwams but had seen no-one. They shot and cooked an eagle and found that in their debilitated condition, this tasted to them like mutton. (Since there is just no way that a carnivorous bird, whatever its species, would taste like a domesticated herbivore, these intrusives must indeed have been pretty far gone at this point!)

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January 15 (January 5, Friday, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): One of the *Mayflower*’s sailors found a herring, but as they had no cod-hooks, they were unable to use this for bait.

January 16 (January 6, Saturday, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): C. Martin was so ill aboard the *Mayflower* that someone was sent ashore to fetch Carver.

January 17, morning (January 7, Sunday, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): Carver came aboard the *Mayflower* to check on C. Martin’s worsening condition. Sabbath worship services were held aboard the vessel.

January 18 (January 8, Monday, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): This being a fine fair day, a party of the intrusives went out in the *Mayflower*’s shallop to try for some fish, and had what they considered “good succefs.” F. Billington discovered a lake, which has since been called by his name. When the fishing party returned with its catch, C. Martin was dead.

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January 19 (January 9, Tuesday, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): The intrusives cast lots to assign the 19 lots of land they had marked on January 7th to the 19 families.

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January 21, Thursday, 1621 (January 11, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): While at work, *William Bradford* was taken ill.

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January 22 (January 12, Friday, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): John Goodman and Peter Brown went out to take a look around and got lost. At noon it began to rain.

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January 23 (January 13, Saturday, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): John Goodman and Peter Brown, after wandering around lost and spending the night in the cold rain, managed to find their way back to the camp.

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January 24 (January 14, Sunday, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): The thatch of the common house being constructed by the intrusives somehow caught fire before the religious observances aboard the *Mayflower*, which had to be postponed on account of this setback.

January 25 (January 15, Monday, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): It rained so hard that the intrusives were unable to communicate between ship and shore.

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January 26 (January 16, Tuesday, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): The intrusives experienced a “funfhiny” fair day which reminded them of April in jolly old England.

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January 27 (January 17, Wednesday, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): A 2nd “funfhiny” fair day blessed intrusives and Americans alike.

MAYFLOWER

January 28 (January 18, Thursday, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): A 3rd “funfhiny” fair day blessed intrusives and Americans alike.

MAYFLOWER

January 29 (January 19, Friday, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): The intrusives were constructing a shed in which they might keep their provisions relatively dry, but at noon it began to rain. On this day John Goodman sighted, bad news, a couple of wolves.

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January 30 (January 20, Saturday, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): The intrusives completed their shed.

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January 31 (January 21, Sunday, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): For the 1st time the intrusives were able to keep their meeting for worship on the continent.

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February 1, Thursday (January 22, Monday, 1620 or 1620/1621 old style): This being a fair day, the intrusives known as “Brownists” transferred their meal from the [Mayflower](#) to their newly constructed shed ashore.

[Dorothy Mileham](#) was born in Burlingham St., Peter, England.

February 4, Sunday (January 25, Thursday), 1620 or 1620/1621 (Old Style): The white intrusives celebrated their Sabbath on a day so wet and windy that the “daubing” of their structures was washing out. Looking out at the harbor, the winds seemed to be worrisomely endangering the light.

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February 7 (January 28, Sunday, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): The intrusives celebrated their Sabbath.

MAYFLOWER

February 8 (January 29, Monday, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): This beginning as a cold day with sleet, but clearing up, the intrusives brought goods ashore in the [Mayflower](#)’s longboat and shallop. Rose Standish died.

February 9 (January 30, Tuesday, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): This day was so frosty and sleety that the intrusives couldn’t get anything accomplished except to try to keep warm and dry.

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February 10 (January 31, Wednesday, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): This was another day so frosty and sleety that the intrusives couldn’t get anything accomplished except to try to keep warm and dry, but things got lively when someone saw two “favages” running away, who seemed to have been on a little island near where the [Mayflower](#) was moored.

February 19 (February 9, Friday, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): The intrusives were so cold they couldn’t get much work done. Although the house they had built for the sick caught on fire, the fire was put out before it could do much damage. They were able to kill five geese, and they found a dead deer.

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February 21 (February 11, Sunday, 1620 or 1620/1621 old style): The intrusives observed their Sabbath.

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February 26 (February 16, Friday, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): Although it was cold, the weather was fair. One of the intrusives, while out fowling, saw a dozen Americans and heard more. That night they were able to see a great fire made by these natives.

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February 27 (February 17, Saturday, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): The intrusives noticed that some of their tools, that they had left in the woods, were missing. They held a meeting to establish military orders, and chose [Myles Standish](#) as their captain. Two “favages” were seen on Watson’s Hill, making signs, but these men ran away.

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February 28 (February 18, Sunday, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): The intrusives observed their Sabbath.

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March 3 (February 21, Wednesday, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): The desperate white intrusives manhandled their ship's cannon, such as they were, ashore, and got them set up for firing atop a nearby hill, after which labor they had a feast with Master Christopher Jones. William White, William Mullins, and two others died.

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March 7 (February 25, Sunday, 1620 or 1620/1621 old style): The white intrusives observed their Sabbath. Mary Allerton, the wife of Isaac Allerton, died.

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March 13 (March 3, Saturday, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): There was a change in the weather. The birds sang, and there was a thunderstorm with rain.

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March 14 (March 4, Sunday, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): The white intrusives observed their Sabbath.

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March 16, Tuesday (March 7, 1620 or 1620/1621 old style):



[A] certain Indian came boldly among them and spoke to them in broken English.... His name was Samoset. He told them also of another Indian whose name was Squanto....

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[Samoset](#) came down to the [Plymouth](#) shore shouting “Welcome, Englishmen! Welcome, Englishmen!”



INTERVIEW OF SAMOSET WITH THE PILGRIMS.

Samoset was a sagamore of an Algonquian tribe that resided at the time in southeast [Maine](#). He had been visiting headman [Massasoit](#). He had picked up his English words from white fishermen near Monhegan Island off the coast of southeast Maine. He was described by the [Brownists](#) and “[Old Comers](#)” in this manner: “He was a man free in speech, so far as he could express his mind, and of a seemly carriage.... He was a tall straight man, the hair of his head black, long behind, only short before, none on his face at all.” He was the first indigenous American “real estate man” to “sell” a piece of “New England” to a group of European

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intrusives.



WALDEN: I had more cheering visitors that the last. Children come a-berrying, railroad men taking a Sunday morning walk in clean shirts, fishermen and hunters, poets and philosophers, in short, all honest pilgrims, who came out to the woods for freedom's sake, and really left the village behind, I was ready to greet with, -"Welcome, Englishmen! welcome, Englishmen!" for I had had communication with that race.

PEOPLE OF
WALDEN

SAMOSSET

We trust that he had clear title to the land he sold, as clear title as the cheerful people who came out to Walden Pond to visit with [Henry Thoreau](#) as recorded above, and that the local escrow agency and title company had done a full title search and certification prior to the closing.¹⁹

This visitor informed the English-speakers of the presence in the general area of yet another English-speaking native, name of [Squanto](#) or *Tisquantum*.

In the evening their native informant seemed reluctant to depart, though his presence was making the whites decidedly nervous. When they tried to put him aboard the [Mayflower](#) for the night, they found that the surf was too high to get their rowboat off the beach, so he wound up lodged in the home of [Stephen Hopkins](#), and of course under a most careful watch.

THE HOPKINS FAMILY

March 17, Wednesday (March 7, 1620/21 Old Style): At [Plymouth](#), the intrusives sowed some garden seeds.

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[Samoset](#) left the white settlement at [Plymouth](#) for the red settlement at *Sowams* (the present-day [Warren, Rhode Island](#)).



19. [Squanto](#), the Patuxent hero of the official Thanksgiving story taught in our government's "public schools," had already several years before the Pilgrims arrived at Plymouth been considering himself to be more or less the adopted red son of the explorer John Weymouth (not [Captain George Weymouth](#)). When these new whites arrived, he welcomed them as Weymouth's people. However, the Pilgrim racism proved to be far stronger than Squanto's lack of it. As the only educated and baptized Christian among the [Wampanoag](#), he would be seen by the Pilgrims merely as a serviceable instrument of God set in the wilderness to provide for their survival as His chosen people, and a dispensable red man.

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With the wind coming for a change from the east, [John Carver](#) took a party and inspected the great ponds inland from their settlement (was their destination the “Billington Sea” that John Billington had sighted?).

March 18, Thursday (March 8, 1620 or 1620/1621 old style): [Samoset](#) returned to [Plymouth](#) accompanied by “five other tall proper men.”

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March 21, Sunday (March 11, 1620/21 Old Style): At [Plymouth](#), the white intrusives observed their Sabbath.

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1610 Henry IV. is murdered at Paris by Ravalliac, a priest.
 1611 Baronets first created in England by James I.
 1614 Napier of Marcheston, in Scotland, invents the logarithms.
 Sir Hugh Middleton brings the New River to London, from Ware.
 1616 The first permanent settlement in Virginia.
 1619 Dr. W. Harvey, an Englishman, discovers the doctrine of the circulation of the blood.
 1620 The broad silk manufactory from raw silk introduced into England.
 1621 New England planted by the Puritans.
 1625 King James dies, and is succeeded by his son, Charles I.
 The island of Barbadoes, the first English settlement in the West Indies, is planted.
 1632 The battle of Lutzen, in which Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, and head of the protestants in Germany, is killed,
 1635 Province of Maryland planted by lord Baltimore.
 Regular posts established from London to Scotland, Ireland, &c.
 1640 King Charles disoblges his Scottish subjects, on which their army, under general Lesley, enters England, and takes Newcastle, being encouraged by the malcontents in England.
 1641 The massacre in Ireland, when 40,000 English protestants were killed.
 1642 King Charles impeaches five members, who had opposed his arbitrary measures, which begins the civil war in England.
 1643 Excise on beer, ale, &c. first imposed by parliament.
 1649 Charles I. beheaded at Whitehall, January 30, aged 49.
 1654 Cromwell assumes the protectorship.
 1655 The English, under admiral Penn, take Jamaica from the Spaniards.
 1658 Cromwell dies, and is succeeded in the protectorship by his son Richard.
 1660 King Charles II. is restored by Monk, commander of the army, after an exile of twelve years in France and Holland.

Their native American guests departed from [Plymouth](#).

March 22, Monday (March 12, 1620 or 1620/1621 old style): At about noon, [Samoset](#) returned to [Plymouth](#), bringing [Squanto](#). Later, across a creek, the [Massasoit](#) and 60 men appeared. For a time, neither side was willing to approach the other. They did, however, manage to exchange presents, and words of good will were translated by Squanto and Samoset. Then [Edward Winslow](#) of the [Brownists](#) crossed the creek and allowed himself to be taken as hostage, and then Massasoit and twenty warriors crossed the creek without weapons and allowed Captain [Myles Standish](#) to take six or seven of them as hostages. After these preliminaries, the peace negotiations would be continued over food and drink in a house then under construction, on a green rug on which three or four cushions had been placed. One of the things that were agreed upon was that, in any future visits by one race to the other, all weapons would be cached prior to the approach to a settlement. For security, all such approachers were to be defenseless. (All the while, an observer noted, Massasoit "trembled for fear." The natives had been through all this before with the white people; they were well aware of the ever-present possibilities of kidnap and being taken aboard ship to be sold elsewhere as slaves.) That night Samoset and Squanto remained, under careful guard again of course, and the next day at noon Squanto showed the settlers how they could tread out eels with their feet and catch them with their hands. He caught as many "as he could well lift in one hand," perhaps 40 or 50 pounds of sustenance.

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The “Brownists” and affiliated “New Comers” made use of the available interpreters to enter into the necessary agreement with the natives of the shore “that neither he nor any of his should injure or do hurt to any of their people.” When the *sachem* departed to his village *Sowams*, some 40 miles away, this interpreter remained with the intrusives to become the hero of the official [Thanksgiving](#) story taught in our government’s “public schools.” Few schoolchildren learn that he had already several years before the Pilgrims arrived at [Plymouth](#) been to Spain once and England twice. Even those who see the Walt Disney movie of his life and watch him apparently jump a horse from a dock onto a sailing ship only learn of one of those adventures. When these new whites arrived, he welcomed them as the people of his “white father” [John Weymouth](#), but white racism would prove far more pervasive than red lack of it. As the only educated and baptized Christian among the Wampanoag, he would never be seen by the Pilgrims as anything more than as “a special instrument sent of God” (this phrase is from Governor William Bradford’s diary) — a serviceable tool, red and dispensable, which had been positioned in that wilderness merely to provide for their own survival as His chosen people.

Mr. Bradford, headman of the intrusives, parties with Mr. Massasoit, headman of the indigenes:



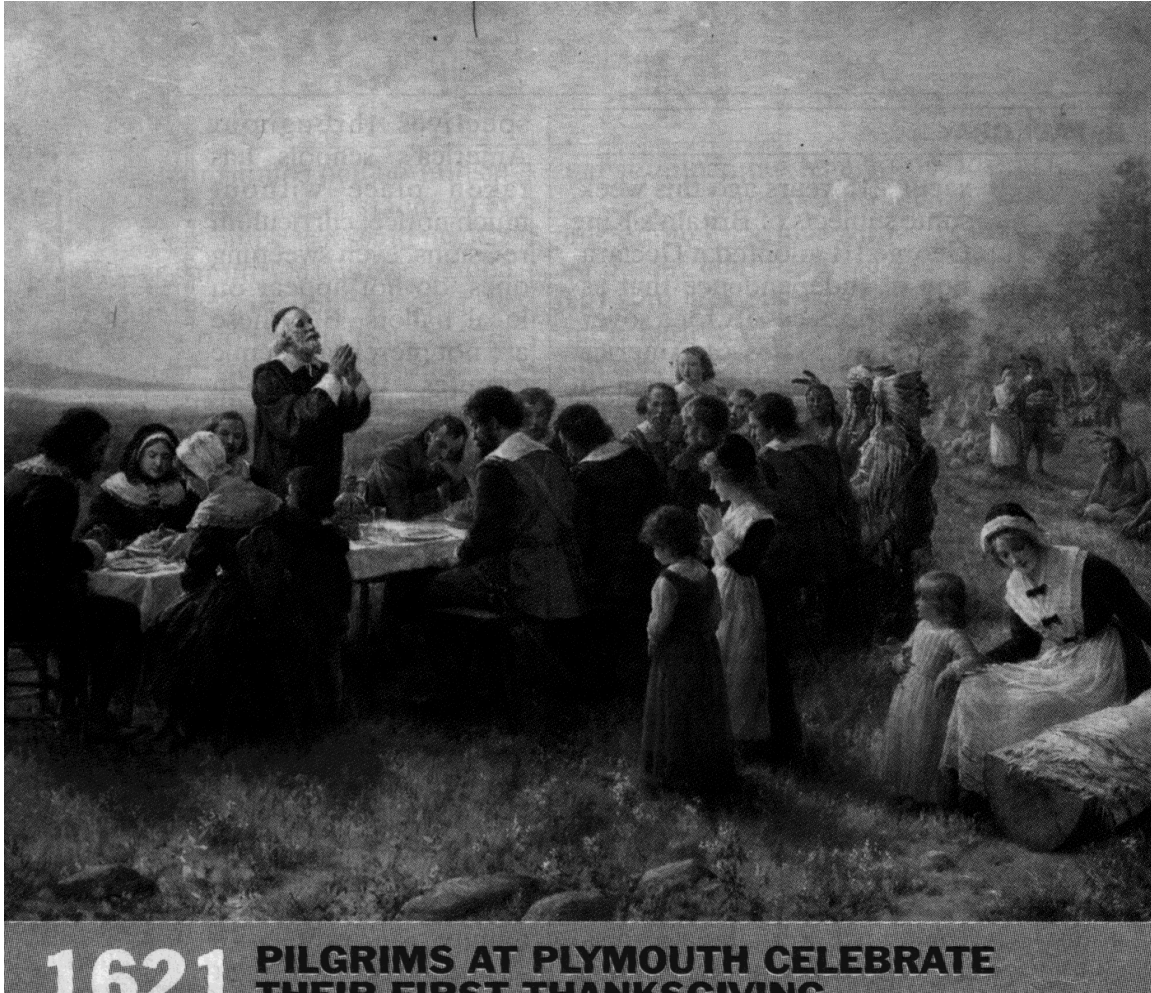
To supplant the above partying in our national imagination, [TIME Magazine](#) used the following image from the Granger Collection to illustrate their Columbus-Day special issue, which was all about how certain strange and divisive people are presently insisting on the celebration of American diversity. The image they selected is one of those pious representations of a pious event that almost certainly never happened, done in a manner

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that makes this fictional event into an important part of our national heritage, something for our boys to die for:



1621

**PILGRIMS AT PLYMOUTH CELEBRATE
THEIR FIRST THANKSGIVING**

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The “First” Thanks Giving Story

All the summer there was no want; and now began to come in store of fowl, as winter approached, of which this place did abound when they came first (but afterward decreased by degrees). And besides waterfowl there was great store of wild turkeys, of which they took many, besides venison, etc. Besides they had about a peck a meal a week to a person, or now since harvest, Indian corn to that proportion.

TURKEYS



There is every reason to believe that the Pilgrim [Thanksgiving](#) was culturally inspired by a [Wampanoag](#) harvest tradition. Here Edward Winslow describes a Wampanoag ceremony:

“The Wampanoag would meet together and cry unto him [the Creator] ... sing, dance, feast, give thanks.”

As part of the celebration, headman Massasoit of the Wampanoag tribe put his mark upon a peace treaty with the [Brownists](#) and [“Old Comers”](#). According to MOURT’S RELATION, the agreement with Massasoit was as follows:

- That neither he (Massasoit) nor any of his people should injure or do hurt to any of our people.
- That if any of our tools were taken away, when our people were at work, he should cause them to be restored; and if ours did any harm to any of his, we would do like to them.
- If any did unjustly war against him, we would aid him; if any did war against us, he should aid us.
- He should [tell] his neighbors confederates of this, that they might not wrong us.
- That when their men came to us, they should leave their bows and arrows behind them, as we should do our [weapons] when we came to them.

March 23, Tuesday (1620, Old Style): *Ousamequin* Yellow Feather ([Massasoit](#)) and *Quadequina* made a treaty with [Plymouth](#). [Hobomok](#) moved with his family to [Plymouth](#).



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March 24, Wednesday (March 14, 1620 or 1620/1621 Old Style): Elizabeth Barker Winslow died at [Plymouth](#). (Of the 5 in this particular immigrant group –George Soule the fleeing [Huguenot](#), Elias Story and Ellen More, [Edward Winslow](#) and Elizabeth Barker Winslow– 4 would shortly die, the exception being [Edward Winslow](#).)

MAYFLOWER

March 26, Friday (March 16, 1620 or 1620/1621 old style): While the white intrusives were engaged in another meeting at [Plymouth](#) to arrange for their common defense from the indigenes, [Samoset](#) was sighted walking steadily toward them.

MAYFLOWER

March 27, Saturday (March 17, 1620 or 1620/1621 old style): This was a fair day. [Samoset](#) finally got the hint, took up his presents, and went away.

MAYFLOWER

March 28, Sunday (March 18, 1620 or 1620/1621 old style): From the viewpoint of the white intrusives, this was a reasonably fair day. [Samoset](#) returned with five other natives, who wanted to engage in barter. This being the Sabbath, the intrusives could not engage in such activity, and so they sent the five away, but Samoset claimed to be ill and would not depart.

MAYFLOWER

March 29, Monday (March 19, 1620 or 1620/1621 old style): This was a fair day, during which the white settlers were able to dig gardens and sow seeds.

MAYFLOWER

March 30, Tuesday (March 20, 1620 or 1620/1621 old style): Another fair day, during which the white settlers were able to dig gardens and sow seeds.

MAYFLOWER

March 31, Wednesday (March 21, 1620 or 1620/1621 old style): A fine warm day. Finally the intrusives were able to persuade [Samoset](#) to depart, but then while they were engaged in a meeting about laws and orders, he showed up again with other natives. The ship's carpenter, who had been for a long time too ill to work, was able to finish modifying the shallop "to fetch all from aboard" the [Mayflower](#).

[Andrew Marvell](#) was born in Winestead in Yorkshire.

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April 1, Thursday (March 22, 1621 old style): This was yet another fine day, and the intrusives were making yet another attempt to conduct their public business when they were again interrupted by visitors, *Samoset* and *Squanto*, announcing the arrival of the *Massasoit* on a formal call along with his warrior brother and suit. The intrusives and the indigenes concluded a treaty more or less pledging to try to stay out of one another's hair (an agreement which the whites, being in possession of magic powder and firearms, would almost immediately violate).

MAYFLOWER

April 2, Friday (March 23, 1621 old style): This was a very fair day, and *Squanto* endeared himself by catching a bunch of eels for the colonists. Visits were exchanged between the party of the intrusives and the party of the indigenes, and then the colonists were able to conclude their oft-delayed business in the enactment of general laws and orders by which to govern themselves. From among their group they chose John Carver to be governor for the ensuing year.

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April 4, Sunday (March 25, 1621 old style): The intrusives observed their Sabbath.

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April 5, Monday (March 26, 1621 old style): The *Mayflower* set sail from New England waters for its home port in England.





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May 6, Thursday: The *Mayflower* arrived back at its home port in England.²⁰ The ship would make a few more trading runs, to Spain and to Ireland and finally to France, in the wine and spice trade. However, Captain Christopher Jones would die shortly thereafter and would be buried on March 5, 1621/1622 in Rotherhithe, Surrey.²¹ The Captain would leave his part of the ship to his widow, Josian. The vessel would lie at dock in England for a couple of years before being valued at probate as worth merely £128 8s 4p (could it have put out to sea it would have been worth perhaps £700). This was the end of the *Mayflower*, a vessel considered in a Latin record dating to 1624 at the High Court of Admiralty to be *in ruinis* (HCA 3/30, folio 227). There was such a shortage of wood in England during the period that ships in this condition were broken up for the building materials they contained, so it is unlikely that the ship survived long in any recognizable form; there is, however, no evidence that it was incorporated into a surviving barn in the town of Jordan, though absence of evidence has not interfered with this barn's having in recent years become very much of a [tourist trap](#).

No evidence whatever has emerged to substantiate, or even to suggest, the assertion of the proslavery racist [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) (writing at the inflammatory year of the Emancipation Proclamation), that the vessel was ever re-purposed as a [negrero](#). Clearly, our favorite liar was merely venturing here into a concocted Fake News story that would aid the cause which this Confederate sympathizer espoused — the cause of race slavery.



FAKE NEWS

November 9, Friday (Old Style): The *Fortune* arrived at [Plymouth](#) just a few weeks after the *First Thanksgiving*. Its passenger list has been established, on the basis of the 1623 Division of Land, by Charles Edward Banks in *PLANTERS OF THE COMMONWEALTH*, by Robert S. Wakefield in the *Mayflower Quarterly*, and by Eugene Aubrey Stratton in *PLYMOUTH COLONY: ITS HISTORY AND ITS PEOPLE, 1620-1691*:

MAYFLOWER

Adams, John
Bassett, William
 Elizabeth Bassett, wife
Beale, William
Brewster, Jonathan
Briggs, Clement
Bumpas, Edward
Cannon, John
Connor, William
Cushman, Robert
 Thomas Cushman, son
Deane, Stephen
Delano, Phillip
Flavel, Thomas
 son Flavel
Ford, Mr.
 Martha Ford, wife
 Martha Ford, daughter
 John Ford (born on November 10th, the day after arrival)
Hicks, Robert

20. Prince, Thomas. *CHRONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND IN THE FORM OF ANNALS*. Boston, 1736;
John Smith. *A GENERAL HISTORY OF VIRGINIA, NEW ENGLAND, AND THE SUMMER ISLES*. London, 1624.

21. Parish Registers of Burials: St. Mary's Church, Rotherhithe, Surrey, England.



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Hilton, William
Morgan, Benedict
Morton, Thomas
Nicholas, Austin
Palmer, William
 William Palmer, son
Pitt, William
Prence, Thomas
Simmons, Moses
Statie, Hugh
Steward, James
Tench, William
Winslow, John
Wright, William

November 23, Friday (November 13, Tuesday, New Style): Arrival at [Plymouth](#) of the [Fortune](#) from England, bringing Robert Cushman with 35 colonists.

December 21 (December 11, Tuesday Old Style): Edward Winslow prepared some materials and a letter to be sent with the [Fortune](#) to George Morton in England.

...we have built seven dwelling houses and four for the use of the plantation and have made preparations for diverse others.

December 23 (December 13, Thursday Old Style): The [Fortune](#) set sail from [Plymouth](#) for its return trip to England.



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1623

April 10, Thursday (Old Style): The *Providence*, Captain John Clarke, an 80-ton vessel owned or chartered by [Master Gookin](#), arrived after a hard crossing at the plantation at Newport's Newes on the [Virginia](#) coast.²²

Aboard this vessel were 70 new colonists, for whom the Virginia Company would compensate Gookin by means of a grant of an additional 3,500 acres of land.

July: [Hobomok](#) witnessed [Plymouth](#)'s prayers for rain, prayers which apparently brought to an end a six-week drought, and became intrigued by the powers of this Christian religion.

Per John Camden Hotten's EMIGRANT ANCESTORS (1874), after the vessels *Anne* and *Little James* had parted company at sea the *Anne* had arrived at Boston harbor during the latter part of June, with the *Little James* arriving some week or ten days later. At this point the *Anne* and the *Little James* came to anchor at the [Plymouth](#) beachhead, bringing new settlers along with many of the wives and children that had been left behind in Leyden when the [Mayflower](#) had departed in 1620.

Among that boatload of people was [Robert Bartlett](#), who would get married in 1628 with Mary Warren, daughter of Richard Warren. They would produce Benjamin Bartlett, and then in 1638 would produce Joseph Bartlett, and in addition there would be 6 daughters: Rebecca Bartlett who would get married n December 20, 1649 with William Harlow; Mary Bartlett who would get married on September 19, 1651 with Richard Foster, and then on July 8, 1659 would remarry with Jonathan Morey; Sarah Bartlett who would get married on December 23, 1656 with Samuel Rider of [Yarmouth](#); Elizabeth Bartlett who would get married on December 20, 1661 with Anthony Sprague of [Hingham](#); Lydia Bartlett who would be born on June 8, 1647 and get married with James Barnaby and then get married with John Nelson of [Middleborough](#); and Mercy Bartlett who would be born on March 10, 1651 and get married on December 25, 1668 with John Ivey of [Boston](#). This passenger Robert Bartlett was of the first purchase of [Dartmouth](#), and would die in 1676 at the age of 73. His widow Mary Warren Bartlett would remarry on October 24 either in the year 1692 or in the year 1699 with Thomas Delano.

The [George Morton](#) who was arriving was not the son of the infamous Thomas Morton of Merry Mount yet, no doubt, he was a relative of that numerous family and perhaps a brother of the 2nd Thomas Morton. He had been born at Austerfield in Yorkshire and had been baptized on February 12, 1599.

He arrived at Boston and then Plymouth in the *Ann* with a wife Juliana Carpenter Morton whom he had married at Leyden on July 23, 1612, a daughter of Alexander Carpenter, and four or five children counted with Experience Mitchell for 8 in the 1624 division of lands, including his eldest son [Nathaniel Morton](#), son John Morton, son Ephraim Morton, daughter Patience Morton, daughter Sarah Morton, and Thomas Morton, Jr., the son of Thomas Morton of the *Fortune*. [Edwin Morton](#) of [Plymouth](#) would be one of his violinist descendants.

The ship's list of passengers was:

Annable, Anthony (settled in Scituate)
Jane (Momford) Annable, wife
Sarah Annable, daughter
Hannah Annable, daughter

22. On a previous visit to the New World, this John Clarke had been captain of the [Mayflower](#). If the vessel, upon its return voyage, carried a cargo of tobacco, it must have been at considerable loss, for in 1623 the market for tobacco in London was heavily oversupplied.



