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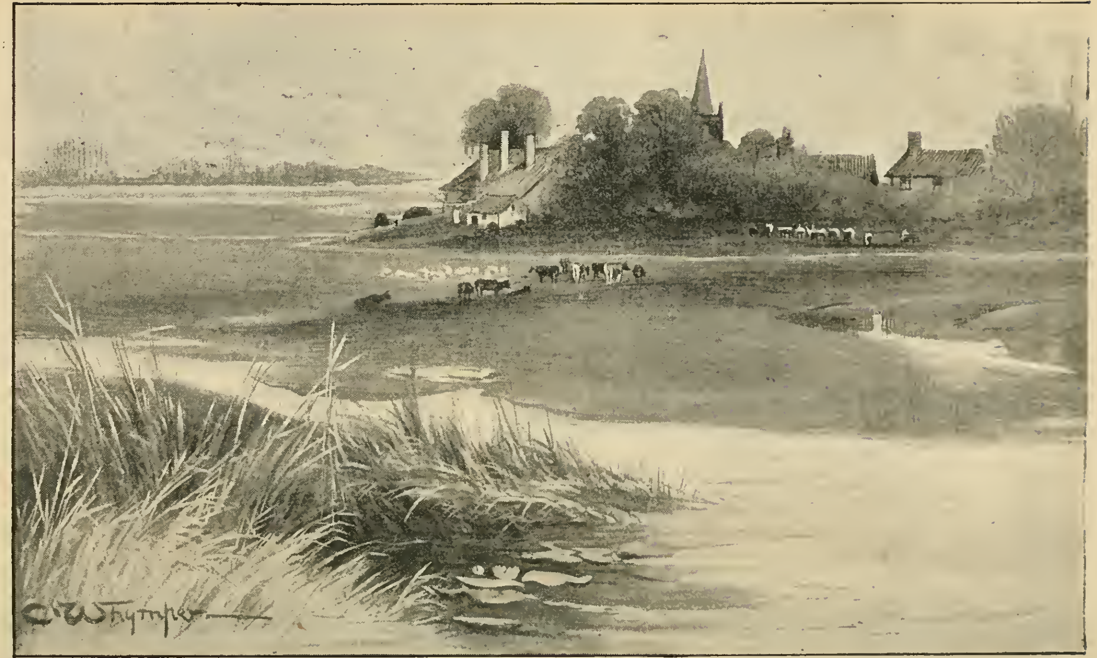

SCROOBY FROM THE RIVER

FROM

SCROOBY TO PLYMOUTH ROCK

OR

THE MEN OF THE MAYFLOWER

BY

HENRY JOHNSON

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PREFACE

This book traces the great movement in English History during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which culminated in the voyage of the Mayflower, and which did so much to develop spiritual life in England, and which laid broadly and well the foundation of religion in New England. The aim has been to set forth in full clearly and impartially the *facts*. Recourse has been had all through to first hand authorities, and ample guidance is given for any readers who may wish to study these for themselves.

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FROM SCROOBY TO PLYMOUTH ROCK

OR

THE MEN OF THE MAYFLOWER

CHAPTER I

ORIGIN OF THE FREE CHURCH MOVEMENT

FREEDOM to worship God according to the direction of conscience was the principle for which the Pilgrim Fathers persistently strove. The Word of God, interpreted to the conscience by the Holy Spirit, formed their only test for faith and conduct. The authority of men—whether priests or kings—in matters of religion they repudiated, unless teaching and dogma coming from such a source seemed to be based on a correct understanding of Scripture. This principle of religious liberty was new to the world, and clashed with popular belief, or, rather, credulity. The Church, as represented by pope and priests, had been regarded as supreme and final in all spiritual concerns. Man, and not God, was the infallible guide. But the desire for religious freedom had been growing for centuries. Often checked (and destroyed, as its opponents imagined), it at length assumed definite shape and aims with the struggle and migration of the Pilgrim Fathers. But those who were the first to lift their voice against papal tyranny, priestly pretension, and the repression of free thought in religion should not be forgotten.

The Weavers of Worcester.—As early as 1165 thirty weavers in the diocese of Worcester suffered scourging, excommunication, and banishment because they chose to worship God free from the trammels of ecclesiastical control. Their sentiments awoke an echo in many hearts, but no strong force roused England for nearly two centuries.

William of Occam.—The 'Invincible Doctor,' born at Occam, in Surrey, about 1270, joined the Franciscan order, but was excommunicated and condemned by Pope John XXII. for vindicating the superiority of the Scriptures to the claims and restrictions of the Church, and repudiating papal authority in secular affairs. The effect of his writings was widespread, and he left an impression that helped to mould the thought of the generation which followed him.

Piers the Plowman.—William Longland, or Langland (1332–1400), wrote the *Vision of Piers the Plowman* at a period when men's minds were turning to religion, partly from panic caused by the Black Death, and partly from a desire to improve their social condition. He describes in allegorical form the vices of the age, and particularly those of the Church. Righteousness is set forth as the prime object of attainment, and the death and victory of Christ are vividly depicted. The labouring and oppressed classes eagerly read the *Vision*. It put into shape their vague aspirations for freedom from the galling yoke of political and ecclesiastical tyranny, and forecast the dawn of brighter days. Its influence was great, and it wrought powerfully in paving the way for the work of the Reformation.

Wyclif and the Lollards.—Whilst the *Vision of Piers the Plowman* was stirring England, John Wyclif was preparing at Lutterworth the first complete translation of the Bible in the vulgar tongue, thus giving an impetus of incalculable force to the steadily growing desire to form religious belief direct from the Word of God. In many of the pamphlets and sermons which he produced, he denied the doctrine of transubstantiation, asserted the right of man to appeal to God without priestly intervention, and demanded the liberation of conscience from the thraldom of Rome. In order to spread his teaching he sent out a number of poor 'preachers' (called 'Lollards' after Wyclif's death), supplying them with the English Bible, or portions of it, as their text-book and guide. These men went all over the kingdom, declaring in the simplest language the leading truths of the Gospel. In the open air and in churches crowds flocked to hear them, until at length their influence so greatly alarmed the priesthood and Parliament that an Act for the burning of heretics was passed. The first martyr in England for religious opinions suffered in 1401, and during the century and down to 1534—the era of the Reformation—many heretics were burned alive.

Separatist Communities in the Reigns of Mary and Elizabeth.—Those who dissented from the Church of England, and worshipped apart from it, were called Separatists. After the Reformation, which was far from being a complete measure, the Separatists, from conscientious scruples, declined to conform to the Church, and to partake of the communion from the hands of the clergy. Even during the reign of Edward VI. they were liable to be apprehended, and in one case the persons arrested 'confessed the cause of their assembly to be for talk of Scripture, not denying that they had refused communion (at the parish church) above two years upon very superstitious and erroneous purposes.'

On the accession of Mary the Separatists met secretly in various parts of the country, as well as in London, and many of their number perished at the stake. The community in London, of which John Rough was the pastor, commenced with about forty members, but afterwards consisted of some two hundred. Collections were made for the relief of the poor, and also for those of their brethren who were prisoners at Newgate, the Marshalsea, and other places.

The meetings were held in private houses, in order to avoid arrest; but in 1557 the pastor, and the deacon, Cuthbert Symson, with other members, were hurried off to gaol. Rough was burned at Smithfield, and Symson, after being cruelly tortured, to compel him to divulge the names of his brethren, was also committed to the flames. But persecution did not cause the dissolution of the community, and when Elizabeth came to the throne the meetings were still held, and sometimes openly.

Elizabeth, professedly a Protestant, treated the Separatists—or Puritans, as they were now being called—with great cruelty, and a fine of twenty pounds a month was decreed for absence from the parish church, and private meetings for Scripture reading and religious conversation were also penal. In this reign there was an independent church in Whitechapel Street, over which Richard Fitz presided as pastor. In Eastern England a man of considerable power, Robert Browne—sometimes wrongly styled the founder of Independency or Congregationalism—expounded the principles of the Separatists, was imprisoned thirty-two times, published several books advocating the new tenets, but finally, in 1586, became reconciled to the Church of England, and accepted a living in Northamptonshire. Robert Harrison, a Cambridge undergraduate, like Browne, was also active in spreading Independency in Norwich and other places.

Three other names must find honourable mention here—John Greenwood, Henry Barrowe, and John Penry, men who testified fearlessly on behalf of liberty of conscience. The first held a living in the Church of England, but 'disliking' 'the Order of the Book of Common Prayer,' he was dismissed from his benefice, and in a short time joined the Separatist Church in London. Barrowe—whom Lord Bacon refers to as 'a gentleman of good house'—the son of wealthy parents, happened casually to hear one of the despised preachers, and soon 'made a leap from a vain and libertine youth' into 'a life of preciseness in the highest degree.' He became acquainted with Greenwood, embraced the teachings of the Puritans, and went further still by casting in his lot with the Independents. In 1593 he, with four other brethren, was executed at Tyburn—a fate which Queen Elizabeth regretted when too late. Soon afterwards, John Penry, the Welsh Martyr, as he is usually called, was hanged in South London. In the same year the Conventicle Act was passed, which imposed severe penalties on all who attended private religious meetings. Those who absented themselves from church for a month together, or attacked the Established Church in writing, were ordered to be 'committed to prison without bail or mainprize.' If they failed to make public submission within three months, banishment was to follow; and if they returned without leave, they were to be punished with death.

Soon after the passing of the Act, Francis Johnson, the pastor of the community with which Greenwood and Barrowe had been connected, was thrown into prison, where he remained till 1597. He was originally a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, but having preached a sermon advocating Presbyterianism he was sent to prison, and afterwards driven out of the University. He then ministered to an English church at Middleburgh in Zealand, but was bitterly opposed to the Separatists, to such an extent, indeed, that he procured the burning of Barrowe and Greenwood's books, written in prison, taking care, however, to save two copies from the flames. Then he read one of these copies, with the result that his opinions entirely changed. He went to London, entered into fellowship with Barrowe and Greenwood, joined their community, and was afterwards chosen pastor.

From 1593 to the end of Elizabeth's reign, and during that of James I., many Nonconformists languished in prison, whilst many others went to Holland, where they were free to exercise their conscientious convictions without dread of repression or punishment. James I. (1603–1625) was as hostile to the Puritans as his predecessor. He could not endure them, and was determined to make them conform, or 'harry them out of the land, or else worse.'

Thus, for more than four centuries, the struggle for religious liberty went on without a distinct and lasting triumph. But, although the public exercise of religious belief was stifled again and again, yet the sentiment of liberty was not destroyed. In the hearts of many thousands of English men and women it was still cherished. In city, town, and village the work of preachers, writers, and Reformers was still bearing fruit, though in secret, and the prayer continually went up that the dawn of freedom might not long tarry. Popes, kings, queens, and prelates tried in vain by fines, imprisonment, torture, gibbet, and flames to annihilate the divinely implanted aspiration to approach, worship, and think of God according to the promptings of the Holy Spirit.

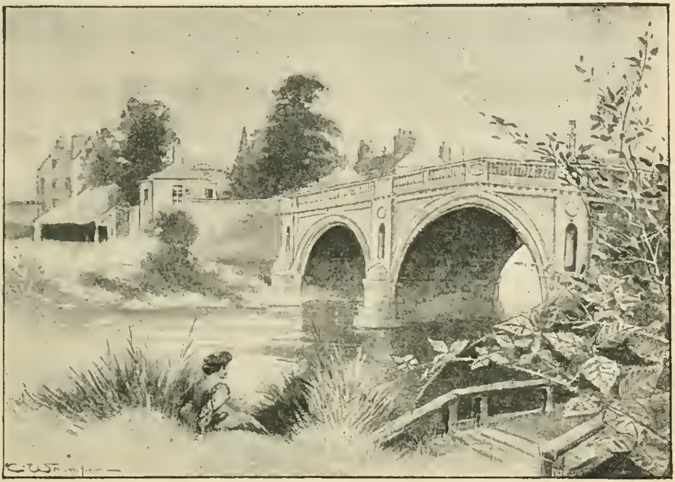
CHAPTER II

CENTRES OF INFLUENCE

Puritans: Conformists, Presbyterians, and Independents.—In the reign of Elizabeth the name of Puritans had become the badge of a party; but this party was divided into sections. There were, first of all, a number of *Puritan ministers and their people,* who, although holding Calvinistic views, and objecting to some of the ceremonials of the Reformed English Church, remained within her communion. Then there were the *Presbyterians,* who favoured a State Church, but opposed Episcopacy. They desired the government of the Church to be conducted by a synod and an assembly, consisting of ministers and elders, and sought to replace the Book of Common Prayer with the Book of the Genevan Discipline. They also believed that a church should include all baptised persons in the parish, whether they had the character of godliness or not. The third section consisted of *Independents, or Separatists.* They were hostile to Episcopacy and a State Church, and believed that a church should be formed of Christian men and women only, that its basis should be essentially a spiritual one, and that every member should stand in personal relationship with God. They further believed that a church should be self-governing; and that the Scriptures were the only criterion, not only for conduct and spiritual life, but also for Church government. From this section of the Puritans the Pilgrim Fathers sprang, and it will be seen with what tenacity they adhered to their principles through the stress and storm of future years. The counties from which their first migration took place were Nottinghamshire, Yorkshire, and Lincolnshire. Round the original leaders in the great movement, as well as round the towns and villages where their influence was felt, an interest gathers, which forms a landmark in the religious history of the world.

Gainsborough.—John Smyth.—In the counties just named Puritanism made considerable progress in the latter years of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Some of the Puritan clergy, though remaining in the Church, promoted the cause of Puritanism by their teaching and example. Others gave up, or were deprived of their livings, rather than continue to countenance ceremonies and doctrine which savoured of Rome. It was in the old town of Gainsborough that the first northern Separatist church was formed. For years past a strong Puritan feeling had existed in the town, and even in the days of Mary meetings were held, with closed doors, for religious improvement.

John Smyth, of Christ's College, Cambridge, was the pastor of the Gainsborough church, formed in 1602. He had incurred the displeasure of the Vice-Chancellor of the University for preaching a sermon at Cambridge on Sunday-observance; and after a season of mental struggle and doubt separated from the Church of England. It is possible, however, that he may have been a beneficed clergyman in Gainsborough before the severance took place. The members of the Puritan community came from many miles round—from Scrooby, Austerfield, and other places. For three or four years the numbers increased, and then it was resolved to divide into two distinct bodies—one to consist of members living in Gainsborough and the

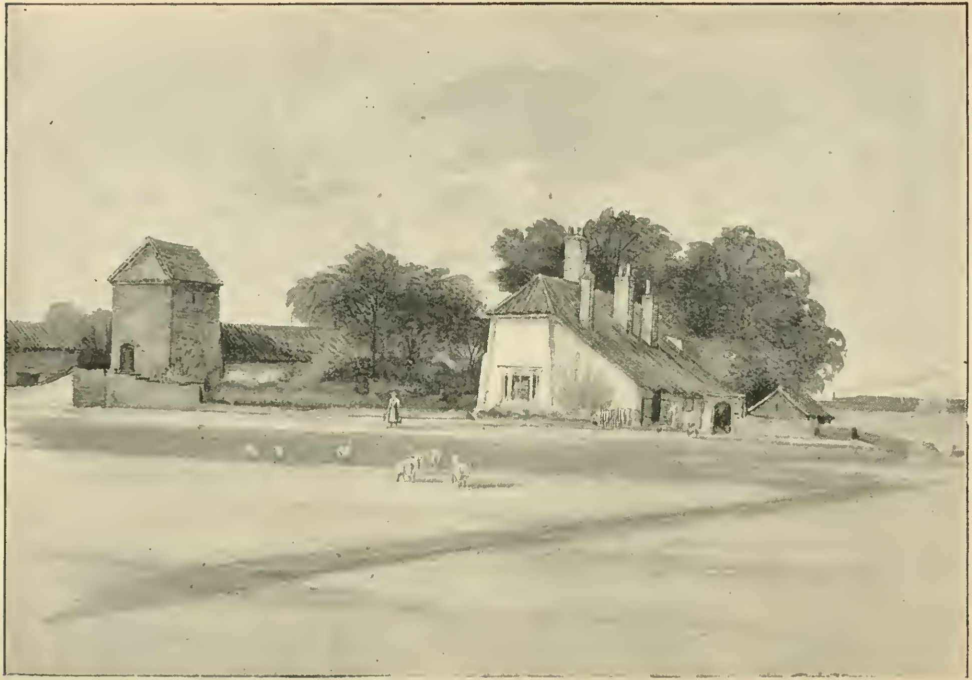


BRIDGE AT GAINSBOROUGH
ON SITE OF FORD WHICH PILGRIM FATHERS USED

vicinity, and the other of those living at Scrooby and near to it. Although not one of the men of the Mayflower, Smyth was at length driven from Gainsborough, and went into exile at Amsterdam, where he practised medicine, and lived 'well-beloved of most men.'

