

PILGRIMS *THEN AND NOW*

by Gary L. Marks



On September 16, 1620, 102 men, women, children, servants and craftsmen, plus officers and seamen set sail from Plymouth, England, on an overburdened, 180-ton ship called the Mayflower. The rest is history. Unfortunately, time has blurred the Pilgrims' history. Many still confuse the Mayflower's passengers with the Puritans, a strict religious sect, who landed years later in Salem, Massachusetts.

Others still think of the Pilgrims as little more than Thanksgiving symbols, brought out for the holidays and afterward put back in the closet.

But Pilgrim authority Gary Marks dusts off the stale symbols (the landing at Plymouth Rock and the celebration of the first Thanksgiving), throws out the misconceptions, and makes the Pilgrim story come alive. Introducing us to the oppression of the 17th-century England, the terrors of sea travel and the personalities of the Pilgrims themselves, Marks shows us why the Pilgrim story is a heroic life-and-death fight for freedom. He shows us how the Pilgrim spirit - their religious tolerance and need for freedom - helped shape the evolution of democracy in the United States. And he shows us why we can be proud of any heritage in which Pilgrims, then and now, have played a significant part.

About The Author

Gary L. Marks

Gary L. Marks holds a BA from Hiram College and a Master's degree from Vanderbilt/Oberlin where, in 1967, he was awarded the Founder's Medal for highest academic achievement. He was a teaching fellow at the Graduate School of Boston University from 1967-1969 and has also taught at Emmanuel College in Boston. Mr. Marks has pursued his interest in the Pilgrims during sabbatical travel and study in England and Holland. In 1985 The Pilgrim Society published in its Pilgrim Journal his article "The Faith and Theology of the Pilgrims." Mr. Marks is a trustee of the Pilgrim Society and a director of Plimoth Plantation. He is currently researching the life and influence of John Robinson, pastor of the Pilgrims.

Mr. Marks and his wife, Kathryn, live in Plymouth with their three children.

Robert M. Bartlett

Scholar, teacher in China and the United States, lecturer on the Pilgrims and author of 24 books, Robert M. Bartlett was most appropriately chosen to be "Mr. Pilgrim" at the commemorative events of Plymouth's 350th Anniversary. His *The Pilgrim Way* constitutes the most thorough and scholarly study of the Pilgrim movement.

FOREWORD

When this small book was first printed in 1990, Pilgrim descendent and scholar Robert M. Bartlett wrote its foreword. Since that time, unfortunately, Robert Bartlett has passed this life and with his passing the cause of Pilgrim scholarship has lost one of its most appreciative and sensitive interpreters. His book, *The Pilgrim Way*, is recognized as one of the outstanding works in Pilgrim research.

In *The Pilgrim Way*, Robert Bartlett demonstrated that John Robinson was the spiritual and intellectual leader of those who were to be called Pilgrims and that his keen intellect and persuasive personality gave both sustenance and integrity to the Pilgrim self-understanding. It is to Robert Bartlett that we owe present research into the primal role of John Robinson in the legacy the Pilgrims have contributed to democratic self-governance.

Robert Bartlett was a mentor to the author of *PILGRIMS Then and Now*. Gary Marks and Robert Bartlett were soul friends and came to share a desire to relate the Pilgrim story in a balanced and responsible way so that the Pilgrims can be appreciated for their achievement as ordinary human beings in the ongoing development of human civilization.

The reissue of this booklet is dedicated to the memory of Robert M. Bartlett, scholar and mentor to all who seek freedom of conscience.

The Reverend Gary L. Marks
Plymouth, Massachusetts

INTRODUCTION

The Pilgrim story is one of the best known stories and, paradoxically, one of the least known stories concerning our American beginnings. Many are familiar with the *Mayflower*, Plymouth Rock, and the first Thanksgiving. Few know much about the great ideas and personalities which gave rise to and sustained the Pilgrims' heroic and persistent struggle to realize their dreams of living as a self-determining people. The Pilgrim enterprise has not enjoyed the kind of understanding it deserves with regard to its primitive contributions to a fledgling democracy. The fame and popularity of major events in our early history ironically stand in the way of an appreciation for the basic impetus which guided their fervent and dogged quest to live free from the tyranny of both the King and the established Church of England. Following repeated attempts and profound searchings of soul to "purify" the church from within, the small group of stubborn people whom we now know as Pilgrims separated themselves from the Church and effectually, therefore, from their own nation. This severance from the English establishment earned for them the scornful name of "Independents" or "Separatists" by their detractors. This extreme act of separation pushed the Pilgrims beyond those who were known as Puritans, those who sought to change the church while remaining in it. Plymouth Colony, therefore, is not to be confused with the Massachusetts Bay Colony which was settled by so-called non-separating Puritans in places like Salem and Boston. Though the relationship between Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth was for the most part cordial, Plymouth was never looked upon with as much favor by England as was its larger and richer neighbor to the north.

The Pilgrim experience made a very significant contribution to ideas of freedom *then* and it can be an inspiration to those who seek liberation from tyranny and oppression anywhere in the world *now*. The world in which we live is vastly different from the one known to the Pilgrims, but the issues of liberty, freedom and self-governance remain remarkably similar today.

PILGRIMS THEN AND NOW

In this time of explosive, dizzying and exhilarating change, one can feel the earth moving as freedom and independence erupt with volcanic force from the tip of South Africa to the northern Baltics, from the remote reaches of Mongolia to the rarefied heights of Nepal.

Plymouth Rock would be nothing more than an undistinguished boulder buried in the shifting sands of Plymouth Bay, the *Mayflower* would be recalled only in ancient and obscure logs for those interested in ships which carried cargoes of wine, the first Thanksgiving would not have taken place, there would not have been need for that noble document of freedom known as the *Mayflower Compact*, there would have been no Pilgrims—were it not for a small group of English people who were possessed by the desire to live in freedom. This booklet intends to tell the story, but as a story which has no end. The story would end only if people suffer a failure of nerve in the quest for basic human principles and succumb in servility to oppression. The Pilgrims made progress toward self-determination *then*; all become Pilgrims who share their passion for freedom *now*.

G. L. M.

August 1990

A GATHERED COMMUNITY

THE PILGRIM STORY has its foundations in a few very basic ideas or principles. It is the story of a people of faith and courage who gave historical identity to values which have become extremely influential in the formation of democracy. The Pilgrims themselves were not seeking to establish a democracy per se, but it required democratic ideas to establish order in both the religious and civil spheres of their existence.