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Bangs, Edward (settled in Eastham)

Bartlett, Robert

Buckett, Mary

Brewster, Patience (a daughter of Elder Brewster)

Brewster, Fear (a daughter of Elder Brewster)

Clarke, Thomas (his gravestone is the oldest on Plymouth Burial Hill)

Conant, Christopher

Cooke, Mrs. Hester (Mahieu)

Jane Cooke, daughter

Jacob Cooke, son

Hester Cooke, daughter

Dix, Anthony

Faunce, John

Flavel, Goodwife (probably Mrs. Elizabeth Flavel, wife of Thomas Flavell of the *Fortune*)

Flood, Edmond

Fuller, Mrs. Bridget (Lee) (apparently the wife of Dr. Samuel Fuller)

Godbertson, Godbert or Cuthbertson, Cuthbert (a Hollander rather than a Pilgrim)

Sarah (Allerton) (Vincent) (Priest) Godbertson, wife

Samuel Godbertson, son

Sarah Priest, step-daughter

Mary Priest, step-daughter

Hatherly, Timothy

Heard, William

Hicks, Mrs. Margaret (with her children below; family of Robert Hickes of the *Fortune*)

Samuel Hicks, son

Lydia Hicks, daughter

Hilton, Mrs. William (with her children below; William Hilton had sent for them before his death)

William Hilton, son

Mary Hilton, daughter

Holman, Edward

Jenny, John (Why wasn't he on the list, was he a man of color? He had "liberty, in 1636, to erect a mill for grinding and beating of corn upon the brook of Plymouth")

Kempton, Manasseh

Long, Robert

Mitchell, Experience (would marry Jane Cooke, daughter of Francis Cooke of the *Mayflower*)

Morton, George (paterfamilias; family below)

Juliana Morton, wife



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Nathanial Morton, son (afterwards the 1st Secretary of
[Plymouth](#))
 John Morton, son
 Ephraim Morton, son
 Patience Morton, daughter
 Sarah Morton, daughter
Morton, Thomas Jr. (son of Thomas Morton of the *Fortune*)
Newton, Ellen
Oldham, John
 Mrs. Oldham, wife
 Lucretia Oldham, sister
Palmer, Mrs. Frances (wife of William Palmer of the *Fortune*)
Penn, Christian
Pierce, Abraham
Pratt, Joshua
Rand, James
Rattliff, Robert
 Mrs. Rattliff, wife
Snow, Nicholas (settled in Eastham)
Southworth, Alice (widow, formerly named Carpenter, would
remarry as the 2nd wife of Governor William Bradford)
Sprague, Francis (settled in Duxbury)
 Anna Sprague, wife
 Mercy Sprague, daughter
Standish, Mrs. Barbara (would become the 2d wife of Captain
Miles Standish)
Tilden, Thomas
 (Ann?) Tilden, wife
 child Tilden
Tracy, Stephen
Wallen, Ralph
 Joyce Wallen, wife
Warren, Mrs. Elizabeth
 Mary Warren, daughter
 Elizabeth Warren, daughter
 Ann Warren, daughter
 Sarah Warren, daughter
 Abigail Warren, daughter
Mr. Perce's two servants

**THE PROBLEM IS THAT THE HISTORIAN TYPICALLY SUPPOSES NOW TO
BE THE WHY OF THEN. THE REALITY IS VERY MUCH TO THE CONTRARY,
FOR NOW IS NOT THE WHY OF THEN: INSTEAD, THEN WAS THE HOW OF**



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NOW. ANOTHER WAY TO SAY THIS IS THAT HISTORIANS WHO ANTICIPATE OFFEND AGAINST REALITY. A HISTORY WRITTEN IN THE LIGHT OF SUBSEQUENT EVENTS AMOUNTS TO SPURIOUS MAKE-BELIEVE. TO DO A GOOD JOB OF RECORDING HISTORY, ONE MUST BECOME IGNORANT (OR FEIGN IGNORANCE) OF EVERYTHING THAT WE NOW KNOW TO HAVE FOLLOWED.



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1624

May 26, Wednesday (Old Style): An appraisal of the *Mayflower* and its fittings indicated the following:

The appraismt or valuation of the shippe the
Mayflower of London and her tackle and
furniture taken and made by authority of
his Maje Highe Courte of Admiralty on
the 26th day of May 1624 at the [?? ?????]
of Roberte Childe, John Moore, and
Jones the relict of Christopher Jones
deceased, owners of three fourth parte
of the said Shippe, by us William
Craford and Francis Birks of Redriffe,
marriners, Robert Clay and Christopher
Malym of the same, shipwrights as followeth:
In primis wee the said appraisers
having viewed and seene the
hull, maste, yarde boate,
windlas and capsten of and
belonginge to the said Shipp,
Doe estimate the same at ----- £50
Item. five anchors weighings
about 25c wt wee value at ----- £25
Item. one suite of sailes
more than half worne, wee
estimate at ----- £15
Item. 3 Cables, 2 hawsers,
the shrowdes and staves wth
all the other riggings more
then half worne at ----- £35
Item. 8 musketts, 6 bandoleers,
and 6 pikes at ----- 50 s
Item. ye pitch pott and kettle ----- 13s, 4p
Item. ten shovells ----- 5s
[Sunia?] total is 128.08-04
In witnes wherof wee the said appraisers
have hereunto putt our handes
Frannces Birks
Wm Crayford
Robert Clay
Christopher Malim

There is a Latin record at the High Court of Admiralty indicating that the *Mayflower* was *in ruinis* (HCA 3/30, folio 227). Due to a shortage of wood in England during this period, ships in this condition were being broken up for building materials, so it is unlikely that the ship survived the year; there is, however, no evidence to support the allegation that it furnished wood for the barn of the Jordan family. We can find no mention in any historical record that it furnished the wood for a negrero vessel.



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1628

Shortly after 1627 (for convenience I will park this data item in the year 1628) the youth [Richard More](#) who had been staying with the Brewster family at [Plymouth](#) returned to England. He would have been about age 13, and it is an interesting speculation what he was intending to do in England. What efforts would he have made to contact his mother [Katherine More](#) — and would these efforts have been successful? (At some point she was able to obtain a [divorce](#) settlement of £300 from the Lord of Linley and Larden, and after the belated transfer of this sum of money, we hear no more of her.) Would he have been hoping to contact the peasant who had sired him, [Jacob Blakeway](#)? Would he have sought a confrontation with the aristocrat [Samuell More](#) who had summarily disinherited him and his three siblings, deceased, and had them transported to the colonies as a brood of bastards? Would he have journeyed into Shropshire, to stand wide-eyed outside Larden Hall near Shipton? Would he have visited with the peasant tenants who had for some period sheltered him — before he and his siblings had been packed off to [London](#) and to the [Mayflower](#) and to exile?

A

Chronological TABLE

*Of the most remarkable passages in that part of
America, known to us by the name of NEW-
ENGLAND.*

Anno Dom.

1628. The *Massachusetts* Colony Planted, and *Salem* the
first Town therein Built.¹

¹ The author, in the "chronological observations" appended to his *Voyages*, enlarges this, but confounds Conant's Plantation at Cape Ann, and Endicott's, as follows: "1628. Mr. John Endicot arrived in New England with some number of people, and set down first by Cape Ann, at a place called afterwards Glosster; but their abiding-place was at Salem, where they built the first town in the Massachusetts Patent. . . . 1629. Three ships arrived at Salem, bringing a great number of passengers from England. . . . Mr. Endicot chosen Governour." The next year, Josselyn continues as follows: "1630. The 10th of July, John Winthrop, Esq., and the Assistants, arrived in New England with the patent for the Massachusetts. . . . John Winthrop, Esq., chosen Governour for the remainder of the year; Mr. Thomas Dudley, Deputy-Governour; Mr. Simon Broadstreet, Secretary."—*Voyages*, p. 252. The title of Governor was used anciently, as it still is elsewhere, in a looser sense than has been usual in New England; and derived all the dignity that it had from the character and considerableness of the government. Conant and Endicott were directors or governors of settlements in the Massachusetts Bay before Winthrop's arrival; but when the Massachusetts Company in London proceeded, on the 20th October, 1629, to carry into effect their resolution to transfer their government to this country, — and chose accordingly Winthrop to be their Governor; Humphrey, their Deputy-Governor; and Endicot and others, Assistants (Young, *Chron. of Mass.*, p. 102), — the record appears sufficient evidence that they had in view something quite different from the fishing plantation which Conant had had charge of at Cape Ann, or the little society ("in all, not much above fifty or sixty persons," says White's *Relation* in Young, *Chron.*, p. 13; which the editor, from Higginson's narrative, raises to "about a hundred") "of which Master Endecott was sent out Governour" (White, *I. c.*) at Naumkeak.



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1629

May 1, Friday (Old Style): On the Island of Guernsey in the English Channel, the [witch](#) Marguerite Picot (l'Aubaine) was hanged and burnt.

A fleet sponsored by the [Massachusetts](#) Bay Company set sail, with a group of 300 settlers led by the Reverend [Francis Higginson](#).

- The *Talbot*
- The *George Bonaventure*
- The *Lyon's Whelp*, carrying only provisions
- The *Four Sisters*
- The [Mayflower](#) (not the same *Mayflower* as that of the Pilgrims who had disembarked at Plymouth)

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1643

The settlers at [Plymouth](#) FOB the [Mayflower](#), after 23 years of struggle under the dead hand of mortgage indebtedness to their benefactors in Europe, managed to pay off the sum of \$7,000.⁰⁰ which they had borrowed to finance their journey. They had been paying interest in this risky venture at the staggering rate of 43% *per annum*.





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1649

March 6, Tuesday (1648, Old Style): At [Plymouth](#), two couples were fined for “haveing carnall coppulation” before their wedding ceremonies. The couples were Peregrine White, born aboard the [Mayflower](#), and his wife Sarah White, both of Marshfield, and Thomas Delano and his wife Rebecca Alden Delano, the daughter of [Mayflower](#) passenger John Alden (family records indicate that on this day Rebecca was giving birth to the infant son that was the product of this carnall coppulation, whom they named “Benoni” or “child of sorrow” as an indication of their remorse — but these family records are not borne out by colony records, which indicate that this son died on April 5, 1738 in his 71st year, which would indicate that Benoni Delano had been born not in 1648/1649 but some two decades later, *circa* 1667).



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1663

March 3, Tuesday (1662, Old Style): Elizabeth Soule, daughter of George Soule the fleeing [Huguenot](#) passenger aboard the [Mayflower](#), and Nathaniel Church, grandson of [Mayflower](#) passenger Richard Warren, were fined £5 for fornication.

THIS DAY IN PEPYS'S DIARY

October 5, Monday: Although Elizabeth Soule, daughter of [Mayflower](#) passenger George Soule, had sued Nathaniel Church, grandson of [Mayflower](#) passenger Richard Warren, for £200 for having failed to marry her after she had committed fornication with him and with him had been fined £5 by the authorities for this fornication, the court awarding her only £10.

THIS DAY IN PEPYS'S DIARY



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1667

July 2, Tuesday (Old Style): Elizabeth Soule, daughter of the fleeing [Huguenot Mayflower](#) passenger George Soule, appeared again in court and “for comitting fornication the second time” was sentenced to be whipped at the post.

[John Evelyn](#)’s diary entry for this day was in part as follows:

John Evelyn’s Diary

Cald upon by my L[ord] Arlington, as from his Majestie, about the new fuell; the occasion why I was mention’d, was from something I had said about a sort of fuell, for a neede, printed in my Sylva 3 yeares before, which obstructing a pattent my Lord Carlingford had ben seeking for himselfe; he was seeking to bring me into the project, & proffered me a share: I met my Lord, & on the 4th by an order of Council, went to my Lord Major, to be assisting: In the meane time, they had made an experiment of my receite of Houllies which I mention in my booke, to be made at Maastricht, with a mixture of charcoale dust & loame, which was tried with Successe at Gressham Colledge (which then was the Exchange, for meeting of the Merchants, since the fire of London) for every body to see: This don, I went to the Lords Commissioners of the Tressury about a supply of 12000 pounds for the Sick & Wounded yet on my hands: next day we met againe about the Fuell, at Sir Ja Armorers in the Mewes, & thence home.

THIS DAY IN PEPYS’S DIARY



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1694

Old Captain [Richard More](#), the bastard of the *Mayflower*, was still alive and living in [Salem](#) while all this stuff and nonsense about [witches](#) and [hangings](#) had been going down. As a man who had been condemned by his church on account of his sexual dalliances, he would have been entirely without influence as an elder in his community. One may well wonder what sort of take the old man would have had on the activities of his neighbors, as he watched this thing develop, and as he watched various neighbors being hauled off to be hanged!

[Richard More](#) would die in [Salem](#) sometime between March 19, 1693/1694 and April 20, 1696. More's gravestone survives, the only known original gravestone of a *Mayflower* passenger still in existence which was erected at the time of burial:



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THE MAYFLOW

1774

The legend began to become popular that the 10-ton glacial boulder, behind which the “Old Comers” (as they knew themselves, although we have come to term them “Pilgrim Fathers”) decided to settle on the beach at [Plymouth](#) in December 1620, was the rock upon which these intrusives had stepped ashore from the boat of the [Mayflower](#) 9 days previously. This 10-ton erratic began to be known as the “Plymouth Rock,” and the landing day began to be known as “Forefathers Day.” This is despite the fact that they could find no mention of such a rock, in the manuscript of [William Bradford's](#) HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH PLANTATION which is now at the Massachusetts State House.



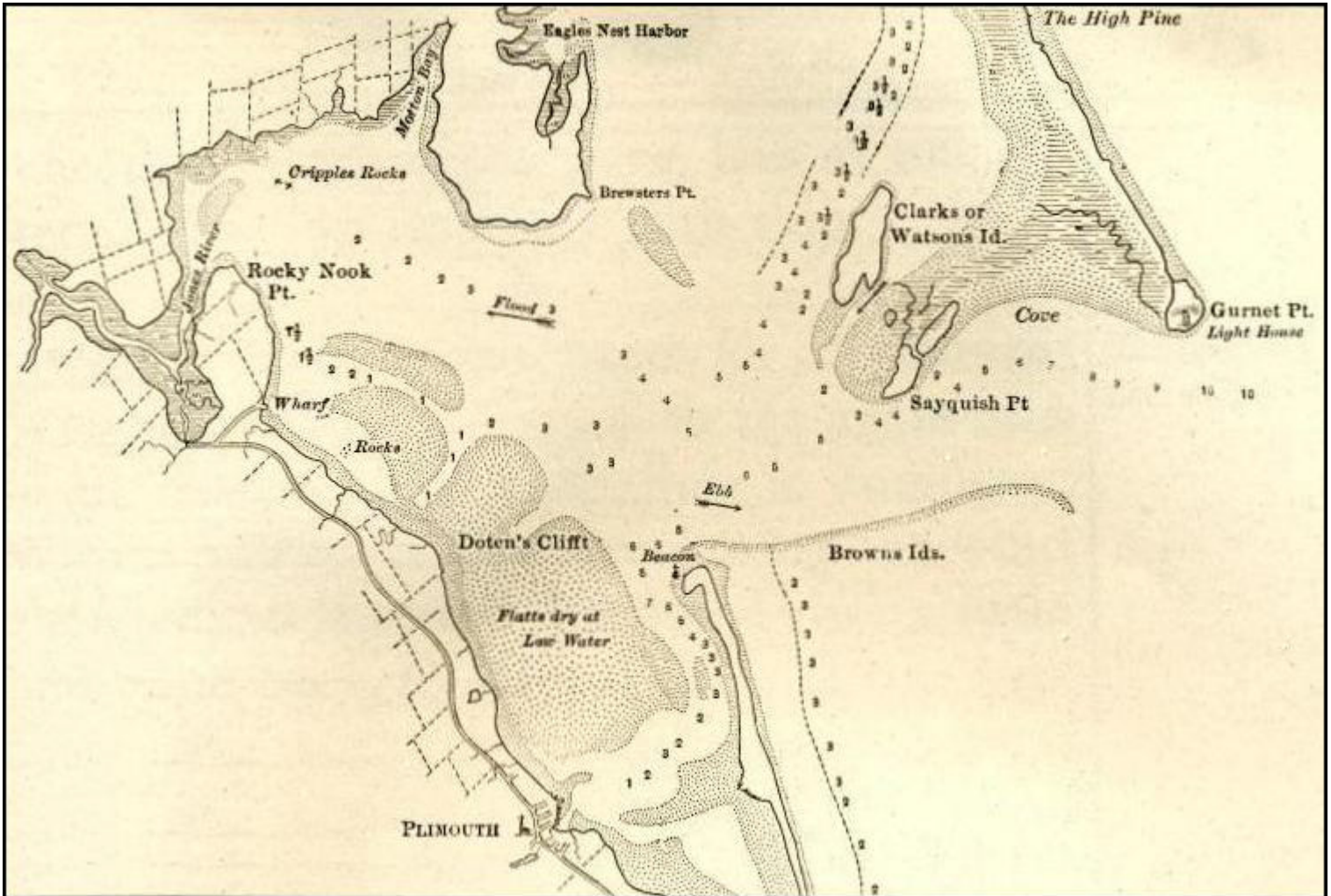
The “Sons of Liberty” organization of tax resisters decided to use this rock as a symbol of separatism from the mother country, despite the fact that in their day it lay underneath a wharf. In this year a group of “Liberty Boys” led by the militia Colonel Theophilus Cotton attempted to pry up this granite slab, in order to move it away from the tides, but it broke in half. Plymouth was so animated by the spirit of the impending Revolution that it was resolved, as James Thatcher relates, to “consecrate the rock...on the altar of liberty”; to associate the symbol of the Forefathers and the community with the new cause and legitimize what was a contentious issue in the town. The Rock was lifted from its bed and “...in attempting to mount it on the carriage it split asunder, without any violence. As no one had observed a flaw, the circumstance occasioned some surprise. It is not strange that some of the patriots of the day should be disposed to indulge a little in superstition, when in favor of their good cause. The separation of the rock was construed to be ominous of a division of the British Empire.” They used a team of oxen to roll the top half to the Town Square near the Town House, where a Liberty Pole had been set up, and used it as the end of a retaining wall propping up an embankment near an elm tree, but the rock rapidly diminished in size as egg-sized chunks were sold to raise funds at \$1.⁵⁰ each.

After the crisis was over, the Rock would be neglected to some extent, as would be witnessed by Edward Kendall in 1807: “The place assigned to this venerable stone, is no other than the end of a wall, in which, along with vulgar stones, it props up an embankment...” near an elm tree in the Town Square.

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In this year Charles Blascowitch recorded the configuration of the [Plymouth](#) coastline:



The heads of the Emerson families in the various towns of Massachusetts having all declared firmly against the giving of aid and comfort to the enemy through the drinking of English [tea](#), it was an occasion of great shock when the Reverend [Joseph Emerson](#) of Pepperell came to Malden unexpectedly one day, and caught his 72-year-old mother, [Madam Mary Moody Emerson](#), in the act of brewing herself a pot of tea:


He was much displeased. His Mother was hurt. She never got over it that he wasn't willing that his Mother should take tea when she needed it.



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1811

 March 11, Monday: Captain [Paul Cuffe](#)'s 69-ton [Traveller](#) arrived at Freeport, Sierra Leone. He would trade his goods, visit the British governor, meet native leaders, and make himself familiar with the situation in that British colony.

He would establish there a “Friendly Society of Sierra Leone” of black traders who dealt only in trade goods, and not at all in human beings, intended to encourage “the Black Settlers of Sierra Leone, and the Natives of Africa generally, in the Cultivation of their Soil, by the Sale of their Produce.” As Wright would put it, “Cuffee hoped to send at least one vessel each year to Sierra Leone, transporting African-American settlers and goods to the colony and returning with marketable African products.”

Near Nottingham, England, a group of workers began a wild protest against the new textile machinery (knitting frames) that was impacting their jobs. They would be termed Luddites or “Ludds” (reputedly after a Ned Ludd). By the following year Luddites would be active in Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Lancashire, and Leicestershire. Although the Luddites avoided violent acts against persons, government crackdowns would include mass shootings, hangings, and deportations. It would require 14,000 British soldiers to quell the rebellion. The movement would effectively die in 1813 except for a brief resurgence at the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1816.

The Spanish defenders of Badajoz surrendered the city to the French.

Elisabeth Catharina Ludovica Magdalena Brentano got married with [Ludwig Achim von Arnim](#). The couple would produce 7 children.

[BETTINA BRENTANO VON ARNIM](#)

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 11 of 3 Mo // My H has been engaged in assisting brother David in removing from his house (which he has sold) to one owned by John Williams in Thames Street - I have been occupied as usual-

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

HISTORY'S NOT MADE OF WOULD. WHEN SOMEONE REVEALS THAT A PAIR OF NEWLYWEDS WAS TO PRODUCE 7 CHILDREN, S/HE DISCLOSES THAT WHAT IS BEING CRAFTED IS NOT REALITY BUT PREDESTINARIANISM (THE RULE OF REALITY IS THAT ANY NUMBER OF UNCONCEIVED CHILDREN AREN'T KNOWN ABOUT YET).

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August 1, Thursday: Catherine Byron, [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#)'s mother, died.

According to a report in the [Edinburgh Review](#) based upon a news account in the [Liverpool Mercury](#), a vessel arrived on this day in the port of Liverpool with a cargo from Sierra Leone. It was the vessel [Traveller](#) the owner and master (Captain [Paul Cuffe](#)), mate and crew of which, this publication was interested to point out, were free persons of color.

From the [Liverpool Mercury](#).
MEMOIRS OF CAPT. PAUL CUFFEE.
“ On the first of the present month of August, 1811, a vessel arrived at Liverpool, with a cargo from Sierra Leone; the owner, master, mate, and whole crew of which are free blacks. The master, who is also owner, is the son of an American slave, and is said to be very well skilled both in trade and navigation, as well as to be of a very pious and moral character. It must have been a strange and an animating spectacle to see this free and enlightened African, entering as an independent trader, with his black crew into that port, which was so lately the *nidus* of the slave trade.—*Edinburgh Review* for August, 1811.

The article continued by remarking on what a strange and animating spectacle it must have been, to see this free and enlightened African sail with his crew of men of color into such a port on the coast of Africa — a port which had been so lately the *nidus* of the slave trade.

(This was the vessel that in 1820, after its Captain's demise, would be redesignated [The Mayflower of Liberia](#) in order to transport free black American volunteers back to the coast of Africa.)

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 1 of 8 M 1811 // I expect presently to go to [Portsmouth](#) to attend our Quarterly Meeting, & am favor'd at this moment to feel desires to arise for a good time, Oh! that I may keep near to what I now feel moving upon my spirit, & thereby experience life to arise into dominion. —

It rained & we had a wet ride to Portsmouth before meeting we stopped at Holder Almays, & saw several of our friends & acquaintances from off the Island, which was pleasant & agreeable

At Meeting James Greene as usual opened the Service, then our dear & much lov'd friend Nathan Hunt from North Carolina, delivered a powerful Gospel testimony, which according to my sense was to exceed any thing I ever heard from him or hardly any one else. The meeting seem'd cover'd with an Awful solemnity while he was speaking & the hearts of many deeply affected with the truths that he declared. It was to my mind an highly favor'd season for which I desire to be thankful. —

In the meeting for discipline the buisness went on with a good degree of love & condescension — We dined at Anna Anthonys, & then Rode home, & tho it rained & we had an uncomforatble ride both in & out of town & my dear H got some wet, yet she appears not to have taken cold, for which also I desire to be thankful —



THE *MAYFLOWER*

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THE *MAYFLOWER*

THE *MAYFLOWER*

1819



December 20, Monday: Birth of John Geary, who would be the 1st Postmaster of San Francisco, [California](#) and then become on May 1st, 1850 the city's 1st Mayor.

An Austrian magistrate denied a 2d appeal by [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) against the order of September 17th, that his nephew Karl be cared for by his mother under a court-appointed guardian.


In a message to the federal Congress, [President James Monroe](#) informed the government that he had appointed the [Reverend Samuel Bacon](#) of the [American Colonization Society](#), and [John P. Bankson](#) his assistant, to charter a vessel and take the 1st group of African-American emigrants to [the west coast of Africa](#), the understanding being that the vessel was to go to a place fixed upon by Mills and Burgess. The merchant vessel [Elizabeth](#) would be made ready for the voyage and redesignated as [The Mayflower of Liberia](#). The federal government informed the American Colonization Society that it was to "receive on board such free blacks recommended by the Society as might be required for the purpose of the agency."



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1820

 February 5, Saturday: Samuel S. Crozer having been appointed as the [American Colonization Society](#)'s official representative and 88 emigrants having been brought together (33 men and 18 women plus a number of children), the merchant vessel [Elizabeth](#) of Friend [Paul Cuffe](#), now deceased, for the moment redesignated as [The Mayflower of Liberia](#), convoyed by the American war-sloop [Cyane](#), set off toward New-York harbor (it was imperative that they have an armed escort regardless of the cost to the government, of course, for while at sea they would be in jeopardy of being boarded, and chained and returned to America to be auctioned as slaves).

The United States House of Representatives briefly entertained a proposition in regard to the raw evil of human [enslavement](#), and decided it wasn't going to do any good for them to worry about it.

"Mr. Meigs submitted the following preamble and resolution:
"Whereas, slavery in the United States is an evil of great and increasing magnitude; one which merits the greatest efforts of this nation to remedy: Therefore,
"Resolved, That a committee be appointed to enquire into the expediency of devoting the public lands as a fund for the purpose of,
"1st, Employing a naval force competent to the annihilation of the slave trade;
"2dly, The emancipation of slaves in the United States; and,
"3dly, Colonizing them in such way as shall be conducive to their comfort and happiness, in Africa, their mother country."

Read, and, on motion of Walker of North Carolina, ordered to lie on the table. HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress, 1st session, pages 196, 200, 227.


INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

That evening at the Chestnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, for the only time this season, they presented the comedy "Speed the Plough," after which there was another comic piece "The Anatomist, Or, The Sham Doctor."




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 February 6, Sunday: The merchant vessel [Elizabeth](#), for the moment redesignated as [The Mayflower of Liberia](#), sailed out of New-York harbor under the escort of the American sloop of war [Cyane](#), transporting 86 freed black Americans to swampy Sherbro Island in [Sierra Leone](#) on their way to becoming African colonists, and Africans. The [American Colonization Society](#) had (in effect) founded [Liberia](#) — although many details remained to be worked out such as precisely where the hell Liberia was supposed to be (some land, eventually, would be “purchased” for some \$300.⁰⁰ worth of rum, clothing, tobacco, clothing, trinkets, and guns and powder in a transaction we know took place only because a pistol was being aimed). But the idea, the idea was most exceedingly clear: [Africa](#) was to be for Africans, which is to say, black Africans, and America was to be for Americans, which is to say, white Americans.²³

(Sherbro Island’s unhealthy conditions would produce a high death rate among the settlers as well as the [American Colonization Society](#)’s representatives. Of the 4,571 emigrants who would arrive in Liberia from 1820 to 1843, only 1,819 would be alive as of 1843. The British governor would tolerate relocation of the immigrants to a safer area temporarily while the ACS would work to save its colonization project from complete disaster. In 1847 the ACS would encourage Liberia to proclaim its independence so that it would no longer need to support it, although some Northern state governments would continue to provide money into the 1850s.)

Lord Cochrane occupied Valdivia in the name of the Republic of Chile.

 February 11, Friday: Captain George Soule of Duxbury, Massachusetts died of the [yellow fever](#) and the body was consigned to the sea off the isle of St. Thomas in the West Indies (this would not be the George Soule who was a servant of Edward Winslow and a signer of the Mayflower Compact, but presumably one of his descendants).

 March 3, Friday: [The Mayflower of Liberia](#) sighted the Cape Verde Islands.

The Missouri Compromise was formally ratified by the United States federal congress. [Human slavery](#) would be allowed in this new state, Missouri, but nowhere else west of the Mississippi and north of 36°30’ latitude — and as part of that deal, [Maine](#) would be admitted immediately as a free state (this was all about, and only about, the sectional balance of power in the federal Senate: 2 additional votes for the slavery Southern section of the nation were to be balanced by 2 additional votes for the nonslavery Northern section of the nation).

In the diary of [John Quincy Adams](#) we find the following:

When I came this day to my office, I found there a note requesting me to call at one o’clock at the President’s house. It was then one, and I immediately went over. He expected that the two bills — for the admission of Maine, and to enable Missouri to make a constitution — would have been brought to him for his signature, and he had summoned all the members of the administration to ask their opinions, in writing, to be deposited in the Department of State, upon two questions: (1) whether Congress had a constitutional right to prohibit slavery in a territory; and (2) whether the 8th Section of the Missouri bill (which interdicts slavery forever in the territory north of thirty-six and a half latitude) was applicable only to the territorial state, or could extend to it after it should become a state....

23. At this point freed and refugee slaves had been being welcomed on this [Sierra Leone](#) coast controlled by Great Britain already for some 30 years. By the time of our civil war there would be some 11,000 American blacks free in this [Liberia](#).



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After this meeting, I walked home with [Calhoun](#), who said that ... in the Southern country ... domestic labor was confined to the blacks; and such was the prejudice that if he, who was the most popular man in his district, were to keep a white servant in his house, his character and reputation would be irretrievably ruined.

I said that this confounding of the ideas of servitude and labor was one of the bad effects of slavery; but he thought it attended with many excellent consequences. It did not apply to all kinds of labor – not, for example, to farming. He himself had often held the plough; so had his father. Manufacturing and mechanical labor was not degrading. It was only manual labor – the proper work of slaves. No white person could descend to that. And it was the best guarantee to equality among the whites. It produced an unvarying level among them. It not only did not excite but did not even admit of inequalities, by which one white man could domineer over another.

I told Calhoun I could not see things in the same light. It is, in truth, all perverted sentiment – mistaking labor for slavery, and dominion for freedom. The discussion of this Missouri question has betrayed the secret of their souls. In the abstract they admit that slavery is an evil, they disclaim all participation in the introduction of it, and cast it all upon the shoulders of our old Grandam Britain. But when probed to the quick upon it, they show at the bottom of their souls pride and vainglory in their condition of masterdom. They fancy themselves more generous and noblehearted than the plain freemen who labor for subsistence. They look down upon the simplicity of a Yankee's manners, because he has no habits of overbearing like theirs and cannot treat Negroes like dogs.

It is among the evils of slavery that it taints the very sources of moral principle. It establishes false estimates of virtue and vice; for what can be more false and heartless than this doctrine which makes the first and holiest rights of humanity to depend upon the color of the skin? It perverts human reason, and reduces man endowed with logical powers to maintain that slavery is sanctioned by the Christian religion, that slaves are happy and contented in their condition, that between master and slave there are ties of mutual attachment and affection, that the virtues of the master are refined and exalted by the degradation of the slave; while at the same time they vent execrations upon the slave trade, curse Britain for having given them slaves, burn at the stake Negroes convicted of crimes for the terror of the example, and writhe in agonies of fear at the very mention of human rights as applicable to men of color. The impression produced upon my mind by the progress of this discussion is that the bargain between freedom and slavery contained in the Constitution of the United States is morally and politically vicious, inconsistent with the principles upon which alone our Revolution can be justified; cruel and oppressive, by riveting the chains of slavery, by pledging the faith of freedom to maintain and perpetuate the tyranny of the master; and grossly unequal and impolitic, by admitting that slaves are at once enemies to be kept in subjection, property to be secured or restored to their owners, and persons not to be represented



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themselves, but for whom their masters are privileged with nearly a double share of representation. The consequence has been that this slave representation has governed the Union. Benjamin portioned above his brethren has ravined as a wolf. In the morning he has devoured the prey, and at night he has divided the spoil. It would be no difficult matter to prove, by reviewing the history of the Union under this Constitution, that almost everything which has contributed to the honor and welfare of the nation has been accomplished in spite of them or forced upon them, and that everything unpropitious and dishonorable, including the blunders and follies of their adversaries, may be traced to them.