Scrooby.—William Brewster, Richard Clyfton, John Robinson.—Scrooby, about ten miles to the east of Gainsborough, in the county of Nottingham, and close to the Yorkshire border, was a place of some ecclesiastical importance in the days before the Reformation. The Archbishop of York had a palace here. Several monastic orders were represented in the neighbourhood, and there was a hospital on the outskirts, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, founded and endowed by Robert Morton in 1390 'to keep hospitalitie for poore people,' and to pray for the Founder's Soule and all Christian Soules.' The manor was held by the Archbishop of York, and in the old manor house Cardinal Wolsey found welcome retirement.

In this old manor house *William Brewster*, the leader of the Pilgrim Fathers, was born in the year 1566, and here the meetings of the Scrooby community were held. Brewster's father was 'Master of the Postes,' and the son, after matriculating at Cambridge, probably spent some years at home. When about twenty years of age he entered the service of William Davison—a warm sympathiser with the Puritan movement, and for a time elder of a



THE OLD MANOR HOUSE, SCROOBY

Puritan church at Antwerp—who was Elizabeth's representative in the Netherlands in 1585. On his return from the Netherlands, Davison assisted Walsingham, Secretary of State, and had Brewster with him at the court at Richmond. Of Brewster's connection with Davison, Bradford, in his *History of the Plymouth Plantation*, thus writes: 'After being first seasoned with the seeds of grace and virtue he went to the court, and served that religious and godly gentleman, William Davison, divers years when he was Secretary of State.' Davison 'esteemed him rather as a son than a servant, and for his wisdom and godliness (in private) he would converse with him more like a friend and familiar than a master.'

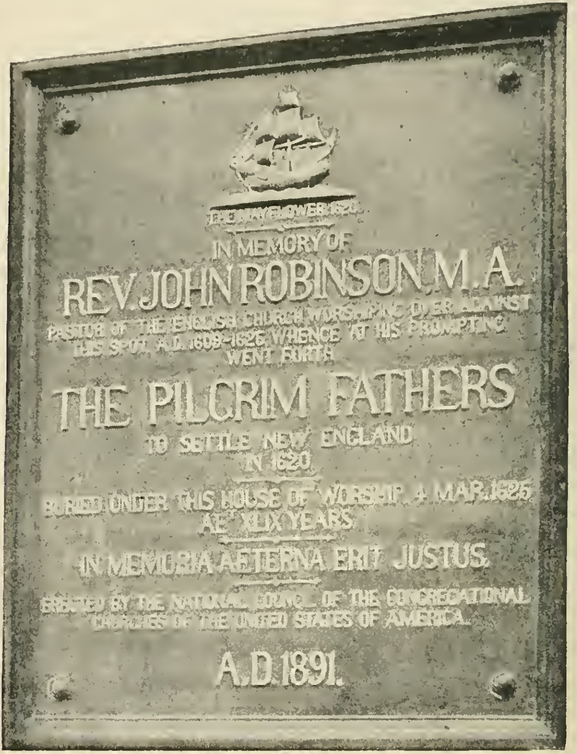
Brewster's prospects at court seemed promising, but Davison's fortunes suddenly turned, over the affair of the warrant for the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, and he was dismissed from office, fined, and imprisoned in the Tower. Brewster then returned to Scrooby (1587), none the worse for his brief experience of the gaieties and follies of the court, and helped his father in his duties as 'Post.' His father died in 1590, and after a short interval the son was appointed 'Master of the Postes,' which position he filled for eighteen years. His Puritan preferences, which had been fostered by Davison, now grew stronger. The persecution of Separatists stirred his heart. His study of the Scriptures showed him that intolerance, priestcraft, and formal ceremonies were the product of darkness, and incompatible with pure religion.

The light revealed by Brewster's study and reflection was further increased by Puritan influences around him. Richard Clyfton, Rector of Babworth, a few miles from Scrooby, seems to have contributed largely in that direction, whilst Richard Bernard, of Worksop, Thomas Toller, of Sheffield, and others, probably helped to strengthen his principles. At last he determined to shake off the 'yoke of anti-Christian bondage,' and threw in his lot with the community at Gainsborough, whither he journeyed, with some of his neighbours, Sunday after Sunday, until the people from Scrooby thought it desirable to have a community of their own in that town. And here, until driven into exile, or compelled, through the tactics of spies and informers, to meet secretly in other houses, he sheltered under his roof the members of the little church, and was 'a special stay and help unto them.'

Richard Clyfton, a grave and reverend preacher, who was instituted to the rectory of Babworth in 1586, had to renounce his living in 1603, owing to his Puritanical views. He was elected to the pastorate of the Scrooby community, and shared the exile of his brethren in Holland, but was too aged to go forth with them to the West.

The name of *John Robinson* will ever hold a distinguished place amongst the leaders of Congregationalism. Born at Lincoln (or Gainsborough) in 1575, he spent a few years at Cambridge, where his religious opinions were shaped by the Puritan, William Perkins, who held the post of afternoon lecturer at St. Andrew's Church. At the close of his college days he took orders, and was appointed to a church in Norfolk. But the question of vestments and ceremonies soon began to trouble him. Separation from the National Church followed, and he then, when about twenty-five years of age, became pastor of a Congregational church at Norwich. Persecuted here, he went to Scrooby, and joined Clyfton in the pastorate of the Pilgrim Church. He joined the brethren in their exile to Holland, and was their pastor at Leyden. On the departure of the Pilgrims for New England, he remained at Leyden, and continued pastor until his death in 1625. He maintained a close connection with his friends in the West, frequently sending letters of counsel and sympathy, and supplying fresh stimulus for prosecuting their labours and encountering difficulties and dangers. He was always looked up to by his people as their trusty spiritual guide and devoted friend, whilst the Dutch University was not slow to recognise his intellectual abilities.

Robinson will ever be regarded as one of the chief representatives and exponents of Congregationalism, and the Memorial Church now (1896) in course of erection at Gainsborough, in which Anglo-Saxons on both sides of the Atlantic are taking part, testifies to the widespread and permanent power which he exerted, as well as to his personal character. He was the author of numerous works, some of them setting forth comprehensively and clearly the grounds and the principles of Nonconformity.[1] On the front of the building erected on the site of Robinson's house at Leyden a marble slab is placed with this inscription—'On this spot lived, taught, and died, John Robinson, 1611–1625.'


THE MAYFLOWER 1620
IN MEMORY OF
REV. JOHN ROBINSON M.A.
PASTOR OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH WORSHIPING OVER AGAINST
THIS SPOT, A.D. 1609-1625 WHENCE AT HIS PROMPTING
WENT FORTH
THE PILGRIM FATHERS
TO SETTLE NEW ENGLAND
IN 1620
BURIED UNDER THIS HOUSE OF WORSHIP, 4 MAR. 1625
AE. XLIX YEARS
IN MEMORIA AETERNA ERIT JUSTUS
ERECTED BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CONGREGATIONAL
CHURCHES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
A.D. 1891.

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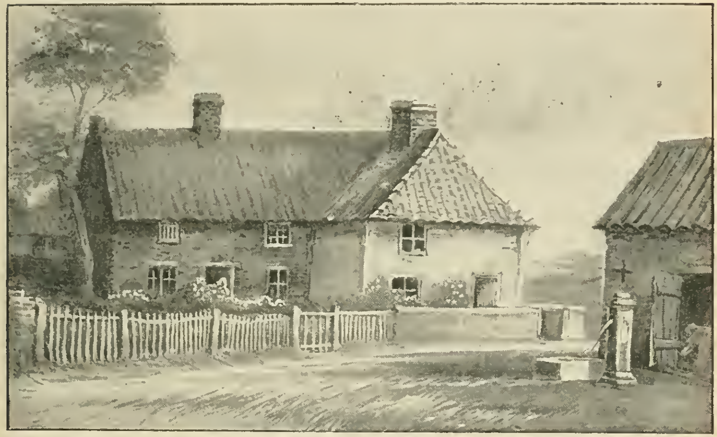
[1] Dr. John Brown, in his *Pilgrim Fathers of New England and their Puritan Successors*, gives an excellent analysis of John Robinson's works.

Austerfield. — William Bradford. — Austerfield, a village in Yorkshire about three miles from Scrooby, has no special interest connected with it beyond being the birthplace of William Bradford, the biographer and attached friend of William Brewster, as well as the Governor of Plymouth Colony, and its historian. He was born in 1590, thus being Brewster's junior by about twenty-four years. His father belonged to the yeoman class, and the son was also dedicated to agricultural pursuits. He joined the Scrooby community when a youth of about seventeen, and the preaching and teaching of Clyfton and Robinson, together with Brewster's robust influence, must have taken deep root in rich soil, for a few years later he was ready without hesitation to leave kindred and fair prospects, and go with the other exiles to a foreign land.



BRADFORD'S COTTAGE, AUSTERFIELD

Boston.—In this Lincolnshire town a Puritan leaven was at work at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and in 1630 many of its leading men sailed for America, some of them taking a front rank in the establishment, extension, and government of New England. These successors of the Pilgrim Fathers included John Cotton, Puritan minister of Boston Church, Richard Bellingham, Thomas and John Leverett, Atherton Hough, Thomas Dudley, and William Coddington. Linking the new with the old, the chief place of their settlement was renamed after the Lincolnshire town in 1630.

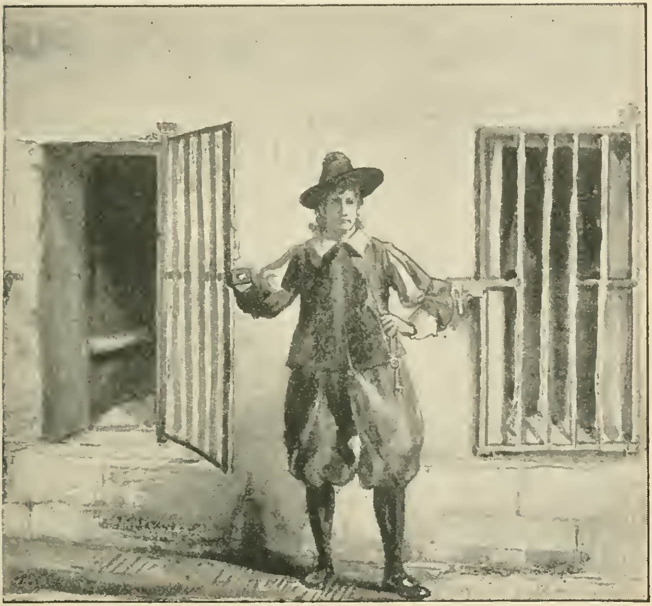
CHAPTER III

EXILES

Bancroft's Campaign.—The accession of James I., contrary to the expectations of many, brought no relief to the Separatists. Persecution rather increased than diminished, for when Bancroft, a determined foe to Nonconformity, became Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1604, a fresh campaign against the Separatists seems to have commenced. The brethren at Scrooby suffered with the rest. 'They could not long continue in any peaceable condition, but were hunted and persecuted on every side. Some were taken and clapt up in prison, others had their houses beset and watched night and day, and hardly escaped their hands; and the most were fain to fly and leave their houses and habitations and the means of their livelihood.'

A Great Decision.—At length they decided that the time had come to leave their native land and to seek an asylum in a foreign country, where they might worship God and attend to their secular duties without the fear of fine or imprisonment. But how could they carry this plan into execution? By the law of the land no person could leave England without license, and to think of obtaining a license was quite out of the question, writs having been issued for the arrest of some of the leaders for the violation of the Acts against Nonconformity. The only method for getting to Holland—the place of their choice—was to go secretly, and to cross the water in small parties, in order to avoid arousing suspicion.

Failure of Plans.—Again and again they attempted to carry out their plan, but betrayal and loss of goods was the only result. Down-hearted, but not despairing, they took counsel together and laid other plans. In the autumn of 1607 it was decided to go in one company, instead of in parties, to hire a vessel for the purpose, and to start from Boston. A vessel was accordingly hired, and a secluded spot agreed upon for the place of embarkation. All the company, with their goods, were safely on board, and it seemed as if their hopes were now certain of realisation; but the hope was only momentary. Strange men, with sinister looks, suddenly appeared upon the scene, and instantly the long-suffering company knew they were betrayed. The captain, probably for a bribe, had conspired to deliver his passengers into the hands of the officers of the law, whom he had concealed in the ship. Resistance was useless, and the captives, after being searched, were taken to Boston in small boats, deprived of their money and goods, and lodged in gaol. They were brought before the magistrates, charged with attempting to escape from the country. The magistrates 'used them courteously and showed them what favour they could, though they could not deliver them till order came from the Council Table.' Two of the cells in which the prisoners were confined are still in existence. They are about seven feet long and six feet in width, with a low ceiling, and well secured, to defy all attempts at escape. In such dungeons the unfortunate company remained for a month, when orders arrived from the Privy Council. All but



CELLS UNDER THE GUILDHALL, BOSTON

Brewster and six other leaders were dismissed to their homes. These seven were committed to the assizes, but there is no record of the trial extant. Probably they were fined and then discharged.

Safe in Holland.—A few months later yet another attempt to escape was resolved upon. A Dutchman agreed to take the Pilgrims in his vessel, and to ship them near a quiet cove between Grimsby and Hull. The men were to travel to the coast on foot, and the women and children, taking the goods with them, by boat down the Trent. Difficulties soon began again. When the travellers arrived at the coast the ship was nowhere to be seen. The boat was tossing on a rough sea, and was therefore run into a creek for the night, so that it might lie aground at low water. The thoughts of the travellers through that night of anxiety may easily be imagined. Was their hope again to be frustrated? Were they to be once more betrayed, and would the Dutchman prove as big a miscreant as the captain who had previously delivered them to justice? Morning dawned, and soon the Dutch vessel hove in sight. Another dilemma arose, for the boat, loaded with women and children, had stuck fast, and could not be moved till the tide came in. Rather than waste time, the captain sent ashore for the men, who had been waiting and watching impatiently through the night. About half of them were safely taken on board, and the ship's boat was being sent back for the rest of the men, when, in a moment, consternation seized everyone—from the poor women, held fast in the creek, to the bluff captain—for at some distance off was seen, approaching the coast at full speed, 'a great company, both horse and foot, with bills and guns and other weapons.' The Dutchman discreetly turned tail—he dared not encounter that troop of soldiers—so, weighing anchor, he sailed away with all celerity, with the one instalment of exiles on board.