The famed *Mayflower Compact* is a civil extension of the Covenant which was the foundation of their idea of the church. In 1606 in the tiny hamlet of Scrooby, England those who were to come to be known as Pilgrims became a "gathered" community. They did so on the basis of what seems to be a simple and uncontroversial agreement—the Covenant. This agreement, or religious *Compact*, contained ideas which were destined to influence, even if indirectly, the very foundations of modern democracy. It must be remembered that in 1606 in England it was treasonous to join voluntary associations or to form a church outside the Church of England. Yet, that is precisely the risk which these determined people were willing to take in order to live by their convictions. The Covenant itself has not survived, but a paraphrase of it has been preserved in William Bradford's *Of Plymouth Plantation*:

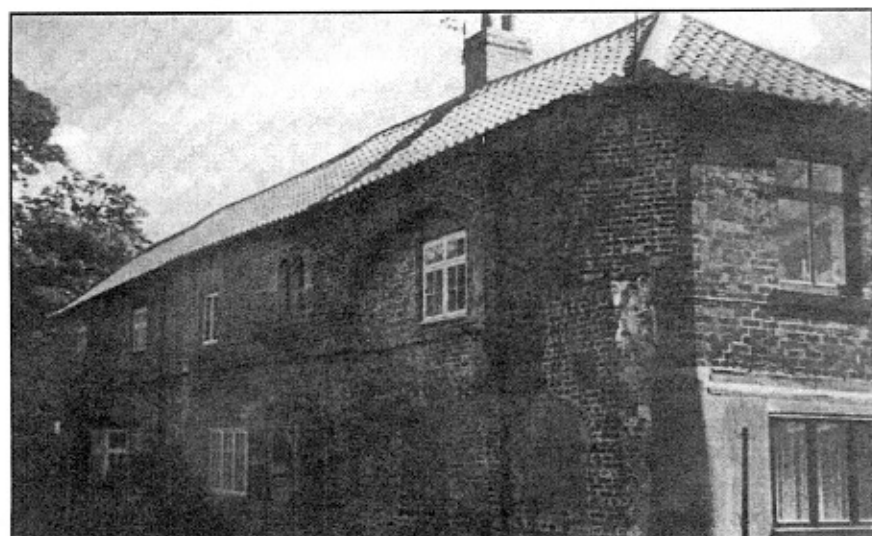
So many, therefore, of these professors as saw the evil of these things in these parts, and whose hearts the Lord had touched with heavenly zeal for His truth, they shook off this yoke of antichristian bondage, and as the Lord's free people joined themselves (by a covenant of the Lord) into a church estate, in the fellowship of the gospel, to walk in all His ways made known, or to be made known unto them, according to their best endeavors, whatsoever it should cost them, the Lord assisting them.¹

This Covenant effectually alienated the Scrooby congregation from both Church and State and made of those who would be among the

PILGRIMS THEN AND NOW

Pilgrims criminals in the eyes of English law. Their belief in self-determination would cost them plenty, no doubt far more than they ever imagined when they “owned” the Covenant in the sleepy village of Scrooby.

The Covenant gave rights to every individual who made up the “separating” church. This meant that the congregation would accept no authority, ecclesiastical or civil, above the decisions at which they had arrived by mutual consent. Their ideas were motivated, not by a desire to create a democracy, but by their interpretation of what church orga-



Scrooby Manor—May 1997

nization should be, as revealed in the New Testament. Their church organization, however, became the model for every other aspect of their corporate existence. The Covenant was, therefore, the model which the Pilgrims followed in creating the *Mayflower Compact* which would eventually become an important document in the development of a free society in New England and beyond.

Scrooby was not the only “covenanting” community in northern England, nor was it the first to “make covenant.” There were other congregations near them who separated from the Church of England, thus

A GATHERED COMMUNITY

becoming known as Separatists. John Smyth led such a group at nearby Gainsborough. Richard Clyfton at the little hamlet of Babworth was known as a “forward” preacher, and when disenfranchised from the state church joined the Scrooby congregation and became its pastor. Clyfton was a very important leader to the Scrooby group, and Pilgrim scholar Edward Arber makes a case for the belief that plans for the emigration of the Scrooby congregation began in the great rectory at Babworth.²

The Scrooby congregation held its meetings at the Manor House at the invitation of one who was destined to become one of the great heroes of the Pilgrim story, William Brewster. His father was Master of the Queen’s Post in Scrooby, an important position at that time. The Post Master’s occupation was sufficiently remunerative to allow the father of William to send his son to Cambridge University



Gainsborough Old Hall—May 1997

where he entered Peterhouse College on December 3, 1580.³ Young William attended Peterhouse, but did not earn a degree. Instead he entered the service of Queen Elizabeth’s Secretary of State, William Davison, with whom he traveled extensively on official business. Upon the death of his father, he returned to Scrooby to succeed him as Master of Posts.⁴ Brewster served in this post from the time he was twenty-three until the age of forty.

Another central figure in what was to become the Pilgrim experience was a young man from a village two miles north of Scrooby, William Bradford. Bradford, a zealous and gifted person, overcame many obstacles in life in order eventually to make an enormous contribution to the advancement of freedom. By the tender age of twelve he had already delved deeply into the study of the Bible and was known for his “independent” beliefs. Later he would make the long walk to hear Richard Clyfton at Babworth. At the age of seventeen Bradford went to live at Scrooby with Brewster. Thus began a life-long friendship be-

PILGRIMS THEN AND NOW



Parish Church of Sturton-le-Steeple, England, home of John Robinson

tween two extraordinary men who would be the key leaders in far away New Plymouth.⁵

If Brewster and Bradford may be considered the moral and practical leaders in the Pilgrim story, it may be said that the theological and intellectual bulwark of the Pilgrim Way was to fall to another man who joined the Scrooby congregation sometime later. That peace-loving and sensitive person was John Robinson. Robinson, too, was a Cambridge scholar who entered Corpus Christi College on April 9, 1592. Robinson was a brilliant thinker and student who was admitted as "scholar" at Corpus Christi on February 16, 1595 and "fellow" in March of 1597. This would mean that he would in 1597 have received his "orders" as a minister of the Church of England.⁶

Robinson was born in the hamlet of Sturton-le-Steeple in 1578, a short distance from Scrooby. While at Cambridge he was greatly influenced by two prominent scholars who were Puritans. Through his contacts with these men Robinson came to realize that purification of the church was not possible and he eventually felt compelled to separate from his beloved Church of England. He returned to his old childhood surroundings and united himself with like-minded people at the Manor House in Scrooby.⁷ Robinson soon established himself as a leader in the congregation there and became its teacher, Clyfton being the pastor and Brewster the ruling elder.