I have favored this Missouri Compromise, believing it to be all that could be effected under the present Constitution, and from extreme unwillingness to put the Union at hazard. But perhaps it would have been a wiser as well as a bolder course to have persisted in the restriction upon Missouri, till it should have terminated in a convention of the states to revise and amend the Constitution. This would have produced a new Union of thirteen or fourteen States, unpolluted with slavery, with a great and glorious object to effect; namely, that of rallying to their standard the other states by the universal emancipation of their slaves. If the Union must be dissolved, slavery is precisely the question upon which it ought to break. For the present, however, this contest is laid asleep.



March 9, Thursday: One of [Ludwig van Beethoven](#)'s most loyal patrons, Archduke Rudolf, was installed as a cardinal in Olmütz (the composer intended his Missa Solemnis for the occasion, but had not finished it).

The government of the Philippines began a campaign to purge the island chain of foreigners (the death toll would reach about 125 by the 11th of the month).

[The Mayflower of Liberia](#) came to anchor on the coast of [Sierra Leone, Africa](#) bringing passengers from New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the District of Columbia. Although the Reverend Daniel Coker, a man of mingled race from Baltimore, Maryland, was rejoicing that at last he was glimpsing [Africa](#), the agents had counted on seeing [John Kizell](#), a Baptist native of Sherbro Island who had learned English while a slave in South Carolina, but were told that he was away, at Sherbro. They would be allowed to anchor at their location for merely 15 days.

On the island of [St. Helena](#), [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) was observed by the English watchers for the Plantation House to undress at 6AM in his garden and plunge himself into its stone reservoir. Count Montholon was with him, as were 2 servants who dried the General and assisted him in dressing.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 9th of 3 M / Ruth Spencer was at meeting & had much to communicate her father Daniel Anthony also had two short testimonys. —

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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In the [Executive Mansion](#) in [Washington DC](#), President [James Monroe](#)'s daughter Maria Hester Monroe had a wedding ceremony (on the State Floor, probably in the Blue Room) with a nephew of the First Lady, Samuel Lawrence Gouverneur.

March 29, 1812	Lucy Payne Washington (the sister of Dolley Madison) got married with Thomas Todd on the State Floor, probably in the Blue Room.
March 9, 1820	Maria Hester Monroe (daughter of President and Mrs. James Monroe) got married with Samuel Lawrence Gouverneur (Mrs. Monroe's nephew) on the State Floor, probably in the Blue Room.
February 25, 1828	John Adams (son of President and Mrs. John Quincy Adams) got married with Mary Catherine Hellen (Mrs. Adams's niece) in the Blue Room.
April 10, 1832	Mary A. Eastin (Rachel Jackson's niece) got married with Lucius J. Polk in the East Room.
November 29, 1832	Mary Anne Lewis (a daughter of a close friend of President Andrew Jackson) got married with Alphonse Pageot in the East Room.
January 31, 1842	Elizabeth Tyler (a daughter of President and Mrs. John Tyler) got married with William Waller in the East Room.
May 21, 1874	Nellie Grant (daughter of President and Mrs. Ulysses S. Grant) got married with Algernon Sartoris in the East Room.
June 1878	Emily Platt (niece of Lucy Hayes) got married with Russell Hastings in the Blue Room.
June 2, 1886	President Grover Cleveland got married with Frances Folsom in the Blue Room.
February 17, 1906	Alice Lee Roosevelt (daughter of President and Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt) got married with Nicholas Longworth in the East Room.
November 25, 1913	Jessie Woodrow Wilson (daughter of President and Mrs. Woodrow Wilson) got married with Francis Bowes Sayre in the East Room.
May 7, 1914	Eleanor Randolph Wilson (daughter of President and Mrs. Woodrow Wilson) got married with William Gibbs McAdoo in the Blue Room.
August 7, 1918	WAllice Wilson (niece of President Woodrow Wilson) got married with Isaac Stuart McElroy, Jr., in the Blue Room.
July 30, 1942	Harry Hopkins (assistant to President Franklin D. Roosevelt) got married with Louise Gill Macy in the Second Floor Oval Room (then the president's study).
December 9, 1967	Lynda Bird Johnson (daughter of President and Mrs. Johnson) got married with Charles Spittal Robb in the East Room.
June 12, 1971	Tricia Nixon (daughter of President and Mrs. Richard Nixon) got married with Edward Finch Cox in the Rose Garden.
May 28, 1994	Anthony Rodham (brother of Hillary Rodham Clinton) got married with Nicole Boxer in the Rose Garden.
October 19, 2013	Chief Official White House photographer Pete Souza was got married with to Patti Lease in the Rose Garden.



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March 15, Wednesday: [Roualeyn George Gordon-Cumming](#) was born as the 2d son, and therefore not to be entitled, of William Gordon Gordon-Cumming, 2d Baronet.

Although [The Mayflower of Liberia](#) had arrived at the coast of [Sierra Leone](#), the agents of the [American Colonization Society](#) had counted on seeing [John Kizell](#) and he was away at Sherbro. [John P. Bankson](#) went to find Kizell. Although [Captain Sebor](#) was at first decidedly unwilling to go further, his reluctance would at length be overcome.

The citizens of the Maine region had been demanding separation from Massachusetts control ever since the [War of 1812](#) and such separation had been agreed to, in principle, by Massachusetts in 1816. At this point a deal was struck preserving the balance between free states and slave states in the federal congress, whereby [Maine](#) was able to become the 23d state of the federal union, a free state, while Missouri was also admitted, as a [slave](#) state. (The reason why [Canada](#) is still a separate country –and I bet you aren't aware of this– is that no such deal was ever possible, admitting its provinces as free states of the federal union while simultaneously admitting more slave states in order to preserve the balance between slave and free in our federal congress.)






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Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 15 of 3M / Attended the funeral of Elaphal Jernagan She was buried after the Manner of Friends in the Clifton Burying ground near the Wanton family - Abigail Sherman had a short testimony -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS


 March 17, Friday: Although [The Mayflower of Liberia](#) had arrived at the coast of [Sierra Leone](#), the agents of the [American Colonization Society](#) had counted on seeing [John Kizell](#) and he was at Sherbro. The [Reverend Samuel Bacon](#) of the American Colonization Society sailed for Sherbro.

 March 18, Saturday: Evaristo Pérez de Castro Brito replaced Joaquín José Melgarejo y Saurín, duque de San Fernando de Quiroga as First Secretary of State of Spain.

The new settlers in [Sierra Leone](#) met [John B. Bankson](#), who informed them that he had seen [John Kizell](#), a Baptist native of Sherbro Island who had learned English while a slave in South Carolina. This man, although he had not heard from America since the departure of Mills and Burgess, had been busy erecting some temporary houses against the rainy season. He permitted the newcomers to stay in his little town until land could be obtained, and sent them 12 fowls and a bushel of rice; but he also warned [John P. Bankson](#) that his expedition would face the greatest of difficulties. What would follow would be much fruitless bargaining with coastal native chiefs, of necessity lubricated with rum. Meanwhile there would be a report circulating, that the Americans had turned [John Kizell](#) out of his own town and taken some of his people into the hold of their ship [The Mayflower of Liberia](#). Disaster would follow disaster as the marsh, bad water, and malaria would run riot, and soon kill off all 3 of the responsible agents. The 1st expedition failed and there were only a few persons remaining alive who would be able to make their way back to [Sierra Leone](#).

At the Norfolk Assizes, [William Head](#) was sentenced to [hang](#) for highway robbery. He and an accomplice had taken a silver watch, a handkerchief, and a great coat from another visitor to the Wymondham Fair. He would be held at Norwich Castle, his death sentence would be reprieved to transportation, and he would be taken from England aboard the *Hebes* destined for New South Wales.

AUSTRALIA

 December 22, Friday: Celebration of December 22d as Forefathers' Day, which had begun in the year 1797 in Boston, really came into its own at this point at the [Plymouth](#) Bicentennial. In anticipation of this approaching bicentennial of the Plymouth landing, The Pilgrim Society had been incorporated and had procured "a suitable lot or piece of ground for the erection of a monument to perpetuate the memory of the virtues, the enterprise and unparalleled sufferings of their ancestors who first settled in that ancient town, and for the erection of a suitable building for the accommodation of the meetings of said association." Construction of said monument would soon begin, and "Pilgrim Hall" would be ready for meetings in 1824. The structure would become a repository for Pilgrim relics. On this day, despite the fact that none of this infrastructure had as yet been actualized, don't you know that [Daniel Webster](#) would spin words to full effect?



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CAPE COD: It is remarkable that there is not in English any adequate or correct account of the French exploration of what is now the coast of New England, between 1604 and 1608, though it is conceded that they then made the first permanent European settlement on the continent of North America north of St. Augustine. If the lions had been the painters it would have been otherwise. This omission is probably to be accounted for partly by the fact that the early edition of Champlain's "Voyages" had not been consulted for this purpose. This contains by far the most particular, and, I think, the most interesting chapter of what we may call the Ante-Pilgrim history of New England, extending to one hundred and sixty pages quarto; but appears to be unknown equally to the historian and the orator on Plymouth Rock. Bancroft does not mention Champlain at all among the authorities for De Monts' expedition, nor does he say that he ever visited the coast of New England. Though he bore the title of pilot to De Monts, he was, in another sense, the leading spirit, as well as the historian of the expedition. Holmes, Hildreth, and Barry, and apparently all our historians who mention Champlain, refer to the edition of 1632, in which all the separate charts of our harbors, &c., and about one half the narrative, are omitted; for the author explored so many lands afterward that he could afford to forget a part of what he had done. Hildreth, speaking of De Monts's expedition, says that "he looked into the Penobscot [in 1605], which Pring had discovered two years before," saying nothing about Champlain's extensive exploration of it for De Monts in 1604 (Holmes says 1608, and refers to Purchas); also that he followed in the track of Pring along the coast "to Cape Cod, which he called Malabarre." (Haliburton had made the same statement before him in 1829. He called it Cap Blanc, and Malle Barre (the Bad Bar) was the name given to a harbor on the east side of the Cape.) Pring says nothing about a river there. Belknap says that Weymouth discovered it in 1605. Sir F. Gorges says, in his narration (Maine Hist. Coll., Vol. II. p. 19), 1658, that Pring in 1606 "made a perfect discovery of all the rivers and harbors." This is the most I can find. Bancroft makes Champlain to have discovered more western rivers in Maine, not naming the Penobscot; he, however, must have been the discoverer of distances on this river (see Belknap, p. 147). Pring was absent from England only about six months, and sailed by this part of Cape Cod (Malebarre) because it yielded no sassafras, while the French, who probably had not heard of Pring, were patiently for years exploring the coast in search of a place of settlement, sounding and surveying its harbors.

PEOPLE OF
CAPE COD

ÆSOP
XENOPHANES

CHAMPLAIN

WEBSTER
BANCROFT

BARRY

HILDRETH

PRING

HOLMES
PURCHAS
HALIBURTON

BELKNAP
WEYMOUTH
GORGES

First Settlement Of New England.²⁴

Let us rejoice that we behold this day. Let us be thankful that we have lived to see the bright and happy breaking of the



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auspicious morn, which commences the third century of the history of New England. Auspicious, indeed,—bringing a happiness beyond the common allotment of Providence to men,—full of present joy, and gilding with bright beams the prospect of futurity, is the dawn that awakens us to the commemoration of the landing of the Pilgrims.

Living at an epoch which naturally marks the progress of the history of our native land, we have come hither to celebrate the great event with which that history commenced. For ever honored be this, the place of our fathers' refuge! For ever remembered the day which saw them, weary and distressed, broken in every thing but spirit, poor in all but faith and courage, at last secure from the dangers of wintry seas, and impressing this shore with the first footsteps of civilized man!

It is a noble faculty of our nature which enables us to connect our thoughts, our sympathies, and our happiness with what is distant in place or time; and, looking before and after, to hold communion at once with our ancestors and our posterity. Human and mortal although we are, we are nevertheless not mere insulated beings, without relation to the past or the future. Neither the point of time, nor the spot of earth, in which we physically live, bounds our rational and intellectual enjoyments. We live in the past by a knowledge of its history; and in the future, by hope and anticipation. By ascending to an association with our ancestors; by contemplating their example and studying their character; by partaking their sentiments, and

24. Edwin P. Whipple's *THE GREAT SPEECHES AND ORATIONS OF DANIEL WEBSTER WITH AN ESSAY ON DANIEL WEBSTER AS A MASTER OF ENGLISH STYLE* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1879): "The first public anniversary celebration of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth took place under the auspices of the "Old Colony Club," of whose formation an account may be found in the interesting little work of William S. Russell, Esq., entitled "Guide to Plymouth and Recollections of the Pilgrims."

This club was formed for general purposes of social intercourse, in 1769; but its members determined, by a vote passed on Monday, the 18th of December, of that year, "to keep" Friday, the 22d, in commemoration of the landing of the fathers. A particular account of the simple festivities of this first public celebration of the landing of the Pilgrims will be found at page 220 of Mr. Russell's work. The following year, the anniversary was celebrated much in the same manner as in 1769, with the addition of a short address, pronounced "with modest and decent firmness, by a member of the club, Edward Winslow, Jr., Esq.," being the first address ever delivered on this occasion.

In 1771, it was suggested by Rev. Chandler Robbins, pastor of the First Church at Plymouth, in a letter addressed to the club, "whether it would not be agreeable, for the entertainment and instruction of the rising generation on these anniversaries, to have a sermon in public, some part of the day, peculiarly adapted to the occasion." This recommendation prevailed, and an appropriate discourse was delivered the following year by the Rev. Dr. Robbins.

In 1773 the Old Colony Club was dissolved, in consequence of the conflicting opinions of its members on the great political questions then agitated. Notwithstanding this event, the anniversary celebrations of the 22d of December continued without interruption till 1780, when they were suspended. After an interval of fourteen years, a public discourse was again delivered by the Rev. Dr. Robbins. Private celebrations took place the four following years, and from that time till the year 1819, with one or two exceptions, the day was annually commemorated, and public addresses were delivered by distinguished clergymen and laymen of Massachusetts.

In 1820 the "Pilgrim Society" was formed by the citizens of Plymouth and the descendants of the Pilgrims in other places, desirous of uniting "to commemorate the landing, and to honor the memory of the intrepid men who first set foot on Plymouth rock." The foundation of this society gave a new impulse to the anniversary celebrations of this great event. The Hon. Daniel Webster was requested to deliver the public address on the 22d of December of that year, and the following discourse was pronounced by him on the ever-memorable occasion. Great public expectation was awakened by the fame of the orator; an immense concourse assembled at Plymouth to unite in the celebration; and it may be safely anticipated, that some portion of the powerful effect of the following address on the minds of those who were so fortunate as to hear it, will be perpetuated by the press to the latest posterity.

From 1820 to the present day, with occasional interruptions, the 22d of December has been celebrated by the Pilgrim Society. A list of all those by whom anniversary discourses have been delivered since the first organization of the Old Colony Club, in 1769, may be found in Mr. Russell's work.

Nor has the notice of the day been confined to New England. Public celebrations of the landing of the Pilgrims have been frequent in other parts of the country, particularly in New York. The New England Society of that city has rarely permitted the day to pass without appropriate honors. Similar societies have been formed at Philadelphia, Charleston, South Carolina, and Cincinnati, and the day has been publicly commemorated in several other parts of the country."



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imbibing their spirit; by accompanying them in their toils, by sympathizing in their sufferings, and rejoicing in their successes and their triumphs; we seem to belong to their age, and to mingle our own existence with theirs. We become their contemporaries, live the lives which they lived, endure what they endured, and partake in the rewards which they enjoyed. And in like manner, by running along the line of future time, by contemplating the probable fortunes of those who are coming after us, by attempting something which may promote their happiness, and leave some not dishonorable memorial of ourselves for their regard, when we shall sleep with the fathers, we protract our own earthly being, and seem to crowd whatever is future, as well as all that is past, into the narrow compass of our earthly existence. As it is not a vain and false, but an exalted and religious imagination, which leads us to raise our thoughts from the orb, which, amidst this universe of worlds, the Creator has given us to inhabit, and to send them with something of the feeling which nature prompts, and teaches to be proper among children of the same Eternal Parent, to the contemplation of the myriads of fellow-beings with which his goodness has peopled the infinite of space; so neither is it false or vain to consider ourselves as interested and connected with our whole race, through all time; allied to our ancestors; allied to our posterity; closely compacted on all sides with others; ourselves being but links in the great chain of being, which begins with the origin of our race, runs onward through its successive generations, binding together the past, the present, and the future, and terminating at last, with the consummation of all things earthly, at the throne of God.

There may be, and there often is, indeed, a regard for ancestry, which nourishes only a weak pride; as there is also a care for posterity, which only disguises an habitual avarice, or hides the workings of a low and grovelling vanity. But there is also a moral and philosophical respect for our ancestors, which elevates the character and improves the heart. Next to the sense of religious duty and moral feeling, I hardly know what should bear with stronger obligation on a liberal and enlightened mind, than a consciousness of alliance with excellence which is departed; and a consciousness, too, that in its acts and conduct, and even in its sentiments and thoughts, it may be actively operating on the happiness of those who come after it. Poetry is found to have few stronger conceptions, by which it would affect or overwhelm the mind, than those in which it presents the moving and speaking image of the departed dead to the senses of the living. This belongs to poetry, only because it is congenial to our nature. Poetry is, in this respect, but the handmaid of true philosophy and morality; it deals with us as human beings, naturally reverencing those whose visible connection with this state of existence is severed, and who may yet exercise we know not what sympathy with ourselves; and when it carries us forward, also, and shows us the long continued result of all the good we do, in the prosperity of those who follow us, till it bears us from ourselves, and absorbs us in an intense interest for what shall happen to the generations after us, it speaks only in the language of our nature, and



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affects us with sentiments which belong to us as human beings. Standing in this relation to our ancestors and our posterity, we are assembled on this memorable spot, to perform the duties which that relation and the present occasion impose upon us. We have come to this Rock, to record here our homage for our Pilgrim Fathers; our sympathy in their sufferings; our gratitude for their labors; our admiration of their virtues; our veneration for their piety; and our attachment to those principles of civil and religious liberty, which they encountered the dangers of the ocean, the storms of heaven, the violence of savages, disease, exile, and famine, to enjoy and to establish. And we would leave here, also, for the generations which are rising up rapidly to fill our places, some proof that we have endeavored to transmit the great inheritance unimpaired; that in our estimate of public principles and private virtue, in our veneration of religion and piety, in our devotion to civil and religious liberty, in our regard for whatever advances human knowledge or improves human happiness, we are not altogether unworthy of our origin.

There is a local feeling connected with this occasion, too strong to be resisted; a sort of *genius of the place*, which inspires and awes us. We feel that we are on the spot where the first scene of our history was laid; where the hearths and altars of New England were first placed; where Christianity, and civilization, and letters made their first lodgement, in a vast extent of country, covered with a wilderness, and peopled by roving barbarians. We are here, at the season of the year at which the event took place. The imagination irresistibly and rapidly draws around us the principal features and the leading characters in the original scene. We cast our eyes abroad on the ocean, and we see where the little bark, with the interesting group upon its deck, made its slow progress to the shore. We look around us, and behold the hills and promontories where the anxious eyes of our fathers first saw the places of habitation and of rest. We feel the cold which benumbed, and listen to the winds which pierced them. Beneath us is the Rock,²⁵ on which New England received the feet of the Pilgrims. We seem even to behold them, as they struggle with the elements, and, with toilsome efforts, gain the shore. We listen to the chiefs in council; we see the unexampled exhibition of female fortitude and resignation; we hear the whisperings of youthful impatience, and we see, what a painter of our own has also represented by his pencil,²⁶ chilled and shivering childhood, houseless, but for a mother's arms, couchless, but for a mother's breast, till our own blood almost freezes. The mild dignity of Carver and of Bradford; the decisive and soldier-like air and manner of STANDISH; the devout BREWSTER; the enterprising ALLERTON;²⁷ the general firmness and thoughtfulness of the whole band; their conscious joy for dangers escaped; their deep solicitude about dangers to come; their trust in Heaven; their high religious faith, full of confidence and anticipation; all of these seem to belong to this place, and to be present upon this occasion, to fill us with reverence and admiration.

The settlement of New England by the colony which landed here²⁸ on the twenty-second²⁹ of December, sixteen hundred and twenty,

25. An interesting account of the Rock may be found in Dr. Thacher's HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF PLYMOUTH, pp. 29, 198, 199.



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although not the first European establishment in what now constitutes the United States, was yet so peculiar in its causes and character, and has been followed and must still be followed by such consequences, as to give it a high claim to lasting commemoration. On these causes and consequences, more than on its immediately attendant circumstances, its importance, as an historical event, depends. Great actions and striking occurrences, having excited a temporary admiration, often pass away and are forgotten, because they leave no lasting results, affecting the prosperity and happiness of communities. Such is frequently the fortune of the most brilliant military achievements. Of the ten thousand battles which have been fought, of all the fields fertilized with carnage, of the banners which have been bathed in blood, of the warriors who have hoped that they had risen from the field of conquest to a glory as bright and as durable as the stars, how few that continue long to interest mankind! The victory of yesterday is reversed by the defeat of to-day; the star of military glory, rising like a meteor, like a meteor has fallen; disgrace and disaster hang on the heels of conquest and renown; victor and vanquished presently pass away to oblivion, and the world goes on in its course, with the loss only of so many lives and so much treasure.

But if this be frequently, or generally, the fortune of military achievements, it is not always so. There are enterprises, military as well as civil, which sometimes check the current of events, give a new turn to human affairs, and transmit their consequences through ages. We see their importance in their results, and call them great, because great things follow. There have been battles which have fixed the fate of nations. These come down to us in history with a solid and permanent interest, not created by a display of glittering armor, the rush of adverse battalions, the sinking and rising of pennons, the flight, the pursuit, and the victory; but by their effect in advancing or retarding human knowledge, in overthrowing or establishing despotism, in extending or destroying human happiness. When the

26. The allusion in the Discourse is to the large historical painting of the Landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, executed by Henry Sargent, Esq., of Boston, and, with great liberality, presented by him to the Pilgrim Society. It appeared in their hall (of which it forms the chief ornament) for the first time at the celebration of 1824. It represents the principal personages of the company at the moment of landing, with the Indian Samoset, who approaches them with a friendly welcome. A very competent judge, himself a distinguished artist, the late venerable Colonel Trumbull, has pronounced that this painting has great merit. An interesting account of it will be found in Dr. Thacher's History of Plymouth, pp. 249 and 257.

An historical painting, by Robert N. Weir, Esq., of the largest size, representing the embarkation of the Pilgrims from Delft-Haven, in Holland, and executed by order of Congress, fills one of the panels of the Rotunda of the Capitol at Washington. The moment chosen by the artist for the action of the picture is that in which the venerable pastor Robinson, with tears, and benedictions, and prayers to Heaven, dismisses the beloved members of his little flock to the perils and the hopes of their great enterprise. The characters of the personages introduced are indicated with discrimination and power, and the accessories of the work marked with much taste and skill. It is a painting of distinguished historical interest and of great artistic merit.

The "Landing of the Pilgrims" has also been made the subject of a very interesting painting by Mr. Flagg, intended to represent the deep religious feeling which so strikingly characterized the first settlers of New England. With this object in view, the central figure is that of Elder Brewster. It is a picture of cabinet size, and is in possession of a gentleman of New Haven, descended from Elder Brewster, and of that name.

27. For notices of Carver, Bradford, Standish, Brewster, and Allerton, see Young's CHRONICLES OF PLYMOUTH AND MASSACHUSETTS; Morton's MEMORIAL, p. 126; Belknap's AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY, Vol. II.; Hutchinson's HISTORY, Vol. II., App., pp. 456 *et seq.*; COLLECTIONS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY; Winthrop's JOURNAL; and Thacher's HISTORY.

28. For the original name of what is now Plymouth, see LIVES OF AMERICAN GOVERNORS, p. 38, note, a work prepared with great care by J.B. Moore, Esq.

29. The twenty-first is now acknowledged to be the true anniversary. See the REPORT OF THE PILGRIM SOCIETY on the subject.



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traveller pauses on the plain of Marathon, what are the emotions which most strongly agitate his breast? What is that glorious recollection, which thrills through his frame, and suffuses his eyes? Not, I imagine, that Grecian skill and Grecian valor were here most signally displayed; but that Greece herself was saved. It is because to this spot, and to the event which has rendered it immortal, he refers all the succeeding glories of the republic. It is because, if that day had gone otherwise, Greece had perished. It is because he perceives that her philosophers and orators, her poets and painters, her sculptors and architects, her governments and free institutions, point backward to Marathon, and that their future existence seems to have been suspended on the contingency, whether the Persian or the Grecian banner should wave victorious in the beams of that day's setting sun. And, as his imagination kindles at the retrospect, he is transported back to the interesting moment; he counts the fearful odds of the contending hosts; his interest for the result overwhelms him; he trembles, as if it were still uncertain, and seems to doubt whether he may consider Socrates and Plato, Demosthenes, Sophocles, and Phidias, as secure, yet, to himself and to the world.

"If we conquer," said the Athenian commander on the approach of that decisive day, "if we conquer, we shall make Athens the greatest city of Greece."³⁰ A prophecy how well fulfilled! "If God prosper us," might have been the more appropriate language of our fathers, when they landed upon this Rock, "if God prosper us, we shall here begin a work which shall last for ages; we shall plant here a new society, in the principles of the fullest liberty and the purest religion; we shall subdue this wilderness which is before us; we shall fill this region of the great continent, which stretches almost from pole to pole, with civilization and Christianity; the temples of the true God shall rise, where now ascends the smoke of idolatrous sacrifice; fields and gardens, the flowers of summer, and the waving and golden harvest of autumn, shall spread over a thousand hills, and stretch along a thousand valleys, never yet, since the creation, reclaimed to the use of civilized man. We shall whiten this coast with the canvas of a prosperous commerce; we shall stud the long and winding shore with a hundred cities. That which we sow in weakness shall be raised in strength. From our sincere, but houseless worship, there shall spring splendid temples to record God's goodness; from the simplicity of our social union, there shall arise wise and politic constitutions of government, full of the liberty which we ourselves bring and breathe; from our zeal for learning, institutions shall spring which shall scatter the light of knowledge throughout the land, and, in time, paying back where they have borrowed, shall contribute their part to the great aggregate of human knowledge; and our descendants, through all generations, shall look back to this spot, and to this hour, with unabated affection and regard."

A brief remembrance of the causes which led to the settlement of this place; some account of the peculiarities and characteristic qualities of that settlement, as distinguished from other instances of colonization; a short notice of the



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progress of New England in the great interests of society, during the century which is now elapsed; with a few observations on the principles upon which society and government are established in this country; comprise all that can be attempted, and much more than can be satisfactorily performed, on the present occasion.

Of the motives which influenced the first settlers to a voluntary exile, induced them to relinquish their native country, and to seek an asylum in this then unexplored wilderness, the first and principal, no doubt, were connected with religion. They sought to enjoy a higher degree of religious freedom, and what they esteemed a purer form of religious worship, than was allowed to their choice, or presented to their imitation, in the Old World. The love of religious liberty is a stronger sentiment, when fully excited, than an attachment to civil or political freedom. That freedom which the conscience demands, and which men feel bound by their hope of salvation to contend for, can hardly fail to be attained. Conscience, in the cause of religion and the worship of the Deity, prepares the mind to act and to suffer beyond almost all other causes. It sometimes gives an impulse so irresistible, that no fetters of power or of opinion can withstand it. History instructs us that this love of religious liberty, a compound sentiment in the breast of man, made up of the clearest sense of right and the highest conviction of duty, is able to look the sternest despotism in the face, and, with means apparently most inadequate, to shake principalities and powers. There is a boldness, a spirit of daring, in religious reformers, not to be measured by the general rules which control men's purposes and actions. If the hand of power be laid upon it, this only seems to augment its force and its elasticity, and to cause its action to be more formidable and violent. Human invention has devised nothing, human power has compassed nothing, that can forcibly restrain it, when it breaks forth. Nothing can stop it, but to give way to it; nothing can check it, but indulgence. It loses its power only when it has gained its object. The principle of toleration, to which the world has come so slowly, is at once the most just and the most wise of all principles. Even when religious feeling takes a character of extravagance and enthusiasm, and seems to threaten the order of society and shake the columns of the social edifice, its principal danger is in its restraint. If it be allowed indulgence and expansion, like the elemental fires, it only agitates, and perhaps purifies, the atmosphere; while its efforts to throw off restraint would burst the world asunder.