With moist and straining eyes the exiles watched along the creek that fast-disappearing boat, which contained not only their wives and children, but all their worldly possessions. It was useless to think that the captain might be prevailed upon to take them back to the shore; they must go forward—and in the teeth of a great storm, which soon broke upon them. As the last speck of land dropped behind the horizon, and the hearts of these strong men were cut to the quick, one cheering thought arose. Amongst those who were left on shore, and who would spare no effort to protect the women and little ones, were the well-tried friends, William Brewster, John Robinson, and Richard Clyfton. So the band of exiles began to hope for the best, and committed their beloved ones to God. The violence of the gale increased; the ship, tossed and battered, drifted far up the North Sea, and every moment seemed on the point of foundering. The sailors shrieked in despair, but down in the lower part of the ship the exiles lifted up their souls to the Ruler of the storm. Fourteen days passed, and at length the vessel rode into port, to the amazement and joy of the captain's friends, who never expected that she would weather so fierce a tempest.

Meanwhile, the rest of the company, left near the mouth of the Humber, with the soldiers pouncing upon them, were faring badly enough. Some of the men, sufficient for the protection of the women and children, awaited the arrival of the troops, and the rest escaped. It was a thankless task for these soldiers to deal with captives who were mostly weeping women and frightened children. The prisoners appear to have been haled before several magistrates in succession, but no magistrate was inclined to inflict punishment. At last they were all liberated, and took refuge wherever they could, awaiting a favourable opportunity for departing to the land of hope. There is no precise record of their departure, but it is certain that they went over to Holland in small companies, and 'notwithstanding all these storms of opposition they all got over at length, some at one time and some at another, some in one place and some in another,' and that they 'met together again according to their desires with no small rejoicing.'

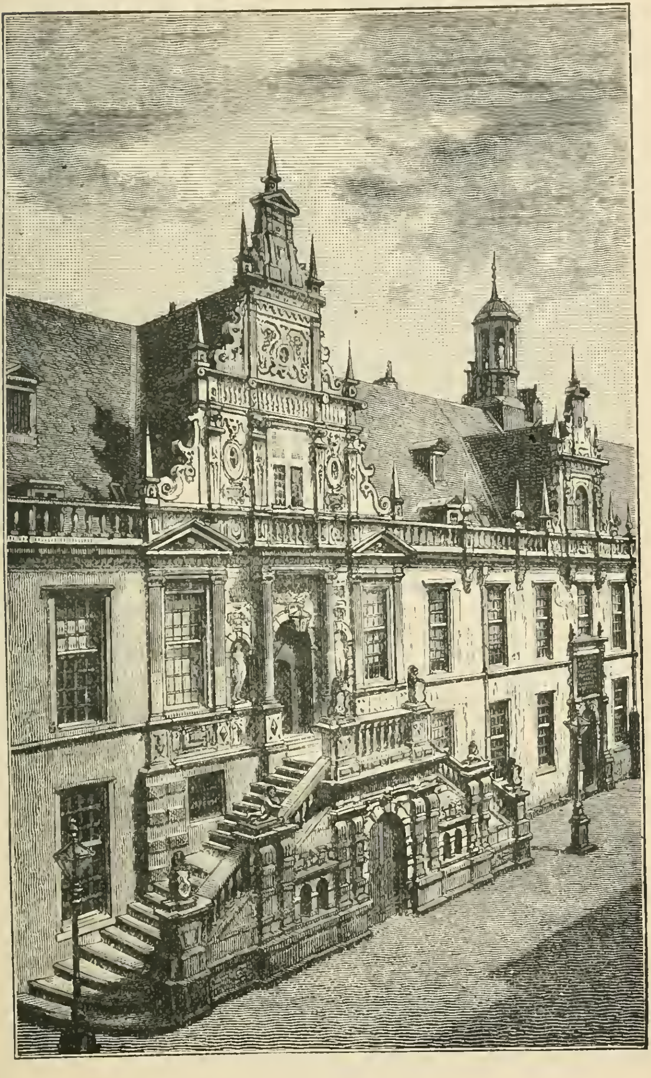
CHAPTER IV

IN HOLLAND

Amsterdam.—The exiles found in Holland full liberty of conscience. Since the formation of the Netherlands Republic in 1579 and the Declaration of Independence in 1581, the Reformed Evangelical religion prevailed in the land, whilst, at the same time, no enquiries were made respecting any man's religious belief. Several parties of English Separatists had already sought refuge in Holland before the arrival of the Scrooby Pilgrims. In 1593 some of the members of the church in London, with which John Penry had been identified, went to Amsterdam. Others of their brethren who had been imprisoned followed in 1597, and amongst these were Francis Johnson (the pastor), George Johnson, and Daniel Studley. These men, with John Clark, when in prison had obtained permission to join an expedition to Canada, with the intention of forming a religious community. But the expedition met with disaster, and the Separatists returned, as best they could, to England.

On arriving in Amsterdam, Francis Johnson was re-chosen pastor of the little exiled community, and Henry Ainsworth, chiefly known for his Annotations on the Old Testament, was appointed teacher. Numbers of exiles from various parts of England also joined this church, and in a few years it attained a very prosperous condition. There was also another Separatist church in existence at Amsterdam before the landing of the Scrooby brethren. This was the church from Gainsborough, under the pastorate of John Smyth, which migrated in 1606. The Pilgrims from Scrooby, formed a third church, with Richard Clyfton as pastor, and John Robinson as teacher. In a short time differences of opinion on questions of church government and discipline arose amongst the three churches, and, rather than be embroiled in controversy, Robinson and his church decided to remove to the now flourishing city of Leyden. Clyfton remained at Amsterdam, for his sympathies began to coalesce with those of Francis Johnson, whose preferences were in the direction of a Presbyterian form of government. Having obtained permission from the authorities of Leyden to settle there, pastor and people removed thither to begin church life afresh.

Leyden (1609-1620).—It is not clear where the brethren met for worship during the early days of their life at Leyden; but, in 1611, John Robinson and three of the church-members bought a house and garden in the Kloksteeg, near St. Peter's Church, for 8,000 guilders. It was in this house that the Pilgrim



THE TOWN HALL, LEYDEN

Church held its meetings during the years of its sojourn in Leyden. Its members continued ‘many years in a comfortable condition, enjoying much sweet and delightful society and spiritual comfort together in the ways of God. So, as they grew in knowledge and other gifts and graces of the Spirit of God, and lived together in peace and love and holiness, many came unto them from divers parts of England, so that they grew a great congregation. If at any time differences arose, as differences will arise, they were so met with and nipt in the head betimes, or otherwise so well composed that love, peace, and communion were still continued.’ The magistrates of Leyden also bore witness to the orderly character of the Pilgrim Church. ‘These English have lived among us now these twelve years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation come against any of them; but your strifes and quarrels [of the French] are continual.’ They won the trust and respect of all their neighbours—they were proved to be men of honour and integrity—men whose word was their bond.

Amongst those who joined this church or who were in friendly relations with it, and whose names became more or less famous, were Miles Standish, Edward Winslow, John Carver, Robert Cushman, and Thomas Brewer. Standish, coming from a good Lancashire family, had fought in one of the expeditions sent by Queen Elizabeth to aid the Dutch, and afterwards became the military leader of the Puritan settlers in New England. Winslow, a young Englishman of some wealth, was travelling on the Continent, and visited Leyden. Here he became acquainted with several of the Pilgrims, and was so impressed, not only with their principles, but also with the harmony prevailing amongst them, that he very soon joined the community, and afterwards went with them to the West. Carver, who was one of the first deacons in the church, became leader of the Pilgrims across the seas, and afterwards first Governor of New Plymouth. Cushman rendered much assistance in the preliminary arrangements connected with the Mayflower expedition, whilst Brewer, a Kentish Separatist—'a gentleman of a good house, both of land and living'—proved himself to be a man of sterling worth and courage. He remained at Leyden when the Mayflower sailed, and about 1625 settled again in England, where he was imprisoned for his staunch fidelity to Puritan principles.

Trades and Occupations.—The question of how to live does not seem to have troubled the Pilgrims much on their departure for Holland. Again and again they had been deprived of their money and goods, and yet they landed in Holland with scarcely any misgivings as to ways and means of livelihood. The deep conviction that they were in the path of duty was the antidote to anxiety, and with buoyant hearts they set themselves to work to provide for daily wants. Both in Amsterdam and in Leyden they soon found employment, which, though not always congenial, helped to keep alive the spirit of sturdy independence and strength of will. Alluding to their life at Leyden, Bradford writes: ‘Being now here pitched, they fell to such trades and employments as they best could, valuing peace and their spiritual comfort above any other riches whatever.’

Brewster found himself able to earn money by giving lessons in English to ‘many gentlemen, both Danes and Germans . . . some of them being great men’s sons.’ Later on, in partnership with Thomas Brewer, he opened a printing establishment, and produced controversial and other books, the printing of which was prohibited in England. These books found their way to London, and two of them fell into the hands of King James, who was so exasperated at their contents that he instructed his ambassador at the Hague to take prompt action against the printer. The ambassador’s officer arrested Brewer in mistake for Brewster; but Brewer volunteered to go to England to give to His Majesty an account of himself and of the printing office. No harm came to him in London when engaged on this errand. His dark days were in store for him, for, as already mentioned, on returning to England for good, he was committed to prison for his religious opinions, and there he remained for fourteen years. Edward Winslow, also, who had probably been cut off by his friends at home, staved off poverty at the printing press. Bradford and several others earned a living as fustian workers. Robert Cushman carded wool, and others were carpenters, weavers, spinners, bakers, brewers, makers of hats, gloves, &c., whilst two or three were merchants in a small way. 'At length they came to raise a competent and comfortable living, but with hard and continual labour.' But this 'hard and continual labour' began to tell upon the endurance and strength of the company, so that many were growing old before their time, and some who were not able to work as hard as in the first days of exile began to feel the pinch of poverty.

Proposals and Reasons for a New Departure.—After some twelve years had passed the Pilgrims took a review of their sojourn in Holland, surveyed their existing circumstances, and weighed their prospects. It is true their hopes of securing freedom of worship had been satisfied, but there was an uneasy feeling, and some amount of disappointment, which finally led them to found a Puritan colony in the Far West. Fewer than they expected had joined them from England, and some of their brethren, having spent their substance, and unable to face hardship and labour, had returned home. Inability, from straitened circumstances, to provide their children with an adequate education was also a source of trouble. And a greater trouble still, 'and of all sorrows most heavy to be borne, was that many of their children, by these occasions, and the great licentiousness of youth in that country, and the manifold temptations of the place, were drawn away by evil examples into extravagant and dangerous courses, getting the reins off their necks, and departing from their parents. Some became soldiers, others took upon them far voyages by sea, and others some worse courses, tending to dissoluteness and the danger of their souls, to the great grief of their parents and dishonour of God. So that they saw their posterity would be in danger to degenerate and be corrupted.' The twelve years' truce between the Dutch and the Spaniards would shortly lapse; war might be renewed, and Leyden again besieged, and the Pilgrim flock scattered. A patriotic reason also increased the desire to depart to another country. If they remained in Holland much longer their identity as English men and women would be lost; with the elder members of the band dying off, and their descendants marrying foreigners, the community would become absorbed in the Dutch nation. Yet another consideration prompted their withdrawal. They had a great longing to advance the Gospel in remote parts of the world, 'though they should be but even as stepping-stones unto others for the performing of so great a work.' Reasons for departing were therefore overwhelming, and the question then arose, Whither should they go?

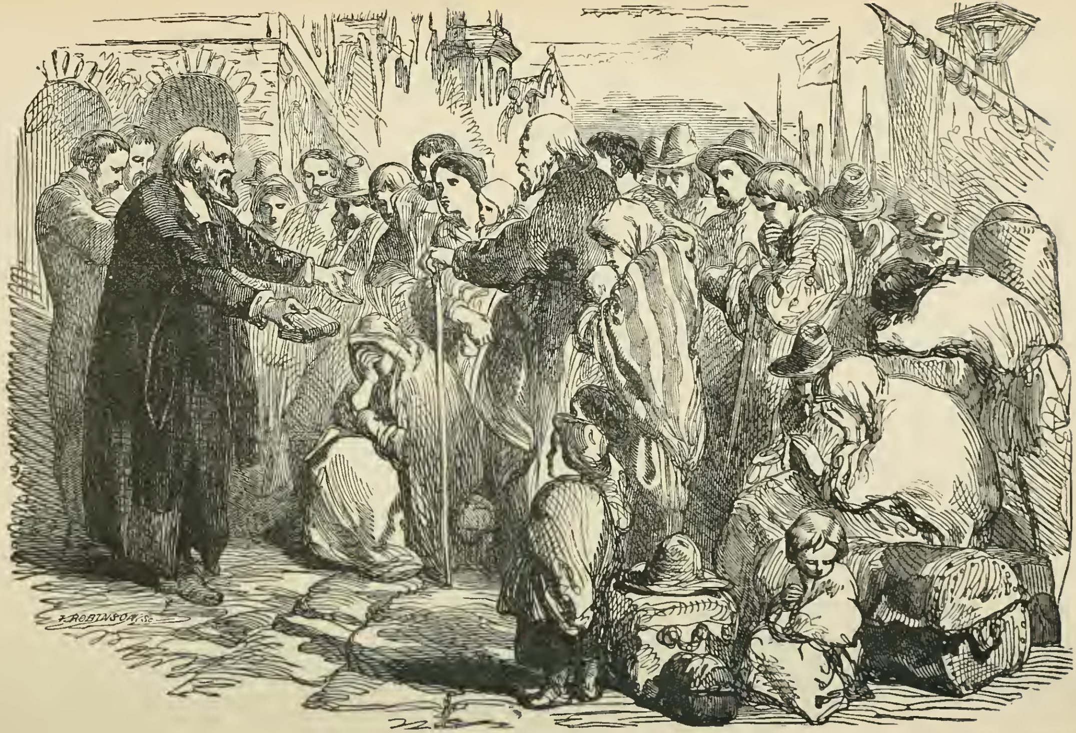
West Indies or Virginia?—The hearts of the Pilgrims were bent on the West. For some time Guiana seems to have been favourably considered. The tales of travellers, picturing the fertility and beauty of that country, made an impression on their minds; but its tropical climate and malarial diseases, as well as the nearness of the Spaniards, led them to abandon this proposal. Then Virginia was discussed, and there appeared to be unanimous agreement as to its suitability. Virginia had been colonised in 1606 by a company of London merchants, who obtained a patent from King James. The first colonists consisted for the most part of men who had failed in the mother-country, and the second batch were little better, and Jamestown became a refuge for ne'er-do-wells. By a charter granted by the king, conformity to the Church of England was necessary, and absurdly stringent regulations were set down for the maintenance of religion. The Pilgrims thought they might secure concessions from the company and from the king which would enable them to live as a distinct and independent colony.

With this object in view they sent Robert Cushman and John Carver to England, committing to their charge, for submission to the king and council, seven articles, drawn up by the church and signed by John Robinson and William Brewster, which embraced assent to the Articles of the Church of England as accepted by the Reformed Churches of the Continent, and obedience to the king's authority, 'if the thing commanded be not against God's Word.' The embassage was favourably received by the council, and the two brethren returned to Leyden. Then a document was forwarded to London presenting the grounds and reasons—'instances of inducement'—for granting the petition of the church. In a later communication the petitioners state that they are willing to take the Oath of Supremacy if necessary, and the Oath of Allegiance be not sufficient. The king withheld formal consent for freedom of worship, but did not express disapproval of the Pilgrims' scheme. Sir Edwin Sandys, Treasurer of the Virginia Company, sought the assent of the archbishop to the migration of the Separatists and the formation of a free colony or state; but the archbishop, backed by the bishops, vigorously opposed the project. However, the Virginia Company advised the Pilgrims to carry out their plan, assuring them that there was little probability of either king or bishops interfering with their religious freedom when once they were planted in the new country. At length the brethren decided to make the venture.