MOVE TO HOLLAND

THE POSITION OF the illegal "covenanting" congregation at Scrooby was growing perilous with time's passage. Informers brought the Scrooby Manor meetings to the attention of the Bishop of Lincoln

MOVE TO HOLLAND

and the Archbishop of York who could not tolerate such independent acts. The persecution began in earnest and "the Lord's free people" had serious decisions to make. Thus, with the situation worsening, Bradford records the consummation of those decisions:

But after these things they could not long continue in any peaceable condition, but were hunted and persecuted on every side, so as their former afflictions were but as flea-bitings in comparison of these which now came upon them.⁸

The congregation, therefore, "by joint consent" resolved to go into the Low Countries (Holland) where freedom of religion was tolerated. The emigration took place during the years 1607 and 1608.

The decision to remove themselves to Holland was a fateful one indeed, because it was the initial step taken toward their as yet undreamed of voyage to America. The Scrooby congregation's decision to go into Holland was accompanied by incredible tribulations and trials.⁹

Basic elements of the Pilgrim Way and its central characters have now been presented and it has been observed that the entire Pilgrim enterprise was founded upon a few basic principles which have had an enormous influence upon the establishment of religious and political freedom, not only in America but around the world.

The organization of the Pilgrim Church on the basis of a covenant gave rise to its political equivalent in the civic or political spheres of life. This humble notion in a tiny church would be expanded to all areas of the organization of human rights based upon the maxim "one person, one vote." The Pilgrims believed in the aristocracy of the Lord, but in democracy in the conduct of earthly affairs. The decision to move the congregation to Holland, for instance, was motivated by the desire for religious freedom. Bradford recorded that the decision to move was made by "a joint consent" and that meant that the majority ruled the entirety of the congregation. Some, even many, may have disagreed with the majority, but they were bound by covenant agreement to abide by the

PILGRIMS THEN AND NOW

consensus or to seek dismissal from their covenant obligations. This principle is a prototype of democracy.

In order to worship freely after the dictates of conscience and to manage their own temporal affairs those who were to become the Pilgrims were forced to resist the tyrannical excesses of both church and crown. The Scrooby congregation, along with many other like-minded groups, had fostered great hope that King James I of England would bring with him the Presbyterian Church order from his native Scotland. That hope, however, was certainly not realized. James considered himself an absolute monarch and knew that he had to have the power of the church in order to govern absolutely. Conformity to the Church of England was demanded and non-conformity was severely punished. Walter Burgess puts the matter succinctly:

Any attempt to express antagonistic opinions either by means of the Press or by organizing meetings for worship apart from the established and legal form, were rigidly put down.¹⁰

The Pilgrims in their non-conformity were following their belief in freedom of conscience and self-expression, values which would be part of a later full-fledged democracy.

The Pilgrims finally arrived at Amsterdam, Holland during the years of 1607 and 1608. For a time the Scrooby congregation worshiped and associated with a Separatist church, called the "Ancient Brethren," under the leadership of Francis Johnson. That congregation, however, was caught up in a storm of controversy, and it greatly grieved Robinson and the others that these fellow exiles, supposedly in pursuit of the truth, could degenerate into petty pursuits.¹¹

The Pilgrims stayed in Amsterdam for about one year. They could no longer abide the inane controversies and scandals of their fellow exiles, and, under Robinson's sage guidance, decided to apply to the city of Leyden for the right of citizenship in that fair university city. Such permission was granted in February 1609.¹² To the great loss of

MOVE TO HOLLAND

the Scrooby exiles the Rev. Richard Clyfton, likely due to his advanced age, decided to remain in Amsterdam. His influence on Pilgrim beginnings was extremely important and generally goes unappreciated.¹³

With Clyfton's decision to remain in Amsterdam, John Robinson became the pastor of the Scrooby exiles. The Pilgrims bought a large house in Leyden, called De Groene Poort (Green Close or Gate), in May of 1611 for the rather hefty sum of 8,000 guilders (\$10-12,000) which represented a great deal of money for these poor people.¹⁴ The Green Close housed Pastor Robinson's family and perhaps other Pilgrim families, and served as the headquarters for the congregation. It has been widely believed that the Green Close was also where the Pilgrim church met for worship, though some recent evidence suggests that the Pilgrims were allowed by the university to use the Bagijnhof Chapel for their services.¹⁵

There was one very important activity, and a risky one, in which the Pilgrims were involved while they were in Leyden. The Pilgrim zeal for freedom in mat-

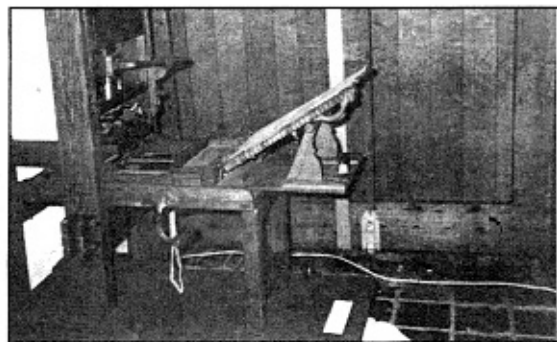
ters of church government led naturally to the establishment of a printing press through which they could disseminate ideas which were compatible with their own. It



Leyden, Holland in the early 1600's

cannot be overly emphasized just how important the press was. In the 1600s the press was the only means by which ideas could receive wide circulation. Ideas such as those held by Robinson and his congregation were forbidden publication by the King. Books and pamphlets, therefore, had to be printed outside of England and later smuggled into that country.

PILGRIMS THEN AND NOW



Scale model of Brewer's printing press

The establishment of the Pilgrim Press in Leyden was, therefore, a dangerous undertaking indeed. It also demonstrates the Pilgrims' interest in the intellectual debate about the most important religious, political and social issues of their

time. Many Pilgrim interpreters have minimized this important dimension of the Pilgrim enterprise.

Governor Bradford makes only a passing reference to the Pilgrim Press, which was the product of the industriousness of William Brewster. In recounting the achievements of Brewster's life Bradford says, "He also had means to set up printing by the help of some friends, and so had employment enough, and by reason of many books which would not be allowed to be printed in England, they might have had more than they could do."¹⁶

The story of Brewster and the Pilgrim Press is filled with high drama as he eluded attempts at his capture for about a year.¹⁷ A man by the name of Thomas Brewer found the bulk of the capital for the new press, and his attic seems to have been used for part of the work.