It is certain, that, although many of them were republicans in principle, we have no evidence that our New England ancestors would have emigrated, as they did, from their own native country, would have become wanderers in Europe, and finally would have undertaken the establishment of a colony here, merely from their dislike of the political systems of Europe. They fled not so much from the civil government, as from the hierarchy, and the laws which enforced conformity to the church establishment. Mr. Robinson had left England as early as 1608, on account of the persecutions for non-conformity, and had



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retired to Holland. He left England from no disappointed ambition in affairs of state, from no regrets at the want of preferment in the church, nor from any motive of distinction or of gain. Uniformity in matters of religion was pressed with such extreme rigor, that a voluntary exile seemed the most eligible mode of escaping from the penalties of non-compliance. The accession of Elizabeth had, it is true, quenched the fires of Smithfield, and put an end to the easy acquisition of the crown of martyrdom. Her long reign had established the Reformation, but toleration was a virtue beyond her conception, and beyond the age. She left no example of it to her successor; and he was not of a character which rendered a sentiment either so wise or so liberal would originate with him. At the present period it seems incredible that the learned, accomplished, unassuming, and inoffensive Robinson should neither be tolerated in his peaceable mode of worship in his own country, nor suffered quietly to depart from it. Yet such was the fact. He left his country by stealth, that he might elsewhere enjoy those rights which ought to belong to men in all countries. The departure of the Pilgrims for Holland is deeply interesting, from its circumstances, and also as it marks the character of the times, independently of its connection with names now incorporated with the history of empire. The embarkation was intended to be made in such a manner that it might escape the notice of the officers of government. Great pains had been taken to secure boats, which should come undiscovered to the shore, and receive the fugitives; and frequent disappointments had been experienced in this respect.

At length the appointed time came, bringing with it unusual severity of cold and rain. An unfrequented and barren heath, on the shores of Lincolnshire, was the selected spot, where the feet of the Pilgrims were to tread, for the last time, the land of their fathers. The vessel which was to receive them did not come until the next day, and in the mean time the little band was collected, and men and women and children and baggage were crowded together, in melancholy and distressed confusion. The sea was rough, and the women and children were already sick, from their passage down the river to the place of embarkation on the sea. At length the wished-for boat silently and fearfully approaches the shore, and men and women and children, shaking with fear and with cold, as many as the small vessel could bear, venture off on a dangerous sea. Immediately the advance of horses is heard from behind, armed men appear, and those not yet embarked are seized and taken into custody. In the hurry of the moment, the first parties had been sent on board without any attempt to keep members of the same family together, and on account of the appearance of the horsemen, the boat never returned for the residue. Those who had got away, and those who had not, were in equal distress. A storm, of great violence and long duration, arose at sea, which not only protracted the voyage, rendered distressing by the want of all those accommodations which the interruption of the embarkation had occasioned, but also forced the vessel out of her course, and menaced immediate shipwreck; while those on shore, when they were dismissed from the custody of the officers of justice,



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having no longer homes or houses to retire to, and their friends and protectors being already gone, became objects of necessary charity, as well as of deep commiseration.

As this scene passes before us, we can hardly forbear asking whether this be a band of malefactors and felons flying from justice. What are their crimes, that they hide themselves in darkness? To what punishment are they exposed, that, to avoid it, men, and women, and children, thus encounter the surf of the North Sea and the terrors of a night storm? What induces this armed pursuit, and this arrest of fugitives, of all ages and both sexes? Truth does not allow us to answer these inquiries in a manner that does credit to the wisdom or the justice of the times. This was not the flight of guilt, but of virtue. It was an humble and peaceable religion, flying from causeless oppression. It was conscience, attempting to escape from the arbitrary rule of the Stuarts. It was Robinson and Brewster, leading off their little band from their native soil, at first to find shelter on the shore of the neighboring continent, but ultimately to come hither; and having surmounted all difficulties and braved a thousand dangers, to find here a place of refuge and of rest. Thanks be to God, that this spot was honored as the asylum of religious liberty! May its standard, reared here, remain for ever! May it rise up as high as heaven, till its banner shall fan the air of both continents, and wave as a glorious ensign of peace and security to the nations!

The peculiar character, condition, and circumstances of the colonies which introduced civilization and an English race into New England, afford a most interesting and extensive topic of discussion. On these, much of our subsequent character and fortune has depended. Their influence has essentially affected our whole history, through the two centuries which have elapsed; and as they have become intimately connected with government, laws, and property, as well as with our opinions on the subjects of religion and civil liberty, that influence is likely to continue to be felt through the centuries which shall succeed. Emigration from one region to another, and the emission of colonies to people countries more or less distant from the residence of the parent stock, are common incidents in the history of mankind; but it has not often, perhaps never, happened, that the establishment of colonies should be attempted under circumstances, however beset with present difficulties and dangers, yet so favorable to ultimate success, and so conducive to magnificent results, as those which attended the first settlements on this part of the American continent. In other instances, emigration has proceeded from a less exalted purpose, in periods of less general intelligence, or more without plan and by accident; or under circumstances, physical and moral, less favorable to the expectation of laying a foundation for great public prosperity and future empire.

A great resemblance exists, obviously, between all the English colonies established within the present limits of the United States; but the occasion attracts our attention more immediately to those which took possession of New England, and the peculiarities of these furnish a strong contrast with most other instances of colonization.



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Among the ancient nations, the Greeks, no doubt, sent forth from their territories the greatest number of colonies. So numerous, indeed, were they, and so great the extent of space over which they were spread, that the parent country fondly and naturally persuaded herself, that by means of them she had laid a sure foundation for the universal civilization of the world. These establishments, from obvious causes, were most numerous in places most contiguous; yet they were found on the coasts of France, on the shores of the Euxine Sea, in Africa, and even, as is alleged, on the borders of India. These emigrations appear to have been sometimes voluntary and sometimes compulsory; arising from the spontaneous enterprise of individuals, or the order and regulation of government. It was a common opinion with ancient writers, that they were undertaken in religious obedience to the commands of oracles, and it is probable that impressions of this sort might have had more or less influence; but it is probable, also, that on these occasions the oracles did not speak a language dissonant from the views and purposes of the state.

Political science among the Greeks seems never to have extended to the comprehension of a system, which should be adequate to the government of a great nation upon principles of liberty. They were accustomed only to the contemplation of small republics, and were led to consider an augmented population as incompatible with free institutions. The desire of a remedy for this supposed evil, and the wish to establish marts for trade, led the governments often to undertake the establishment of colonies as an affair of state expediency. Colonization and commerce, indeed, would naturally become objects of interest to an ingenious and enterprising people, inhabiting a territory closely circumscribed in its limits, and in no small part mountainous and sterile; while the islands of the adjacent seas, and the promontories and coasts of the neighboring continents, by their mere proximity, strongly solicited the excited spirit of emigration. Such was this proximity, in many instances, that the new settlements appeared rather to be the mere extension of population over contiguous territory, than the establishment of distant colonies. In proportion as they were near to the parent state, they would be under its authority, and partake of its fortunes. The colony at Marseilles might perceive lightly, or not at all, the sway of Phocis; while the islands in the Aegean Sea could hardly attain to independence of their Athenian origin. Many of these establishments took place at an early age; and if there were defects in the governments of the parent states, the colonists did not possess philosophy or experience sufficient to correct such evils in their own institutions, even if they had not been, by other causes, deprived of the power. An immediate necessity, connected with the support of life, was the main and direct inducement to these undertakings, and there could hardly exist more than the hope of a successful imitation of institutions with which they were already acquainted, and of holding an equality with their neighbors in the course of improvement. The laws and customs, both political and municipal, as well as the religious worship of the parent city, were transferred to the colony; and the parent city herself, with all



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such of her colonies as were not too far remote for frequent intercourse and common sentiments, would appear like a family of cities, more or less dependent, and more or less connected. We know how imperfect this system was, as a system of general politics, and what scope it gave to those mutual dissensions and conflicts which proved so fatal to Greece.

But it is more pertinent to our present purpose to observe, that nothing existed in the character of Grecian emigrations, or in the spirit and intelligence of the emigrants, likely to give a new and important direction to human affairs, or a new impulse to the human mind. Their motives were not high enough, their views were not sufficiently large and prospective. They went not forth, like our ancestors, to erect systems of more perfect civil liberty, or to enjoy a higher degree of religious freedom. Above all, there was nothing in the religion and learning of the age, that could either inspire high purposes, or give the ability to execute them. Whatever restraints on civil liberty, or whatever abuses in religious worship, existed at the time of our fathers' emigration, yet even then all was light in the moral and mental world, in comparison with its condition in most periods of the ancient states. The settlement of a new continent, in an age of progressive knowledge and improvement, could not but do more than merely enlarge the natural boundaries of the habitable world. It could not but do much more even than extend commerce and increase wealth among the human race. We see how this event has acted, how it must have acted, and wonder only why it did not act sooner, in the production of moral effects, on the state of human knowledge, the general tone of human sentiments, and the prospects of human happiness. It gave to civilized man not only a new continent to be inhabited and cultivated, and new seas to be explored; but it gave him also a new range for his thoughts, new objects for curiosity, and new excitements to knowledge and improvement.

Roman colonization resembled, far less than that of the Greeks, the original settlements of this country. Power and dominion were the objects of Rome, even in her colonial establishments. Her whole exterior aspect was for centuries hostile and terrific. She grasped at dominion, from India to Britain, and her measures of colonization partook of the character of her general system. Her policy was military, because her objects were power, ascendancy, and subjugation. Detachments of emigrants from Rome incorporated themselves with, and governed, the original inhabitants of conquered countries. She sent citizens where she had first sent soldiers; her law followed her sword. Her colonies were a sort of military establishment; so many advanced posts in the career of her dominion. A governor from Rome ruled the new colony with absolute sway, and often with unbounded rapacity. In Sicily, in Gaul, in Spain, and in Asia, the power of Rome prevailed, not nominally only, but really and effectually. Those who immediately exercised it were Roman; the tone and tendency of its administration, Roman. Rome herself continued to be the heart and centre of the great system which she had established. Extortion and rapacity, finding a wide and often rich field of action in the provinces, looked nevertheless to the banks of the Tiber, as the scene in which



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their ill-gotten treasures should be displayed; or, if a spirit of more honest acquisition prevailed, the object, nevertheless, was ultimate enjoyment in Rome itself. If our own history and our own times did not sufficiently expose the inherent and incurable evils of provincial government, we might see them portrayed, to our amazement, in the desolated and ruined provinces of the Roman empire. We might hear them, in a voice that terrifies us, in those strains of complaint and accusation, which the advocates of the provinces poured forth in the Roman Forum:— "Quas res luxuries in flagitiis, crudelitas in suppliciis, avaritia in rapinis, superbia in contumeliis, efficere potuisset, eas omnes sese pertulisse."

As was to be expected, the Roman Provinces partook of the fortunes, as well as of the sentiments and general character, of the seat of empire. They lived together with her, they flourished with her, and fell with her. The branches were lopped away even before the vast and venerable trunk itself fell prostrate to the earth. Nothing had proceeded from her which could support itself, and bear up the name of its origin, when her own sustaining arm should be enfeebled or withdrawn. It was not given to Rome to see, either at her zenith or in her decline, a child of her own, distant, indeed, and independent of her control, yet speaking her language and inheriting her blood, springing forward to a competition with her own power, and a comparison with her own great renown. She saw not a vast region of the earth peopled from her stock, full of states and political communities, improving upon the models of her institutions, and breathing in fuller measure the spirit which she had breathed in the best periods of her existence; enjoying and extending her arts and her literature; rising rapidly from political childhood to manly strength and independence; her offspring, yet now her equal; unconnected with the causes which might affect the duration of her own power and greatness; of common origin, but not linked to a common fate; giving ample pledge, that her name should not be forgotten, that her language should not cease to be used among men; that whatsoever she had done for human knowledge and human happiness should be treasured up and preserved; that the record of her existence and her achievements should not be obscured, although, in the inscrutable purposes of Providence, it might be her destiny to fall from opulence and splendor; although the time might come, when darkness should settle on all her hills; when foreign or domestic violence should overturn her altars and her temples; when ignorance and despotism should fill the places where Laws, and Arts, and Liberty had flourished; when the feet of barbarism should trample on the tombs of her consuls, and the walls of her senate-house and forum echo only to the voice of savage triumph. She saw not this glorious vision, to inspire and fortify her against the possible decay or downfall of her power. Happy are they who in our day may behold it, if they shall contemplate it with the sentiments which it ought to inspire!

The New England Colonies differ quite as widely from the Asiatic establishments of the modern European nations, as from the models of the ancient states. The sole object of those establishments was originally trade; although we have seen, in



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one of them, the anomaly of a mere trading company attaining a political character, disbursing revenues, and maintaining armies and fortresses, until it has extended its control over seventy millions of people. Differing from these, and still more from the New England and North American Colonies, are the European settlements in the West India Islands. It is not strange, that, when men's minds were turned to the settlement of America, different objects should be proposed by those who emigrated to the different regions of so vast a country. Climate, soil, and condition were not all equally favorable to all pursuits. In the West Indies, the purpose of those who went thither was to engage in that species of agriculture, suited to the soil and climate, which seems to bear more resemblance to commerce than to the hard and plain tillage of New England. The great staples of these countries, being partly an agricultural and partly a manufactured product, and not being of the necessities of life, become the object of calculation, with respect to a profitable investment of capital, like any other enterprise of trade or manufacture. The more especially, as, requiring, by necessity or habit, slave labor for their production, the capital necessary to carry on the work of this production is very considerable. The West Indies are resorted to, therefore, rather for the investment of capital than for the purpose of sustaining life by personal labor. Such as possess a considerable amount of capital, or such as choose to adventure in commercial speculations without capital, can alone be fitted to be emigrants to the islands. The agriculture of these regions, as before observed, is a sort of commerce; and it is a species of employment in which labor seems to form an inconsiderable ingredient in the productive causes, since the portion of white labor is exceedingly small, and slave labor is rather more like profit on stock or capital than **labor** properly so called. The individual who undertakes an establishment of this kind takes into the account the cost of the necessary number of slaves, in the same manner as he calculates the cost of the land. The uncertainty, too, of this species of employment, affords another ground of resemblance to commerce. Although gainful on the whole, and in a series of years, it is often very disastrous for a single year, and, as the capital is not readily invested in other pursuits, bad crops or bad markets not only affect the profits, but the capital itself. Hence the sudden depressions which take place in the value of such estates.

But the great and leading observation, relative to these establishments, remains to be made. It is, that the owners of the soil and of the capital seldom consider themselves **at home** in the colony. A very great portion of the soil itself is usually owned in the mother country; a still greater is mortgaged for capital obtained there; and, in general, those who are to derive an interest from the products look to the parent country as the place for enjoyment of their wealth. The population is therefore constantly fluctuating. Nobody comes but to return. A constant succession of owners, agents, and factors takes place. Whatsoever the soil, forced by the unmitigated toil of slavery, can yield, is sent home to defray rents, and interest, and agencies, or to give the means of living in a better society.



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In such a state, it is evident that no spirit of permanent improvement is likely to spring up. Profits will not be invested with a distant view of benefiting posterity. Roads and canals will hardly be built; schools will not be founded; colleges will not be endowed. There will be few fixtures in society; no principles of utility or of elegance, planted now, with the hope of being developed and expanded hereafter. Profit, immediate profit, must be the principal active spring in the social system. There may be many particular exceptions to these general remarks, but the outline of the whole is such as is here drawn. Another most important consequence of such a state of things is, that no idea of independence of the parent country is likely to arise; unless, indeed, it should spring up in a form that would threaten universal desolation. The inhabitants have no strong attachment to the place which they inhabit. The hope of a great portion of them is to leave it; and their great desire, to leave it soon. However useful they may be to the parent state, how much soever they may add to the conveniences and luxuries of life, these colonies are not favored spots for the expansion of the human mind, for the progress of permanent improvement, or for sowing the seeds of future independent empire.

Different, indeed, most widely different, from all these instances of emigration and plantation, were the condition, the purposes, and the prospects of our fathers, when they established their infant colony upon this spot. They came hither to a land from which they were never to return. Hither they had brought, and here they were to fix, their hopes, their attachments, and their objects in life. Some natural tears they shed, as they left the pleasant abodes of their fathers, and some emotions they suppressed, when the white cliffs of their native country, now seen for the last time, grew dim to their sight. They were acting, however, upon a resolution not to be daunted. With whatever stifled regrets, with whatever occasional hesitation, with whatever appalling apprehensions, which might sometimes arise with force to shake the firmest purpose, they had yet committed themselves to Heaven and the elements; and a thousand leagues of water soon interposed to separate them for ever from the region which gave them birth. A new existence awaited them here; and when they saw these shores, rough, cold, barbarous, and barren, as then they were, they beheld their country. That mixed and strong feeling, which we call love of country, and which is, in general, never extinguished in the heart of man, grasped and embraced its proper object here. Whatever constitutes *country*, except the earth and the sun, all the moral causes of affection and attachment which operate upon the heart, they had brought with them to their new abode. Here were now their families and friends, their homes, and their property. Before they reached the shore, they had established the elements of a social system,³¹ and at a much earlier period had settled their forms of religious worship. At the moment of their landing, therefore, they possessed institutions of government, and institutions of religion: and friends and families, and social and religious institutions, framed by

31. For the compact to which reference is made in the text, signed on board the *Mayflower*, see Hutchinson's HISTORY, Vol. II., Appendix, No. I. For an eloquent description of the manner in which the first Christian Sabbath was passed on board the *Mayflower*, at Plymouth, see Barne's DISCOURSE AT WORCESTER.



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consent, founded on choice and preference, how nearly do these fill up our whole idea of country! The morning that beamed on the first night of their repose saw the Pilgrims already **at home** in their country. There were political institutions, and civil liberty, and religious worship. Poetry has fancied nothing, in the wanderings of heroes, so distinct and characteristic. Here was man, indeed, unprotected, and unprovided for, on the shore of a rude and fearful wilderness; but it was politic, intelligent, and educated man. Every thing was civilized but the physical world. Institutions, containing in substance all that ages had done for human government, were organized in a forest. Cultivated mind was to act on uncultivated nature; and, more than all, a government and a country were to commence, with the very first foundations laid under the divine light of the Christian religion. Happy auspices of a happy futurity! Who would wish that his country's existence had otherwise begun? Who would desire the power of going back to the ages of fable? Who would wish for an origin obscured in the darkness of antiquity? Who would wish for other emblazoning of his country's heraldry, or other ornaments of her genealogy, than to be able to say, that her first existence was with intelligence, her first breath the inspiration of liberty, her first principle the truth of divine religion?

Local attachments and sympathies would ere long spring up in the breasts of our ancestors, endearing to them the place of their refuge. Whatever natural objects are associated with interesting scenes and high efforts obtain a hold on human feeling, and demand from the heart a sort of recognition and regard. This Rock soon became hallowed in the esteem of the Pilgrims,³² and these hills grateful to their sight. Neither they nor their children were again to till the soil of England, nor again to traverse the seas which surround her.³³ But here was a new sea, now open to their enterprise, and a new soil, which had not failed to respond gratefully to their laborious industry, and which was already assuming a robe of verdure. Hardly had they provided shelter for the living, ere they were summoned to erect sepulchres for the dead. The ground had become sacred, by enclosing the remains of some of their companions and connections. A parent, a child, a husband, or a wife, had gone the way of all flesh, and mingled with the dust of New England. We naturally look with strong emotions to the spot, though it be a wilderness, where the ashes of those we have loved repose. Where the heart has laid down what it loved most, there it is desirous of laying itself down. No sculptured marble, no enduring monument, no honorable inscription, no ever-burning taper that would drive away the darkness of the tomb, can soften our sense of the reality of death, and hallow to our feelings the ground which is to cover us, like the consciousness that we shall sleep, dust to dust, with the objects of our affections. In a short time other causes sprung up to bind the Pilgrims with

32. The names of the passengers in the *Mayflower*, with some account of them, may be found in the NEW ENGLAND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, Vol. I. p. 47, and a narration of some of the incidents of the voyage, Vol. II. p. 186. For an account of Mrs. White, the mother of the first child born in New England, see Baylies's HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH, Vol. II. p. 18, and for a notice of her son Peregrine, see Moore's LIVES OF AMERICAN GOVERNORS, Vol. I. p. 31, note.

33. See the admirable letter written on board the *Arbella*, in Hutchinson's HISTORY, Vol. I. Appendix, No. I.



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new cords to their chosen land. Children were born, and the hopes of future generations arose, in the spot of their new habitation. The second generation found this the land of their nativity, and saw that they were bound to its fortunes. They beheld their fathers' graves around them, and while they read the memorials of their toils and labors, they rejoiced in the inheritance which they found bequeathed to them.

Under the influence of these causes, it was to be expected that an interest and a feeling should arise here, entirely different from the interest and feeling of mere Englishmen; and all the subsequent history of the Colonies proves this to have actually and gradually taken place. With a general acknowledgment of the supremacy of the British crown, there was, from the first, a repugnance to an entire submission to the control of British legislation. The Colonies stood upon their charters, which, as they contended, exempted them from the ordinary power of the British Parliament, and authorized them to conduct their own concerns by their own counsels. They utterly resisted the notion that they were to be ruled by the mere authority of the government at home, and would not endure even that their own charter governments should be established on the other side of the Atlantic. It was not a controlling or protecting board in England, but a government of their own, and existing immediately within their limits, which could satisfy their wishes. It was easy to foresee, what we know also to have happened, that the first great cause of collision and jealousy would be, under the notion of political economy then and still prevalent in Europe, an attempt on the part of the mother country to monopolize the trade of the Colonies. Whoever has looked deeply into the causes which produced our Revolution has found, if I mistake not, the original principle far back in this claim, on the part of England, to monopolize our trade, and a continued effort on the part of the Colonies to resist or evade that monopoly; if, indeed, it be not still more just and philosophical to go farther back, and to consider it decided, that an independent government must arise here, the moment it was ascertained that an English colony, such as landed in this place, could sustain itself against the dangers which surrounded it, and, with other similar establishments, overspread the land with an English population. Accidental causes retarded at times, and at times accelerated, the progress of the controversy. The Colonies wanted strength, and time gave it to them. They required measures of strong and palpable injustice, on the part of the mother country, to justify resistance; the early part of the late king's reign furnished them. They needed spirits of high order, of great daring, of long foresight, and of commanding power, to seize the favoring occasion to strike a blow, which should sever, for all time, the tie of colonial dependence; and these spirits were found, in all the extent which that or any crisis could demand, in Otis, Adams, Hancock, and the other immediate authors of our independence.

Still, it is true that, for a century, causes had been in operation tending to prepare things for this great result. In the year 1660 the English Act of Navigation was passed; the first and grand object of which seems to have been, to secure to



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England the whole trade with her plantations.³⁴ It was provided by that act, that none but English ships should transport American produce over the ocean, and that the principal articles of that produce should be allowed to be sold only in the markets of the mother country. Three years afterwards another law was passed, which enacted, that such commodities as the Colonies might wish to purchase should be bought only in the markets of the mother country. Severe rules were prescribed to enforce the provisions of these laws, and heavy penalties imposed on all who should violate them. In the subsequent years of the same reign, other statutes were enacted to re-enforce these statutes, and other rules prescribed to secure a compliance with these rules. In this manner was the trade to and from the Colonies restricted, almost to the exclusive advantage of the parent country. But laws, which rendered the interest of a whole people subordinate to that of another people, were not likely to execute themselves, nor was it easy to find many on the spot, who could be depended upon for carrying them into execution. In fact, these laws were more or less evaded or resisted, in all the Colonies. To enforce them was the constant endeavor of the government at home; to prevent or elude their operation, the perpetual object here. "The laws of navigation," says a living British writer, "were nowhere so openly disobeyed and contemned as in New England." "The people of Massachusetts Bay," he adds, "were from the first disposed to act as if independent of the mother country, and having a governor and magistrates of their own choice, it was difficult to enforce any regulation which came from the English Parliament, adverse to their interests." To provide more effectually for the execution of these laws, we know that courts of admiralty were afterwards established by the crown, with power to try revenue causes, as questions of admiralty, upon the construction given by the crown lawyers to an act of Parliament; a great departure from the ordinary principles of English jurisprudence, but which has been maintained, nevertheless, by the force of habit and precedent, and is adopted in our own existing systems of government.

"There lie," says another English writer, whose connection with the Board of Trade has enabled him to ascertain many facts connected with Colonial history, "There lie among the documents in the board of trade and state-paper office, the most satisfactory proofs, from the epoch of the English Revolution in 1688, throughout every reign, and during every administration, of the settled purpose of the Colonies to acquire direct independence and positive sovereignty." Perhaps this may be stated somewhat too strongly; but it cannot be denied, that, from the very nature of the establishments here, and from the general character of the measures respecting their concerns early adopted and steadily pursued by the English government, a division of the empire was the natural and necessary result to which every thing tended.³⁵

I have dwelt on this topic, because it seems to me, that the

34. In reference to the British policy respecting Colonial manufactures, see Representations of the Board of Trade to the House of Lords, 23d Jan., 1734; also, 8th June, 1749. For an able vindication of the British Colonial policy, see "Political Essays concerning the Present State of the British Empire." London, 1772.

35. Many interesting papers, illustrating the early history of the Colony, may be found in Hutchinson's "Collection of Original Papers relating to the History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay."



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peculiar original character of the New England Colonies, and certain causes coeval with their existence, have had a strong and decided influence on all their subsequent history, and especially on the great event of the Revolution. Whoever would write our history, and would understand and explain early transactions, should comprehend the nature and force of the feeling which I have endeavored to describe. As a son, leaving the house of his father for his own, finds, by the order of nature, and the very law of his being, nearer and dearer objects around which his affections circle, while his attachment to the parental roof becomes moderated, by degrees, to a composed regard and an affectionate remembrance; so our ancestors, leaving their native land, not without some violence to the feelings of nature and affection, yet, in time, found here a new circle of engagements, interests, and affections; a feeling, which more and more encroached upon the old, till an undivided sentiment, **that this was their country**, occupied the heart; and patriotism, shutting out from its embraces the parent realm, became **local** to America.

Some retrospect of the century which has now elapsed is among the duties of the occasion. It must, however, necessarily be imperfect, to be compressed within the limits of a single discourse. I shall content myself, therefore, with taking notice of a few of the leading and most important occurrences which have distinguished the period.

When the first century closed, the progress of the country appeared to have been considerable; notwithstanding that, in comparison with its subsequent advancement, it now seems otherwise. A broad and lasting foundation had been laid; excellent institutions had been established; many of the prejudices of former times had been removed; a more liberal and catholic spirit on subjects of religious concern had begun to extend itself, and many things conspired to give promise of increasing future prosperity. Great men had arisen in public life, and the liberal professions. The Mathers, father and son, were then sinking low in the western horizon; Leverett, the learned, the accomplished, the excellent Leverett, was about to withdraw his brilliant and useful light. In Pemberton great hopes had been suddenly extinguished, but Prince and Colman were in our sky; and along the east had begun to flash the crepuscular light of a great luminary which was about to appear, and which was to stamp the age with his own name, as the age of Franklin. The bloody Indian wars, which harassed the people for a part of the first century; the restrictions on the trade of the Colonies, added to the discouragements inherently belonging to all forms of colonial government; the distance from Europe, and the small hope of immediate profit to adventurers, are among the causes which had contributed to retard the progress of population. Perhaps it may be added, also, that during the period of the civil wars in England, and the reign of Cromwell, many persons, whose religious opinions and religious temper might, under other circumstances, have induced them to join the New England colonists, found reasons to remain in England; either on account of active occupation in the scenes which were passing, or of an anticipation of the enjoyment, in their own



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country, of a form of government, civil and religious, accommodated to their views and principles. The violent measures, too, pursued against the Colonies in the reign of Charles the Second, the mockery of a trial, and the forfeiture of the charters, were serious evils. And during the open violences of the short reign of James the Second, and the tyranny of Andros, as the venerable historian of Connecticut observes, "All the motives to great actions, to industry, economy, enterprise, wealth, and population, were in a manner annihilated. A general inactivity and languishment pervaded the public body. Liberty, property, and every thing which ought to be dear to men, every day grew more and more insecure."

With the Revolution in England, a better prospect had opened on this country, as well as on that. The joy had been as great at that event, and far more universal, in New than in Old England. A new charter had been granted to Massachusetts, which, although it did not confirm to her inhabitants all their former privileges, yet relieved them from great evils and embarrassments, and promised future security. More than all, perhaps, the Revolution in England had done good to the general cause of liberty and justice. A blow had been struck in favor of the rights and liberties, not of England alone, but of descendants and kinsmen of England all over the world. Great political truths had been established. The champions of liberty had been successful in a fearful and perilous conflict. Somers, and Cavendish, and Jekyl, and Howard, had triumphed in one of the most noble causes ever undertaken by men. A revolution had been made upon principle. A monarch had been dethroned for violating the original compact between king and people. The rights of the people to partake in the government, and to limit the monarch by fundamental rules of government, had been maintained; and however unjust the government of England might afterwards be towards other governments or towards her colonies, she had ceased to be governed herself by the arbitrary maxims of the Stuarts.

New England had submitted to the violence of James the Second not longer than Old England. Not only was it reserved to Massachusetts, that on her soil should be acted the first scene of that great revolutionary drama, which was to take place near a century afterwards, but the English Revolution itself, as far as the Colonies were concerned, commenced in Boston. The seizure and imprisonment of Andros, in April, 1689, were acts of direct and forcible resistance to the authority of James the Second. The pulse of liberty beat as high in the extremities as at the heart. The vigorous feeling of the Colony burst out before it was known how the parent country would finally conduct herself. The king's representative, Sir Edmund Andros, was a prisoner in the castle at Boston, before it was or could be known that the king himself had ceased to exercise his full dominion on the English throne.

Before it was known here whether the invasion of the Prince of Orange would or could prove successful, as soon as it was known that it had been undertaken, the people of Massachusetts, at the imminent hazard of their lives and fortunes, had accomplished the Revolution as far as respected themselves. It is probable



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that, reasoning on general principles and the known attachment of the English people to their constitution and liberties, and their deep and fixed dislike of the king's religion and politics, the people of New England expected a catastrophe fatal to the power of the reigning prince. Yet it was neither certain enough, nor near enough, to come to their aid against the authority of the crown, in that crisis which had arrived, and in which they trusted to put themselves, relying on God and their own courage. There were spirits in Massachusetts congenial with the spirits of the distinguished friends of the Revolution in England. There were those who were fit to associate with the boldest asserters of civil liberty; and Mather himself, then in England, was not unworthy to be ranked with those sons of the Church, whose firmness and spirit in resisting kingly encroachments in matters of religion, entitled them to the gratitude of their own and succeeding ages.