A special day of humiliation, thanksgiving, and prayer was held, when John Robinson preached a notable sermon from 1 Sam. xxiii. 3, 4. Then various arrangements were made for departure. It was thought best that only part of the church should leave—the youngest and the strongest; that, if the expedition failed, those left at Leyden should receive back with brotherly love those who returned; and that, if the expectations of success were fulfilled, any of the brethren at Leyden willing to join them should be helped across the seas. It was further decided that, if a majority of the church determined to go, then Robinson, their pastor, should accompany them; but if only a minority, that the pastor should remain behind, and Elder Brewster be appointed to take the spiritual oversight of the voyagers. Although thus divided, the church was still to be one.

But, after all, the Virginia Company raised difficulties, and the original scheme had to be abandoned. Then certain Dutch traders suggested a settlement at New Amsterdam—now New York—but this proposition also fell to the ground. At length one of the company of Merchant Adventurers, Thomas Weston, offered to provide assistance and the necessaries for the voyage to Virginia. This proposal was accepted, and the Pilgrims at once prepared to depart, selling their property and putting their money into a common fund. As the majority were remaining behind, Robinson, according to previous agreement, stayed with them.

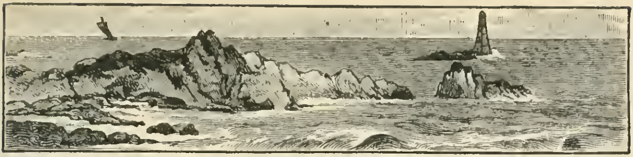
From Leyden to Southampton.—More than two years had passed since Cushman and Carver, in the autumn of 1617, went to England to make the first attempt to pave the way for a voyage to Virginia. The suspense, difficulties, and disappointments of that period would have daunted less determined men than the Pilgrim Fathers, and dissipated for ever the ambition to cross the seas. It is needless to give in detail all the vexatious difficulties that continued to spring up—as if in mockery of the Pilgrims' aspirations—whilst effort after effort was put forth to make satisfactory negotiations. The outline of these trials and disappointments just given will suffice. It was resolved to go, first of all, to Southampton by the Speedwell—a sixty-ton pinnace—where the travellers were to be joined by others, coming from London in the Mayflower. And now the time of separation


J. ROBINSON, Sc.

ROBINSON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

arrived. Many of those who had lived together in Christian fellowship and peace for so long would meet again no more. On a day of fasting and prayer John Robinson preached the last sermon (from Ezra viii. 21) that the departing brethren would ever hear from his lips. A portion of the day was spent in 'pouring out prayers to the Lord with great fervency, mixed with abundance of tears.' Then came farewells to Dutch friends, whose trust and affection had met no check since the Scrooby company first arrived; and then—on a bright summer's morning—with waving of hands, and Godspeeds from picturesque groups of people on the quay, the Pilgrims stepped into the barges, which were to carry them by the canal as far as Delftshaven.

Most of the Pilgrims' friends went with them this first stage of the journey—a distance of fourteen miles. At Delftshaven the Speedwell was awaiting them, and on July 22, 1620, they set sail for England. The final scene of leave-taking and departure is thus quaintly narrated by Bradford. The passage is reproduced with the original orthography, and in that respect will serve as a specimen of the entire book. 'When they came to y^{e} place they found y^{e} ship and all things ready; and shuch of their freinds as could not come with them followed after them, and sundrie also came from Amsterdame to see them shipte and to take their leave of them. That night was spent with litle sleepe by y^{e} most, but with freindly entertainmente & Christian discourse and other reall expressions of true Christian love. The next day, the wind being faire, they wente aborde, and their freinds with them, where truly dolfull was y^{e} sight of that sade and mournfull parting; to see what sighs and sobbs and praires did sound amongst them, what tears did gush from every eye, & pithy speeches peirst each harte; that sundry of y^{e} Dutch strangers y^{t} stood on y^{e} key as spectators, could not refraine from tears. Yet comfortable & sweete it was to see shuch lively and true expressions of dear & unfained love. But y^{e} tide (which stays for no man) caling them away y^{t} were thus loath to departe, their Reṽẽ^{d}: pastor falling downe on his knees, (and they all with him,) with watrie cheeks com̄ended them with most fervente praiers to the Lord and his blessing. And then with mutuall imbrases and many tears, they tooke their leaves one of an other; which proved to be y^{e} last leave to many of them.' Winslow tells us that, as the Speedwell moved away, the Pilgrims fired a parting volley with their muskets, which was followed by the boom of shots from the ship's cannon. A fair wind soon carried the party to Southampton, where the Mayflower was waiting with the other Separatists from London, who had resolved to go with their brethren to America.



CHAPTER V

THE VOYAGE OF THE MAYFLOWER

Southampton.—Scarcely were greetings over when a fresh crop of troubles arose. Debts were incurred in England by the brethren who had been sent from Leyden to complete the arrangements for the voyage. Some of these debts were considered unreasonable, and, naturally, their payment from the little common fund would tax the temper of the emigrants. Then it was found that Cushman had taken it upon himself to consent to Weston's demand for alterations in the contract with the Merchant Adventurers. According to the new article in the contract, the whole of the property in the new colony at the end of seven years was to be equally divided between the immigrants and the Adventurers. The former claimed that their houses and gardens, after the care bestowed upon them, and improvements made from time to time, ought to belong to them at the end of seven years. They also stipulated that the labour of two out of six days should be entirely for the colonists' own benefit, and should not be shared by the company.

Thomas Weston refused to agree to these demands.

High words arose, and then Weston went off without the contract being signed, angrily telling them that they must 'look to stand on their own legs.' Being left to shift for themselves, they found they would have to spend about a hundred pounds before sailing in order to discharge their liabilities. To raise this money they sold a quantity of their provisions, which could ill be spared. The Pilgrims sent a letter to the Adventurers, reminding them of the strain upon their resources, that they had scarcely any butter or oil, or even a sole to mend a shoe, that they were ill supplied with muskets and swords, but still were willing to expose themselves to dangers and to trust to God's Providence. Fresh courage was inspired by the reading of a letter of counsel and sympathy from John Robinson, and having appointed a governor and two or three assistants for each vessel, the emigrants prepared to depart.

Heading West.—On August 5[1] (Bradford says 'about' August 5), 1620, the Mayflower and the Speedwell left Southampton. The Mayflower was a vessel of only one hundred and eighty tons, but her behaviour on the Atlantic fully justified the confidence placed in her. The accommodation, we may be quite sure, was anything but sumptuous, and nowadays the gallant little craft would be pronounced unfit even for a cattle-boat. She carried ninety persons, who, happily, were used to a rough life, and being, moreover, brimful of hope and faith, would not grumble at the small cubic space allotted to each. The Speedwell (an inappropriate name, as events proved) carried thirty persons. Great things were expected of her, although only a sixty-ton pinnace; but her only satisfactory performance was to convey the Pilgrims safely from Holland to England. After tacking for three or four days, she was reported leaking by her captain, Reinolds, who further stated that she must be run into Dartmouth for repairs. Accordingly, the two ships took refuge in the pretty Devonshire harbour, where the Speedwell was thoroughly overhauled at great expense.

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[1] (O.S.) August 15, N.S.

In about three days another start was made; but in a few hours the grim announcement came from the captain that the Speedwell had begun to leak again, and could only be kept from sinking by incessantly using the pumps. This time Plymouth was the place of refuge, and once there, the Pilgrims wisely determined to have nothing more to do with the Speedwell, and to send her back to her owners, the Adventurers. It is not surprising that some of her passengers lost heart and courage. Eighteen of them, including Cushman and his family, resolved to abandon the expedition and return to London. The remaining twelve were transferred to the Mayflower; and how a hundred and two persons (without reckoning captain and crew) contrived to find room in her is a marvel. Afterwards it turned out that the Speedwell's leakage was not owing to bad construction, but to a simple, though cunning, device of the captain and crew, who wished to evade a clause of their contract stipulating that they should stay a year in America with the Pilgrims.

After receiving hospitality from some of the Plymouth people, the Pilgrim Fathers made another start on September 6.[1] With a favourable wind, they made good progress for a week or two, and then congratulations had to give way to alarm. Fierce storms swept the Atlantic and had the ship at their mercy. The upper timbers creaked and cracked, and let in the water. One of the main beams got displaced, and the situation became critical. Captain, crew, and passengers hastily consulted together, and the question arose whether it would not be better to return to England rather than attempt further progress. But Captain Jones was sanguine of the ship's powers, and that if the sprung beam could only be set right all would go well. Fortunately, one of the passengers had brought a powerful iron jackscrew with him; with its aid the beam was adjusted and made fast. Alarm, for a time, was thus dispelled; but other storms broke out in quick succession, and the ship drifted under bare poles before the terrific wind. Passengers were packed below, drenched with water day after day—the women trying to soothe the sobbing children, and the men trying to fortify the women's hearts.

One of the passengers, venturing on deck for a moment, was swept into the waves. He caught hold of a loose topsail halyard, and the sailors at great risk managed to save him. A servant of one of the passengers died, and a child (promptly christened Oceanus) was born to another. Nine weeks of hardship and peril had passed, and then a point of land was seen far ahead. Hope revived, and joyfulness shone on every face. The land proved to be Cape Cod, and slowly the well-wooded coast spread out before them. But Cape Cod was not the place the Pilgrims desired for their settlement. Their preferences were directed to the Hudson River, and so the ship was headed south. But she soon got amongst treacherous shoals, and had to return to Cape Cod. According to one chronicler (Morton), the Dutch had set their hearts on Manhattan (New York), and had instructed, or bribed, the captain to keep clear of that part of the coast, and he had, so far, skilfully carried out his part of the plot.

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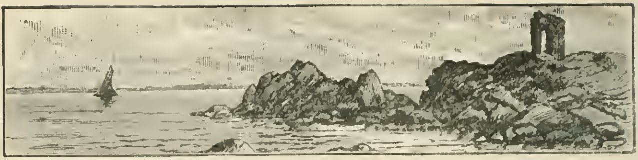
[1] (N.S. September 16.)

The weary passengers were eager to step on to dry land, and, after consultation, decided to forego their wish to settle south, and to make for Cape Cod Harbour, where they might explore the neighbourhood for a suitable spot on which to raise a colony. Then they rounded the cape, and, on November 11,[1] anchored in the harbour of what is now called Provincetown. '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.'

[1] (N.S. November 21.)



CHAPTER VI

LANDING AT NEW PLYMOUTH

The Famous Compact.—The land on which the Pilgrim Fathers first set foot was, practically, no-man's land. The Virginia Company had no rights there, and it was uninhabited, at least over a considerable area. There were, consequently, no laws, no government, or recognised authority. A few of the voyagers were men who had joined the Mayflower from an adventuring spirit, and also to help to navigate the ship; but they had no religious sympathy with the Pilgrims, and during the journey had caused some trouble by 'discontented and mutinous speeches.' But, once in America, they were disposed to remain there. The Fathers consulted, and finally decided that, not only for the sake of repressing license amongst these men, but also for maintaining order and discipline amongst their own brotherhood, they must organise themselves into a body politic, and submit to such government and governors as might be agreed upon. They therefore drew up and signed layflower Compact

the memorable document which is given below, with the signatures attached.

'In y^e^ name of God, Amen. We whose names are vnderwritten, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by y^e^ grace of God, of Great Britaine, Franc and Ireland King, defender of y^e^ faith, &c., haveing vndertaken for y^e^ glorie of God and advancemente of y^e^ Christian faith, and honour of our King and countrie, a voyage to plant y^e^ first colonie in y^e^ Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly and mutualy in y^e^ presence of God and of one another, covenant and combine our selves togeather into a civill body politick, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of y^e^ ends aforesaid; and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute and frame such just and equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for y^e^ generall good of y^e^ colonie, vnto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In Witnes wherof we have here-vnder subscribed our names at Cap-Codd y^e^ 11 of November [N.S. November 21] in y^e^ year of y^e^ raigne of our soveraigne lord, King Iames of England, France and Ireland y^e^ eighteenth, and of Scotland ye fiftie-fourth, Ano. Dom. 1620.'

JOHN CARVER	JOHN TURNER
WILLIAM BRADFORD	FRANCIS EATON
EDWARD WINSLOW	JAMES CHILTON
WILLIAM BREWSTER	JOHN CRACKSTON

Isaac Allerton
Myles Standish
John Alden
Samuel Fuller
Christopher Martin
William Mullins
William White
Richard Wauren
John Howland
Stephen Hopkins
Edward Tilley
John Tilley
Francis Cook
Thomas Rogers
Thomas Tinker
John Rigdale
Edward Fuller
John Billington
Moses Fletcher
John Goodman
Degory Priest
Thomas Williams
Gilbert Winslow
Edmund Margeson
Peter Brown
Richard Britteridge
George Soule
Richard Clarke
Richard Gardiner
John Allerton
Thomas English
Edward Dotey
Edward Leister

On the same day that the compact was signed, John Carver was elected governor for the ensuing year. A few details respecting some of the signatories of the document have been given in the earlier pages of this volume. There are two or three other prominent men to whom reference may now be made. Isaac Allerton was a tailor, and joined the community in Leyden. On the death of his wife in the colony he married William Brewster's daughter, Fear. Before long he occupied leading positions of usefulness, became the wealthiest man in the colony, and was several times sent to England on business errands. But his love of money-making overran the sense of duty and honour. In 1631 the Plymouth church had to exercise discipline upon him, and in a few months he left the colony. He died at New Haven in 1659 insolvent, and was the only one of the original Pilgrims whose reputation became tarnished. John Alden, by trade a cooper, joined the travellers at Southampton, and for more than sixty years was one of the most active and useful men in the colony. He died in 1686 and was the last surviving signatory of the famous compact. Samuel Fuller was the physician of the colony. He is said to have lived in London before throwing in his lot with the church at Leyden, of which he was a deacon. He rendered valuable service both to the New Plymouth people and the Salem Colony, especially when epidemics broke out. He died in 1633, and his will is the earliest in the records of Plymouth.

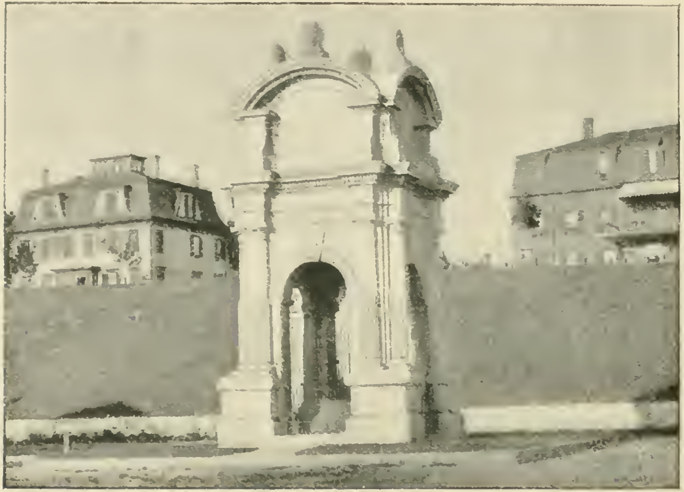
Exploring.—The Pilgrims were not displeased with their natural surroundings. There was 'a good harbour and pleasant bay, circled round, except in the entrance, which is about four miles over from land to land, compassed about to the very sea with oaks, pines, juniper, sassafras, and other sweet wood.' Large numbers of wild-fowl had come to the bay for winter shelter, whilst quantities of whales enlivened the scene, making the sailors regret that they had left their harpoons behind them. On Saturday, the day of their anchoring, the Pilgrims sent a well-armed party ashore for wood and fresh water. The

Sunday was spent on board, and on Monday the question of looking for a suitable place for a settlement was discussed. No time was to be lost. Captain Jones was anxious to sail back to England speedily, lest his provisions should not hold out. He declined to cruise about in search of a place for the colony, but undertook to put them ashore at whatever spot they might fix upon. The Pilgrims had brought with them a shallop—a boat of about fifteen tons—which had been taken to pieces and stowed away on the Mayflower. A few days must elapse before the carpenters could prepare it for its work, and in the meantime it was resolved to send out a land exploring party.