The undoing of the Pilgrim Press came as the result of two books which King James found to be especially incendiary. King James was at that time seeking to break the spirit of the Scottish Presbyterians by forcing episcopacy upon the Church of Scotland. This meant that James was seeking to bring the Scottish Church under the control of the established Church of England and by so doing increase his absolute power over all the British Isles. He pressed his plans with vigor at the General Assembly of the Kirk (Church) at Perth in August of 1618. A Scots

MOVE TO HOLLAND

minister named David Calderwood violently disagreed with the King and sought to print his arguments in Holland. The Pilgrim Press was selected as the printer. The Press published two of Calderwood's books, one in English, the other in Latin. The English book was entitled *Perth Assembly* and the Latin one *De regimine Ecclesiae Scoticanae, Brevis Relatio*. The books were smuggled into Scotland in wine vats and generally circulated to the abhorrence of James. Upon finding the identity of the printer of these books, the King was determined to destroy the Pilgrim Press. Brewster was hunted as a vile criminal and there is correspondence which chronicles his pursuit by English authorities.¹⁸

Brewer was eventually arrested and the printing press in Choir Alley at Brewster's house destroyed. Brewster was never apprehended and we can only speculate as to his whereabouts during this eventful period.¹⁹ The Pilgrim Press was an important tool for the dissemination of volatile ideas and furthered the Separatist and similar causes. It was captured during the very time when the Pilgrims were making plans for the journey which would eventually bring them to America. The press was concrete testimony to their resolve to be free in all areas of their lives. It is, in part, because of this resolve that the freedom of the press has become a hallmark of every democracy.

By this time the Pilgrims were growing weary and older. These hounds of freedom were also intensely English and began to think of yet another emigration where they could keep their values intact. Among their greatest concerns was that they and especially their young people would become absorbed into Dutch society. In addition to this consideration, and despite Governor Bradford's insistence that they were received favorably by the Dutch, there exists some evidence to support the notion that they and other non-conforming churches could be outlawed. An edict of the Estates General was published in Leyden in July of 1619 which prohibited separatist religious gatherings or conventicles. Although not enforced against the Pilgrim Church, the legal basis existed upon which the suppression of English non-conforming churches could be achieved.²⁰

PILGRIMS THEN AND NOW



The Leiden American
Pilgrim Museum

For these, and many other reasons, the Pilgrim congregation began to dream of a place where its cherished ideas of freedom might thrive without the interferences of an established culture. They desired a place where their own notions of religious and civic freedom might flourish in an original and pristine state. Those dreams would eventually carry them, after much anguish, danger and suffering, to an icy and desolate strip of American shoreline where they would seek to give a unique form of freedom an opportunity to prove its own merits. Plymouth,

Massachusetts was favored to be the place where democracy would first find fresh air to breathe in New England.

Governor Bradford offers several reasons for the Pilgrims' desire for removal to some other place and concludes them with what he attested to be the most compelling reason of all, and in so doing, gave us one of his most noted quotations, a part of which appears on the statue of Bradford near Plymouth Rock:

Lastly (and which was not the least), a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancing the gospel of the kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world; yea, though they should be but even as stepping-stones unto others for the performing of so great a work.²¹

This quotation demonstrates a fact about the Pilgrims which is often minimized by many scholars. The Pilgrims really thought themselves to be a destined people who were guided by a providential God. Of the reasons given in Bradford's remarkable history the thought of economic success plays almost no role. They acted more on the basis of

MOVE TO HOLLAND

belief and principle than upon the desire for riches. They realized the possible and probable perils and dangers which they might encounter in such a weighty undertaking and even realized that they might play only a minor role in the establishment of a new society, being "even as stepping-stones" for others to complete the work to which they committed themselves. The Pilgrims had a profound sense that they were agents of Providence and were willing to accept the risks involved in order to begin construction of a "city set upon a hill."

In one of the choicest passages in *Of Plymouth Plantation* Bradford, in lyrical use of Elizabethan English, again states the high resolve which underlay what was to become the Pilgrim enterprise. In an effort to build the confidence of those who rightly suggested the dangers which were before them Bradford says:

It was answered, that all great and honourable actions are accompanied with great difficulties and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable courages. It was granted the dangers were great, but not desperate. The difficulties were many, but not invincible. For though there were many of them likely, yet they were not certain. It might be sundry of the things feared might never befall; others by provident care and the use of good means might in great measure be prevented; and all of them, through the help of God, by fortitude and patience, might either be borne or overcome. True it was that such attempts were not to be made and undertaken without good ground and reason, not rashly or lightly as many have done for curiosity or hope of gain, etc. But their condition was not ordinary, their ends were good and honourable, their calling lawful and urgent; and therefore they might expect the blessing of God in their proceeding. Yea, though they should lose their lives in this action, yet might they have comfort in the same and their endeavours would be honourable.²²

PILGRIMS THEN AND NOW

Bradford adds that it was concluded by "the major part" to put the design for emigration to America into execution and to seek the best means they could for its success.

This long quotation reiterates two cardinal Pilgrim ideas. First, they felt themselves providentially destined to establish a "holy city," as it were. Secondly, the decision was reached, after lengthy and heated discussion, by the "major part" or, in modern terms, by the majority. In temporal affairs the Pilgrims were willing to accept seemingly any risk in order to be self-determining. Though this be a fledgling form of democracy, it put into action their Covenant notion that they were "the Lord's free people." The Pilgrims saw themselves in just that way; God's people free to express and order themselves without the tyranny of king or bishop.

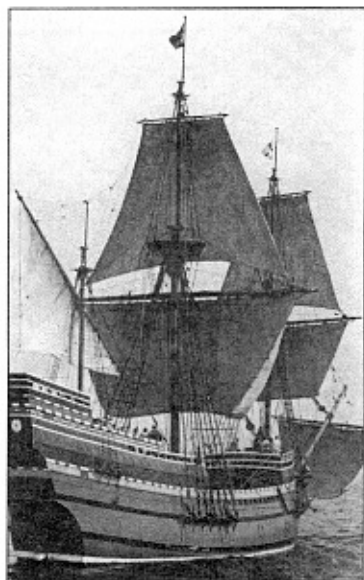
Obviously, many arrangements had to be made in preparation for this enormous and precarious undertaking. They first had to decide upon a possible location for their settlement. Several locations were considered but according to Bradford it was decided that they would "live as a distinct body by themselves under the general Government of Virginia,"²³ the destination given in their petition to emigrate to America.

The Pilgrims also had to find adequate means to finance their journey, which proved to be no easy matter. Venture capital was as costly in the 17th century as it is today. Robert Cushman and John Carver were appointed to make arrangements for the voyage. The terms of agreement were difficult and eventually nearly brought the Pilgrim experiment to ruin.²⁴ However, the die was cast and the Pilgrims' "rendezvous with destiny" was about to begin.

In addition to the troublesome financial arrangements the Leyden congregation purchased a ship, the *Speedwell*, and arranged to meet a larger ship, the *Mayflower*, at Southampton, England. The initial plan was that the *Speedwell* would remain in America while the *Mayflower* would return to England. This plan, like so many others, was to be revised by as yet unforeseen circumstances.