The second century opened upon New England under circumstances which evinced that much had already been accomplished, and that still better prospects and brighter hopes were before her. She had laid, deep and strong, the foundations of her society. Her religious principles were firm, and her moral habits exemplary. Her public schools had begun to diffuse widely the elements of knowledge; and the College, under the excellent and acceptable administration of Leverett, had been raised to a high degree of credit and usefulness.

The commercial character of the country, notwithstanding all discouragements, had begun to display itself, and **five hundred vessels**, then belonging to Massachusetts, placed her, in relation to commerce, thus early at the head of the Colonies. An author who wrote very near the close of the first century says:— "New England is almost deserving that **noble name**, so mightily hath it increased; and from a small settlement at first, is now become a **very populous** and **flourishing** government. The **capital city**, Boston, is a place of **great wealth and trade**; and by much the largest of any in the English empire of America; and not exceeded but by few cities, perhaps two or three, in all the American world."

But if our ancestors at the close of the first century could look back with joy and even admiration, at the progress of the country, what emotions must we not feel, when, from the point on which we stand, we also look back and run along the events of the century which has now closed! The country which then, as we have seen, was thought deserving of a "noble name,"—which then had "mightily increased," and become "very populous,"—what was it, in comparison with what our eyes behold it? At that period, a very great proportion of its inhabitants lived in the eastern section of Massachusetts proper, and in Plymouth Colony. In Connecticut, there were towns along the coast, some of them respectable, but in the interior all was a wilderness beyond Hartford. On Connecticut River, settlements had proceeded as far up as Deerfield, and Fort Dummer had been built near where is now the south line of New Hampshire. In New Hampshire no settlement was then begun thirty miles from the mouth of Piscataqua River, and in what is now Maine the inhabitants were confined to the coast. The aggregate of the whole population of



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New England did not exceed one hundred and sixty thousand. Its present amount (1820) is probably one million seven hundred thousand. Instead of being confined to its former limits, her population has rolled backward, and filled up the spaces included within her actual local boundaries. Not this only, but it has overflowed those boundaries, and the waves of emigration have pressed farther and farther toward the West. The Alleghany has not checked it; the banks of the Ohio have been covered with it. New England farms, houses, villages, and churches spread over and adorn the immense extent from the Ohio to Lake Erie, and stretch along from the Alleghany onwards, beyond the Miamis, and toward the Falls of St. Anthony. Two thousand miles westward from the rock where their fathers landed, may now be found the sons of the Pilgrims, cultivating smiling fields, rearing towns and villages, and cherishing, we trust, the patrimonial blessings of wise institutions, of liberty, and religion. The world has seen nothing like this. Regions large enough to be empires, and which, half a century ago, were known only as remote and unexplored wildernesses, are now teeming with population, and prosperous in all the great concerns of life; in good governments, the means of subsistence, and social happiness. It may be safely asserted, that there are now more than a million of people, descendants of New England ancestry, living, free and happy, in regions which scarce sixty years ago were tracts of unpenetrated forest. Nor do rivers, or mountains, or seas resist the progress of industry and enterprise. Ere long, the sons of the Pilgrims will be on the shores of the Pacific.³⁶ The imagination hardly keeps pace with the progress of population, improvement, and civilization.

It is now five-and-forty years since the growth and rising glory of America were portrayed in the English Parliament, with inimitable beauty, by the most consummate orator of modern times. Going back somewhat more than half a century, and describing our progress as foreseen from that point by his amiable friend Lord Bathurst, then living, he spoke of the wonderful progress which America had made during the period of a single human life. There is no American heart, I imagine, that does not glow, both with conscious, patriotic pride, and admiration for one of the happiest efforts of eloquence, so often as the vision of "that little speck, scarce visible in the mass of national interest, a small seminal principle, rather than a formed body," and the progress of its astonishing development and growth, are recalled to the recollection. But a stronger feeling might be produced, if we were able to take up this prophetic description where he left it, and, placing ourselves at the point of time in which he was speaking, to set forth with equal felicity the subsequent progress of the country. There is yet among the living a most distinguished and venerable name, a descendant of the Pilgrims; one who has been attended through life by a great and fortunate genius; a man illustrious by his own great merits, and favored of Heaven in the long continuation of his years.³⁷ The time when the English orator was thus speaking of America preceded but by a few days

36. In reference to the fulfilment of this prediction, see Mr. Webster's ADDRESS AT THE CELEBRATION OF THE NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY OF NEW YORK, ON THE 23D OF DECEMBER, 1850.

37. John Adams, second President of the United States.



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the actual opening of the revolutionary drama at Lexington. He to whom I have alluded, then at the age of forty, was among the most zealous and able defenders of the violated rights of his country. He seemed already to have filled a full measure of public service, and attained an honorable fame. The moment was full of difficulty and danger, and big with events of immeasurable importance. The country was on the very brink of a civil war, of which no man could foretell the duration or the result. Something more than a courageous hope, or characteristic ardor, would have been necessary to impress the glorious prospect on his belief, if, at that moment, before the sound of the first shock of actual war had reached his ears, some attendant spirit had opened to him the vision of the future;—if it had said to him, "The blow is struck, and America is severed from England for ever!"—if it had informed him, that he himself, during the next annual revolution of the sun, should put his own hand to the great instrument of independence, and write his name where all nations should behold it and all time should not efface it; that ere long he himself should maintain the interests and represent the sovereignty of his newborn country in the proudest courts of Europe; that he should one day exercise her supreme magistracy; that he should yet live to behold ten millions of fellow-citizens paying him the homage of their deepest gratitude and kindest affections; that he should see distinguished talent and high public trust resting where his name rested; that he should even see with his own unclouded eyes the close of the second century of New England, who had begun life almost with its commencement, and lived through nearly half the whole history of his country; and that on the morning of this auspicious day he should be found in the political councils of his native State, revising, by the light of experience, that system of government which forty years before he had assisted to frame and establish; and, great and happy as he should then behold his country, there should be nothing in prospect to cloud the scene, nothing to check the ardor of that confident and patriotic hope which should glow in his bosom to the end of his long protracted and happy life.

It would far exceed the limits of this discourse even to mention the principal events in the civil and political history of New England during the century; the more so, as for the last half of the period that history has, most happily, been closely interwoven with the general history of the United States. New England bore an honorable part in the wars which took place between England and France. The capture of Louisburg gave her a character for military achievement; and in the war which terminated with the peace of 1763, her exertions on the frontiers wore of most essential service, as well to the mother country as to all the Colonies.

In New England the war of the Revolution commenced. I address those who remember the memorable 19th of April, 1775; who shortly after saw the burning spires of [Charlestown](#); who beheld the deeds of Prescott, and heard the voice of Putnam amidst the storm of war, and saw the generous Warren fall, the first distinguished victim in the cause of liberty. It would be superfluous to say, that no portion of the country did more than



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the States of New England to bring the Revolutionary struggle to a successful issue. It is scarcely less to her credit, that she saw early the necessity of a closer union of the States, and gave an efficient and indispensable aid to the establishment and organization of the Federal government.

Perhaps we might safely say, that a new spirit and a new excitement began to exist here about the middle of the last century. To whatever causes it may be imputed, there seems then to have commenced a more rapid improvement. The Colonies had attracted more of the attention of the mother country, and some renown in arms had been acquired. Lord Chatham was the first English minister who attached high importance to these possessions of the crown, and who foresaw any thing of their future growth and extension. His opinion was, that the great rival of England was chiefly to be feared as a maritime and commercial power, and to drive her out of North America and deprive her of her West Indian possessions was a leading object in his policy. He dwelt often on the fisheries, as nurseries for British seamen, and the colonial trade, as furnishing them employment. The war, conducted by him with so much vigor, terminated in a peace, by which Canada was ceded to England. The effect of this was immediately visible in the New England Colonies; for, the fear of Indian hostilities on the frontiers being now happily removed, settlements went on with an activity before that time altogether unprecedented, and public affairs wore a new and encouraging aspect. Shortly after this fortunate termination of the French war, the interesting topics connected with the taxation of America by the British Parliament began to be discussed, and the attention and all the faculties of the people drawn towards them. There is perhaps no portion of our history more full of interest than the period from 1760 to the actual commencement of the war. The progress of opinion in this period, though less known, is not less important than the progress of arms afterwards. Nothing deserves more consideration than those events and discussions which affected the public sentiment and settled the Revolution in men's minds, before hostilities openly broke out.

Internal improvement followed the establishment and prosperous commencement of the present government. More has been done for roads, canals, and other public works, within the last thirty years, than in all our former history. In the first of these particulars, few countries excel the New England States. The astonishing increase of their navigation and trade is known to every one, and now belongs to the history of our national wealth. We may flatter ourselves, too, that literature and taste have not been stationary, and that some advancement has been made in the elegant, as well as in the useful arts.

The nature and constitution of society and government in this country are interesting topics, to which I would devote what remains of the time allowed to this occasion. Of our system of government the first thing to be said is, that it is really and practically a free system. It originates entirely with the people, and rests on no other foundation than their assent. To judge of its actual operation, it is not enough to look merely at the form of its construction. The practical character of



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government depends often on a variety of considerations, besides the abstract frame of its constitutional organization. Among these are the condition and tenure of property; the laws regulating its alienation and descent; the presence or absence of a military power; an armed or unarmed yeomanry; the spirit of the age, and the degree of general intelligence. In these respects it cannot be denied that the circumstances of this country are most favorable to the hope of maintaining the government of a great nation on principles entirely popular. In the absence of military power, the nature of government must essentially depend on the manner in which property is holden and distributed. There is a natural influence belonging to property, whether it exists in many hands or few; and it is on the rights of property that both despotism and unrestrained popular violence ordinarily commence their attacks. Our ancestors began their system of government here under a condition of comparative equality in regard to wealth, and their early laws were of a nature to favor and continue this equality.

A republican form of government rests not more on political constitutions, than on those laws which regulate the descent and transmission of property. Governments like ours could not have been maintained, where property was holden according to the principles of the feudal system; nor, on the other hand, could the feudal constitution possibly exist with us. Our New England ancestors brought hither no great capitals from Europe; and if they had, there was nothing productive in which they could have been invested. They left behind them the whole feudal policy of the other continent. They broke away at once from the system of military service established in the Dark Ages, and which continues, down even to the present time, more or less to affect the condition of property all over Europe. They came to a new country. There were, as yet, no lands yielding rent, and no tenants rendering service. The whole soil was unreclaimed from barbarism. They were themselves, either from their original condition, or from the necessity of their common interest, nearly on a general level in respect to property. Their situation demanded a parcelling out and division of the lands, and it may be fairly said, that this necessary act **fixed the future frame and form of their government**. The character of their political institutions was determined by the fundamental laws respecting property. The laws rendered estates divisible among sons and daughters. The right of primogeniture, at first limited and curtailed, was afterwards abolished. The property was all freehold. The entailment of estates, long trusts, and the other processes for fettering and tying up inheritances, were not applicable to the condition of society, and seldom made use of. On the contrary, alienation of the land was every way facilitated, even to the subjecting of it to every species of debt. The establishment of public registries, and the simplicity of our forms of conveyance, have greatly facilitated the change of real estate from one proprietor to another. The consequence of all these causes has been a great subdivision of the soil, and a great equality of condition; the true basis, most certainly, of a popular government. "If the people," says Harrington, "hold three parts in four of the territory, it is



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plain there can neither be any single person nor nobility able to dispute the government with them; in this case, therefore, ***except force be interposed***, they govern themselves."

The history of other nations may teach us how favorable to public liberty are the division of the soil into small freeholds, and a system of laws, of which the tendency is, without violence or injustice, to produce and to preserve a degree of equality of property. It has been estimated, if I mistake not, that about the time of Henry the Seventh four fifths of the land in England was holden by the great barons and ecclesiastics. The effects of a growing commerce soon afterwards began to break in on this state of things, and before the Revolution, in 1688, a vast change had been wrought. It may be thought probable, that, for the last half-century, the process of subdivision in England has been retarded, if not reversed; that the great weight of taxation has compelled many of the lesser freeholders to dispose of their estates, and to seek employment in the army and navy, in the professions of civil life, in commerce, or in the colonies. The effect of this on the British constitution cannot but be most unfavorable. A few large estates grow larger; but the number of those who have no estates also increases; and there may be danger, lest the inequality of property become so great, that those who possess it may be dispossessed by force; in other words, that the government may be overturned.

A most interesting experiment of the effect of a subdivision of property on government is now making in France. It is understood, that the law regulating the transmission of property in that country, now divides it, real and personal, among all the children equally, both sons and daughters; and that there is, also, a very great restraint on the power of making dispositions of property by will. It has been supposed, that the effects of this might probably be, in time, to break up the soil into such small subdivisions, that the proprietors would be too poor to resist the encroachments of executive power. I think far otherwise. What is lost in individual wealth will be more than gained in numbers, in intelligence, and in a sympathy of sentiment. If, indeed, only one or a few landholders were to resist the crown, like the barons of England, they must, of course, be great and powerful landholders, with multitudes of retainers, to promise success. But if the proprietors of a given extent of territory are summoned to resistance, there is no reason to believe that such resistance would be less forcible, or less successful, because the number of such proprietors happened to be great. Each would perceive his own importance, and his own interest, and would feel that natural elevation of character which the consciousness of property inspires. A common sentiment would unite all, and numbers would not only add strength, but excite enthusiasm. It is true, that France possesses a vast military force, under the direction of an hereditary executive government; and military power, it is possible, may overthrow any government. It is in vain, however, in this period of the world, to look for security against military power to the arm of the great landholders. That notion is derived from a state of things long since past; a state in which a feudal baron, with his retainers, might stand against



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the sovereign and his retainers, himself but the greatest baron. But at present, what could the richest landholder do, against one regiment of disciplined troops? Other securities, therefore, against the prevalence of military power must be provided. Happily for us, we are not so situated as that any purpose of national defence requires, ordinarily and constantly, such a military force as might seriously endanger our liberties.

In respect, however, to the recent law of succession in France, to which I have alluded, I would, presumptuously perhaps, hazard a conjecture, that, if the government do not change the law, the law in half a century will change the government; and that this change will be, not in favor of the power of the crown, as some European writers have supposed, but against it. Those writers only reason upon what they think correct general principles, in relation to this subject. They acknowledge a want of experience. Here we have had that experience; and we know that a multitude of small proprietors, acting with intelligence, and that enthusiasm which a common cause inspires, constitute not only a formidable, but an invincible power.³⁸

The true principle of a free and popular government would seem to be, so to construct it as to give to all, or at least to a very great majority, an interest in its preservation; to found it, as other things are founded, on men's interest. The stability of government demands that those who desire its continuance should be more powerful than those who desire its dissolution. This power, of course, is not always to be measured by mere numbers. Education, wealth, talents, are all parts and elements of the general aggregate of power; but numbers, nevertheless, constitute ordinarily the most important consideration, unless, indeed, there be **a military force** in the hands of the few, by which they can control the many. In this country we have actually existing systems of government, in the maintenance of which, it should seem, a great majority, both in numbers and in other means of power and influence, must see their interest. But this state of things is not brought about solely by written political constitutions, or the mere manner of organizing the government; but also by the laws which regulate the descent and transmission of property. The freest government, if it could exist, would not be long acceptable, if the tendency of the laws were to create a rapid accumulation of property in few hands, and to render the great mass of the population dependent and penniless. In such a case, the popular power would be likely to break in upon the rights of property, or else the influence of property to limit and control the exercise of popular power. Universal suffrage, for example, could not long exist in a community where there was great inequality of property. The holders of estates would be obliged, in such case, in some way to restrain the right of suffrage, or else such right of suffrage would, before long, divide the property. In the

38. As the opinion of contemporaneous thinkers on this important subject cannot fail to interest the general reader, it is deemed proper to insert here the following extract from a letter, written in 1849, to show how powerfully the truths uttered in 1820, in the spirit of prophecy, as it were, impressed themselves upon certain minds, and how closely the verification of the prediction has been watched.

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nature of things, those who have not property, and see their neighbors possess much more than they think them to need, cannot be favorable to laws made for the protection of property. When this class becomes numerous, it grows clamorous. It looks on property as its prey and plunder, and is naturally ready, at all times, for violence and revolution.

It would seem, then, to be the part of political wisdom to found government on property; and to establish such distribution of property, by the laws which regulate its transmission and alienation, as to interest the great majority of society in the support of the government. This is, I imagine, the true theory and the actual practice of our republican institutions. With property divided as we have it, no other government than that of a republic could be maintained, even were we foolish enough to desire it. There is reason, therefore, to expect a long continuance of our system. Party and passion, doubtless, may prevail at times, and much temporary mischief be done. Even modes and forms may be changed, and perhaps for the worse. But a great revolution in regard to property must take place, before our governments can be moved from their republican basis, unless they be violently struck off by military power. The people possess the property, more emphatically than it could ever be said of the people of any other country, and they can have no interest to overturn a government which protects that property by equal laws.

Let it not be supposed, that this state of things possesses too strong tendencies towards the production of a dead and uninteresting level in society. Such tendencies are sufficiently counteracted by the infinite diversities in the characters and fortunes of individuals. Talent, activity, industry, and enterprise tend at all times to produce inequality and distinction; and there is room still for the accumulation of wealth, with its great advantages, to all reasonable and useful extent. It has been often urged against the state of society in America, that it furnishes no class of men of fortune and leisure. This may be partly true, but it is not entirely so, and the evil, if it be one, would affect rather the progress of taste and literature, than the general prosperity of the people. But the promotion of taste and literature cannot be primary objects of political institutions; and if they could, it might be doubted whether, in the long course of things, as much is not gained by a wide diffusion of general knowledge, as is lost by diminishing the number of those who are enabled by fortune and leisure to devote themselves exclusively to scientific and literary pursuits. However this may be, it is to be considered that it is the spirit of our system to be equal and general, and if there be particular disadvantages incident to this, they are far more than counterbalanced by the benefits which weigh against them. The important concerns of society are generally conducted, in all countries, by the men of business and practical ability; and even in matters of taste and literature, the advantages of mere leisure are liable to be overrated. If there exist adequate means of education and a love of letters be excited, that love will find its way to the object of its desire, through the crowd and pressure of the most busy society.



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Connected with this division of property, and the consequent participation of the great mass of people in its possession and enjoyments, is the system of representation, which is admirably accommodated to our condition, better understood among us, and more familiarly and extensively practised, in the higher and in the lower departments of government, than it has been by any other people. Great facility has been given to this in New England by the early division of the country into townships or small districts, in which all concerns of local police are regulated, and in which representatives to the legislature are elected. Nothing can exceed the utility of these little bodies. They are so many councils or parliaments, in which common interests are discussed, and useful knowledge acquired and communicated.

The division of governments into departments, and the division, again, of the legislative department into two chambers, are essential provisions in our system. This last, although not new in itself, yet seems to be new in its application to governments wholly popular. The Grecian republics, it is plain, knew nothing of it; and in Rome, the check and balance of legislative power, such as it was, lay between the people and the senate. Indeed, few things are more difficult than to ascertain accurately the true nature and construction of the Roman commonwealth. The relative power of the senate and the people, of the consuls and the tribunes, appears not to have been at all times the same, nor at any time accurately defined or strictly observed. Cicero, indeed, describes to us an admirable arrangement of political power, and a balance of the constitution, in that beautiful passage, in which he compares the democracies of Greece with the Roman commonwealth. "O morem preclarum, disciplinamque, quam a majoribus accepimus, si quidem teneremus! sed nescio quo pacto jam de manibus elabatur. Nullam enim illi nostri sapientissimi et sanctissimi viri vim concionis esse voluerunt, quae scisseret plebs, aut quae populus juberet; summota concione, distributis partibus, tributim et centuriatim descriptis ordinibus, classibus, aetatibus, auditis auctoribus, re multos dies promulgata et cognita, juberi vetarique voluerunt. Graecorum autem totae respublicae sedentis concionis temeritate administrantur."³⁹

But at what time this wise system existed in this perfection at Rome, no proofs remain to show. Her constitution, originally framed for a monarchy, never seemed to be adjusted in its several parts after the expulsion of the kings. Liberty there was, but it was a disputatious, an uncertain, an ill-secured liberty. The patrician and plebeian orders, instead of being matched and joined, each in its just place and proportion, to sustain the fabric of the state, were rather like hostile powers, in perpetual conflict. With us, an attempt has been made, and so far not without success, to divide representation into chambers, and, by difference of age, character, qualification, or mode of election, to establish salutary checks, in governments altogether elective.

Having detained you so long with these observations, I must yet advert to another most interesting topic,—the Free Schools. In



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this particular, New England may be allowed to claim, I think, a merit of a peculiar character. She early adopted, and has constantly maintained the principle, that it is the undoubted right and the bounden duty of government to provide for the instruction of all youth. That which is elsewhere left to chance or to charity, we secure by law.⁴⁰ For the purpose of public instruction, we hold every man subject to taxation in proportion to his property, and we look not to the question, whether he himself have, or have not, children to be benefited by the education for which he pays. We regard it as a wise and liberal system of police, by which property, and life, and the peace of society are secured. We seek to prevent in some measure the extension of the penal code, by inspiring a salutary and conservative principle of virtue and of knowledge in an early age. We strive to excite a feeling of respectability, and a sense of character, by enlarging the capacity and increasing the sphere of intellectual enjoyment. By general instruction, we seek, as far as possible, to purify the whole moral atmosphere; to keep good sentiments uppermost, and to turn the strong current of feeling and opinion, as well as the censures of the law and the denunciations of religion, against immorality and crime. We hope for a security beyond the law, and above the law, in the prevalence of an enlightened and well-principled moral sentiment. We hope to continue and prolong the time, when, in the villages and farm-houses of New England, there may be undisturbed sleep within unbarred doors. And knowing that our government rests directly on the public will, in order that we may preserve it we endeavor to give a safe and proper direction to that public will. We do not, indeed, expect all men to be philosophers or statesmen; but we confidently trust, and our expectation of the duration of our system of government rests on that trust, that, by the diffusion of general knowledge and good and virtuous sentiments, the political fabric may be secure, as well against open violence and overthrow, as against the slow, but sure, undermining of licentiousness.

We know that, at the present time, an attempt is making in the English Parliament to provide by law for the education of the poor, and that a gentleman of distinguished character (Mr. Brougham) has taken the lead in presenting a plan to government for carrying that purpose into effect. And yet, although the representatives of the three kingdoms listened to him with astonishment as well as delight, we hear no principles with which we ourselves have not been familiar from youth; we see nothing in the plan but an approach towards that system which has been established in New England for more than a century and a half. It is said that in England not more than **one child in fifteen** possesses the means of being taught to read and write; in Wales, **one in twenty**; in France, until lately, when some improvement was made, not more than **one in thirty-five**. Now, it is hardly too strong to say, that in New England **every child possesses** such means. It would be difficult to find an instance

40. The first free school established by law in the Plymouth Colony was in 1670-72. One of the early teachers in Boston taught school more than **seventy** years. See the Reverend [Cotton Mather](#)'s "Funeral Sermon upon Mr. Ezekiel Cheever, the ancient and honorable Master of the Free School in Boston."

For the impression made upon the mind of an intelligent foreigner by the general attention to popular education, as characteristic of the American polity, see Mackay's WESTERN WORLD, Vol. III. p. 225 *et seq.* Also, EDINBURGH REVIEW, No. 186.



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to the contrary, unless where it should be owing to the negligence of the parent; and, in truth, the means are actually used and enjoyed by nearly every one. A youth of fifteen, of either sex, who cannot both read and write, is very seldom to be found. Who can make this comparison, or contemplate this spectacle, without delight and a feeling of just pride? Does any history show property more beneficently applied? Did any government ever subject the property of those who have estates to a burden, for a purpose more favorable to the poor, or more useful to the whole community?

A conviction of the importance of public instruction was one of the earliest sentiments of our ancestors. No lawgiver of ancient or modern times has expressed more just opinions, or adopted wiser measures, than the early records of the Colony of Plymouth show to have prevailed here. Assembled on this very spot, a hundred and fifty-three years ago, the legislature of this Colony declared, "Forasmuch as the maintenance of good literature doth much tend to the advancement of the weal and flourishing state of societies and republics, this Court doth therefore order, that in whatever township in this government, consisting of fifty families or upwards, any meet man shall be obtained to teach a grammar school, such township shall allow at least twelve pounds, to be raised by rate on all the inhabitants."

Having provided that all youth should be instructed in the elements of learning by the institution of free schools, our ancestors had yet another duty to perform. Men were to be educated for the professions and the public. For this purpose they founded the University, and with incredible zeal and perseverance they cherished and supported it, through all trials and discouragements.⁴¹ On the subject of the University, it is not possible for a son of New England to think without pleasure, or to speak without emotion. Nothing confers more honor on the State where it is established, or more utility on the country at large. A respectable university is an establishment which must be the work of time. If pecuniary means were not wanting, no new institution could possess character and respectability at once. We owe deep obligation to our ancestors, who began, almost on the moment of their arrival, the work of building up this institution.

Although established in a different government, the Colony of Plymouth manifested warm friendship for Harvard College. At an early period, its government took measures to promote a general subscription throughout all the towns in this Colony, in aid of its small funds. Other colleges were subsequently founded and endowed, in other places, as the ability of the people allowed; and we may flatter ourselves, that the means of education at present enjoyed in New England are not only adequate to the diffusion of the elements of knowledge among all classes, but sufficient also for respectable attainments in literature and the sciences.

Lastly, our ancestors established their system of government on morality and religious sentiment. Moral habits, they believed,

41. By a law of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, passed as early as 1647, it was ordered, that, "when any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families or householders, they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the University."



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cannot safely be trusted on any other foundation than religious principle, nor any government be secure which is not supported by moral habits. Living under the heavenly light of revelation, they hoped to find all the social dispositions, all the duties which men owe to each other and to society, enforced and performed. Whatever makes men good Christians, makes them good citizens. Our fathers came here to enjoy their religion free and unmolested; and, at the end of two centuries, there is nothing upon which we can pronounce more confidently, nothing of which we can express a more deep and earnest conviction, than of the inestimable importance of that religion to man, both in regard to this life and that which is to come.

If the blessings of our political and social condition have not been too highly estimated, we cannot well overrate the responsibility and duty which they impose upon us. We hold these institutions of government, religion, and learning, to be transmitted, as well as enjoyed. We are in the line of conveyance, through which whatever has been obtained by the spirit and efforts of our ancestors is to be communicated to our children.

We are bound to maintain public liberty, and, by the example of our own systems, to convince the world that order and law, religion and morality, the rights of conscience, the rights of persons, and the rights of property, may all be preserved and secured, in the most perfect manner, by a government entirely and purely elective. If we fail in this, our disaster will be signal, and will furnish an argument, stronger than has yet been found, in support of those opinions which maintain that government can rest safely on nothing but power and coercion. As far as experience may show errors in our establishments, we are bound to correct them; and if any practices exist contrary to the principles of justice and humanity within the reach of our laws or our influence, we are inexcusable if we do not exert ourselves to restrain and abolish them.

I deem it my duty on this occasion to suggest, that the land is not yet wholly free from the contamination of a traffic, at which every feeling of humanity must for ever revolt,—I mean the African slave-trade.⁴² Neither public sentiment, nor the law, has hitherto been able entirely to put an end to this odious and abominable trade. At the moment when God in his mercy has blessed the Christian world with a universal peace, there is reason to fear, that, to the disgrace of the Christian name and character, new efforts are making for the extension of this trade by subjects and citizens of Christian states, in whose hearts there dwell no sentiments of humanity or of justice, and over whom neither the fear of God nor the fear of man exercises a control. In the sight of our law, the African slave-trader is a pirate and a felon; and in the sight of Heaven, an offender far beyond the ordinary depth of human guilt. There is no brighter page of our history, than that which records the measures which have been adopted by the government at an early day, and at different times since, for the suppression of this traffic; and I would call on all the true sons of New England to co-operate with the

42. In reference to the opposition of the Colonies to the slave-trade, see a representation of the Board of Trade to the House of Lords, 23d January, 1733-4.



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laws of man, and the justice of Heaven. If there be, within the extent of our knowledge or influence, any participation in this traffic, let us pledge ourselves here, upon the rock of Plymouth, to extirpate and destroy it. It is not fit that the land of the Pilgrims should bear the shame longer. I hear the sound of the hammer, I see the smoke of the furnaces where manacles and fetters are still forged for human limbs. I see the visages of those who by stealth and at midnight labor in this work of hell, foul and dark, as may become the artificers of such instruments of misery and torture. Let that spot be purified, or let it cease to be of New England. Let it be purified, or let it be set aside from the Christian world; let it be put out of the circle of human sympathies and human regards, and let civilized man henceforth have no communion with it.