On Wednesday, sixteen well-armed men, headed by Captain Standish, landed. Having marched about a mile along the shore they saw five Indians, who ran away at their approach. The explorers followed them for some ten miles, but failed to get near enough to parley with them. As night approached they camped, making a barricade of logs, lighting fires, and appointing sentinels. On the next day they tried to track the Indians, explored the country for ten or twelve miles, forcing a path through dense underwood, and came suddenly upon clear springs of water at a spot now called Truro. Then they saw a deer, cornland, graves of Indians, and the remains of a house, or small fort, and, close by, two canoes, a large iron kettle, and a bow and arrows. A little farther they came upon baskets of corn buried in the sand. They carried away some of the corn, intending to pay the owners, should they meet with them. They went as far as the Pamet River, and in that neighbourhood saw some partridges and deer, and plenty of geese and ducks. Then they returned to the Mayflower, but only to prepare for another expedition.

On Monday, November 27 (O.S.) (December 7 N.S.), twenty-four men started in the shallop and the long boat, with Captain Jones as leader. They experienced high winds, with blinding snow, discovered the remains of a French vessel, wrecked some years previously, came across some empty wigwams, found more corn, wheat, and beans, but discovered no suitable place for the Pilgrims' settlement. Whilst the explorers were away, Peregrine White was born on the Mayflower—the first of the English who was born in New England. The most practical result of these two expeditions was the acquisition of some ten bushels of corn, as seed for the next season. Captain Jones being so anxious to depart for England, and pressing the Pilgrims to come to a speedy decision as to the site for their colony, a third expedition set off on December 6 (O.S.) (16 N.S.), with the object of thoroughly surveying the bay. Some of the party kept in the shallop, whilst others walked along the shore, keeping their comrades in sight.

On the third day the party on shore were fiercely attacked by Indians ' About the dawning of the day, they heard a great and strange cry, and one of their company being on board came hastily in, and cried "Indians! Indians!" and, withal, their arrows came flying amongst them; on which all their men ran with speed [to the boat] to recover their arms; as by God's good providence they did. In the meantime some of those that were ready discharged two muskets at them, and two more stood ready at the entrance of their rendezvous, but were commanded not to shoot until they could take full aim at them; and the other two charged with all speed, for there were only four that had arms there, and defended the barricade which was first assaulted. The cry of the Indians was dreadful, especially when they saw their men run out of their rendezvous towards the shallop to recover their arms; the Indians wheeling about upon them; but some running out with coats of mail, and cutlasses in their hands, they soon recovered their arms, and discharged amongst them, and soon stayed their violence. Notwithstanding, there was a lusty man, and no less valiant, stood behind a tree within half a musket shot, and let his arrows fly amongst them; he was seen to shoot three arrows, which were all avoided, and stood three shot of musket, until one, taking full aim at him, made the bark or splinters of the tree fly about his ears; after which he gave an extraordinary shriek, and away they went all of them; and so, leaving some to keep the shallop, they followed them about a quarter of a mile, that they might conceive that



LANDING PLACE, PLYMOUTH ROCK

they were not afraid of them, or in any way discouraged.'

None of the English party were injured, although several had narrow escapes. Then they all took the boat, followed the coast to the west and north, encountered a strong gale, with heavy snow and rain, and were almost wrecked. In a freezing temperature and at midnight they ran into Plymouth Harbour. The next day (Saturday) they made good the damage to the shallop; on Sunday they rested, and the next day, December 11 (N.S. 21), 'they sounded the harbour, and found it fit for shipping; and marched into the land and found divers corn-fields and little running brooks—a place (as they supposed) fit for situation; at least it was the best they could find.' And this place was to be the New Plymouth of the Pilgrim Fathers. It was a rock that the explorers landed upon. In 1774 an attempt was made to remove it to a more central position; but it was split during the operation. The upper portion was afterwards placed near the Court House, and in later years a handsome canopy was erected over it.

CHAPTER VII

FOUNDING THE COLONY

Planning the Colony.—The explorers lost no time in returning to the Mayflower and recommending the place they had discovered as the permanent home of the immigrants. For William Bradford, who had accompanied the party, terrible news was waiting. His wife, Dorothy, falling overboard, had been drowned. The Pilgrims decided that the promising site of the bay was suitable for their colony, and on Christmas Day they weighed anchor, and, setting off for their new quarters, landed on the third day. The following is the journal, kept by one of the Pilgrims, recording events from the time of arrival to the end of the year.

'December 18 [O.S.] [28 N.S.].—Monday they land with the master of the ship, and three or four sailors; march along the coast seven or eight miles, but see neither wigwam, Indian, nor navigable river, but only four or five brooks of sweet fresh water running into the sea, with choice ground formerly possessed and planted, and at night return to the ship. Next day they go again to discover, some on land, others in the shallop, find a creek, into which they pass three miles, and return.

'December 20.—After calling to Heaven for guidance, they go ashore to pitch on some place for immediate settlement. After viewing the country they conclude to settle on the main, on a high ground facing the bay, where corn had been planted three or four years before; a sweet brook running under the hill, with many delicate springs. On a great hill they intend to fortify, which will command all round, whence they may see across the bay to the cape. And here, being in number twenty, they rendezvous this evening; but a storm rising, it blows and rains hard all night, continues so tempestuous for two days that they cannot get abroad, and have nothing to shelter them.

'Dec. 21.—Dies Richard Britteridge, the first who dies in this harbour.

'Dec. 23.—Saturday. As many as can, go ashore, cut and carry timber for a common building.

'Dec. 24.—Lord's Day. Our people ashore are alarmed with the cry of savages, expect an assault, but continue quiet; and this day dies Solomon Martin, the sixth and last who dies this month.

'Dec. 25.—Monday they go ashore again, felling timber, sawing, riding, carrying. Begin to erect the first house, about twenty feet square, for their common use, to receive them and their goods; and leaving twenty to keep a court of guard, the rest return aboard at evening; but in the night and next day, another sore storm of wind and rain.

'Dec. 28.—Thursday they go to work on the hill; reduce themselves to nineteen families; measure out their lots and draw for them. Many grew ill of grievous colds, from the great and many hardships they had endured.

'Dec. 29 and 30.—Very cold and stormy again; and they see great smoaks of fires made by the Indians about six or seven miles off.

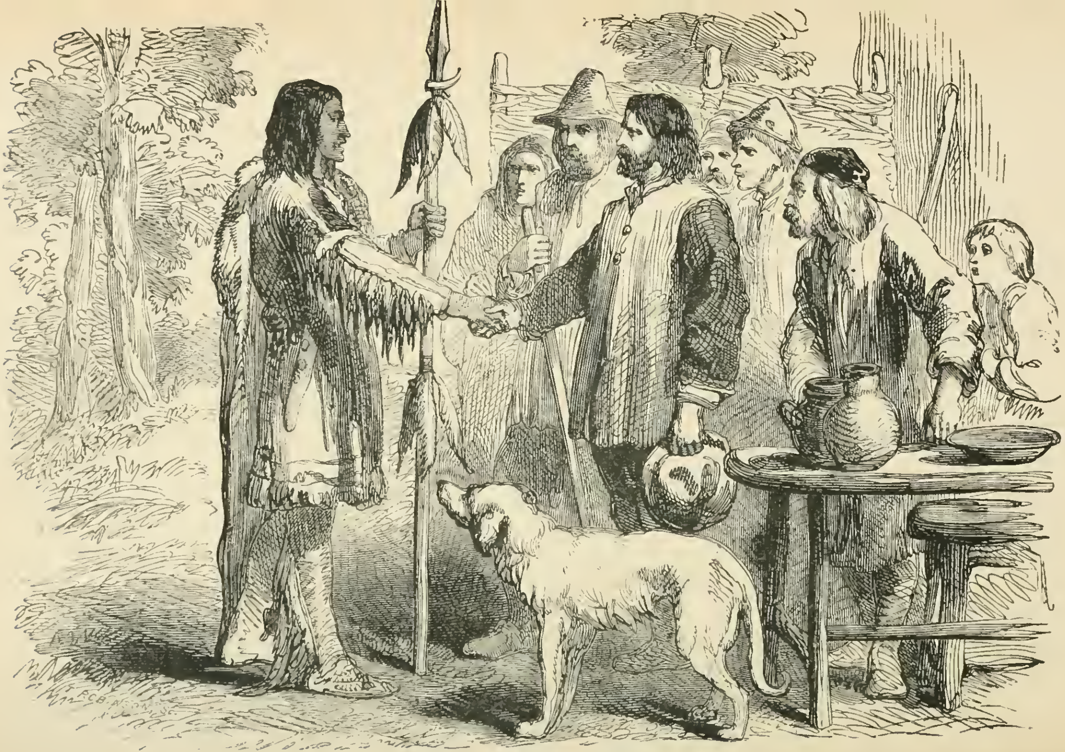
'Dec. 31.—Lord's Day. Though the generality remain aboard the ship, almost a mile and a half off, yet this seems to be the first day that any keep the Sabbath in the place of their building; at this time we therefore fix the era of their settlement here.'

The division of the whole company into nineteen families, assigning the single men to the various households, was thought desirable, in order that as few houses as possible might be required. Each family was to build its own house, to which was attached a plot of land for each of its members, measuring three rods long and half a rod broad. The houses were to be erected parallel with the stream, and were to form a single street, now called Leyden Street, leading up from Plymouth Rock.

Disease and Death.—And now the angel of death wrought havoc in the colony, and it seemed as if not one of the devoted band would be left. Exposure to the severe winter, inadequate diet, and the long voyage and its unhealthy conditions began to work inevitable consequences. During January and February the people died sometimes at the rate of two or three a day. The sick were nursed in the first house finished, and there were no fewer than thirty-one deaths by the end of February. The dead were buried on a hill, now called Cole's Hill, and the graves levelled, so that the Indians might not suspect how greatly the numbers of the immigrants were diminished. Of the hundred and odd persons who arrived by the Mayflower, scarcely fifty now remained. Scurvy was the chief disease that plagued the people, and added to this trouble were fears of attacks from Indians and wolves. When the ravages of disease were greatest, there were but six or seven healthy persons able to minister to the wants of the sick. The appearance of savages in the neighbourhood led the colonists to mount the five cannon brought from the Mayflower on the hill close to their houses, where a rough fortification was constructed.

Interviewing Indians.—One day in March, whilst the Pilgrims were holding a conference about military matters, an Indian walked down the street, much to their surprise, and entered their midst, greeting them with the words, 'Welcome, Englishmen—welcome, Englishmen.' He told them in broken English that his name was Samoset, that he belonged to the eastern part of the country, and knew several English fishermen. He spoke of another Indian, named Squanto, who had visited England and could speak the language well. The next day Samoset returned, and with him were five other Indians. He came to announce the approaching visit of Massasoit, the grand sagamore of that region. He offered the Pilgrims a specimen of Indian song and dance, but, the day being Sunday, the offer was declined. Samoset had already informed the Pilgrims that the Indian name of their settlement was Patuset, and that, about four years before, nearly all the inhabitants had died of some infectious disease. On his next visit he brought with him Squanto, the only man left of the Patuset tribe.

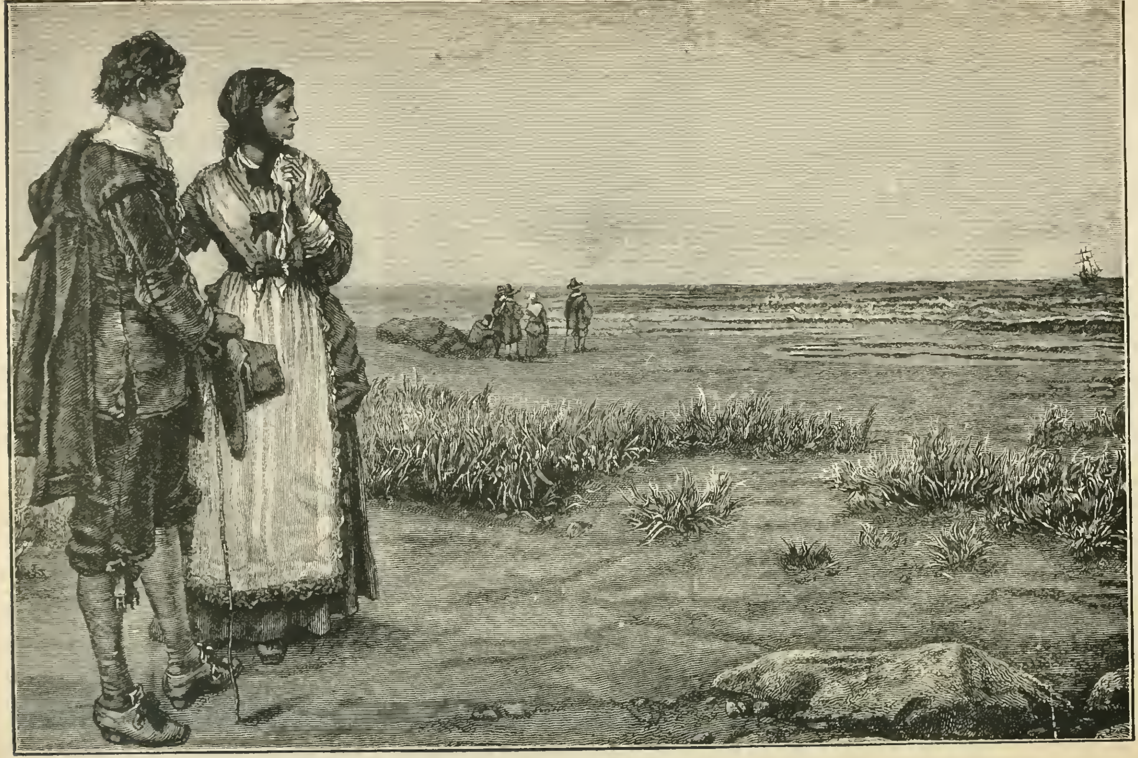
Squanto, who had lived more than three years in London, brought the information that Massasoit was at hand with his warriors. The Pilgrims realised the importance of this visit, and anticipated that, if they could only arrange a treaty of peace with the great chief, all fears of attacks from the Indians would be at an end. A messenger arrived, requesting that one of the Englishmen should be deputed to visit the chief and confer with him. Edward Winslow volunteered for the task. Wearing armour and side arms, and taking gifts with him, he proceeded on his way, crossing the ford, and ascending the opposite hill. He was seen to enter the midst of the sixty Indians, and then he disappeared. Massasoit showed a childish longing to possess the Englishman's sword and armour, and offered to buy them; but Winslow, with his usual discretion, declined the offer. Winslow assured him of the goodwill of King James, and of the governor of the colony,



VISIT OF AN INDIAN CHIEF

who wished to see him, and make a treaty of peace and commerce with him. Massasoit agreed to visit the governor with a body-guard, on condition that Winslow remained as a hostage with the rest of the warriors. The Englishman promptly consented, and then the chief set off for the settlement. He was received with military honours, and every scrap of carpet that could be collected was laid down in the governor's house. He and Carver ate and drank together, and then a treaty—offensive and defensive—was drawn up and signed, and that treaty was observed by both sides for more than fifty years. Squanto, or Tisquantum, remained with the settlers, and proved a true and useful friend. A little later he taught them how to manure with fish the corn-seed which they had found, and how to plant and rear it. Without this corn they would have suffered from famine, for all the seed of corn and vegetables brought from England proved useless. He also showed them where to find fish, and the best way of catching them, and where to procure other provisions. He was their pilot to unknown places, was continually furnishing information regarding the natives and the geographical features of the district, and remained with them until his death.