MOVE TO HOLLAND

To the great loss of the Pilgrim congregation its beloved leader, John Robinson, was unable to sail aboard the *Speedwell*. By a vote of the Green Close, Robinson was to remain in Leyden with the majority of the congregation while Brewster was to be in charge of the first expedition, there being others to follow at advantageous times. Bradford relates: "Those that stayed, being the greater number, required the pastor to stay with them; and indeed for other reasons he could not then well go, and so it was the more easily yielded unto."²⁵ Unfortunately Robinson was never to come to America, though he remained the Pilgrim pastor until his untimely death in 1625.



Mayflower II, a recreation of the original, as seen at Plimoth Plantation.

In preparation for the Pilgrims' departure aboard the *Speedwell* from nearby Delftshaven, the Leyden congregation gathered for "a day of solemn humiliation." Pastor Robinson preached a moving sermon taking as his text Ezra 8:21. It was a day of prayer, hope and weeping. The time of the actual parting was difficult in the extreme since the original idea was that the whole congregation would make the journey.

Following a feast at Delftshaven the Pilgrim odyssey was set in motion. Bradford records the emotional scene:

But the tide, which stays for no man, calling them away that were thus loath to depart, their reverend pastor falling down on his knees (and they all with him) with watery cheeks commended them with most fervent prayers to the Lord and His blessing. And then with mutual embraces and many tears they took their leaves one of another, which proved to be the last leave to many of them.²⁶

PILGRIMS THEN AND NOW



The Departure of the Pilgrim Fathers from Delfhaven

As a part of this same farewell scene it is assumed by many that the Leyden congregation's members received the name now applied to them. In these famous words the departure for the New World was made:

So they left that goodly and pleasant city which had been their resting place near twelve years; but they knew they were pilgrims, and looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to the heavens, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits.²⁷

Pilgrims, indeed, they were and they were made so by their unconquerable desire to be free.

THE MAYFLOWER JOURNEY

THE JOURNEY TO SOUTHAMPTON was pleasant enough, but the pleasantries ended when the *Speedwell* anchored alongside the *Mayflower*. There they were met by the agent of the group, called the London Merchant Adventurers, who had agreed to outfit them for the journey. There was a major disagreement about the terms of the deal made for them by Carver and Cushman. Among the greatest concerns the Pilgrims had was that they were to divide equally between themselves and the Adventurers their houses, goods, lands and chattels at the end of seven years. The Pilgrims claimed that they had been misrepresented and had not seen these terms in writing.

THE MAYFLOWER JOURNEY

The issue was never completely resolved, but the Pilgrims sold off a considerable amount of their precious provisions in order to clear Southampton harbor. Although greatly wanting in necessities, they again set sail. There was no turning back; the dream and the investment already were costing them dearly.²⁸

The two ships proceeded as far as Dartmouth where they were forced to put in due to leaks in the *Speedwell*. Following more squabbling over arrangements, they departed Dartmouth, having refitted the leaking *Speedwell*, but the woes of the Pilgrims continued. They had



Route of the Mayflower: Palacios

gone about 100 leagues when the captain of the *Speedwell*, Reynolds, commanded the ship to put into Plymouth. Bradford accuses Reynolds of "over masting" the vessel causing it to take on water. He claims that Reynolds simply wanted out of the deal and thus betrayed the beleaguered Pilgrims.²⁹ It was decided to abandon the *Speedwell* and proceed with the *Mayflower*.

The provisions aboard the *Speedwell* were off-loaded and put aboard the *Mayflower*, yet one more disappointment. The passenger list numbered 102 with a crew of thirty or more. Many, including a distraught Cushman, were forced to remain behind, though he would eventually become a key figure in New Plymouth.

Loaded to the gunwales, the *Mayflower* slowly crept out of Plymouth harbor into the unpredictable waters of the Atlantic. Cramped in the ship and stunned by their ordeals, the Pilgrims were finally off to America. What further calamity could befall them? By this time they

PILGRIMS THEN AND NOW

must have come to accept the fact that freedom and dreams come at a very exacting cost. Now, however, they were on an unalterable course westward, stubbornly pursuing in harsh reality what they had agreed to in covenant in far away Scrooby, no matter what it cost them. Can it not be said of these pilgrims that they, like voyagers of a later century, were taking a giant step for mankind?



Landing of the Pilgrims

The passage of the *Mayflower* to New England was as dramatic as

any circumstance which had preceded them in their dogged quest for freedom. At the beginning the trip went well with fair breezes, but then there were fierce storms which shook the ship so wildly that it sprang leaks. In one such tempest one of the main beams cracked. The crew panicked and fear befell all on board. The master of the ship, Christopher Jones, had the ship examined to assess the damage and found her worthy beneath the water. One of the crew found a large iron screw which the Pilgrims had brought with them from Leyden, which some speculate may have come from Brewster's demolished printing press.³⁰ The screw lifted the beam and it was held in place by a post.

There were many vicious storms and for several days the *Mayflower* managed to proceed under short sail and drift in the wind. In one such storm John Howland, an indentured servant of Governor Carver, was thrown into the sea but miraculously was able to catch hold of the topsail halyards and be pulled to safety.

During the crossing one passenger died, William Butten, a youth and servant of Dr. Samuel Fuller. There was also a birth on board the *Mayflower*, that of Oceanus Hopkins, which must have lifted the spirits

THE LANDING AT CAPE COD

of the Pilgrims. They were sick and miserable, frightened and hungry. The birth of a child amid such inhospitable circumstances must have seemed a favorable omen of survival to these beleaguered exiles.

There is more high drama in the passage of the *Mayflower* which is further described in Governor Bradford's account.³¹

THE LANDING AT CAPE COD

AFTER SIXTY-SIX DAYS of being battered and terrified by the angry Atlantic, "they fell with that land which is called Cape Cod."³² There was ecstatic joy when on November 19, 1620 the Pilgrims caught their first grateful glimpse of the New World.

Their joy was soon tempered when they learned they were not in Virginia, their chartered destination.³³ Captain Jones turned the ship southward along the arm of Cape Cod which led them to Chatham. The waters in that area are enormously rough, waters known until this day as "Tucker's Terror." This caused him to turn northward where he put into Provincetown, Cape Cod on November 21.

Bradford almost mournfully concludes the tribulations of the Pilgrims in these words:

Being thus passed the vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation..., they had now no friends to welcome them nor inns to entertain or refresh their weatherbeaten bodies; no houses or much less towns to repair to, to seek for succour.³⁴

Indeed, the Pilgrims' trials were far from over and, among other negative factors, it was the onset of winter, the worst possible time of arrival in New England. When they first "made covenant" in Scrooby the Pilgrims vowed to pursue their freedom "whatsoever it should cost them." Standing at the point of Cape Cod in the wilderness, in November, alone, they must have thought the cost to be far greater than ever

they could have imagined. Their abiding desire for freedom, ironically, made them captives to circumstances which could lead to their ruin.