I would invoke those who fill the seats of justice, and all who minister at her altar, that they execute the wholesome and necessary severity of the law. I invoke the ministers of our religion, that they proclaim its denunciation of these crimes, and add its solemn sanctions to the authority of human laws. If the pulpit be silent whenever or wherever there may be a sinner bloody with this guilt within the hearing of its voice, the pulpit is false to its trust. I call on the fair merchant, who has reaped his harvest upon the seas, that he assist in scourging from those seas the worst pirates that ever infested them. That ocean, which seems to wave with a gentle magnificence to waft the burden of an honest commerce, and to roll along its treasures with a conscious pride,—that ocean, which hardy industry regards, even when the winds have ruffled its surface, as a field of grateful toil,—what is it to the victim of this oppression, when he is brought to its shores, and looks forth upon it, for the first time, loaded with chains, and bleeding with stripes? What is it to him but a wide-spread prospect of suffering, anguish, and death? Nor do the skies smile longer, nor is the air longer fragrant to him. The sun is cast down from heaven. An inhuman and accursed traffic has cut him off in his manhood, or in his youth, from every enjoyment belonging to his being, and every blessing which his Creator intended for him.

The Christian communities send forth their emissaries of religion and letters, who stop, here and there, along the coast of the vast continent of Africa, and with painful and tedious efforts make some almost imperceptible progress in the communication of knowledge, and in the general improvement of the natives who are immediately about them. Not thus slow and imperceptible is the transmission of the vices and bad passions which the subjects of Christian states carry to the land. The slave-trade having touched the coast, its influence and its evils spread, like a pestilence, over the whole continent, making savage wars more savage and more frequent, and adding new and fierce passions to the contests of barbarians.

I pursue this topic no further, except again to say, that all Christendom, being now blessed with peace, is bound by every thing which belongs to its character, and to the character of the present age, to put a stop to this inhuman and disgraceful traffic.



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We are bound, not only to maintain the general principles of public liberty, but to support also those existing forms of government which have so well secured its enjoyment, and so highly promoted the public prosperity. It is now more than thirty years that these States have been united under the Federal Constitution, and whatever fortune may await them hereafter, it is impossible that this period of their history should not be regarded as distinguished by signal prosperity and success. They must be sanguine indeed, who can hope for benefit from change. Whatever division of the public judgment may have existed in relation to particular measures of the government, all must agree, one should think, in the opinion, that in its general course it has been eminently productive of public happiness. Its most ardent friends could not well have hoped from it more than it has accomplished; and those who disbelieved or doubted ought to feel less concern about predictions which the event has not verified, than pleasure in the good which has been obtained. Whoever shall hereafter write this part of our history, although he may see occasional errors or defects, will be able to record no great failure in the ends and objects of government. Still less will he be able to record any series of lawless and despotic acts, or any successful usurpation. His page will contain no exhibition of provinces depopulated, of civil authority habitually trampled down by military power, or of a community crushed by the burden of taxation. He will speak, rather, of public liberty protected, and public happiness advanced; of increased revenue, and population augmented beyond all example; of the growth of commerce, manufactures, and the arts; and of that happy condition, in which the restraint and coercion of government are almost invisible and imperceptible, and its influence felt only in the benefits which it confers. We can entertain no better wish for our country, than that this government may be preserved; nor have a clearer duty than to maintain and support it in the full exercise of all its just constitutional powers.

The cause of science and literature also imposes upon us an important and delicate trust. The wealth and population of the country are now so far advanced, as to authorize the expectation of a correct literature and a well formed taste, as well as respectable progress in the abstruse sciences. The country has risen from a state of colonial subjection; it has established an independent government, and is now in the undisturbed enjoyment of peace and political security. The elements of knowledge are universally diffused, and the reading portion of the community is large. Let us hope that the present may be an auspicious era of literature. If, almost on the day of their landing, our ancestors founded schools and endowed colleges, what obligations do not rest upon us, living under circumstances so much more favorable both for providing and for using the means of education? Literature becomes free institutions. It is the graceful ornament of civil liberty, and a happy restraint on the asperities which political controversies sometimes occasion. Just taste is not only an embellishment of society, but it rises almost to the rank of the virtues, and diffuses positive good throughout the whole extent of its influence. There is a



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connection between right feeling and right principles, and truth in taste is allied with truth in morality. With nothing in our past history to discourage us, and with something in our present condition and prospects to animate us, let us hope, that, as it is our fortune to live in an age when we may behold a wonderful advancement of the country in all its other great interests, we may see also equal progress and success attend the cause of letters.

Finally, let us not forget the religious character of our origin. Our fathers were brought hither by their high veneration for the Christian religion. They journeyed by its light, and labored in its hope. They sought to incorporate its principles with the elements of their society, and to diffuse its influence through all their institutions, civil, political, or literary. Let us cherish these sentiments, and extend this influence still more widely; in the full conviction, that that is the happiest society which partakes in the highest degree of the mild and peaceful spirit of Christianity.

The hours of this day are rapidly flying, and this occasion will soon be passed. Neither we nor our children can expect to behold its return. They are in the distant regions of futurity, they exist only in the all-creating power of God, who shall stand here a hundred years hence, to trace, through us, their descent from the Pilgrims, and to survey, as we have now surveyed, the progress of their country, during the lapse of a century. We would anticipate their concurrence with us in our sentiments of deep regard for our common ancestors. We would anticipate and partake the pleasure with which they will then recount the steps of New England's advancement. On the morning of that day, although it will not disturb us in our repose, the voice of acclamation and gratitude, commencing on the Rock of Plymouth, shall be transmitted through millions of the sons of the Pilgrims, till it lose itself in the murmurs of the Pacific seas. We would leave for the consideration of those who shall then occupy our places, some proof that we hold the blessings transmitted from our fathers in just estimation; some proof of our attachment to the cause of good government, and of civil and religious liberty; some proof of a sincere and ardent desire to promote every thing which may enlarge the understandings and improve the hearts of men. And when, from the long distance of a hundred years, they shall look back upon us, they shall know, at least, that we possessed affections, which, running backward and warming with gratitude for what our ancestors have done for our happiness, run forward also to our posterity, and meet them with cordial salutation, ere yet they have arrived on the shore of being.

Advance, then, ye future generations! We would hail you, as you rise in your long succession, to fill the places which we now fill, and to taste the blessings of existence where we are passing, and soon shall have passed, our own human duration. We bid you welcome to this pleasant land of the fathers. We bid you welcome to the healthful skies and the verdant fields of New England. We greet your accession to the great inheritance which we have enjoyed. We welcome you to the blessings of good government and religious liberty. We welcome you to the



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treasures of science and the delights of learning. We welcome you to the transcendent sweets of domestic life, to the happiness of kindred, and parents, and children. We welcome you to the immeasurable blessings of rational existence, the immortal hope of Christianity, and the light of everlasting truth!!

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1821

➡ The [American Colonization Society](#) sent Dr. Eli Ayres, a white man, to purchase some coastal land north of Sierra Leone. With the aid of US naval Lieutenant Robert F. Stockton, another white man, Dr. Ayres cruised the coastal waters west of Grand Bassa seeking out lands appropriate for the colony. Lt. Stockton took charge of the negotiations with leaders of the Dey and Bassa peoples who lived in the area of Cape Mesurado. The local leaders were persuaded –some said at the point of a gun– to part with a “36 mile long and 3 mile wide” strip of coastal land for approximately \$300 worth of trade goods, supplies, weapons, and rum.

Between this year and 1831 more than 300 [slaving](#) expeditions would be bringing an estimated 60,000 more black captives to [Cuba](#).



TRIANGULAR TRADE

☰ The [negros](#) *La Jeune Eugène*, *La Daphnée*, *La Mathilde*, and *L'Elize* were during this year captured by the USS *Alligator*. *La Jeune Eugène* was sent to the port of [Boston](#), but the other slavers escaped, only to be recaptured under the French flag (there would be controversy over credit, between the US and France) (HOUSE REPORTS, 21st Congress, 1st session III, No. 348, page 187; FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE, 1824, pages 35-41).



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The [negrero](#) *La Pensée* was captured with a cargo of 220 [slaves](#), by the USS *Hornet*, and taken to [Louisiana](#) (HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress, 1st session II, No. 92, page 5; 21st Congress, 1st session III, No. 348, page 186).

The [negrero](#) *Esencia* succeeded in putting 113 black [slaves](#) ashore at Matanzas (PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1822, Vol. XXII., SLAVE TRADE, FURTHER PAPERS, III. page 78).

We infer that most likely it was in this year that the [negrero](#) *Dolphin* was captured by United States officers and sent into the harbor of [Charleston](#), South Carolina (FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE (1824), pages 31-2).



December 15, Saturday: US Navy officers forced the local king to sell Cape Mesurado (near present Monrovia, [Liberia](#)) to the [American Colonization Society](#). The society would found a colony for freed slaves on the site.

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1862



July: The short Scots sergeant and 2d tenor, [Sgt. John Brown](#), a putative subject of the song “John Brown’s Body,” was drowned while attempting to ford the Rappahannock River with his unit of the 2d Battalion of Boston Light Infantry, Massachusetts Volunteer Militia.



John Brown's body lies a mouldering in the grave,
While weep the sons of bondage, whom he ventured all
to save ;
But, tho' he lost his life in struggling for the slave,
His Soul is marching on.
Chorus : Glory, Glory Hallelujah !
Glory, Glory Hallelujah !
Glory, Glory Hallelujah !
His Soul is marching on.

John Brown was a Hero undaunted, true and brave ;
And Kansas knew his valor, when he fought her rights
to save ;
And now, though the grass grows green above his grave,
His Soul is marching on. Glory, &c.

He captured Harper's Ferry with his nineteen men so true,
And he frightened Old Virginnny, till she trembled
through and through.
They hung him for a traitor : themselves a Traitor crew ;
But his Soul is marching on. Glory, &c.

John Brown was John the Baptist of Christ we are to see,
Christ who of the bondman shall the Liberator be ;
And soon, throughout the Sunny South, the slaves
shall all be free :
For, his Soul is marching on ! Glory, &c.

The conflict that he heralded, he looks from Heaven to view
On the army of the Union, with his Flagged, white and blue,
And Heaven shall ring with anthems o'er the deed ;
they mean to do :
For, his Soul is marching on. Glory, &c.

Ye, Soldiers of Freedom, then strike, while strike ye may,
The death-blow of Oppression, in a better time and way ;
For, the dawn of Old John Brown has brightened into day,
And his Soul is marching on. Glory, &c.

(Note well that these gallows-humorous soldiers were already singing about the body of their sergeant lying a mouldering in the grave, while Sgt. Brown was still alive and kicking in their regiment.)

[Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) placed an essay on the civil war, “Chiefly about War Matters,” in [The Atlantic Monthly](#). Some remarks he thought to make were censored by [James Thomas Fields](#) of [Ticknor & Fields](#), the publisher of the magazine, with Hawthorne’s prior consent, as just too outrageous to publish during a war situation. Fields evidently had, however, no objection to Hawthorne’s revealing how utterly he had been at odds with



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[Emerson](#)'s and [Thoreau](#)'s attitude toward [John Brown](#) while his execution had been pending in late 1859.



I shall not pretend to be an admirer of old John Brown, any farther than sympathy with Whittier's excellent ballad about him may go; nor did I expect ever to shrink so unutterably from any apophthegm of a sage, whose happy lips have uttered a hundred gold sentences, as from that saying (perhaps falsely attributed to so honored a source), that the death of this blood-stained fanatic has "made the Gallows as venerable as the Cross!" Nobody was ever more justly hanged.

HANGING

JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER

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In the course of this article Hawthorne alleged something we have no reason whatever to believe to be true, and indeed, something we have no reason to believe was ever suggested by any evidence, to wit, that after bringing over the white people, the *Mayflower* had been used as a black slaver, a *negrero*.



Hawthorne, whose politics had always been anti-negro and pro-slavery, was evidently the sort of guy who made up this sort of stuff up as he went along. At this critical juncture in the Civil War –the North toying with the idea of re-defining the war into a noble purpose in order to get it won– he was deliberately stirring the waters to make them muddier.

There is an historical circumstance, known to few, that connects the children of the Puritans with these Africans of Virginia in a very singular way. They are our brethren, as being lineal descendants from the *Mayflower*, the fated womb of which, in her first voyage, sent forth a brood of Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock, and, in a subsequent one, spawned slaves upon the Southern soil, – a monstrous birth, but with which we have an instinctive sense of kindred, and so are stirred by an irresistible impulse to attempt their rescue, even at the cost of blood and ruin. The character of our sacred ship, I fear, may suffer a little by this revelation; but we must let her white progeny offset her dark one, – and two such portents never sprang from an identical source before.

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1920

On [Plymouth](#) beach, the Billings canopy was being demolished and the glacial erratic known as “[Forefathers Rock](#)” was being relocated back to where it could be lapped by the waves as it had been in 1620, for the 1920-1921 Tercentenary celebration. In the move the sacred rock would again break apart and further pieces would need to be removed in order to reunite the sections. The canopy was to be replaced with a Grecian temple of white granite funding for which had been donated by the National Society of Colonial Dames, to be designed by McKim, Mead and White and erected by Roy B. Beattie of Fall River.



[Annie Russell Marble](#)'s PAGEANT: THE CHILDREN'S QUEST, and her THE WOMEN WHO CAME IN THE *Mayflower* (Boston, Chicago: The Pilgrim Press). Interestingly, in this year in which American women were finally achieving the right to vote, Marble, although president of Smith College's Class of 1886, was an opponent of woman suffrage.

FEMINISM

The Women Who Came in the Mayflower

This little book is intended as a memorial to the women who came in [The Mayflower](#), and their comrades who came later in *The Ann* and *The Fortune*, who maintained the high standards of home life in early [Plymouth Colony](#). There is no attempt to make a genealogical study of any family. The effort is to reveal glimpses of the communal life during 1621-1623. This is supplemented by a few silhouettes of individual matrons and maidens to whose influence we may trace increased resources in domestic life and education.

One must regret the lack of proof regarding many facts, about which are conflicting statements, both of the general conditions and the individual men and women. In some instances, both points of view have been given here; at other times, the more probable surmises have been mentioned.



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The author feels deep gratitude, and would here express it, to the librarians of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the New England Genealogic-Historical Register, the American Antiquarian Society, the Register of Deeds, Pilgrim Hall, and the Russell Library of Plymouth, private and public libraries of Duxbury and Marshfield, and to Mr. Arthur Lord and all other individuals who have assisted in this research. The publications of the Society of Mayflower Descendants, and the remarkable researches of its editor, Mr. George E. Bowman, call for special appreciation.

Annie Maria Russell. Worcester, Massachusetts.

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ENDURANCE AND ADVENTURE:

THE VOYAGE AND LANDING

"So they left ye goodly and pleasante citie, which had been ther resting-place near 12 years; but they knew they were pilgrimes, & looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to ye heavens, their dearest cuntrie, and quieted their spirits."

— *Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantations. Chap. VII.*

December weather in New England, even at its best, is a test of physical endurance. With warm clothes and sheltering homes today, we find compensations for the cold winds and storms in the exhilarating winter sports and the good cheer of the holiday season.

The passengers of [*The Mayflower*](#) anchored in Plymouth harbor, three hundred years ago, lacked compensations of sports or fireside warmth. One hundred and two in number when they sailed, — of whom twenty-nine were women, — they had been crowded for ten weeks into a vessel that was intended to carry about half the number of passengers. In low spaces between decks, with some fine weather when the open hatchways allowed air to enter and more stormy days when they were shut in amid discomforts of all kinds, they had come at last within sight of the place where, contrary to their plans, they were destined to make their settlement.

At Plymouth, England, their last port in September, they had "been kindly entertained and courteously used by divers friends there dwelling," [Footnote: Relation or Journal of a Plantation Settled at Plymouth in New-England and Proceedings Thereof; London, 1622 (Bradford and Winslow) Abbreviated In Purchas' Pilgrim, X; iv; London, 1625.] but they were homeless now, facing a new country with frozen shores, menaced by wild animals and yet more fearsome savages. Whatever trials of their good sense and sturdy faith came later, those days of waiting until shelter could be raised on shore, after the weeks of confinement, must have challenged their physical and spiritual fortitude.

There must have been exciting days for the women on shipboard and in landing. There must have been hours of distress for the older and the delight in adventure which is an unchanging trait of the young of every race. Wild winds carried away some clothes and cooking-dishes from the ship; there was a birth and a death, and occasional illness, besides the dire seasickness. John Howland, "the lustie young man," fell overboard but he caught hold of the topsail halyard which hung extended and so held on "though he was sundry fathoms under water," until he was pulled up by a rope and rescued by a boat-hook. [Footnote: Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation; ch. 9.]



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Recent research [Footnote: "The Mayflower," by H. G. Marsden; Eng. Historical Review, Oct., 1904; The Mayflower Descendant, Jan., 1916] has argued that the captain of The Mayflower was probably not *Thomas Jones*, with reputation for severity, but a Master Christopher Jones of kindlier temper. The former captain was in Virginia, in September, 1620, according to this account. With the most generous treatment which the captain and crew could give to the women, they must have been sorely tried. There were sick to be nursed, children to be cared for, including some lively boys who played with powder and nearly caused an explosion at Cape Cod; nourishment must be found for all from a store of provisions that had been much reduced by the delays and necessary sales to satisfy their "merchant adventurers" before they left England. They slept on damp bedding and wore musty clothes; they lacked exercise and water for drink or cleanliness. Joyful for them must have been the day recorded by Winslow and Bradford, [Footnote: Relation or Journal, etc. (1622).] – "On Monday the thirteenth of November our people went on shore to refresh themselves and our women to wash, as they had great need."

During the anxious days when the abler men were searching on land for a site for the settlement, first on Cape Cod and later at Plymouth, there were events of excitement on the ship left in the harbor. Peregrine White was born and his father's servant, Edward Thompson, died. Dorothy May Bradford, the girl-wife of the later Governor of the colony, was drowned during his absence. There were murmurings and threats against the leaders by some of the crew and others who were impatient at the long voyage, scant comforts and uncertain future. Possibly some of the complaints came from women, but in the hearts of most of them, although no women signed their names, was the resolution that inspired the men who signed that compact in the cabin of The Mayflower, – "to promise all due submission and obedience." They had pledged their "great hope and inward zeal of laying good foundation for ye propagating and advancing ye gospell of ye kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of ye world; yea, though they should be but as stepping-stones unto others for ye performing of so great a work"; with such spirit they had been impelled to leave Holland and such faith sustained them on their long journey.

Many of the women who were pioneers at Plymouth had suffered severe hardships in previous years. They could sustain their own hearts and encourage the younger ones by remembrance of the passage from England to Holland, twelve years before, when they were searched most cruelly, even deprived of their clothes and belongings by the ship's master at Boston. Later they were abandoned by the Dutchman at Hull, to wait for fourteen days of frightful storm while their husbands and protectors were carried far away in a ship towards the coast of Norway, "their little ones hanging about them and quaking with cold." [Footnote: Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation; ch. 2.]

There were women with frail bodies, like Rose Standish and Katherine Carver, but there were strong physiques and dauntless hearts sustained to great old age, matrons like Susanna White and Elizabeth Hopkins and young women like Priscilla Mullins,



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Mary Chilton, Elizabeth Tilley and Constance Hopkins. In our imaginations today, few women correspond to the clinging, fainting figures portrayed by some of the painters of "The Departure" or "The Landing of the Pilgrims." We may more readily believe that most of the women were upright and alert, peering anxiously but courageously into the future. Writing in 1910, John Masefield said: [Footnote: Introduction to Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers (Everyman's Library).] "A generation fond of pleasure, disinclined towards serious thought, and shrinking from hardship, even if it may be swiftly reached, will find it difficult to imagine the temper, courage and manliness of the emigrants who made the first Christian settlement of New England." Ten years ago it would have been as difficult for women of our day to understand adequately the womanliness of the Pilgrim matrons and girls. The anxieties and self-denials experienced by women of all lands during the last five years may help us to "imagine" better the dauntless spirit of these women of New-Plymouth. During those critical months of 1621-1623 they sustained their households and assisted the men in establishing an orderly and religious colony. We may justly affirm that some of "the wisdom, prudence and patience and just and equall carriage of things by the better part" [Footnote: Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation; Bk. II.] was manifested among the women as well as the men.

In spite of the spiritual zeal which comes from devotion to a good cause, and the inspiration of steady work, the women must have suffered from homesickness, as well as from anxiety and illness. They had left in Holland not alone their loved pastor, John Robinson, and their valiant friend, Robert Cushman, but many fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters besides their "dear gossips." Mistress Brewster yearned for her elder son and her daughters, Fear and Patience; Priscilla Mullins and Mary Chilton, soon to be left orphans, had been separated from older brothers and sisters. Disease stalked among them on land and on shipboard like a demon. Before the completion of more than two or three of the one-room, thatched houses, the deaths were multiplying. Possibly this disease was typhus fever; more probably it was a form of infectious pneumonia, due to enervated conditions of the body and to exposures at Cape Cod. Winslow declared, in his account of the expedition on shore, "It blowed and did snow all that day and night and froze withal. Some of our people that are dead took the original of their death there." Had the disease been "galloping consumption," as has been suggested sometimes, it is not probable that many of those "sick unto death" would have recovered and have lived to be octogenarians.

The toll of deaths increased and the illness spread until, at one time, there were only "six or seven sound persons" to minister to the sick and to bury the dead. Fifteen of the twenty-nine women who sailed from England and Holland were buried on Plymouth hillside during the winter and spring. They were: Rose Standish; Elizabeth, wife of Edward Winslow; Mary, wife of Isaac Allerton; Sarah, wife of Francis Eaton; Katherine, wife of Governor John Carver; Alice, wife of John Rigdale; Ann, wife of Edward Fuller; Bridget and Ann Tilley, wives of John and Edward;



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Alice, wife of John Mullins or Molines; Mrs. James Chilton; Mrs. Christopher Martin; Mrs. Thomas Tinker; possibly Mrs. John Turner, and Ellen More, the orphan ward of Edward Winslow. Nearly twice as many men as women died during those fateful months of 1621. Can we "imagine" the courage required by the few women who remained after this devastation, as the wolves were heard howling in the night, the food supplies were fast disappearing, and the houses of shelter were delayed in completion by "frost and much foul weather," and by the very few men in physical condition to rive timber or to thatch roofs? The common house, twenty foot square, was crowded with the sick, among them Carver and Bradford, who were obliged "to rise in good speed" when the roof caught on fire, and their loaded muskets in rows beside the beds threatened an explosion. [Footnote: Mourt's Relation.]

Although the women's strength of body and soul must have been sapped yet their fidelity stood well the test; when [The Mayflower](#) was to return to England in April and the captain offered free passage to the women as well as to any men who wished to go, if the women "would cook and nurse such of the crew as were ill," not a man or a woman accepted the offer. Intrepid in bravery and faith, the women did their part in making this lonely, impoverished settlement into a home. This required adjustments of many kinds. Few in number, the women represented distinctive classes of society in birth and education. In Leyden, for seven years, they had chosen their friends and there they formed a happy community, in spite of some poverty and more anxiety about the education and morals of their children, because of "the manifold temptations" [Footnote: Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, ch. 3.] of the Dutch city.

Many of the men, on leaving England, had renounced their more leisurely occupations and professions to practise trades in Leyden, - Brewster and Winslow as printers, Allerton as tailor, Dr. Samuel Fuller as say-weaver and others as carpenters, wool-combers, masons, cobblers, pewterers and in other crafts. A few owned residences near the famous University of Leyden, where Robinson and Brewster taught. Some educational influences would thus fall upon their families. [Footnote: The England and Holland of the Pilgrims, Henry M. Dexter and Morton Dexter, Boston, 1905.] On the other hand, others were recorded as "too poor to be taxed." Until July, 1620, there were two hundred and ninety-eight known members of this church in Leyden with nearly three hundred more associated with them. Such economic and social conditions gave to the women certain privileges and pleasures in addition to the interesting events in this picturesque city.

In [The Mayflower](#) and at Plymouth, on the other hand, the women were thrust into a small company with widely differing tastes and backgrounds. One of the first demands made upon them was for a democratic spirit, - tolerance and patience, adaptability to varied natures. The old joke that "the Pilgrim Mothers had to endure not alone their hardships but the Pilgrim Fathers also" has been overworked. These women would never have accepted pity as martyrs. They came to this new country with devotion to the men of their families and, in those days, such a call was supreme



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in a woman's life. They sorrowed for the women friends who had been left behind, – the wives of Dr. Fuller, Richard Warren, Francis Cooke and Degory Priest, who were to come later after months of anxious waiting for a message from New-Plymouth.

The family, not the individual, characterized the life of that community. The father was always regarded as the "head" of the family. Evidence of this is found when we try to trace the posterity of some of the pioneer women from the Old Plymouth Colony Records. A child is there recorded as "the son of Nicholas Snow," "the son of John Winslow" or "the daughter of Thomas Cushman" with no hint that the mothers of these children were, respectively, Constance Hopkins, Mary Chilton and Mary Allerton, all of whom came in *The Mayflower*, although the fathers arrived at Plymouth later on *The Fortune* and *The Ann*.

It would be unjust to assume that these women were conscious heroines. They wrought with courage and purpose equal to these traits in the men, but probably none of the Pilgrims had a definite vision of the future. With words of appreciation that are applicable to both sexes, ex-President Charles W. Eliot has said: [Footnote: Eighteenth Annual Dinner of Mayflower Society, Nov. 20, 1913.] "The Pilgrims did not know the issue and they had no vision of it. They just loved liberty and toleration and truth, and hoped for more of it, for more liberty, for a more perfect toleration, for more truth, and they put their lives, their labors, at the disposition of those loves without the least vision of this republic, or of what was going to come out of their industry, their devotion, their dangerous and exposed lives."



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COMMUNAL AND FAMILY LIFE IN PLYMOUTH 1621-1623

Spring and summer came to bless them for their endurance and unconscious heroism. Then they could appreciate the verdict of their leaders, who chose the site of Plymouth as a "hopeful place," with running brooks, vines of sassafras and strawberry, fruit trees, fish and wild fowl and "clay excellent for pots and will wash like soap." [Footnote: Mourt's Relation] So early was the spring in 1621 that on March the third there was a thunder storm and "the birds sang in the woods most pleasantly." On March the sixteenth, Samoset came with Indian greeting. This visit must have been one of mixed sentiments for the women and we can read more than the mere words in the sentence, "We lodged him that night at Stephen Hopkins' house and watched him." [Footnote: Mourt's Relation.] Perhaps it was in deference to the women that the men gave Samoset a hat, a pair of stockings, shoes, a shirt and a piece of cloth to tie about his waist. Samoset returned soon with Squanto or Tisquantum, the only survivor of the Patuxet tribe of Indians which had perished of a pestilence Plymouth three years before. He shared with Hobomok the friendship of the settlers for many years and both Indians gave excellent service. Through the influence of Squanto the treaty was made in the spring of 1621 with Massasoit, the first League of Nations to preserve peace in the new world.

Squanto showed the men how to plant alewives or herring as fertilizer for the Indian corn. He taught the boys and girls how to gather clams and mussels on the shore and to "tread eels" in the water that is still called Eel River. He gathered wild strawberries and sassafras for the women and they prepared a "brew" which almost equalled their ale of old England. The friendly Indians assisted the men, as the seasons opened, in hunting wild turkeys, ducks and an occasional deer, welcome additions to the store of fish, sea-biscuits and cheese. We are told [Footnote: Mourt's Relation] that Squanto brought also a dog from his Indian friends as a gift to the settlement. Already there were, at least, two dogs, probably brought from Holland or England, a mastiff and a spaniel [Footnote: Winslow's Narration] to give comfort and companionship to the women and children, and to go with the men into the woods for timber and game.

It seems paradoxical to speak of child-life in this hard-pressed, serious-minded colony, but it was there and, doubtless, it was normal in its joyous and adventuresome impulses. Under eighteen years of age were the girls, Remember and Mary Allerton, Constance and Damaris Hopkins, Elizabeth Tilley and, possibly, Desire Minter and Humility Cooper. The boys were Bartholomew Allerton, who "learned to sound the drum," John Crakston, William Latham, Giles Hopkins, John and Francis Billington, Richard More, Henry Sampson, John Cooke, Resolved White, Samuel Fuller, Love and Wrestling Brewster and the babies, Oceanus Hopkins and Peregrine White. With the exception of Wrestling Brewster and Oceanus Hopkins, all these children lived to ripe old age, — a credit not alone to their hardy



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constitutions, but also to the care which the Plymouth women bestowed upon their households.

The flowers that grew in abundance about the settlement must have given them joy, – *arbutus* or “mayflowers,” wild roses, blue chicory, Queen Anne’s lace, purple asters, golden-rod and the beautiful sabbatia or “sentry” which is still found on the banks of the fresh ponds near the town and is called “the Plymouth rose.” Edward Winslow tells [Footnote: Relation of the Manners, Customs, etc., of the Indians.] of the drastic use of this bitter plant in developing hardihood among Indian boys. Early in the first year one of these fresh-water ponds, known as Billington Sea, was discovered by Francis Billington when he had climbed a high hill and had reported from it “a smaller sea.” Blackberries, blueberries, plums and cherries must have been delights to the women and children. Medicinal herbs were found and used by advice of the Indian friends; the bayberry’s virtues as salve, if not as candle-light, were early applied to the comforts of the households. Robins, bluebirds, “Bob Whites” and other birds sang for the pioneers as they sing for the tourist and resident in Plymouth today. The mosquito had a sting, – for Bradford gave a droll and pungent answer to the discontented colonists who had reported, in 1624, that “the people are much annoyed with musketoes.” He wrote: [Footnote: Bradford’s History of Plymouth Plantation, Bk. II.] “*They* are too delicate and unfitte to begin new plantations and colonies that cannot enduer the biting of a muskeet. We would wish such to keep at home till at least they be muskeeto proof. Yet this place is as free as any and experience teacheth that ye land is tild and ye woods cut downe, the fewer there will be and in the end scarce any at all.” The end has not yet come!