Return of the Mayflower.—With the advent of spring the health of the colony improved. Had the winter been severer and longer than it was, the settlers would probably have become so reduced in numbers—the hope of prosperity growing less as their numbers diminished--that the remnant of them would no doubt have returned to the mother country, the wreck of a noble enterprise. The Mayflower was still in the bay, where she had been detained by the sickness and death of many of the crew, by the sickness amongst the colonists, and the necessity of seeing the people housed before her departure. But now preparations were made for sailing home. If any of the immigrants—their hearts failing them—wished to abandon their brethren, here was their last chance for a long time to come. But no one showed the smallest desire to retrace his steps. Early in April, the Mayflower, freighted with letters and loving messages to friends in England and Holland, sailed away, whilst a little group of men, women, and children, now fully committed to their task, watched her out of sight.



CHAPTER VIII

INDIAN ALLIES

Death of Governor Carver, and Appointment of Bradford.—A few days after the departure of the Mayflower, the colony lost its first governor. John Carver had won the affection and esteem of all. He had spent most of his substance in furthering the enterprise, bore his share of daily labour, was always ready to do the meanest service for the poor and sick. Returning from work in the corn-field, he was seized with illness and died in two or three days. He was buried with military honours, the men firing volleys over his grave. Within six weeks his faithful wife was laid beside him. There was but little hesitation about the choice of a new governor. The elder of the community was William Brewster, so that he was scarcely eligible for the post. Passing over him, William Bradford came next, and he, now about thirty, was unanimously elected. Isaac Allerton was appointed to assist him. We may be sure that Bradford was ever to the front in the manual work of the colony. There were now only twenty-one men and six youths to do the work, yet in this season twenty-one acres of corn-land were tilled, six acres more were sown with wheat, barley, and rye, and the gardens round the houses were cultivated.

Very rarely were there any murmurs of discontent, or unruliness. There had been only one offence against law and order, and this is worth noting because of the curious punishment allotted to the culprit. 'The first offence since our arrival,' says the chronicler, 'is of John Billington, who came on board at London, and is this month [March] convented before the whole company for his contempt of the captain's lawful command, with opprobrious speeches; for which he is adjudged to have his neck and heels tied together; but, upon humbling himself and craving pardon, and it being his first offence, he is forgiven.' A little later a similar punishment was meted out to two young duellists, servants of Stephen Hopkins, who, having quarrelled, determined to settle the matter with swords and daggers. Both were wounded, and then arrested and tried before the whole community. 'They are adjudged to have their head and feet tied together, and so to lie for twenty-four hours, without meat or drink; which is begun to be inflicted; but within an hour, because of their great pains, at their and their master's humble request, upon promise of better carriage, they are released.' This unique and humiliating punishment had a most wholesome and deterrent effect, for this was the first and last duel ever heard of in the colony.

Expeditions.—It was now resolved to despatch expeditions to the Indians in order to maintain friendly relations and promote trade. Edward Winslow and Stephen Hopkins, with Squanto as interpreter, were deputed for a mission to Massasoit, whose place was about forty miles from Plymouth. They were instructed to take careful note of the country through which they passed, and of the number of persons in the Indian encampment. They were received in a friendly manner by the Wampanoags, the home-tribe of Massasoit, and proceeded to Sowams—now called Warren—the chief's principal seat. The chief gave them a hearty greeting, and prepared to listen to their message. They took their seats at his side, whilst a crowd of Indians assembled to watch the proceedings. The embassy presented the chief on behalf of the governor with a soldier's gay coat, trimmed with lace, and an ornamental chain of copper, with a medal attached to it. The chain was intended for the chief to lend to anyone whom he might send to the Englishmen, as a token that he wished kindness and hospitality extended to the visitor. The chief promised to ascertain the owners of the corn which the colonists found buried and had taken away, so that payment might be made, and various matters were discussed. Then the chief, greatly to his own pleasure and the delight of his people, arrayed himself in the soldier's coat, and hung the chain round his neck, and thus attired delivered a speech, which won loud applause from the people. The rest of the evening was spent in smoking and talking, the chief being most anxious to learn all he possibly could about England and its king. Winslow and Hopkins were somewhat amused, not to say embarrassed, by the sleeping accommodation for the night. They found they had to sleep in the chief's own bed, they at one end, and he and his wife at the other, whilst two of the chief men also occupied the same couch. This crowded arrangement and the hardness of the bed was an experience which the guests scarcely wished to have repeated. On their way home they went through a country depopulated by the plague. There were fields, once cultivated, run to waste, and many signs of former prosperity, and for several miles were strewn the bleached bones of thousands of persons.

The second expedition was rendered necessary by the disappearance of John Billington, the son of one of the settlers—the man who had been condemned to have his feet and neck tied together. These Billingtons appear to have been a somewhat turbulent and troublesome family. They had been 'shuffled' into the company of the Mayflower, says Bradford, he knew not how. The first record of their vagaries concerns another son, Francis, who, when on board the Mayflower, nearly blew up the ship by firing a fowling piece in a cabin where gunpowder was stored. John, bent on adventure, had lost his way in the woods, living on berries for several days, and at last found himself at Buzzard's Bay, some twenty miles from Plymouth. It was reported that the boy was in the camp of the Nanset Indians, and accordingly ten armed men set off in the shallop, and at length found the lad, profusely decorated with beads, keeping company with the sachem of the Nansets and his crowd of attendants.

A little later (August), it was rumoured that Corbitant, the chief of the Pocassets, had made Massasoit his prisoner, apparently because of the latter's friendly disposition towards the English. Squanto and another Indian, called Hobomok, were at once despatched to learn if there was any truth in the rumour. They were captured by Corbitant, and their lives threatened. Whilst the chief pointed a long knife at Squanto's breast, the other Indian fled. On his arrival at Plymouth, a council of war was immediately held. It was decided that every possible means should be taken to defend the colonist's ally and friend, Massasoit, that an armed party should be sent at once to Corbitant, with instructions that, if they found Squanto killed, Corbitant was to be forthwith beheaded. On reaching Namasket, the party, led by Captain Standish, surrounded Corbitant's house, and gave warning that no one was to leave the building until it had been searched. But Corbitant had fled, and very soon Squanto appeared, alive and uninjured. The party left a peremptory message for the chief—that if he formed conspiracies against the English, or offered violence to Massasoit or his friends, his life would not be safe. Three of the Indians, attempting to escape from the house, had been wounded, and were carried to Plymouth to have their wounds dressed.

These prompt measures had a beneficial effect. Several sachems (or chiefs) came spontaneously to make peace with the settlers and to acknowledge the King of England. Even Corbitant, with much discretion, showed a humble spirit, and went and petitioned Massasoit to act as peacemaker between him and the redoubtable English settlers. The next expedition—in September—was to Massachusetts Bay, with the object of forming a treaty of peace and commerce with the Indians northwards. Friendly relations were established with the tribe of the Shawmuts, whilst the harbour (afterwards Boston Harbour) greatly impressed the Englishmen, and to such an extent that they wished they had fixed on this neighbourhood for their settlement instead of southwards. They collected a quantity of beaver skins to send home to the Merchant Adventurers, and then returned to Plymouth.

Thanksgiving Day.—As the year drew to a close the Pilgrim Fathers, on taking a retrospect, saw much reason for thankfulness, in spite of their numbers having been so greatly reduced by sickness and death. Seven dwelling-houses and four public buildings now stood in the main street. The latter comprised a building for public worship and general meetings, and storehouses for food, clothing, and other supplies.

The general organisation of the infant colony had been improved as the year passed on. There were no rebellious spirits disturbing its peace or retarding its prosperity. The yield of corn from the native seed had been satisfactory; and, with fish and birds of all kinds, there had been no dearth of food. Friendly relations existed with the red-skinned neighbours, and the future in all respects seemed full of promise. To express their thankfulness and their joy at the progress made, the colonists appointed a day of thanksgiving—since known and commemorated as Thanksgiving Day. Massasoit, with ninety of his people, came to join in the festival, and stayed for three days. It was a time of recreation and amusement, as well as of praise for the mercies of the year.

Arrival of the Fortune.—One day, towards the end of the year, some Indians brought word that a ship had rounded Cape Cod, and was making for Plymouth. A feeling of alarm at once ran through the colony, for, England and France being at war, it was conjectured that the ship was of French nationality, and had come to put the little settlement to fire and sword. A cannon was immediately discharged from the fort, as a signal for the men working in the fields to hurry into the town and shoulder arms. Every man was soon at his post, ready to fight to the death. But, as the vessel drew nearer, the alarm quickly subsided, for the English flag was discerned at the masthead. The visitor turned out to be the Fortune, and she brought with her thirty-five additional colonists, amongst whom were Robert Cushman, the eldest son of William Brewster, and a brother of Edward Winslow. The new arrivals were wretchedly supplied with provisions and other stores, partly owing to their prolonged voyage of about eighteen weeks. Many of them, too, were not the kind of men suitable for the Pilgrims' settlement. The first difficulty was to provide food, for any length of time, for both the old and the new colonists. Temporary measures were taken, but the future, with the approach of winter, appeared threatening. The Fortune brought the Pilgrims a new patent of their land from the Council of New England, drawn up in the name of John Pierce and his associates. There was also a letter from Weston, the man who had arranged the departure of the original emigrants, complaining that the Mayflower had brought back no freight with her, in order to repay expenses incurred. The letter was full of cruel insinuations as to mismanagement, and contained not a word of sympathy for the Pilgrims in the hardships, sickness, and losses endured between the arrival and the departure of the Mayflower. Bradford sent a manly reply to this letter, and, rather than be open to a similar attack again, he took care that the Fortune was well freighted with goods, to the value of about 500*l.* including beaver fur and prepared timber. The colony could ill spare any of this cargo, but it was distinctly to its advantage to remain on a friendly footing with the Adventurers. The Fortune set sail in a fortnight, taking back

Cushman with her; but she was seized by the French off the English coast, and, although the ship and crew were released, the cargo was appropriated.

Prospect of Famine.—The year closed gloomily. It was a question whether food would hold out through the winter. There would have been sufficient for fifty mouths, but with the addition of thirty-five there was a distinct prospect of very short commons. The governor accordingly took measures to deal with the difficulty in the only practicable way. Finding that the provisions, at half allowance, would hold out about six months, he at once put the whole colony upon half allowance—'which began to be hard, but they bore it patiently under hope of supply.'

CHAPTER IX

SELF-DEFENCE AND REORGANISATION

A Declaration of War.—Soon after the Fortune had gone, another cause of momentary alarm arose. The Narragansett Indians, numbering 30,000 people, 5,000 of whom were warriors, and whose headquarters were in what is now called Rhode Island, sent a messenger to Plymouth with 'a bundle of arrows tied about with a great snake skin.' Squanto's help was at once sought to interpret the significance of this curious package. He had no doubt whatever that it meant a declaration of war. With men of less sturdy courage and strength of purpose than the Pilgrims possessed, the prospect of a war between eighty men, women, and children, and five thousand desperate warriors, of long experience and fine physique, would have brought fear and quaking to every heart.

But Governor Bradford, ever cool-headed and tactful, and ever influencing his people by his vigorous mind and fearlessness, sent back an answer which could have come only from a brave man. 'The governor, with the advice of others, sent them a round answer, that if they had rather have war than peace, they might begin when they would; they had done them no wrong, neither did they fear them, nor should they find them unprovided. And by another messenger sent the snake skin back with bullets in it; but they would not receive it, but sent it back again.'

So the five thousand warriors, burning to wipe out the little English colony from the face of the earth, had second and less sanguinary thoughts aroused by the sight of the bits of lead and William Bradford's bold reply. But it was desirable to be well prepared for sudden surprises, and in a position to give hostile Indians a warm reception, especially as news had recently arrived of the wholesale massacre by the Indians of the English settlers down in Southern Virginia. A strong palisade was constructed along the north side of the town, flanked with bastions, from which the outside could be covered by fire-arms. In these bastions were gates, locked at night and well guarded. All the settlers able to bear arms—numbering about fifty—were thoroughly drilled by Captain Standish, and places assigned to them for guarding the town.

An Indian Conspiracy Thwarted.—In the course of the year 1622 the intended massacre of the colony was frustrated through one of those apparently trifling circumstances upon which great events so often turn.

Tidings reached Plymouth that Massasoit was dangerously ill, and, in conformity with Indian custom, it was arranged to send an embassy from the colony. Winslow was selected for the work, and he set off to the chief's place, accompanied by Hobomok as interpreter. Massasoit seemed sick unto death. His wigwam was packed with people, and the powahs, with charms and incantations, were creating an insufferable din. Though blind, the chief understood that Winslow had arrived, and he asked him to come to his side. After expressing the sorrow of the colony, he told him the governor had sent some things which would probably relieve him. The wigwam was then cleared of the noisy crowd, and Winslow proceeded to take the chief's case in hand. In a short time the patient improved, and on his recovery from what he believed would prove a sickness unto death, he exclaimed, 'Now I see the English are my friends and love me, and while I live I will never forget this kindness they have shown me.' And very soon he kept his word. Just as Winslow and Hobomok were preparing to depart, he summoned the latter to his side, and disclosed a plot for the massacre of numbers of English settlers, including the Plymouth community, by the Massachusett Indians.

Hobomok was charged to reveal the plot to Winslow as they journeyed back to Plymouth. Some time previously, Weston had settled a colony of rough Englishmen at Wessagusset (now Weymouth), on Boston Bay. They soon exhausted their resources, and then began to rob the Indians of their corn, for which offence they were punished by their governor. Then the Indians refused to let them have food at any price. The settlers, driven to extremities, proposed to make a raid on the stores of the Indians, but, before taking such a step, deemed it desirable to consult Governor Bradford. As might be expected, Bradford emphatically deprecated such unlawful proceedings.

The Wessagusset settlers seem to have relinquished their design, but their condition became worse and worse. Starving and half-naked, they aroused the contempt of the Indians, who thought they might as well take an easy method of ridding the country of such fellows. They resolved to murder not only the Wessagusset people, but the Plymouth colony as well, for they knew that if the latter were spared they would speedily avenge the slaughter of their fellow-countrymen. They visited Massasoit, and pressed him to join them in the plot. And thus this chief, prompted by gratitude to Winslow, made known the conspiracy to Hobomok, and suggested that the Plymouth people should promptly take steps to seize and execute the chief conspirators. Bradford consulted with his people, and the decision was come to that, although the idea of shedding the blood of these Indians, whose highest welfare they had at heart, should only be carried out as an absolute necessity, to preserve many lives, that according to Massasoit the necessity had now arrived, and that Captain Standish should set off with an armed force, first warn the English at Wessagusset, and then attack the leading conspirators. Standish proceeded to execute this plan.