Besides these grim circumstances some of the crew, since they had not arrived at their intended destination, demanded that the captain put the passengers ashore and sail back to England.

To add to these problems, there were some passengers who were not of the Scrooby/Leyden congregation. Bradford referred to these passengers as "strangers" while often referring to the members of the congregation, following a New Testament designation, as "saints." Certain of these so-called strangers said that when they got ashore they would do as they pleased since they were outside of Virginia and therefore not subject to their charter.

THE MAYFLOWER COMPACT

THESE TWIN, potentially mutinous, difficulties led to the framing and signing of one of the most important documents of freedom in history, the *Mayflower Compact*. The *Compact* was a civil extension of the simple church covenant first agreed to at Scrooby in 1606. As the Covenant bound the congregation into a "church estate," so would the *Compact* bind the new colony into a "civil estate." Pastor John Robinson, wisely foreseeing that such difficulties might arise in the New World, had written in a letter addressed to John Carver prior to their sailing from Delftshaven that they should form themselves into a "body politic" upon their arrival. In that letter Robinson sets out certain organizational principles which are echoed in the famed *Compact*. Among other things he advised:

Lastly, whereas you are become a body politic, using amongst yourselves civil government, and are not furnished with any persons of special eminency above the rest, to be chosen by you into office of government; let your wisdom and godliness appear, not only in choosing such persons as do entirely love and will promote the common good, but also

THE MAYFLOW COMPACT

*in yielding unto them all due honour and obedience in their lawful administrations, not beholding in them the ordinariness of their persons but God's ordinance for your good;...*³⁵

Robinson's advice was to form a government in which all people, even though ordinary, would select governors, frame ordinances, laws, constitutions, etc., for the common good. In this counsel Robinson gave guidance for the first democratically governed settlement in the New World.

Reflecting Robinson's wisdom, the *Mayflower Compact* was drawn up before they went ashore at Provincetown. The *Compact*, following simple notions of congregational freedom declared in a primitive form in Scrooby in 1606, became a significant stepping-stone toward American constitutional democracy. The *Compact* follows:



Signing of the Mayflower Compact

In the Name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King James, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, etc. Having undertaken, for the Glory of God and advancement of the Christian Faith and Honour of our King and Country, a Voyage to plant the First Colony in the Northern Parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God and one of another, Covenant and Combine ourselves together into a Civil Body Politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute and frame

The Signers

John Carver
William Bradford
Edward Winslow
William Brewster
Isaac Allerton
Myles Standish
John Alden
Samuel Fuller
Christopher Martin
William Mullins
William White
Richard Warren
John Howland
Stephen Hopkins
Edward Tilley
John Tilley
Francis Cooke
Thomas Rogers
Thomas Tinker
John Rigdale
Edward Fuller
John Turner
Francis Eaton
James Chilton
John Crackston
John Billington
Moses Fletcher
John Goodman
Degory Priest
Thomas Williams
Gilbert Winslow
Edmund Margeson
Peter Browne
Richard Britteridge
George Soule
Richard Clarke
Richard Gardiner
John Allerton
Thomas English
Edward Dotey
Edward Leister

*such just and equal Laws, Ordinances, Acts, Constitutions and Offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape Cod, the 11th of November, in the year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King James, of England, France, and Ireland the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth. Anno Domini 1620.*³⁶

These words are among the most important ever spoken for the cause of human freedom. They also are the foundational stones upon which democracy is constructed. Key words and phrases in the *Compact* reflect what by this time had become a familiar manner by which the Pilgrims ordered their affairs. They agreed "solemnly and mutually" to covenant and to combine themselves together in a civil body politic for their better ordering. They agreed that from time to time they would "enact, constitute and frame such equal Laws, Acts, etc.," which would seek to ensure the "general good." These phrases express the very foundational ideas which gave impetus to the further development of a democratic ordering of society. It is significant to note also that the basis of civil order applied to those who were not origi-

THE SELECTION OF PLYMOUTH

nally a part of the Scrooby/Leyden congregation. All were considered to be equals before the terms laid out in the *Compact*.

THE SELECTION OF PLYMOUTH AS THE SITE OF THE PLANTATION

THE COMPACT AGREED TO, the *Mayflower* passengers had now to find a place to settle the first self-sustaining colony in the New World. Under the leadership of John Carver and William Brewster, who had been elected governor and elder respectively, this sea-weary band set foot on land. Those who went ashore "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 perils and miseries thereof, again to set their feet on the stable earth, their proper element."³⁷

While the shallop or long boat was being readied by carpenters, a foot party set out to explore the wilds of Cape Cod. They observed several locations, none of which seemed suitable. A crewman, Robert Coppin, mentioned a site across Cape Cod Bay named Plymouth. It was decided to investigate in the now prepared shallop. Even this excursion was plagued with perilous episodes. On December 6 ten Pilgrims and six seamen set out into the icy winds of the bay in quest of a place to settle. They met with rain, snow and rough seas, the combination of which caused the breaking of the shallop's rudder and the snapping of its mast. Added to these woes, their sail fell into the churning waves. They somehow managed in the darkness of December 18 to reach a spot of land where they took grateful refuge. They called this land Clark's Island, so named for one of their pilots, John Clark. They remained there to rest and held the first service of worship on the shores of New England.³⁸



The Shallop, as recreated at Plimoth Plantation

PILGRIMS THEN AND NOW

Having sounded the waters, the party returned to Provincetown and announced its decision. At long last the *Mayflower* anchored in Plymouth Harbor on December 26, 1620. The landing took place from the shallop, Plymouth's inner harbor being too shallow to accommodate the *Mayflower*. Tradition has it that the first step from the shallop was taken atop a large boulder which is now the world-famous Plymouth Rock.³⁹



The gravestone of Richard More, the only Pilgrim Father whose place of burial is marked by a gravestone laid at the exact time of burial.

THE DYING TIME

SELECTING PLYMOUTH as the place for the colony was by no means the end of the Pilgrim tribulation. Nothing for this dauntless band of freedom seekers was ever easy and almost nothing ever proceeded as they had planned. In the winter of 1620

their woeful circumstances continued. They were residing in an otherwise uninhabited place, it was winter, they were short of supplies, they were not in good health. They built a storehouse and began to build a few cottages. Added to these adversities there was discontent among them. In addition to confronting their physical necessities, they had to form their government and proceed with the arduous business of survival.