Good harvests and some thrilling incidents varied the hard conditions of life for the women during 1621-2. Indian corn and barley furnished a new foundation for many “a savory dish” prepared by the housewives in the mortar and pestles, kettles and skillets which they had brought from Holland. Nuts were used for food, giving piquant flavor both to “cakes” baked in the fire and to the stuffing of wild turkeys. The fare was simple, but it must have seemed a feast to the Pilgrims after the months of self-denials and extremity.

Before the winter of 1621-2 was ended, seven log houses had been built and four “common buildings” for storage, meetings and workshops. Already clapboards and furs were stored to be sent back to England to the merchant adventurers in the first ship. The seven huts, with thatched roofs and chimneys on the outside, probably in cob-house style, were of hewn planks, not of round logs. [Footnote: The Pilgrim Republic, John A. Goodwin, p. 582.] The fireplaces were of stones laid in clay from the abundant sand. In 1628 thatched roofs were condemned because of the danger of fire, [Footnote: Records of the Colony of New Plymouth.] and boards or palings were substituted. During the first two years or longer, light came into the houses through oiled paper in the windows. From the plans left by Governor Bradford and the record of the visit of De Rassieres to Plymouth, in 1627, one can visualize this first street in New England, leading from Plymouth harbor up the hill to the cannon and



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stockade where, later, was the fort. At the intersection of the first street and a cross-highway stood the Governor's house. It was fitting that the lot nearest to the fort hill should be assigned to Miles Standish and John Alden. All had free access to the brook where flagons were filled for drink and where the clothes were washed.

A few events that have been recorded by Winslow, Bradford and Morton were significant and must have relieved the monotony of life. On January fourth an eagle was shot, cooked and proved "to be excellent meat; it was hardly to be discerned from mutton."

[Footnote: Mourt's Relation.] Four days later three seals and a cod were caught; we may assume that they furnished oil, meat and skins for the household. About the same time, John Goodman and Peter Brown lost their way in the woods, remained out all night, thinking they heard lions roar (mistaking wolves for lions), and on their return the next day John Goodman's feet were so badly frozen "that it was a long time before he was able to go."

[Footnote: *Ibid.*] Wild geese were shot and used for broth on the ninth of February; the same day the Common House was set ablaze, but was saved from destruction. It is easy to imagine the exciting effects of such incidents upon the band of thirteen boys and seven girls, already enumerated. In July, the cry of "a lost child" aroused the settlement to a search for that "unwhipt rascal," John Billington, who had run away to the Nauset Indians at Eastham, but he was found unharmed by a posse of men led by Captain Standish.

To the women one of the most exciting events must have been the marriage on May 22, 1621, of Edward Winslow and Mistress Susanna White. Her husband and two men-servants had died since [The Mayflower](#) left England and she was alone to care for two young boys, one a baby a few weeks old. Elizabeth Barker Winslow had died seven weeks before the wedding day. Perhaps the Plymouth women gossiped a little over the brief interval of mourning, but the exigencies of the times easily explained the marriage, which was performed by a magistrate, presumably the Governor.

Even more disturbing to the peaceful life was the first duel on June 18, between Edward Lister and Edward Dotey, both servants of Stephen Hopkins. Tradition ascribed the cause to a quarrel over the attractive elder daughter of their master, Constance Hopkins. The duel was fought with swords and daggers; both youths were slightly wounded in hand and thigh and both were sentenced, as punishment, to have their hands and feet tied together and to fast for twenty-four hours but, says a record, [Footnote: A Chronological History of New England, by Thomas Prentice.] "within an hour, because of their great pains, at their own and their master's humble request, upon promise of better carriage, they were released by the Governor." It is easy to imagine this scene: Stephen Hopkins and his wife appealing to the Governor and Captain Standish for leniency, although the settlement was seriously troubled over the occurrence; Elder Brewster and his wife deploring the lack of Christian affection which caused the duel; Edward Winslow and his wife, dignified yet tolerant; Goodwife Helen Billington scolding as usual; Priscilla Mullins, Mary Chilton and Elizabeth Tilley condoling with the tearful and frightened Constance Hopkins, while the



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children stand about, excited and somewhat awed by the punishment and the distress of the offenders.

Another day of unusual interest and industry for the householders was the Thanksgiving Day when peace with the Indians and assured prosperity seemed to follow the ample harvests. To this feast, which lasted for three days or more, came ninety-one Indians bringing five deer which they had killed and dressed. These were a great boon to the women who must prepare meals for one hundred and forty people. Wild turkeys, ducks, fish and clams were procured by the colonists and cooked, perhaps with some marchpanes also, by the more expert cooks. The serious prayers and psalms of the Pilgrims were as amazing to the Indians as were the strange whoops, dances, beads and feathers of the savages marvellous to the women and children of Plymouth Colony.

In spite of these peaceable incidents there were occasional threats of Indian treachery, like the theft of tools from two woodsmen and the later bold challenge in the form of a headless arrow wrapped in a snake's skin; the latter was returned promptly and decisively with the skin filled with bullets, and the danger was over for a time. The stockade was strengthened and, soon after, a palisade was built about the houses with gates that were locked at night. After the fort of heavy timber was completed, this was used also as a meeting-house and "was fitted accordingly for that use." It is to be hoped that warming-pans and foot-stoves were a part of the "fittings" so that the women might not be benumbed as, with dread of possible Indian attacks, they limned from the old Ainsworth's Psalm Book:

"In the Lord do I trust, how then to my soule doe ye say,
As doth a little bird unto your mountaine fly away?
For loe, the wicked bend their bow, their arrows they prepare
On string; to shoot at dark at them
In heart that upright are."
(Psalm xi.)

Even more exciting than the days already mentioned was the great event of surprise and rejoicing, November 19, 1621, when *The Fortune* arrived with thirty-five more Pilgrims. Some of these were soon to wed *Mayflower* passengers. Widow Martha Ford, recently bereft, giving birth on the night of her arrival to a fourth child, was wed to Peter Brown; Mary Becket (sometimes written Bucket) became the wife of George Soule; John Winslow; later married Mary Chilton, and Thomas Cushman, then a lad of fourteen, became the husband, in manhood, of Mary Allerton. His father, Robert Cushman, remained in the settlement while *The Fortune* was at anchor and left his son as ward for Governor Bradford. The notable sermon which was preached at Plymouth by Robert Cushman at this time (preserved in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth) was from the text, "Let no man seek his own; but every man another's wealth." Some of the admonitions against swelling pride and fleshly-minded hypocrites seem to us rather paradoxical when we consider the poverty and self-sacrificing spirit of these pioneers; perhaps, there were selfish and slothful malcontents even in that company of devoted, industrious men and women, for human nature was the same three hundred years ago, in large and small communities, as it is



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today, with some relative changes.

Among the passengers brought by *The Fortune* were some of great helpfulness. William Wright, with his wife Priscilla (the sister of Governor Bradford's second wife), was an expert carpenter, and Stephen Dean, who came with his wife, was able to erect a small mill and grind corn. Robert Hicks (or Heeks) was another addition to the colony, whose wife was later the teacher of some of the children. Philip De La Noye, progenitor of the Delano family in America, John and Kenelm Winslow and Jonathan Brewster were eligible men to join the group of younger men, – John Alden, John Howland and others.

The great joy in the arrival of these friends was succeeded by an agitating fear regarding the food supply, for *The Fortune* had suffered from bad weather and its colonists had scarcely any extra food or clothing. By careful allotments the winter was endured and when spring came there were hopes of a large harvest from more abundant sowing, but the hopes were killed by the fearful drought which lasted from May to the middle of July. Some lawless and selfish youths frequently stole corn before it was ripe and, although public whipping was the punishment, the evil persisted. These conditions were met with the same courage and determination which ever characterized the leaders; a rationing of the colony was made which would have done credit to a "Hoover." They escaped famine, but the worn, thin faces and "the low condition, both in respect of food and clothing" was a shock to the sixty more colonists who arrived in *The Ann* and *The James* in 1623.

The friends who came in these later ships included some women from Leyden, "dear gossips" of *Mayflower* colonists, women whose resources and characters gave them prominence in the later history of Plymouth. Notable among them was Mrs. Alice Southworth soon to wed Governor Bradford. With her came Barbara, whose surname is surmised to have been Standish, soon to become the wife of Captain Standish. Bridget Fuller joined her husband, the noble doctor of Plymouth; Elizabeth Warren, with her five daughters, came to make a home for her husband, Richard; Mistress Hester Cooke came with three children, and Fear and Patience Brewster, despite their names, brought joy and cheer to their mother and girlhood friends; they were later wed to Isaac Allerton and Thomas Prence, the Governor.

Fortunately, *The Ann* and *The James* brought supplies in liberal measure and also carpenters, weavers and cobblers, for their need was great. *The James* was to remain for the use of the colony. Rations had been as low as one-quarter pound of bread a day and sometimes their fare was only "a bit of fish or lobster without any bread or relish but a cup of fair spring water." [Footnote: Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation; Bk. II.] It is not strange that Bradford added: "ye long continuance of this diete and their labors abroad had somewhat abated ye freshness of their former complexion."

An important change in the policy of the colony, which affected the women as well as men, was made at this time. Formerly the administration of affairs had been upon the communal basis. All the men and grown boys were expected to plant and harvest, fish and hunt for the common use of all the households. The women



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also did their tasks in common. The results had been unsatisfactory and, in 1623, a new division of land was made, allotting to member householder an acre for each member of his family. This arrangement, which was called "every man for his owne particuler," was told by Bradford with a comment which shows that the women were human beings, not saints nor martyrs. He wrote: "The women now went willingly into ye field, and tooke their little-ones with them to set corne, which before would aledge weaknes and inabilitie; whom to have compelled would have bene thought great tiranie and oppression." After further comment upon the failure of communism as "breeding confusion and discontent" he added this significant comment: "For ye yong-men that were most able and fitte for labour and service did repine that they should spend their time and strength to work for other men's wives and children without any recompense.... And for men's wives to be commanded to doe servise for other men, as dresing their meate, washing their cloathes, etc., they deemed it a kind of slaverie, neither could many husbands well brooke it."

If food was scarce, even a worse condition existed as to clothing in the summer of 1623. Tradition has ascribed several spinning-wheels and looms to the women who came in [The Mayflower](#), but we can scarcely believe that such comforts were generously bestowed. There could have been little material or time for their use. Much skilful weaving and spinning of linen, flax, and wool came in later Colonial history. The women must have been taxed to keep the clothes mended for their families as protection against the cold and storms. The quantity on hand, after the stress of the two years, would vary according to the supplies which each brought from Holland or England; in some families there were sheets and "pillow-beeres" with "clothes of substance and comeliness," but other households were scantily supplied. A somewhat crude but interesting ballad, called "Our Forefathers' Song," is given by tradition from the lips of an old lady aged ninety-four years, in 1767. If the suggestion is accurate that she learned this from her mother or grandmother, its date would approximate the early days of Plymouth history. More probably it was written much later, but it has a reminiscent flavor of those days of poverty and brave spirit:

"The place where we live is a wilderness wood,
Where grass is much wanted that's fruitful and good;
Our mountains and hills and our valleys below,
Are commonly covered with frost and with snow.

"Our clothes we brought with us are apt to be torn,
They need to be clouted soon after they are worn,
But clouting our garments they hinder us nothing,
Clouts *double* are warmer than *single* whole clothing.

"If fresh meate be wanted to fill up our dish,
We have carrots and turnips whenever we wish,
And if we've a mind for a delicate dish,
We go to the clam-bank and there we catch fish.

"For pottage and puddings and custards and pies,
Our pumpkins and parsnips are common supplies!
We have pumpkin at morning and pumpkin at noon,
If it was not for pumpkin we should be undone."



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[Footnote: The Pilgrim Fathers; W. H. Bartlett, London, 1852.]

What did these Pilgrim women wear? The manifest answer is, — what they had in stock. No more absurd idea was ever invented than the picture of these Pilgrims “in uniform,” gray gowns with dainty white collars and cuffs, with stiff caps and dark capes. They wore the typical garments of the period for men and women in England. There is no evidence that they adopted, to any extent, Dutch dress, for they were proud of their English birth; they left Holland partly for fear that their young people might be educated or enticed away from English standards of conduct.

[Footnote: Bradford’s History of Plymouth Plantation, ch. 4.]

Mrs. Alice Morse Earle has emphasized wisely [Footnote: Two Centuries of Costume in America; N. Y., 1903.] that the “sad-colored” gowns and coats mentioned in wills were not “dismal”; the list of colors so described in England included (1638) “russet, purple, green, tawny, deere colour, orange colour, buffs and scarlet.” The men wore doublets and jerkins of browns and greens, and cloaks with red and purple linings. The women wore full skirts of say, paduasoy or silk of varied colors, long, pointed stomachers, — often with bright tone, — full, sometimes puffed or slashed sleeves, and lace collars or “whisks” resting upon the shoulders. Sometimes the gowns were plaited or silk-laced; they often opened in front showing petticoats that were quilted or embroidered in brighter colours. Broadcloth gowns of russet tones were worn by those who could not afford silks and satins; sometimes women wore doublets and jerkins of black and browns. For dress occasions the men wore black velvet jerkins with white ruffs, like those in the authentic portrait of Edward Winslow. Velvet and quilted hoods of all colors and sometimes caps, flat on the head and meeting below the chin with fullness, are shown in existent portraits of English women and early colonists.

Among relics that are dated back to this early period are the slipper [Footnote: In Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth.] belonging to Mistress Susanna White Winslow, narrow, pointed, with lace trimmings, and an embroidered lace cap that has been assigned to Rose Standish. [Footnote: Two Centuries of Costume In America; Earle.] Sometimes the high ruffs were worn above the shoulders instead of “whisks.” The children were dressed like miniature men and women; often the girls wore aprons, as did the women on occasions; these were narrow and edged with lace. “Petty coats” are mentioned in wills among the garments of the women. We would not assume that in 1621-2 all the women in Plymouth colony wore silken or even homespun clothes of prevailing English fashion. Many of these that are mentioned in inventories and retained heirlooms, with rich laces and embroideries, were brought later from England; probably Winslow, Allerton and even Standish brought back such gifts to the women when they made their trips to England in 1624 and later. If the pioneer women had laces and embroideries of gold they probably hoarded them as precious heirlooms during those early years of want, for they were too sensible to wear and to waste them. As prosperity came, however, and new elements entered the colony they were, doubtless, affected by the law of the General Court,



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in 1634, which forbade further acquisition of laces, threads of silver and gold, needle-work caps, bands and rails, and silver girdles and belts. This law was enacted *not* by the Pilgrims of Plymouth, but by the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay Colony. When Edward Winslow returned in *The Charity*, in 1624, he brought not alone a "goodly supply of clothing" [Footnote: Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, Bk. 2.] but, — far more important, — the first bull and heifers that were in Plymouth. The old tradition of the white bull on which Priscilla Alden rode home from her marriage, in 1622 or early 1623, must be rejected. This valuable addition of "neat cattle" to the resources of the colony caused a redistribution of land and shares in the "stock." By 1627 a partnership or "purchas" had been, arranged, for assuming the debts and maintenance of the Plymouth colony, freed from further responsibility to "the adventurers" in London. The new division of lots included also some of the cattle. It was specified, for instance, that Captain Standish and Edward Winslow were to share jointly "the Red Cow which belongeth to the poor of the colony to which they must keep her Calfe of this yeare being a Bull for the Companie, Also two shee goats." [Footnote: Records of the Colony of New Plymouth In New England, edited by David Pulsifer, 1861.] Elder Brewster was granted "one of the four Heifers came in *The Jacob* called the Blind Heifer."

Among interesting sidelights upon the economic and social results of this extension of land and cattle is the remark of Bradford: [Footnote: Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, Bk. 2.] "Some looked for building great houses, and such pleasant situations for them as themselves had fancied, as if they would be great men and rich all of a suddaine; but they proved castles in air." Within a short time, however, with the rapid increase of children and the need of more pasturage for the cattle, many of the leading men and women drifted away from the original confines of Plymouth towards Duxbury, Marshfield, Scituate, Bridgewater and Eastham. Agriculture became their primal concern, with the allied pursuits of fishing, hunting and trading with the Indians and white settlements that were made on Cape Cod and along the Kennebec.

Soon after 1630 the families of Captain Standish, John Alden, and Jonathan Brewster (who had married the sister of John Oldham), Thomas Prence and Edward Winslow were settled on large farms in Duxbury and Marshfield. This loss to the Plymouth settlement was deplored by Bradford both for its social and religious results. April 2, 1632, [Footnote: Records of the Colony of New Plymouth In New England, edited by David Pulsifer, 1861.] a pledge was taken by Alden, Standish, Prence, and Jonathan Brewster that they would "remove their families to live in the towne in the winter-time that they may the better repair to the service of God." Such arrangement did not long continue, however, for in 1633 a church was established at Duxbury and the Plymouth members who lived there "were dismist though very unwillingly." [Footnote: Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation, Bk. 2.] Later the families of Francis Eaton, Peter Brown and George Soule joined the Duxbury colony. Hobomok, ever faithful to Captain Standish had a wigwam near his master's home



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until, in his old age, he was removed to the Standish house, where he died in 1642.

The women who had come in the earlier ships and had lived close to neighbors at Plymouth must have had lonely hours on their farms in spite of large families and many tasks. Wolves and other wild animals were sometimes near, for traps for them were decreed and allotted. Chance Indians prowled about and the stoutest hearts must have quailed when some of the recorded hurricanes and storms of 1635 and 1638 uncovered houses, felled trees and corn. In the main, however, there was peace and many of the families became prosperous; we find evidence in their wills, several of which have been deciphered from the original records by George Ernest Bowman, editor of the "Mayflower Descendants," [Footnote: Editorial rooms at 53 Mt. Vernon St., Boston.] issued quarterly. By the aid of such records and a few family heirlooms of unquestioned genuineness, it is possible to suggest some individual silhouettes of the women of early Plymouth, in addition to the glimpses of their communal life.



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MATRONS AND MAIDENS WHO CAME IN THE MAYFLOWER

It has been said, with some justice, that the Pilgrims were not remarkable men, that they lacked genius or distinctive personalities. The same statement may be made about the women. They did possess, as men and women, fine qualities for the work which they were destined to accomplish, – remarkable energy, faith, purpose, courage and patience. These traits were prominent in the leaders, Carver and Bradford, Standish and Winslow, Brewster and Dr. Fuller. As assistants to the men in the civic life of the colony, there were a few women who influenced the domestic and social affairs of their own and later generations. From chance records, wills, inventories and traditions their individual traits must be discerned, for there is scarcely any sequential, historic record.

Death claimed some of these brave-hearted women before the life at Plymouth really began. Dorothy May Bradford, the daughter of Deacon May of the Leyden church, came from Wisbeach, Cambridge; she was married to William Bradford when she was about sixteen years old and was only twenty when she was drowned at Cape Cod. Her only child, a son, John, was left with her father and mother in Holland and there was long a tradition that she mourned grievously at the separation. This son came later to Plymouth, about 1627, and lived in Marshfield and Norwich, Connecticut.

The tiny pieces of a padded quilt with faded threads of silver and gold, which belonged to Rose Standish, [Footnote: Now in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth.] are fitting relics of this mystical, delicate wife of "the doughty Captain." She died January 29, 1621. She is portrayed in fiction and poetry as proud of her husband's bravery and his record as a Lieutenant of Queen Elizabeth's forces in aid of the Dutch. She was also proud of his reputed, and disputed, inheritance among the titled families of Standish of Standish and Standish of Duxbury Hall. [Footnote: For discussion of the ancestry of Standish, see "Some Recent Investigations of the Ancestry of Capt. Myles Standish," by Thomas Cruddas Porteus of Coppel, Lancashire; N. E. Gen. Hist. Register, 68; 339-370; also in edition, Boston, 1914.] There has been a persistent tradition that Rose was born or lived on the Isle of Man and was married there, but no records have been found as proofs.

In the painting of "The Embarkation," by Robert Weir, Elizabeth Barker, the young wife of Edward Winslow, is attired in gay colors and extreme fashion, while beside her stands a boy of about eight years with a canteen strapped over his shoulders. It has been stated that this is the silver canteen, marked "E. W.," now in the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The only record there is [Footnote: Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, iv, 322.] "presentation, June, 1870, by James Warren, Senr., of a silver canteen and pewter plate which



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once belonged to Gov. Edward Winslow with his arms and initials." As Elizabeth Barker, who came from Chatsun or Chester, England, to Holland, was married April 3, 1618, to Winslow, [Footnote: England and Holland of the Pilgrims, Dexter.] and as she was his first wife, the son must have been a baby when [The Mayflower](#) sailed. Moreover, there is no record by Bradford of any child that came with the Winslows, except the orphan, Ellen More. It has been suggested that the latter was of noble lineage. [Footnote: The Mayflower Descendant, v. 256.] Mary Norris, of Newbury in England, wife of one of the wealthiest and most prominent of the Pilgrims in early years, Isaac Allerton, died in February of the first winter, leaving two young girls, Remember and Mary, and a son, Bartholomew or "Bart." The daughters married well, Remember to Moses Maverick of Salem, and Mary to Thomas Cushman. Mrs. Allerton gave birth to a child that was still-born while on [The Mayflower](#) and thus she had less strength to endure the hardships which followed. [Footnote: History of the Allerton Family; W. S. Allerton, N. Y., 1888.]

When Bradford, recording the death of Katherine Carver, called her a "weak woman," he referred to her health which was delicate while she lived at Plymouth and could not withstand the grief and shock of her husband's death in April. She died the next month. She has been called "a gracious woman" in another record of her death. [Footnote: New England Memorial; Morton.] She was the sister or sister-in-law of John Robinson, their pastor in England and Holland. Recent investigation has claimed that she was first married to George Legatt and later to Carver. [Footnote: The Colonial, I, 46; also Gen. Hist. Reg., 67; 382, note.] Two children died and were buried in Holland in 1609 and 1617 and, apparently, these were the only children born to the Carvers. The maid Lois, who came with them on [The Mayflower](#), is supposed to have married Francis Eaton, but she did not live after 1622. Desire Minter, who was also of the Carver household, has been the victim of much speculation. Mrs. Jane G. Austin, in her novel, "Standish of Standish," makes her the female scapegrace of the colony, jealous, discontented and quarrelsome. On the other hand, and still speculatively, she is portrayed as the elder sister and house keeper for John Howland and Elizabeth Tilley, after the death of Mistress Carver; this is assumed because the first girl born to the Howlands was named Desire. [Footnote: Life of Pilgrim Alden; Augustus E. Alden; Boston, 1902.] The only known facts about Desire Minter are those given by Bradford, "she returned to friends and proved not well, and dyed in England." [Footnote: Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation; Appendix.] By research among the Leyden records, collated by H. M. Dexter, [Footnote: The England and Holland of the Pilgrims.] the name, Minter, occurs a few times. William Minter, the husband of Sarah, was associated with the Carvers and Chiltons in marriage betrothals. William Minter was purchaser of a house from William Jeppson, in Leyden, in 1614. Another record is of a student at the University of Leyden who lived at the house of John Minter. Another reference to Thomas Minter of Sandwich, Kent, may furnish a clue. [Footnote: N. E. Gen. Hist. Reg., 45, 56.] Evidently, to some of these relatives,



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with property, near or distant of kin, Desire Minter returned before 1626.

Another unmarried woman, who survived the hardships of the first winter, but returned to England and died there, was Humility Cooper. We know almost nothing about her except that she and Henry Sampson were cousins of Edward Tilley and his wife. She is also mentioned as a relative of Richard Clopton, one of the early religious leaders in England. [Footnote: N. E. Gen. Hist.; iv, 108.]

The "mother" of this group of matrons and maidens, who survived the winters of 1621-2, was undoubtedly Mistress Mary Brewster. Wife of the Elder, she shared his religious faith and zeal, and exercised a strong moral influence upon the women and children. Pastor John Robinson, in a letter to Governor Bradford, in 1623, refers to "her weake and decayed state of body," but she lived until April 17, 1627, according to records in "the Brewster Book." She was only fifty-seven years at her death but, as Bradford said with tender appreciation, "her great and continuall labours, with other crosses and sorrows, hastened it before y'e time." As Elder Brewster "could fight as well as he could pray," could build his own house and till his own land, [Footnote: The Pilgrim Republic; John A. Goodwin.] so, we may believe, his wife was efficient in all domestic ways. When her strength failed, it is pleasant to think that she accepted graciously the loving assistance of the younger women to whom she must have seemed, in her presence, like a benediction. Her married life was fruitful; five children lived to maturity and two or more had died in Holland. The Elder was "wise and discreet and well-spoken — of a cheerful spirit, sociable and pleasant among his friends, undervaluing himself and his abilities and sometimes overvaluing others." [Footnote: Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation.] Such a person is sure to be a delightful companion. To these attractive qualities the Elder added another proof of tact and wisdom: "He always thought it were better for ministers to pray oftener and divide their prayers, than be long and tedious in the same."

While Mistress Brewster did not excel the women of her day, probably, in education, for to read easily and to write were not considered necessary graces for even the better-bred classes, — she could appreciate the thirty-eight copies of the Scriptures which were found among her husband's four hundred volumes; these would be familiar to her, but the sixty-four books in Latin would not be read by the women of her day. Fortunately, she did not survive, as did her husband, to endure grief from the deaths of the daughters, Fear and Patience, both of whom died before 1635; nor yet did she realize the bitterness of feeling between the sons, Jonathan and Love, and their differences of opinion in the settlement of the Elder's estate. [Footnote: Records of the Colony of New Plymouth.]

A traditional picture has been given [Footnote: The Pilgrim Republic; John A. Goodwin; foot-note, p.181.] of Captain Peregrine White of Marshfield, "riding a black horse and wearing a coat with buttons the size of a silver dollar, vigorous and of a comely aspect to the last," [Footnote: Account of his death in *Boston News Letter*, July 31, 1704.] paying daily visits to



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his mother, Mistress Susanna White Winslow. We may imagine this elderly matron, sitting in the Winslow arm-chair, with its mark, "Cheapside, 1614," [Footnote: This chair and the cape are now in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth; here also are portraits of Edward Winslow and Josiah Winslow and the latter's wife, Penelope.] perhaps wearing the white silk shoulder-cape with its trimmings of embossed velvet which has been preserved, proud that she was privileged to be the mother of this son, the first child born of white parents in New England, proud that she had been the wife of a Governor and Commissioner of eminence, and also the mother of Josiah Winslow, the first native-born Governor of any North American commonwealth. Hers was a record of which any woman of any century might well be proud! [Footnote: More material may be found in Winslow Memorial; Family Record, Holton, N. Y., 1877, and in Ancestral Chronological Record of the William White Family, 1607-1895, Concord, 1895.]

In social position and worldly comforts her life was pre-eminent among the colonists. Although Edward Winslow had renounced some of his English wealth, possibly, when he went to Holland and adopted the trade of printer, he "came into his own" again and was in high favor with English courts and statesmen. His services as agent and commissioner, both for the Plymouth colony and later for Cromwell, must have necessitated long absences from home, while his wife remained at Careswell, the estate at Green Harbor, Marshfield, caring for her younger children, Elizabeth and Josiah Winslow. By family tradition, Mistress Susanna was a woman of graceful, aristocratic bearing and of strong character. Sometimes called Anna, as in her marriage record to William White at Leyden, February 11, 1612, [Footnote: The Mayflower Descendant, vii, 193.] she was the sister of Dr. Samuel Fuller. Two children by her first marriage died in 1615 and 1616; with her boy, Resolved, about five or six years old, she came with her husband on [The Mayflower](#) and, at the end of the voyage, bore her son, Peregrine White.

The tact, courtesy and practical sagacity of Edward Winslow fitted him for the many demands that were made upon his diplomacy. One of the most amusing stories of his experiences as agent for Plymouth colony has been related by himself [Footnote: Winslow's Relation.] when, at the request of the Indians, he visited Massasoit, who was ill, and brought about the recovery of this chief by common sense methods of treatment and by a "savory broth" made from Indian corn, sassafras and strawberry leaves, "strained through his handkerchief." The skill with which Winslow cooked the broth and the "relish" of ducks reflected credit upon the household methods of Mistress Winslow.

After 1646, Edward Winslow did not return to Plymouth for any long sojourn, for Cromwell and his advisers had recognized the worth of such a man as commissioner. [Footnote: State Papers, Colonial Service, 1574-1660. Winthrop Papers, ii, 283.] In 1655 he was sent as one of three commissioners against the Spaniards in the West Indies to attack St. Domingo. Because of lack of supplies and harmony among the troops, the attack was a failure. To atone for this the fleet started towards Jamaica, but on the way, near Hispaniola, Winslow was taken ill of fever and died,



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May 8, 1655; he was buried at sea with a military salute from forty-two guns. The salary paid to Winslow during these years was L1000, which was large for those times. On April 18, 1656, a "representation" from his widow, Susanna, and son was presented to the Lord Protector and council, asking that, although Winslow's death occurred the previous May, the remaining L500 of his year's salary might be paid to satisfy his creditors.