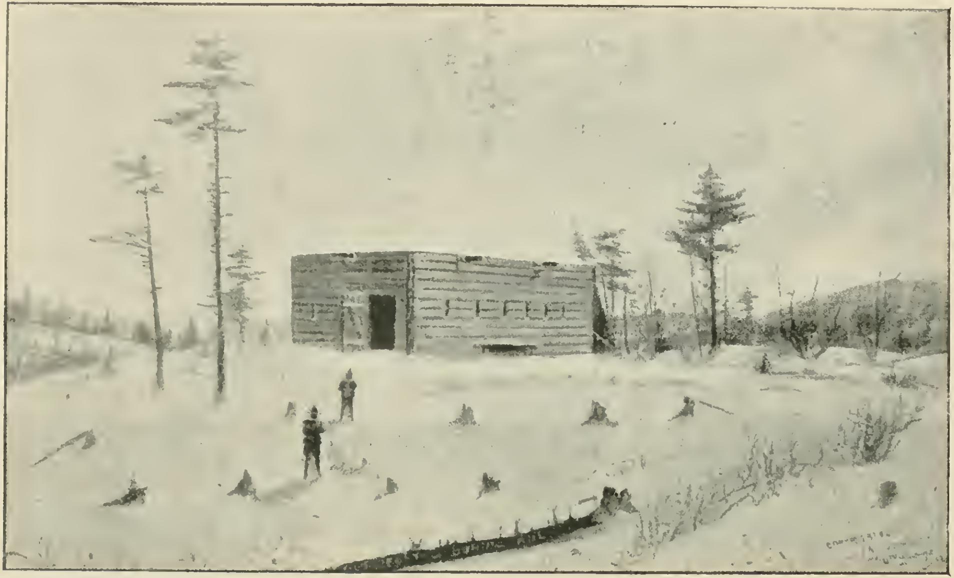
On reaching Wessagusset he found the settlers scattered all over the place, fraternising with the Indians as if there were no cause for alarm. He called the men together, and ordered them not to separate. But the Indians got scent of the captain's design, and, assuming a threatening attitude, began sharpening their knives as they stood around him. Standish, however, by self-possession and skilful diplomacy, contrived to get the leaders in the plot into one building. Then he got an equal number of his own men into the dwelling, and suddenly, at the word of command, they fell upon the Indians. A fierce fight followed, and in the end seven of the conspirators lay stretched upon the ground. On the following day a skirmish took place. The Indians let fly showers of arrows from behind trees, when suddenly Hobomok flung off his coat and ran towards them. The Indians fled helter-skelter in all directions. Hobomok was supposed to be in close communication with the spirit of darkness, and hence the panic when he ran towards them. The miserable settlers at Wessagusset were invited to return with Standish to Plymouth, but they preferred to leave the country. Thus the conspiracy was frustrated, and the Indians cowed, at least for a time.

When John Robinson heard of these transactions, he wrote to the church at Plymouth 'to consider the disposition of their captain, who was of a warm temper,' and thought 'a tenderness for the life of man made after God's image' was lacking. But Standish, as the military servant of the colony (he seems never to have been in fellowship with the church), was only carrying out his duty as a skilful soldier, adopting the most effectual method, as it appeared to him, to preserve the lives of both the Plymouth and Wessagusset people. Perhaps a less vigorous and more merciful policy might have had the desired result; but it is hard to judge.

Church and Fort combined.—Captain Standish had commenced some time back to construct a fort on the hill above Plymouth. But the operations were stopped by the peace-loving Pilgrims, on the ground that such a menacing structure would appear 'vainglorious.' But on the captain's return from his expedition he received permission to finish the work, for the many recent rumours of Indian raids had convinced the Fathers that self-defence must be exercised to the very best of their ability. The building was 'large and square,' 'strong and comely.' Upon the flat roof were placed six cannon, behind battlements; and sentries were on the watch by day and by night. The larger room of the building was used as the church, or meeting-house, of the colony down to 1648, when a church was erected on lower ground. It was also used for town's-meetings and most civil purposes. A smaller room was utilised for a storehouse, and the land around the building became the burial-place of the community.

Isaac de Rassières, agent for the Dutch colony at Manhattan (founded 1623), after visiting Plymouth in 1627 thus described the Pilgrims' mode of assembling for public worship. 'They assemble by beat of drum, each with his musket or firelock, in front of the captain's door; they have their cloaks on, and place themselves in order, three abreast, and are led by a sergeant without beat of drum. Behind comes the governor in a long robe; beside him on the right hand comes the preacher with his cloak on, and on the left hand the captain with his side-arms and cloak on, and with a small cane in his hand; and so they march in good order, and each sets his arms down near him.' The 'preacher' was William Brewster, who, though not administering the sacraments, 'taught twice every Sabbath, and that both powerfully and profitably, to the great contentment of the hearers, and their comfortable edification; yea, many were brought to God by his ministry.' There was no regular minister appointed until 1629.

The Communistic System unworkable.—The Pilgrim Fathers started their colony on a communistic basis. Even before leaving Leyden they put all their money into a common fund, which was drawn upon for the general wants of the emigrants. When they commenced organising at New Plymouth, although each family had a house allotted to their use (with single men fairly distributed amongst them), yet the crops



THE FORT AT PLYMOUTH

were raised and shared in common. Four days of each man's labour were devoted to the benefit of the colony and for the interest of the Merchant Adventurers; the other two working days were for each man's own benefit. But discontent arose, for, although the colony as a whole was industrious, honourable, and godly, yet the temptation to indifference and to slackening of energy had sometimes a baneful effect. The stronger men thought it unfair that they should help to support the families of weaker men; the elder brethren were ill satisfied at having to work with young men and boys; whilst some of the married men rather resented the regulation of their wives having to moil and toil to provide domestic necessities for single men.

'The experience,' says Bradford, 'that was had in this common course and condition, tried sundry years, and that amongst godly and sober men, may well evince the vanity of that conceit of Plato and other ancients, applauded by some of later times—that the taking away of property, and bringing in community into a commonwealth, would make them happy and flourishing; as if they were wiser than God. For this community (so far as it was) was found to breed much confusion and discontent, and retard much employment that would have been to their benefit and comfort. . . . Upon the point all being to have alike, and all to do alike, they thought themselves in the like condition, and one as good as another; and so, if it did not cut off those relations that God hath set amongst men, yet it did at least much diminish and take off the mutual respect that should be preserved amongst them. And would have been worse if they had been men of another condition.'

The system upon which they started their new life having proved a distinct failure, the Fathers wisely resolved to make an alteration. Before the sowing time of 1623 it was arranged to allot to each family for one year a parcel of land in the proportion of one acre to each person. The land was to be divided by lot, because of differences in its quality. The effect of the change was electric. A fresh and redoubled spirit of activity spread itself at once through the colony—even women and children catching the infection, and working industriously in the fields. As an inevitable consequence, far more corn was planted than in previous seasons, and the working of the colony went more smoothly than it had ever gone before.

Dearth and Drought.—But long before the corn had grown and ripened, there was scarcity of food and much suffering. For two or three months the people had no bread, and knew not where their next meal was to come from, and yet bore their privations with patience and courage. They subsisted almost entirely upon fish, but having only one boat and one net amongst them all, the supply was by no means abundant. The boat was constantly at work. As soon as one party landed, another set off; and no party ever returned without bringing a fair haul, even though they might have to be out five or six days before securing it. During such times of weary waiting, those on shore dug in the sands for shell-fish, and others scoured the woods to find game. A drought of seven weeks which began in June rendered suffering and anxiety still more keen. Young plants withered, the harvest threatened to be a failure, the gaunt faces and hungry eyes of women and children told a pitiful tale, and men staggered at noon-day for want of food. But the patient and uncomplaining spirit of William Brewster made its influence felt everywhere. Sitting down to a platter of boiled clams and a pot of water, he thanked God that he and his were permitted to 'suck of the abundance of the seas, and of the treasures hid in the sand.' A day of humiliation and supplication was appointed, and on the evening of that very day the clouds gathered and the rain fell, continuing for several days. Then a service of thanksgiving was held for the life-giving rain, and the promise of an abundant harvest.

CHAPTER X

DESIGNS OF THE MERCHANT ADVENTURERS

Fresh Arrivals.—About the middle of 1623 two ships—the Anne and the Little James—anchored at Plymouth, bringing nearly one hundred new colonists. They proved to be a mixed company—some being friends from Leyden, and others little more than adventurers, who came across the seas in search of fortune denied them at home. The governor, finding that a number of these people were altogether unfit for colonial life, discreetly sent them back at his own expense by the ships which brought them. Of the remainder, some sixty identified themselves with the colony, and about forty, calling themselves 'particulars,' wished to form a distinct colony of their own within the existing colony. They came with fine notions of 'building great houses,' of 'pleasant situations for themselves,' and of becoming 'great men and rich all of a sudden;' but these notions 'proved castles in the air.' The governor received them in a friendly way, and agreed to allot them sites for their houses. They were to be subject to the law and order of the colony, and to assist in the common defence, but to be exempt from the general employments of the community. They were debarred from trade with the Indians in furs, and every male over sixteen was to pay a bushel of wheat, or the value of it towards the maintenance of government. With this new accession the number of those who are usually termed Pilgrim Fathers, or Forefathers, or First Comers is brought to an end. The total number of emigrants arriving by the Mayflower, the Fortune, the Anne, and the Little James was two hundred and thirty-three; but by the end of 1623 there were only one hundred and eighty survivors.

A Religious Plot.—These 'particulars' did not prove special blessings to the community, and were sent out to Plymouth mainly for the purpose—as the sequel showed—of undermining the free church system organisation and replacing them with the episcopal form of church government. The Adventurers in London comprised two parties—those who were disposed to allow the Pilgrim Fathers to carry out their free church principles to any extent they wished, and those who wished the Pilgrims to conform to the order and ceremonies of the Church of England, whilst retaining their Puritan interpretation of doctrine. In 1623 the Adventurers sent out another company of settlers (who were unsuccessful in their project), under Robert Gorges, to Wessagusset.

An Episcopalian clergyman, named William

Morrell, came out at the same time. He had powers to regulate the religious affairs of the country, and to make what alterations he thought proper, even to compel the Pilgrim Fathers to conform to the Church of England. Happily, his mission was not known to the Fathers until after his departure from the colony. Happily, too, he was a man of common sense, wisely concluding, on seeing the religious harmony of the people, that it would be entirely useless to attempt to carry out his mission, or even to announce it. Instead of revolutionising church government, he studied the habits of the Indians, and natural history, and harmlessly employed spare moments in writing a Latin epic on New England. The 'particulars,' however, were not so wise. As a preliminary step to subverting the Pilgrims' church, they sent home to the Adventurers a string of complaints, which made it appear that the colony was a hotbed of religious controversy; that worship, public and private, was neglected, and that the children received no religious instruction, and were not even taught to read.

As a result of these complaints the Adventurers sent out in 1624, by the Charity, an Episcopal minister of Puritan sympathies, but strongly opposed to free church government. A number of inquiries were at the same time sent to the church respecting the complaints, to which Bradford returned explicit answers. This clergyman, by name John Lyford, was as cunning a knave as ever set foot in Plymouth.

The Pilgrims seem to have been under the impression that he had come as a sort of candidate for the pastoral office. On his arrival he was hospitably received. He, on his part, saluted the brethren 'with that reverence and humility as is seldom to be seen, and indeed made them ashamed, he so bowed and cringed unto them, and would have kissed their hands if they would have suffered him; yea, he wept and shed many tears, blessing God who had brought him to see their faces, and admiring the things they had done.' He soon joined the church, rejoicing in the privilege of being identified with a church of free and pure principles, and declaring that he would no longer regard himself as an ordained minister until he received a call from the church.

But the continual effusiveness of Lyford put the Pilgrims on their guard. Still, Lyford and a man named John Oldham, one of the 'particulars,' were taken into the counsels of the brethren. And, whilst professing esteem and affection for the Pilgrims, they were creating a faction, privately, against them. In good time Governor Bradford became suspicious. He heard that both of the men were sending letters to the Adventurers, defaming the Pilgrim church, and promptly took measures to checkmate them. The ship containing the letters had started, and the governor went off in a shallop and overtook her. He procured from the captain all Lyford's and Oldham's letters, and found they contained, as he suspected, a tissue of slanders and lies against the church and the government. Lyford also stated in one of the letters that he intended to set up worship according to the Church of England as soon as the ship had sailed.

The two men had no knowledge for a time that Bradford had outwitted them, and soon began to pick quarrels with the Pilgrims, as the first step in the accomplishment of their scheme. Oldham, when called upon to take his turn as sentinel at the fort, abused and assaulted Captain Standish, and threatened him with his knife. He was arrested, and, after being 'clapt up awhile, he came to himself.' Then the two men, with the people they led, without a word to anybody, held public worship apart from the others. The governor forthwith called a court and summoned the whole company. He charged Lyford and Oldham with secretly plotting to destroy the government. They warmly denied the charge, but when the letters were produced they were dumb. Presently Oldham became insolent, and Lyford confessed his misdoings with contrition and tears. The court decided that Oldham should leave the colony at once, and that Lyford might remain six months longer. The latter confessed his sin to the church; his period of grace was extended, and he was readmitted to teach in the church. But he soon resumed his treacherous devices, and though permitted to remain at Plymouth during the winter, he joined Oldham at Nantucket in the early part of 1625. In the same year Oldham returned, and was more violent than ever. He was 'clapt up' again for a short time, and then ignominiously expelled from the colony. The musketeers formed a double line, ‘which he was to pass through; and everyone was ordered to give him a thump . . . with the butt end of his musket; and then was conveyed to the waterside, where a boat was ready to carry him away. Then they bid him go and mend his manners.’

The section of the Adventurers hostile to free church principles made a later attempt to compel the Pilgrims to conform to the Church of England, and, under the impression that John Robinson and the portion of the church still at Leyden were thinking of coming to Plymouth, they demanded that they should sign a recantation of their Brownist or Separatist views before being allowed to do so. Needless to say, the demands of the Adventurers had no effect whatever, except in a direction they had not counted upon—enhancing in the Pilgrims’ eyes the preciousness of freedom.

Everyone acquainted with the history of the Pilgrim Fathers will acquit them from intolerance in objecting so firmly to the setting up of episcopal worship within their colony. Having suffered the fires of persecution in England for maintaining the rights of conscience, and having once escaped from thraldom and tasted the delights of freedom, it would have been the height of imprudence, and altogether inconsistent with the sagacity the Pilgrims had invariably displayed, to consent to the exercise of priestly assumption within the borders of Plymouth.

Two matters helped to fortify the Pilgrims' resolve—the tyrannical measures of Archbishop Laud in England to compel conformity, and a rumour that a company of emigrants—double the number of the Pilgrim colonists—under promise to adhere to State Church principles, would be sent out to overwhelm and absorb the free Plymouth community.

Thus, the Pilgrims had to safeguard their colony not only from Indian raids, but from the invasion of foes hostile to the exercise of liberty of conscience. Their firmness, energy, and tact in adhering to convictions, which led them into exile, established the community on a stronger and more uncompromising basis than ever, and bore fruit in generations to come in the independent spirit of the great nation of which the Pilgrims were the germ.