The calamities of the seemingly always imperiled Pilgrims did not abate for some sustained period of time, if ever they did abate. In the opening of the second book of his *Of Plymouth Plantation*, Governor Bradford, under the caption "The Starving Time," relates that a deadly sickness fell upon the colony:

But that which was most sad and lamentable was, that in two or three months' time half of their company died, especially in January and February, being the depth of winter, and wanting houses and other comforts;... So as

THE AGREEMENT WITH MASSASOIT

*there died some times two or three of a day in the foresaid time, that of 100 and odd persons, scarce fifty remained.*⁴⁰

Of the 102 *Mayflower* passengers who reached Cape Cod, four died before she reached Plymouth; and by the summer of 1621 the total deaths numbered fifty. Only twelve of the original twenty-six heads of families and four of the original twelve unmatched men or boys were left; and of the women who reached Plymouth all but a few died.⁴¹ The Lord's free people were, indeed, finding freedom costly.

The Pilgrims were fortunate that the *Mayflower* had remained anchored in Plymouth Harbor through the first nightmarish winter. It was anchored about a mile and a half off shore and many, no doubt, lived aboard due to the lack of shelter on land. Captain Jones himself, along with half of his crew, fell victim to the "great sickness."

THE AGREEMENT WITH MASSASOIT



Massasoit, the friendly chief of the Wampanoags

AT LAST THE CRUEL WINTER PASSED and a remarkably surprising event transpired in March of 1621. A native American, for whom Europeans had enormous fear and a badly mistaken understanding, appeared in Plymouth. His name was Samoset and he spoke to them in English. He was from an area in Maine frequented by English fishermen and from them he had learned English. Samoset told them of another native American named Squanto who spoke even better English. Squanto had learned English after being kidnapped and taken to Europe where he lived for several years. He proved to be of incalculable benefit to the Pilgrims.

PILGRIMS THEN AND NOW

The great Sachem (chief) of the Wampanoags was named Massasoit. He was invited to Plymouth to discuss relations with the new arrivals

Massasoit liked the Pilgrims and was party to an agreement with them which lasted more than fifty years. Again the old covenant notion came into play. Given the general European fear of native Americans, the agreement between the Wampanoags and the Pilgrims was remarkable. Bradford records the terms of the agreement in his history:

1. That neither he nor any of his should injure or do hurt to any of their people.

2. That if any of his did hurt to any of theirs, he should send the offender, that they might punish him.

3. That if anything were taken away from any of theirs, he should cause it to be restored; and they should do the like to his.

4. If any did unjustly war against him, they would aid him; if any did war against them, he should aid them.

5. He should send to his neighbours confederates to certify them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might be likewise comprised in the conditions of peace.

6. That when their men came to them, they should leave their bows and arrows behind them.⁴²

This simple agreement, covenant if you will, was a means of maintaining a peace which lasted for fifty-five years, a covenant which was not, alas, a model for other emigrants to these shores. Though the Pilgrims saw the agreement as a means of self-protection, they also recognized in it the humanity of those they were conditioned to believe were merely "savages." The agreement was one of "mutual consent," the basis of the Pilgrims' congregating in sacred covenant in Scrooby in 1606.

THE RETURN OF THE MAYFLOWER

IN MID-APRIL THE PILGRIMS GATHERED at the harbor to bid farewell to the *Mayflower* which would return to England never to be seen by them again. It is uncertain what happened to the *Mayflower* upon return to England, though speculation abounds.⁴³ The *Mayflower*, curiously never named in Bradford's history, had been their home for more than six months and the last link with their beloved England and their friends of the congregation which remained at Leyden. As sad as they were to watch the *Mayflower* hoist sail off Clark's Island, not a single person of the surviving Pilgrims opted to return with her. Freedom, evidently, cannot be ultimately subdued even by monstrous adversity.

THE FIRST THANKSGIVING

JOHN CARVER, THE FIRST freely elected governor in the New World and a deacon of their church, was stricken ill while planting their first crop of corn. He died shortly thereafter and the Pilgrims thus suffered the loss of one of their most respected and dedicated leaders.



The First Thanksgiving, by Jenny Browncombe

William Bradford, then thirty-one years old, was elected to be their governor. Under his direction seeds brought from England and the corn and beans supplied by their now native American friends were planted. The humble colony anxiously awaited, in prospect of survival, the fruits of the good earth.

As the fall of 1621 arrived, the Pilgrims began to gather in a small harvest. From both Bradford and Edward Winslow we learn that the Pilgrims who survived the first winter had regained their health and each family had enough food.⁴⁴ A day of celebration was declared not unlike days of thanksgiving which the Pilgrims and others had celebrated in Europe when a special blessing was experienced. Massasoit and some ninety of his tribe were invited to Plymouth for a feast which, according to Winslow, lasted three days.⁴⁵ Later, of course, this feast and celebration came to be called the "First Thanksgiving." The actual date of the festival is not known.

THE INTRODUCTION OF FREE ENTERPRISE

THE PILGRIM SAGA surely was not ended with the return of the *Mayflower* to England nor with the first harvest. The colony of what Bradford called "old comers" faced an enormous and unfair debt to be paid to the "Adventurers" who had financed their voyage, there were other "new comers" to join them, there were issues with the natives to be dealt with, other Europeans began to settle the east coast and they had to press on with building and maintaining the Plantation.

A last minute change in the terms of the agreement forced on the Pilgrims by their London financiers required them to be governed by a communal system. That is to say, the Pilgrims were to have all things in common, each receiving an equal share of food, shelter, etc. This communal arrangement proved disastrous. The young men did not want to work for the wives and children of older men. The good worker received no more than the poor worker. Wives did not relish washing clothes and dressing meat for others outside their own homes, considering it a kind of slavery.

The harvest of 1622 had not gone as well as the previous year and the Pilgrims needed to find means of raising more corn. Following

lengthy debate the Governor with the consent of others decided to assign a parcel of land to every family to cultivate on their own. This took place in 1623 and the new system proved an immediate success.⁴⁶ This new system relating to work and goods may be looked upon as "free enterprise" emanating from their basic covenantal principles. In religion, in civil organization and in work each individual was deemed to be free and not subject to any form of tyranny or oppression. The decision of 1623 was reached by the consent of the majority.