To his wife and family Winslow, doubtless, wrote letters as graceful and interesting as are the few business epistles that are preserved in the Winthrop Papers. [Footnote: Hutchinson Collections, 110, 153, etc.] That he was anxious, to return to his family is evident from a letter by President Steele of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England (in 1650), which Winslow was also serving; [Footnote: The Pilgrim Republic; Goodwin, 444.] "Winslow was unwilling to be longer kept from his family, but his great acquaintance and influence were of service to the cause so great that it was hoped he would remain for a time longer." In his will, which is now in Somerset House, London, dated 1654, he left his estate at Marshfield to his son, Josiah, with the stipulation that his wife, Susanna, should be allowed a full third part thereof through her life. [Footnote: The Mayflower Descendant, iv. i.] She lived twenty-five years longer, dying in October, 1680, at the estate, Careswell. It is supposed that she was buried on the hillside cemetery of the Daniel Webster estate in Marshfield, where, amid tangles and flowers, may be located the grave-stones of her children and grandchildren. Sharing with Mistress Susanna White Winslow the distinction of being mother of a child born on [The Mayflower](#) was Mistress Elizabeth Hopkins, whose son, Oceanus, was named for his birthplace. She was the second wife of Stephen Hopkins, who was one of the leaders with Winslow and Standish on early expeditions. With her stepchildren, Constance and Giles, and her little daughter, Damaris, she bore the rigors of those first years, bore other children, — Caleb, Ruth, Deborah and Elizabeth, — and cared for a large estate, including servants and many cattle. The inventory of the Hopkins estate revealed an abundance of beds and bedding, yellow and green rugs, curtains and spinning-wheels, and much wearing apparel. The home-life surely had incidents of excitement, as is shown by the accusations and fines against Stephen Hopkins for "suffering excessive drinking at his house, 1637, when William Reynolds was drunk and lay under the table," and again for "suffering men to drink in his house on the Lord's Day, both before and after the meeting — and allowing his servant and others to drink more than for ordinary refreshing and to play shovell board and such like misdemeanors." [Footnote: Records of the Colony of New Plymouth.] Such lapses in conduct at the Hopkins house were atoned for by the services which Stephen Hopkins rendered to the colony as explorer, assistant to the governor and other offices which suited his reliable and fearless disposition. These occasional "misdemeanors" in the Hopkins household were slight compared with the records against "the black sheep" of the colony, the family of Billingtons from London. The mother, Helen or Ellen, did not seem to redeem the reputation of husband



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and sons; traditionally she was called "the scold." After her husband had been executed in 1630, for the first murder in the colony, for he had waylaid and killed John Newcomen, she married Gregory Armstrong. She had various controversies in court with her son and others. In 1636, she was accused of slander by "Deacon" John Doane, — she had charged him with unfairness in mowing her pasture lot, — and she was sentenced to a fine of five pounds and "to sit in the stocks and be publicly whipt." [Footnote: Records of the Colony of New Plymouth.] Her second husband died in 1650 and she lived several years longer, occupying a "tenement" granted to her in her son's house at North Plymouth. Apparently her son, John, after his fractious youth, died; Francis married Christian Penn, the widow of Francis Eaton.

Their children seem to have "been bound out" for service while the parents were convicted of trying to entice the children away from their work and, consequently, they were punished by sitting in the stocks on "lecture days." [Footnote: The Pilgrim Republic; Goodwin.] In his later life, Francis Billington became more stable in character and served on committees. His last offense was the mild one "of drinking tobacco on the high-way." Apparently, Helen Billington had many troubles and little sympathy in the Plymouth colony.

As companions to these matrons of the pioneer days were four maidens who must have been valuable as assistants in housework and care of the children, — Priscilla Mullins, Mary Chilton, Elizabeth Tilley and Constance Hopkins. The first three had been orphaned during that first winter; probably, they became members of the households of Elder Brewster and Governor Carver. All have left names that are most honorably cherished by their many descendants. Priscilla Mullins has been celebrated in romance and poetry. Very little real knowledge exists about her and many of the surmises would be more interesting if they could be proved. She was well-born, for her father, at his death, was mentioned with regret [Footnote: New England Memorial; Morton.] as "a man pious and well-deserving, endowed also with considerable outward estate; and had it been the will of God, that he had survived, might have proved an useful instrument in his place." There was a family tradition of a castle, Molyneux or Molines, in Normandy. The title of *Mr.* indicated that he was a man of standing and he was a counsellor in state and church. Perhaps he died on shipboard at Plymouth, because his, will, dated April 2, 1621, was witnessed by John Carver, Christopher Jones and Giles Heald, probably the captain and surgeon of the ship, *Mayflower*.

This will, which has been recently found in Dorking, Surrey, England, has had important influence upon research. We learn that an older sister, Sarah Blunden, living in Surrey, was named as administratrix, and that a son, William (who came to Plymouth before 1637) was to have money, bonds and stocks in England. Goods in Virginia and more money, — ten pounds each, — were bequeathed equally to his wife Alice, his daughter Priscilla and the younger son, Joseph. Interesting also is the item of "xxj dozen shoes and thirteene paire of boots wch I give unto the Companie's hands for forty pounds at seaven yeares." If the



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Company would not accept the rate, these shoes and boots were to be for the equal benefit of his wife and son, William. To his friend, John Carver, he commits his wife and children and also asks for a "special eye to my man Robert wch hath not so approved himself as I would he should have done." [Footnote: Pilgrim Alden, by Augustus E. Alden, Boston, 1902.] Before this will was probated, July 23, 1621, John Carver, Mistress Alice Mullins, the son, Joseph, and the man, Robert Carter (or Cartier) were all dead, leaving Priscilla to carry on the work to which they had pledged their lives. Perhaps, the brother and sister in England were children of an earlier marriage, [Footnote: Gen. Hist. Register, 40; 62-3.] as Alice Mullins has been spoken of as a second wife.

Priscilla was about twenty years old when she came to Plymouth. By tradition she was handsome, witty, deft and skilful as spinner and cook. Into her life came John Alden, a cooper of unknown family, who joined the Pilgrims at Southampton, under promise to stay a year. Probably he was not the first suitor for Priscilla's hand, for tradition affirmed that she had been sought in Leyden. The single sentence by Bradford tells the story of their romance: "being a hop[e]full yong man was much desired, but left to his owne liking to go or stay when he came here; but he stayed, and maryed here." With him he brought a Bible, printed 1620, [Footnote: Now in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth.] probably a farewell gift or purchase as he left England. When the grant of land and cattle was made in 1627, he was twenty-eight years old, and had in his family, Priscilla, his wife, a daughter, Elizabeth, aged three, and a son, John, aged one. [Footnote: Records of the Colony of New Plymouth.]

The poet, Longfellow, was a descendant of Priscilla Alden, and he had often heard the story of the courtship of Priscilla by Miles Standish, through John Alden as his proxy. It was said to date back to a poem, "Courtship," by Moses Mullins, 1672. In detail it was given by Timothy Alden in "American Epitaphs," 1814, [Footnote: American Epitaphs, 1814; iii, 139.] but there are here some deflections from facts as later research has revealed them. The magic words of romance, "Why don't you speak for yourself, John?" are found in this early narrative.

There was more than romance in the lives of John and Priscilla Alden as the "vital facts" indicate. Their first home was at Town Square, Plymouth, on the site of the first school-house but, by 1633, they lived upon a farm of one hundred and sixty-nine acres in Duxbury. Their first house here was about three hundred feet from the present Alden house, which was built by the son, Jonathan, and is now occupied by the eighth John Alden. It must have been a lonely farmstead for Priscilla, although she made rare visits, doubtless on an ox or a mare, or in an ox-cart with her children, to see Barbara Standish at Captain's Hill, or to the home of Jonathan Brewster, a few miles distant. As farmer, John Alden was not so successful as he would have been at his trade of cooper. Moreover, he gave much of his time to the service of the colony throughout his manhood, acting as assistant to the Governor, treasurer, surveyor, agent and military recruit. Like many another public servant of his day and later, he "became low in his estate" and was allowed a small



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gratuity of ten pounds because "he hath been occasioned to spend time at the Courts on the Countreyes occasion and soe hath done this many yeares." [Footnote: Records of the Colony of New Plymouth.] He had also been one of the eight "undertakers" who, in 1627, assumed the debts and financial support of the Plymouth colony.

Eleven children had been born to John and Priscilla Alden, five sons and six daughters. Sarah married Alexander Standish and so cemented the two families in blood as well as in friendship. Ruth, who married John Bass, became the ancestress of John Adams and John Quincy Adams. Elizabeth, who married William Pabodie, had thirteen children, eleven of them girls, and lived to be ninety-three years; at her death the *Boston News Letter* [Footnote: June 17, 1717.] extolled her as "exemplary, virtuous and pious and her memory is blessed." Possibly with all her piety she had a good share of the independence of spirit which was accredited to her mother; in her husband's will [Footnote: The Mayflower Descendant, vi, 129.] she is given her "third at Little Compton" and an abundance of household stuff, but with this reservation, - "If she will not be contented with her thirds at Little Compton, but shall claim her thirds in both Compton and Duxbury or marry again, I do hereby make voyde all my bequest unto her and she shall share only the parte as if her husband died intestate." A portrait of her shows dress of rich materials.

Captain John Alden seems to have been more adventuresome than the other boys in Priscilla's family. He was master of a merchantman in Boston and commander of armed vessels which supplied marine posts with provisions. Like his sister, Elizabeth, he had thirteen children. He was once accused of witchcraft, when he was present at a trial, and was imprisoned fifteen weeks without being allowed bail. [Footnote: History of Witchcraft; Upham.] He escaped and hurried to Duxbury, where he must have astonished his mother by the recital of his adventures. He left an estate of £2059, in his will, two houses, one of wood worth four hundred pounds, and another of brick worth two hundred and seventy pounds, besides much plate, brass and money and debts amounting to £1259, "the most of which are desperite." A tablet in the wall of the Old South Church at Copley Square, Boston, records his death at the age of seventy-five, March, 1701. He was an original member of this church. Perhaps Priscilla varied her peaceful life by visits to this affluent son in Boston. There is no evidence of the date of Priscilla Alden's death or the place of her burial. She was living and present, with her husband, at Josiah Winslow's funeral in 1680. She must have died before her husband, for in his Inventory, 1686, he makes no mention of her. He left a small estate of only a little over forty pounds, although he had given to his sons land in Duxbury, Taunton, Middleboro and Bridgewater. [Footnote: The Mayflower Descendant, iii, 10. The Story of a Pilgrim Family; Rev. John Alden; Boston, 1890.] Probably Priscilla also bestowed some of her treasures upon her children before she died. Some of her spoons, pewter and candlesticks have been traced by inheritance. It is not likely that she was "rich in this world's goods" through her marriage, but



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she had a husband whose fidelity to state and religion have ever been respected. To his memory Rev. John Cotton wrote some elegiac verses; Justin Winsor has emphasized the honor which is still paid to the name of John Alden in Duxbury and Plymouth: [Footnote: History of Duxbury; Winsor.] "He was possessed of a sound judgment and of talents which, though not brilliant, were by no means ordinary – decided, ardent, resolute, and persevering, indifferent to danger, a bold and hardy man, stern, austere and unyielding and of incorruptible integrity." The name of Mary Chilton is pleasant to the ear and imagination. Chilton Street and Chiltonville in Plymouth, and the Chilton Club in Boston, keep alive memories of this girl who was, by persistent tradition, the first woman who stepped upon the rock of landing at Plymouth harbor. This tradition was given in writing, in 1773, by Ann Taylor, the grandchild of Mary Chilton and John Winslow. [Footnote: History of Plymouth; James Thatcher.] Her father, James Chilton, sometimes with the Dutch spelling, Tgiltron, was a man of influence among the early leaders, but he died at Cape Cod, December 8, 1620. He came from Canterbury, England, to Holland. By the records on the Roll of Freemen of the City of Canterbury, [Footnote: Probably this freedom was given, by the city or some board therein, as mark of respect. N. E. Gen. Hist. Reg., 63, 201.] he is named as James Chylton, tailor, "Freeman by Gift, 1583." Earlier Chiltons, – William, spicer, and Nicholas, clerk, – are classified as "Freemen by Redemption." Three children were baptized in St. Paul's Church, Canterbury, – Isabella, 1586; Jane, 1589; and Ingle, 1599. Isabella was married in Leyden to Roger Chandler five years before [The Mayflower](#) sailed. Evidently, Mary bore the same name as an older sister whose burial is recorded at St. Martin's, Canterbury, in 1593. Isaac Chilton, a glass-maker, may have been brother or cousin of James. Of Mary's mother almost nothing has been found except mention of her death during the infection of 1621. [Footnote: Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation; Appendix.]

When *The Fortune* arrived in November, 1621, it brought Mary Chilton's future husband among the passengers, – John Winslow, younger brother of Edward. Not later than 1627 they were married and lived at first in the central settlement, and later in Plain Dealing, North Plymouth. They had ten children. The son, John, was Brigadier-General in the Army. John Winslow, Sr., seemed to show a spirit of enterprise by the exchange and sale of his "lots" in Plymouth and afterwards in Boston where he moved his family, and became a successful owner and master of merchant ships. Here he acquired land on Devonshire Street and Spring Lane and also on Marshall Lane and Hanover Street. From Plans and Deeds, prepared by Annie Haven Thwing, [Footnote: Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. Also dimensions in Bowditch Title Books: 26: 315.] one may locate a home of Mary Chilton Winslow in Boston, a lot 72 and 85, 55 and 88, in the rear of the first Old South Church, at the southwest corner of Joyliffe's Lane, now Devonshire Street, and Spring Lane. It was adjacent to land owned by John Winthrop and Richard Parker. By John Winslow's will, probated May 21, 1674, he bequeathed this house, land, gardens and a goodly sum of money and shares of



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stock to his wife and children. The house and stable, with land, was inventoried for L490 and the entire estate for L2946-14-10. He had a Katch *Speedwell*, with cargoes of pork, sugar and tobacco, and a Barke *Mary*, whose produce was worth L209; these were to be divided among his children. His money was also to be divided, including 133 "peeeces of eight." [Footnote: *The Mayflower Descendant*, 111, 129 (1901).]

Interesting as are the items of this will, which afford proofs that Mary Chilton as matron had luxuries undreamed of in the days of 1621, her will is even more important for us. It is one of the three *original* known wills of *Mayflower* passengers, the others being those of Edward Winslow and Peregrine White. Mary Chilton's will is in the Suffolk Registry of Probate, [Footnote: This will is reprinted in *The Mayflower Descendant*, I: 85.] Boston, in good condition, on paper 18 by 14 inches. The will was made July 31, 1676. Among other interesting bequests are: to my daughter Sarah (Middlecot) "my Best gowne and Pettecoat and my silver beare bowl" and to each of her children "a silver cup with a handle." To her grandchild, William Payne, was left her "great silver Tankard" and to her granddaughter, Ann Gray, "a trunk of Linning" (linen) with bed, bolsters and ten pounds in money. Many silver spoons and "ruggs" were to be divided. To her grandchild, Susanna Latham, was definite allotment of "Petty coate with silke Lace." In the inventory one may find commentary upon the valuation of these goods - "silk gowns and pettecoats" for L6-10, twenty-two napkins at seven shillings, and three "great pewter dishes" and twenty small pieces of pewter for two pounds, six shillings. She had gowns, mantles, head bands, fourteen in number, seventeen linen caps, six white aprons, pocket-handkerchiefs and all other articles of dress. Mary Chilton Winslow could not write her name, but she made a very neat mark, M. She was buried beneath the Winslow coat of arms at the front of King's Chapel Burial-ground in Boston. She closely rivalled, if she did not surpass in wealth and social position, her sister-in-law, Susanna White Winslow.

Elizabeth Tilley had a more quiet life, but she excelled her associates among these girls of Plymouth in one way, - she could write her name very well. Possibly she was taught by her husband, John Howland who left, in his inventory, an ink-horn, and who wrote records and letters often for the colonists. For many years, until the discovery and printing of Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation* in 1856, it was assumed that Elizabeth Tilley was either the daughter or granddaughter of Governor Carver; such misstatement even appears upon the Howland tombstone in the old burying-ground at Plymouth. Efforts to explain by assuming a second marriage of Carver or a first marriage of Howland fail to convince, for, surely, such relationships would have been mentioned by Bradford, Winslow, Morton or Prence. After the death of her parents, during the first winter, Elizabeth remained with the Carver household until that was broken by death; afterwards she was included in the family over which John Howland was considered "head"; according to the grant of 1624 he was given an acre each for himself, Elizabeth Tilley, Desire Minter, and the boy, William Latham. The step-mother of Elizabeth Tilley bore a Dutch name, Bridget



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Van De Veldt. [Footnote: N. E. Gen. Hist. Reg., i, 34.] Elizabeth was ten or twelve years younger than her husband, at least, for he was twenty-eight years old in 1620. They were married, probably, by 1623-4, for the second child, John, was born in 1626. It is not known how long Howland had been with the Pilgrims at Leyden; he may have come there with Cushman in 1620 or, possibly, he joined the company at Southampton. His ancestry is still in some doubt in spite of the efforts to trace it to one John Howland, "gentleman and citizen and salter" of London. [Footnote: Recollections of John Howland, etc. E. H. Stone, Providence, 1857.] Probably the outfit necessary for the voyage was furnished to him by Carver, and the debt was to be paid in some service, clerical or other; in no other sense was he a "servant." He signed the compact of [The Mayflower](#) and was one of the "ten principal men" chosen to select a site for the colony. For many years he was prominent in civic affairs of the state and church. He was among the liberals towards Quakers as were his brothers who came later to Marshfield, — Arthur and Henry. At Rocky Neck, near the Jones River in Kingston, as it is now called, the Howland household was prosperous, with nine children to keep Elizabeth Tilley's hands occupied. She lived until past eighty years, and died at the home of her daughter, Lydia Howland Brown, in Swansey, in 1687. Among the articles mentioned in her will are many books of religious type. Her husband's estate as inventoried was not large, but mentioned such useful articles as silk neckcloths, four dozen buttons and many skeins of silk. [Footnote: The Mayflower Descendant, ii, 70.]

Constance or Constanta Hopkins was probably about the same age as Elizabeth Tilley, for she was married before 1627 to Nicholas Snow, who came in *The Ann*. They had twelve children, and among the names one recognizes such familiar patronymics of the two families as Mark, Stephen, Ruth and Elizabeth. Family tradition has ascribed beauty and patience to this maiden who, doubtless, served well both in her father's large family and in the community. Her step-sister, Damaris, married Jacob Cooke, son of the Pilgrim, Francis Cooke.



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COMPANIONS WHO ARRIVED IN THE FORTUNE AND THE ANN

After the arrival of *The Ann*, in the summer of 1623, the women who came in [*The Mayflower*](#) had more companions of good breeding and efficiency. Elizabeth Warren, wife of Richard, came with her five daughters; it is safe to assume the latter were attractive for, in a few years, all were well married. Two sons were born after Elizabeth arrived at Plymouth, Nathaniel and Joseph. For forty-five years she survived her husband, who had been a man of strength of character and usefulness as well as some wealth. When she died at the age of ninety-three leaving seventy-five great grandchildren, the old Plymouth Colony Records paid her tribute, – "Mistress Elizabeth Warren, haveing lived a Godly life came to her Grave as a Shock of corn full Ripe. She was honourably buried on the 24th of October (1673)."

Evidently, Mistress Warren was a woman of independent means and efficiency, – else she would have remarried, as was the custom of the times. She became one of the "purchasers" of the colony and conveyed land, at different times, near Eel River and what is now Warren's Cove, in Plymouth, to her sons-in-law. An interesting sidelight upon her character and home is found in the Court Records; [Footnote: I, 35, July 5, 1635.] her servant, Thomas Williams, was prosecuted for "speaking profane and blasphemous speeches against ye majestie of God. There being some dissension between him and his dame she, after other things, exhorted him to fear God and doe his duty."

Bridget Fuller followed her husband, Dr. Samuel, and came in *The Ann*. She also long survived her husband and did not remarry. She carried on his household and probably also his teaching for many years after he fell victim to the epidemic of infectious fever in 1633. She was his third wife, but only two children are known to have used the Fuller cradle, now preserved in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth. It has been stated that, in addition to these two, Samuel and Mercy, another young child came with its mother in *The Ann*, but did not live long. [Footnote: Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth; W. T. Davis] The son, Samuel, born about 1625, was minister for many years at Middleboro; he married Elizabeth Brewster, thus preserving two friendly families in kinship.

Evidently, Bridget Fuller was very ill and not expected to recover when her husband was dying, for in his will, made at that time, he arranged for the education of his children by his brother-in-law, William Wright, unless it "shall please God to recover my wife out of her weake estate of sickness." It is interesting also that, in this will, provision was made for the education of his daughter, Mercy, as well as his son, Samuel, by Mrs. Heeks or Hicks, the wife of Robert Hicks who came in *The Ann*. [Footnote: Plymouth Colony Wills and Inventories; also in *The Mayflower Descendant*, 1, 245.] Not alone for his own children did this good physician provide education, but also for



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others "put to him for schooling," – with special mention of Sarah Converse "left to me by her sick father." This kind, generous doctor left a considerable estate, in spite of the many "debts for physicke," including that of "Mr. Roger Williams which was freely given." One specific gift was for the good of the church and this forms the nucleus of a fund which is still known as the Fuller Ministerial Fund of the Plymouth Congregational Church. Its source was "the first cow calfe that his Brown Cow should have." [Footnote: Genealogy of Some Descendants of Dr. Samuel Fuller of [The Mayflower](#), compiled by William Hyslop Fuller, Palmer.]

Mrs. Alice Morse Earle says that gloves were gifts of sentiment; [Footnote: Two Centuries of Costume in America; Alice Morse Earle; N. Y., 1903.] they were generously bestowed by this physician of old Plymouth. Money to buy gloves, or gloves, were bequeathed to Mistress Alice Bradford and Governor Winthrop of the Massachusetts Bay Colony; also to John Winslow, John Jenny and Rebecca Prence. The price allowed for a pair of gloves was from two to five shillings. Probably these may have been the fringed leather gloves or the knit gloves described by Mrs. Earle. Another bequest was his "best hat and band never worn to old Mr. William Brewster." To his wife was left not alone two houses, "one at Smeltriver and another in town," but also a fine supply of furnishings and clothes, including stuffe gown, red petticoate, stomachers, aprons, shoes and kerchiefs. Mistress Fuller lived until after 1667, and exerted a strong influence upon the educational life of Plymouth.

Is it heresy to question whether the sampler, [Footnote: In Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth.] accredited to Lora or Lorea Standish, the daughter of Captain Miles and Barbara Standish, was not more probably the work of the granddaughter, Lorea, the child of Alexander Standish and Sarah Alden? The style and motto are more in accord with the work of the later generation and, surely, the necessary time and materials for such work would be more probable after the pioneer days. This later Lora married Abraham Sampson, son of the Henry who came as a boy in [The Mayflower](#). [Footnote: Notes to Bradford's History, edition 1912.] The embroidered cap [Footnote: In Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth.] and bib, supposed to have been made by Mistress Barbara for her daughter, would prove that she had

"hands with such convenient skill

As to conduce to vertu void of shame"

which were the aspiration of the girl who embroidered, or "wrought," the sampler. It is a pleasant commentary upon the tastes and industry of Mistress Barbara Standish that, amid the cares of a large family and farm, she found time for such dainty embroideries as we find in the cap and bib.

Probably two young sons of Captain and Barbara Standish, Charles and John, died in the infectious fever epidemic of 1633. A second Charles with his brothers, Alexander, Miles and Josiah, and his sister, Lorea, gladdened the hearth of the Standish home on Captain's Hill, Duxbury. A goodly estate was left at the death of Captain Miles, including a well-equipped house, cattle, mault mill, swords (as one would expect), sixteen pewter pieces and several books of classic literature, – Homer, Caesar's



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Commentaries, histories of Queen Elizabeth's reign, military histories, and three Bibles with commentaries upon religious matters. There were also medical books, for Standish was reputed to have been a student and practitioner in times of emergency in Duxbury. He suffered a painful illness at the close of his vigorous, adventuresome life. Perhaps Barbara needed, at times, grace to endure that "warm temper" which Pastor Robinson deplored in Miles Standish, a comment which the intrepid Captain forgave and answered by a bequest to the granddaughter of this loved pastor. We may be sure Barbara was proud of the mighty share which her husband had in saving Plymouth Colony from severe disaster, if not from extinction. It is surmised that Barbara Standish was buried in Connecticut where she lived during the last of her life with her son, Josiah. Possibly, however, she may have been buried beside her husband, sons, daughter and daughter-in-law, Mary Dingley, in Duxbury. [Footnote: Interesting facts on this subject may be found in "The Grave of Miles Standish and other Pilgrims," by E. V. J. Huiginn; Beverly, 1914.]

The Colonial Governor and his Lady ever held priority of rank. Such came to Mrs. Alice Southworth when she married Governor William Bradford a few days after her arrival on *The Ann*. Tradition has said persistently that this was the consummation of an earlier romance which was broken off by the marriage of Alice Carpenter to Edward Southworth in Leyden. The death of her first husband left her with two sons, Thomas and Constant Southworth, who came to Plymouth before 1628. She had sisters in the Colony: Priscilla, the wife of William Wright, came in *The Fortune*; Dr. Fuller's first wife had been another sister; Juliana, wife of George Morton, was a third who came also in *The Ann*. Still another sister, Mary Carpenter, came later and lived in the Governor's family for many years. At her death in her ninety-first year, she was mourned as "a Godly old maid, never married." [Footnote: Hunter's Collections, 1854.]

The first home of the Bradfords in Plymouth was at Town Square where now stands the Bradford block. About 1627-8 they moved, for a part of the year, to the banks of the Jones River, now Kingston, a place which had strongly appealed to Bradford as a good site for the original settlement when the men were making their explorations in December, 1620. William, Joseph and Mercy were born to inherit from their parents the fine characters of both Governor and Alice Bradford, and also to pass on to their children the carved chests, wrought and carved chairs, case and knives, desk, silver spoons, fifty-one pewter dishes, five dozen napkins, three striped carpets, four Venice glasses, besides cattle and cooking utensils and many books. That the Governor had a proper "dress suit" was proved by the inventory of "stufte suit with silver buttons and cloaks of violet, light colour and faced with taffety and linen throw."

As Mistress Bradford could only "make her mark," she probably did not appreciate the remarkable collection, for the times, of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Dutch and French books as well as the studies in philosophy and theology which were in her husband's library. There is no doubt that the first and second generations of girls and boys in Plymouth Colony had elementary instruction,



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at least, under Dr. Fuller and Mrs. Hicks as well as by other teachers. Bradford, probably, would also attend to the education of his own family. The Governor's wife has been accredited with "labouring diligently for the improvement of the young women of Plymouth and to have been eminently worthy of her high position." [Footnote: The Pilgrim Republic; John A. Goodwin, p. 460.] She was the sole executrix of her husband's estate of L1005, — a proof of her ability. Sometimes her cheerfulness must have been taxed to comfort her husband, as old age came upon him and he fell into the gloomy mood reflected in such lines as these: [Footnote: New England Memorial; Morton.]

"In fears and wants, through weal and woe,
A pilgrim passed I to and fro;
Oft left of them whom I did trust,
How vain it is to rest in dust!
A man of sorrows I have been,
And many changes I have seen,
Wars, wants, peace, plenty I have known,
And some advanc'd, others thrown down."

When Mistress Alice Bradford died she was "mourned, though aged" by many. To her memory, Nathaniel Morton, her nephew, wrote some lines which were more biographic than poetical, recalling her early life as an exile with her father from England for the truth's sake, her first marriage:

"To one whose grace and virtue did surpass,
I mean good Edward Southworth whose not long
Continued in this world the saints amonge."

With extravagant words he extols the name of Bradford, — "fresh in memory Which smelles with odoriferous fragrancye." This elegist records also that, after her second widowhood, she lived a

"life of holynes and faith,
In reading of God's word and contemplation
Which healed her to assurance of salvation."

This is not a very lively, graphic description of the woman most honored, perhaps, of all the pioneer women of Plymouth, but we may add, by imagination, a few sure traits of human kindness and grace. She was typical of those women who came in [The Mayflower](#) and her sister ships. Although she escaped the tragic struggles and illness of that first winter, yet she revealed the same qualities of courage, good sense, fidelity and vision which were the watchwords of that group of women in Plymouth colony. Yes, — they had vision to see their part in the sincere purpose to establish a new standard of liberty in state and church, to serve God and mankind with all their integrity and resources. As the leaders among the men were self-sacrificing and honorable in their dealings with their financiers, with the Indians and with each other, so the women were faithful and true in their homes and communal life. They took scarcely any part in the civic administration, for such responsibility did not come into the lives of seventeenth century women. They were actively interested in the educational and religious life of the colony. Their moral standards were high and inflexible; they extolled, and practised, the virtues of thrift and industry. It may be



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well for women in America today, who were querulous at the restrictions upon sugar and electric lights, to consider the good sense, and good cheer, with which these women of Plymouth Colony directed their thrifty households. We would not assume that they were free from the whims and foibles of womankind, — and sometimes of man-kind, — of all ages. They were, doubtless, contradictory and impulsive at times; they could scold and they could gossip. We believe that they laughed sometimes, in the midst of dire want and anxiety, and we know that they prayed with sincerity and trust. They bore children gladly and they trained them "in the fear and admonition of the Lord." They were the progenitors of thousands of fine men and women in all parts of America today who honor the *women* as well as the *men* of the old Plymouth Colony, — the women who faithfully performed, without any serious discontent,

"that whole sweet round
Of littles that large life compound."



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1928

There would not have been contemporary pictures, paintings, or measurements of such a workhorse as the *Mayflower* but its burthen is known to have been 180 tons⁴³ and, from that hard fact, experts in 17th-Century merchant vessel construction have established its length as about 113 feet from the tip of its bowsprit beak to the back rail. Its keel would have been about 64 feet and its board width would have been something like 25 feet. In this year a model for the *Mayflower* was constructed by R.C. Anderson ("A 'Mayflower' Model." *Mariner's Mirror* 12:260-3). Several decades later, on a similar set of plans, the *Mayflower II* would be constructed.



43. William Bradford, OF PLYMOUTH PLANTATION, written 1630-1654, original at Massachusetts State Library, Boston.



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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

- Remark by character "Garin Stevens"
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: November 22, 2019



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ARRGH AUTOMATED RESearch REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.



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Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and recompile the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.
Place requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>. Arrgh.