Harvesting crops
as reenacted at
Plymouth Plantation

PLYMOUTH'S ENDING AS AN INDEPENDENT COLONY

THE OLD COLONY STRUGGLED on but had an ever increasingly minor influence upon the development of New England. From 1630 on Plymouth's influence was overshadowed by its Puritan neighbors to the north, the Massachusetts Bay Colony. By that date Plymouth had a population of less than three hundred, with only about a thousand by mid-century.⁴⁷

During the same period of time the Bay Colony swallowed up the majority of the vast Puritan migration from England, estimated by some to be about twenty thousand. Though New Plymouth grew faster after 1650, by 1687, even with some twenty-one towns, it was still a great deal smaller than the Bay Colony and by this time lacked strong leadership. A new charter from the English Crown for Massachusetts was issued in October of 1691 and Plymouth was annexed into the Bay Colony. Plymouth was not even consulted in the annexation until it became a fact and, following a final session of the Old Colony's General Court the next summer, Plymouth's history as a separate colony was largely forgotten.⁴⁸

PILGRIMS THEN AND NOW



The Pilgrim, by Augustus St. Gaudens, Philadelphia

What began with the zeal of "the Lord's free people" in Scrooby, kept its vigor in Holland, survived the crossing of the Atlantic and established itself in the first permanent colony in New England, seemed to have lost momentum in 1691. Yet, that is not the case. The ideas and principles of the Pilgrims helped to give impetus in a positive sense to an emerging nation.

CONCLUSIONS

IT HAS BECOME POPULAR to be critical in interpreting great events and individuals in history. The Pilgrims were surely not perfect. The truth is they were fallible people, they had faults and weaknesses, but they gave us a legacy that quite ordinary people, greatly inspired, can make lasting, positive contributions to civilization. In a day when it is in vogue to dwell on the negative aspects of life, it is perhaps appropriate to focus on the positive achievements of men and women who sought to live by dreams of freedom.

The Pilgrims deserve our respect and veneration. Their covenant to be "the Lord's free people" which civilly issued in the *Mayflower Compact* and determined all their basic relationships is, albeit as a stepping-stone, among the world's most important contributions toward the realization of the irrepressible human desire for freedom. Theirs was not a fully developed democracy and they had no specifically democratic motivations in mind when they first "made covenant" in Scrooby. They did, however, know that they wanted to be free of religious and political tyranny and oppression. They did know that in all areas of life they wanted to order their affairs by "mutual consent" and by the will of the majority. They were not a democracy but democracy has greatly benefited by their impassioned desire to be free.

This booklet attempts to tell the story of the Pilgrims in an abbreviated fashion while drawing attention to basic principles underlying their enter-

CONCLUSIONS

prise. In doing so, substantial emphasis has been placed on the idea of "covenant" which guided them spiritually, politically and socially. The basic notions of freedom, independence, government by mutual consent and free enterprise can be interpreted as proceeding from their simple first agreement.

While it would press the facts far to contend that the Pilgrim legacy initiated constitutional democracy, it can safely be argued that their pursuit of religious freedom created in America an environment wherein democratic ideas might flourish. Even their great chronicler, William Bradford, would claim only that the Pilgrims were "stepping-stones" for the work of others to complete.

The Pilgrims have deservedly become a positive part of the American ethos. Given the time and circumstances they were tolerant, determined, long-suffering, individualistic, dedicated people.

Today, in places like eastern Europe, South Africa and China, Pilgrim voices of freedom may be heard as an inspirational echo from the past. In America the same voice may be heard wherever injustice reigns or freedoms are denied. The echo voice tells us all to pursue freedom, deny tyranny and oppression, no matter what the cost. All who cherish freedom are Pilgrim descendants.

The Mayflower Compact is perhaps the only instance in human history of that positive, original social compact, which speculative philosophers have imagined as the only legitimate source of government.

-John Quincy Adams

NOTES

- ¹ William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation 1620-1647*, ed. Samuel Eliot Morison, rev. ed. (New York, 1982), p. 9.
- ² Edward Arber, *The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers, 1606-1623*, rev. ed. (New York, 1969), p. 51.
- ³ Walter H. Burgess, *John Robinson, The Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers*, (London, 1920), p.80.
- ⁴ Henry Martyn Dexter, *The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years* (New York, 1880), pp. 376-380.
- ⁵ There are many excellent sources which have chronicled the life and work of Bradford.
- ⁶ Burgess, op. cit., pp. 36-38.
- ⁷ Space does not permit a detailed study of John Robinson. Interested readers may consult Walter Burgess's *John Robinson, The Pastor of the Pilgrim Fathers* and Robert M. Bartlett's *The Pilgrim Way* for further study.
- ⁸ Bradford, op. cit., pp. 36-38.
- ⁹ Bradford relates the perils faced by the congregation in chapter 11 of his *Of Plymouth Plantation*, pp. 11ff. It is exciting and informative reading.
- ¹⁰ Burgess, op. cit., p.42.
- ¹¹ Robert M. Bartlett, *The Pilgrim Way* (Philadelphia, 1971) pp. 83-91. This is a helpful discussion of the petty and discouraging state of the Ancient Brethren Church in Amsterdam. Also see George Willison, *Saints and Strangers* (New York, 1945), pp. 58-80.
- ¹² Arber, op. cit., p. 383.
- ¹³ For a helpful assessment of Clyfton's role in the Pilgrim story see Edmund Jessup's little book *The Mayflower Story* (Great Britain, 1977).
- ¹⁴ Henry Martyn Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims* (Baltimore, 1978), p. 532.

NOTES

- ¹⁵ Jeremy D. Bangs, February 1986, *The Mayflower Quarterly*, Vol. 52 (Plymouth, 1985), "Jonathan Brewster and the Leiden Records," pp. 13-14.
- ¹⁶ Bradford, op. cit., p. 327.
- ¹⁷ See Walter Burgess, op. cit., pp. 164-186. See also Edward Arber, op. cit., pp. 195-247 for a fascinating account of the Pilgrim Press in Leyden. These pages also contain a list of the books printed there.
- ¹⁸ Edward Arber, op. cit., see page numbers in note #17
- ¹⁹ Walter Burgess, op. cit., p 186.
- ²⁰ Jeremy D. Bangs, ed., "The Pilgrims in the Netherlands", (Leiden, 1985).
- ²¹ Bradford, op. cit., p. 25
- ²² Ibid., p. 27.
- ²³ Ibid., p. 29.
- ²⁴ Bartlett, op. cit., pp. 195-205. Also see Arber, op. cit., pp. 280-319.
- ²⁵ Bradford, op. cit., p. 36.
- ²⁶ Ibid., p. 48.
- ²⁷ Ibid., p. 47.
- ²⁸ Ibid., pp. 56-57. See the passionate letter written from Dartmouth by Deacon Cushman regarding the Pilgrims' pathetic plight. He had been blamed for much of the bungled arrangements with the Adventurers.
- ²⁹ Ibid., p. 54.
- ³⁰ Bartlett, op. cit., p. 231.
- ³¹ Bedford, op. cit., pp. 58-63.
- ³² Ibid., p. 59.

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