CHAPTER XI

TRADE—SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS LIFE

The Adventurers.—The connection of the Pilgrims with the Adventurers drew gradually to a close. The Adventurers originally undertook to finance the Pilgrims and to furnish supplies. In return for this help the Pilgrims were to send home cargoes of furs and other goods. The contract between the parties was to continue for seven years, during which period all trading profits were to be held in common. At the end of the period all the property in the colony, as well as profits, were to be equally divided between the Adventurers and the colonists. The latter appealed for certain alterations in the agreement, but without success; and the contract was not signed until 1621. The Adventurers shamefully neglected their part of the agreement, and it was owing to their negligence in not sending supplies that the Pilgrims suffered from famine, and other hardships, during the early years of their New England life. The Pilgrims performed their part to the best of their ability; but two, at least, of the cargoes despatched to the company never reached their destination, one, as we have seen, having been captured by the French, whilst the other fell into the hands of the Turks. Owing to their heavy losses, and the existence of factions in their midst, the days of the Adventurers' Company were numbered. At length the Pilgrims, in 1626, resolved to take a bold course. They made an agreement to break off their connection with the company by paying 1800*l.* within six years, and also 600*l.* for their trading debts. The company agreed to surrender, in consideration of the sum named, all claim to stock, shares, land, merchandise and chattels. In order to meet their obligations, the Pilgrims reorganised the farming and trading system of the colony, and by a supreme effort they contrived to pay off the last instalment of their debt in the year 1633.

A New Patent.—Two or three patents, vague and unsatisfactory, had been issued from London to the colony of New Plymouth; but they proved of little or no benefit. In 1629 the Council of New England, under the presidency of the Earl of Warwick, granted a new patent of a definite and useful character. It was made out to William Bradford, his heirs, associates and assigns, and defined the territory of the colony, granting also fifteen miles of land on each side of the Kennebec River, for the purpose of establishing fisheries.

Co-operation.—In order to meet their indebtedness to the Adventurers, the colonists formed a kind of cooperative society in which every member of the colony was interested. In addition to somewhat complicated details respecting certain rights of the colonists in exchange for certain annual payments of corn or tobacco, the land was divided into shares of twenty acres each, and each unmarried man, who was not a servant, was assigned one share, and each head of a household one for himself, and one for each member of his family. If the payments of corn and tobacco fell short of the annual instalment to the London company, the deficiency was to be made up by each shareholder in proportion to his holding.

Cattle.—As further evidence of the neglect by the Adventurers of the wants of the colony, it was not until 1624 that any cattle reached them—and then only four. In 1627 there were twelve cows. These had to be divided by lot amongst the people, who now numbered one hundred and fifty-six, without counting servants. This population comprised fifty-seven men, thirty-four boys, twenty-nine matrons and thirty-six girls. There being one hundred and fifty-six persons, one cow had to serve the wants of each division of thirteen persons. Each division was to have the use of the cow for ten years, and then she was to be restored to the common stock, with half her increase. No provision appears to have been made in the event of the death of any of the cows. This curious but sensible arrangement seems to have given general satisfaction. Some of the people, however, were willing to give up their share of milk for a consideration. Captain Standish, in 1628, bought out his twelve partners, and for the rest of the term was sole possessor of a cow.

Sources of Trade and Sustenance.—By slow degrees the colony arrived at a state of comparative comfort. Improvements in the harvests, extension of trade with the Indians, and additional facilities for fishing were some of the causes of the growth of prosperity. Trading was also carried on with the Dutch colony at Manhattan (New Amsterdam), founded in 1623, as well as with ships calling at Plymouth from time to time. A few years after settling, the colonists had plenty of pigs and poultry, whilst wild birds and deer furnished occasional means of support.

The Town.—Plymouth, in 1627, consisted of about thirty or forty houses, constructed of logs, the crevices plastered with clay, the roofs thatched, and the chimneys built on the outside. Most of the houses stood in a line along the street, at distances of fifty to a hundred feet apart, the intervening spaces being occupied by gardens, fenced in with rough planks. They comprised from two to four rooms, but all on one storey, and at the rear were outhouses. The governor's house stood by itself, for a time at least, on the opposite side of the street, with a strong enclosure around it, and four small cannon mounted in the front enclosure. The town was built on the slope of a hill, on the summit of which was the fort, and which commanded a fine view of the bay and the surrounding country.

PLYMOUTH IN 1627

A Pilgrim's Home.—The interior of the houses was necessarily extremely rough, owing partly to lack of proper appliances for house-building. The floor was made of either uneven planks or dry earth, on which were laid rushes, grass or sand. Here and there a strip of carpet or a rug may have been seen. Glass was an almost unknown luxury in the colony in the early years of its existence, and, as a substitute, paper soaked in linseed oil was used. The furniture, some brought from England, and some turned out by the industrious hands of the colonists, was of course of the plainest description. The only adornments of the walls were probably firearms, swords, and powder-horns, with a few Indian curiosities, it may be. As to books, the colony seems to have been fairly well supplied, if we may conclude that those who had good libraries lent their books to their brethren. We know for a fact that Elder Brewster was possessed at his death of about four hundred volumes, that Bradford left four hundred and seventy-five, and that Fuller, the physician, and Captain Standish had small libraries. No doubt nearly every household possessed a Bible, and the version used was probably the Genevan, whilst for private and public praise they had Henry Ainsworth's metrical version of the Book of Psalms.

Daily Occupations and Education.—The order of daily occupations varied but little from those of a rural household in England where a strict regard for religion prevails. In the early morning the men and youths went out to the fields to cut wood, to fish in the bay or the streams, whilst the women and girls attended to domestic duties. At the accustomed hour (and we may be sure that punctuality was a rule in every household) the family assembled for worship; then followed breakfast, which probably consisted mainly of porridge and milk. Almost the only variation from the ordinary round of modern rural households in England was the education of the children. There appears to have been no regular school set up in New Plymouth until about 1662; but we must not infer that the education of the young was neglected. There may have been private schools, or perhaps the mothers or the elder daughters taught the junior children, whilst the senior boys and girls had their lessons in the evening from their parents. In any case, we may be certain that the 'three R's,' as well as other rudimentary knowledge, were regularly taught in that quaint and simple little colony, and the Fathers may well be forgiven for not including a schoolmaster in the company on board the Mayflower, especially at a time when a schoolmaster was as yet a rarity in the mother-country. In 1670—twenty-seven years after the league of the three states had been formed—the fishing excise was offered any town that would set up a free elementary and classical school. Plymouth embraced this offer, and thus had the first free school, established by law, in New England.

Dress and Amusements.—There was nothing specially distinctive in the dress of the Pilgrims from that worn by the Puritans of England. The men wore doublets or short coats, with broad linen collars at the neck, cuffs at the wrists, and stout belts at the waist. Felt hats with high crowns and broad brims, loose cloaks, knee breeches, long frieze hose, and buckled shoes, or jack-boots for rough weather, completed the costume. Bright coloured garments were sometimes worn, for Brewster at his death owned a green waistcoat and a violet coat. The women's dress was of the plainest description, like the plainest of the present day, and probably seldom varying from black, white, or grey. The pictures of New England maids and matrons thus attired, with the simple kerchief over the shoulders and the hood over the head, are known to everyone. It is impossible to believe that the rising generation and the less grave among their elders passed their days without amusements and recreations of some kind or another; and yet the records of New England give only a few hints on the subject. We know that Thanksgiving Day was largely a time of recreation and pleasure-seeking, and we also know that dancing, dicing, and card-playing were forbidden by law in New England. Bowling, wrestling, stool-ball (or club-ball), the predecessor of cricket, quoits, and pitching the bar were some of the sports indulged in.

The New England Meeting-house.—The Pilgrims called the first day of the week the 'Sabbath' or the 'Lord's Day,' and objected to the word 'Sunday' because of its heathen origin. All the colonists were expected to attend public worship on the Sabbath, but no compulsion was used. Membership of the church was optional, and the Fathers were always ready to admit sober, industrious, and upright men into the colony without any obligation of joining the church. The order of service in that curious fort-meeting-house was probably much the same as prevails to-day in congregational churches, with the difference that the singing of psalms took the place of hymn-singing. In course of time there was also a 'weekly lecture,' which consisted of an address on some religious or semi-religious topic, and praise and prayer. There were no Sunday-schools or week-day prayer meetings. Elder Brewster taught twice every Sabbath, 'and that both powerfully and profitably,' but, although often pressed to take the office of pastor, declined to do so. In 1629 the Rev. Ralph Smith came to Plymouth and was chosen pastor, and then, for the first time since the Pilgrims' departure from England, the sacraments were administered. Up to that date the performance of marriages in the colony was entirely of a civil nature. In the same year the surviving members of the Pilgrim church at Leyden joined their brethren at Plymouth, thus fulfilling an arrangement which had been in abeyance so many years.

As years passed on, and the population extended, and many hundreds of fresh colonists arrived in America, and towns and villages sprang to life in New England, it was enacted (1675) that a meeting-house should be erected in every town; if the people neglected this duty, the magistrates built a meeting-place and charged the town with the cost. The meeting-house became more and more the social centre for miles round. Here the people congregated from their distant homes, not only for worship, but also to hear from each other the latest news. The notices on the door also furnished a variety of topics of conversation. Coming marriages, stray cattle, rewards for the heads of wolves, sales of property, the times of departure of whaling vessels, taxes due, meetings to be held, lists of town officials, warnings against Sabbath-breaking and selling fire-arms and ammunition to Indians—such were a few of the subjects to which the attention of the people was called. On many meeting-houses the heads of wolves were nailed; for the destroyer of a wolf, in order to obtain his bounty, must go through the gruesome formality of bringing the creature's head, nailing it to the meeting-house, and giving due notice to the authorities.

The beating of drum and blowing of horn, sometimes accompanied by the hoisting of a flag, as the summons to worship was succeeded by a bell, hung at first on some neighbouring tree, and afterwards in the turret of the meeting-house. The seats in the building were allotted to the congregation according to their social rank, an arrangement which, naturally, was not an infrequent source of dissatisfaction. In very cold weather—there being no heating apparatus in the meeting-houses—the women brought footstoves of hot coals, or buried their feet in wolfskin bags; but the men, with stoical indifference, sat through the service of the sharpest winter's day without adopting any such preservatives, even though their attention and patience might be taxed for three or four hours. Those were not the days of twenty minutes' sermons; and the preacher often took no notice of the hourglass which was usually provided for his warning. The people were kept from falling asleep by an official, called a 'tithing man,' who diligently observed the worshippers, arousing any drowsy ones by touching them with a foxtail wand.

The service of praise was attended with difficulty, and performed clumsily; but in those days, when psalmody was in its infancy, even in the old country, it would be ungracious to make it the subject of harsh criticism. For many years the starting or 'tuning' a psalm was left to some volunteer in the congregation. Judge Sewall often undertook the task in the Boston church, and he has left his experience on record. Once he 'intended Windsor, and fell into High Dutch, and then, essaying to set another tune, went into a key much too high. So I prayed to Mr. White to set it, which he did well, Litchfield tune. The Lord humble me and instruct me, that I should be the occasion of any interruption in the worship of God.' Again, 'In the morning I set York tune, and, in the second going over, the gallery carried it irresistibly to St. David's, which discouraged me very much.' A little later he says, 'I set York tune, and the congregation went out of it into St. David's in the very second going over. They did the same three weeks before. This is the second sign. It seems to me an intimation for me to resign the precentor's place for a better voice. I have, through the divine long-suffering and favour, done it for twenty-four years, and now God in His providence seems to call me off, my voice being enfeebled.'

The support of the minister was at first arranged by voluntary contributions, but later on (1657) an Act was passed in Plymouth for the levying of a rate for this purpose. In other respects the minister was treated with much consideration. A parsonage was built for him, and the best land in the town assigned for his use. He had free pasturage for his horse, the first salmon caught every year, a portion of every whale that happened to be captured, and firewood supplied gratuitously. He often had to exercise a variety of offices, including those of physician, surgeon, lawyer, and farmer. His influence was felt in all departments of a town's life, and he was usually looked up to with unstinted respect and reverence. Breaches of respect were punished. One man was punished for saying he 'received no profit from the minister's sermons.' Two others were fined and inhibited from the sacrament, the one for speaking 'deridingly of the minister's powers,' and the other for casting 'uncharitable reflections' on the minister.

Law and Order.—Down to the end of 1623 offences were tried at Plymouth before the whole community, except servants. In December of that year it was decided that 'all criminal facts, and also all matters of trespasses and debts between man and man, should be tried by the verdict of twelve honest men, to be impanelled by authority, in form of a jury, upon their oath.' On the re-election of Governor Bradford in 1624, five assistants, instead of one, were chosen to serve him in managing the affairs of the little democracy. A little later the number was increased to seven. Until 1633 the people were their own police, for it was only in this year that the first constable was appointed. The tithing man of New England mentioned above (first appointed in 1694) was a sort of Church-and-State policeman, who had multifarious duties, besides the one named. He had ten families under his charge, and had to 'diligently inspect them,' see that they attended public worship, and that the children learned their catechism. He had also to report to the magistrates all Sabbath-breakers, swearers, and idle and dissolute persons, as well as disorders and offences in licensed houses of entertainment; to see that keepers of taverns abstained from supplying drink to persons who appeared to have taken enough; to administer the oath of fealty to new-comers; to warn out of the town suspicious additions, and to prevent young people taking walks on Sabbath-eve. Anyone caught committing any of these offences was brought before the magistrate and severely reprimanded; and on repetition of the offence the culprit was put in the stocks, or into the cage on the green.

Such, in roughest outline, were the conditions and circumstances of life, not only at Plymouth, but also in other towns in the north and west—Boston, Salem, Newhaven, and many others—that came into existence with the growth of the parent town and the advent of shiploads of fresh colonists from the old country. New England homes, towns, and churches bore a family impress. Differences in detail necessarily existed, but simplicity of life, faith and doctrine, stood out boldly wherever the Puritan fixed his dwelling and raised an altar to his God.

CHAPTER XII

NEW COLONIES

Endicott, and Massachusetts Bay Company.—Allusions have been made in the previous chapter to the arrival of large companies of emigrants, whose coming, and subsequent union with Plymouth brought about a vast enlargement of interests, and led to the English becoming the ruling race in America. Between 1628 and 1640 many hundreds of Puritan colonists landed, and by the latter year the population of New England had increased to about 26,000 persons. The example set by the Pilgrim Fathers in seeking a free country for the exercise of freedom of conscience roused a number of godly people in Lincolnshire in 1627 to consider the question of forming a settlement in the neighbourhood of Massachusetts Bay. Several attempts had been made to raise a colony in this locality, but with little effect.

At length the Lincolnshire people—some of whom were wealthy—found a man who was willing to go out with a small expedition. This was John

Endicott, a Dorchester man, and of strong Puritan sympathies. A patent was obtained from the Council of New England, dated March 19, 1628, granting for the projected colony 'that part of New England lying between the Merrimac river and the Charles river on the Massachusetts Bay.' Endicott, with his party, left Weymouth in June 1628, and reached Naumkeag (afterwards Salem) in September. But sickness soon carried off several of the party, and Endicott sent for Samuel Fuller, the physician of Plymouth, to come over. This event brought the new-comers and the Plymouth people into friendly relationship, and became the means of dispelling from Endicott's mind incorrect ideas about the worship and principles of the Pilgrims.

In due course Endicott sent home a favourable account of his impressions of the country, and, before long, many persons were inclined to assist the undertaking. Amongst these persons were John Winthrop, of Groton, Suffolk; Matthew Cradock, a rich merchant, and afterwards a member of the Long Parliament; Isaac Johnson, of Clipsham, Rutland, who had married Lady Arabella, a sister of the Earl of Lincoln; John Humphrey, who had married another of the earl's sisters; Sir Richard Saltonstall, and Thomas Goffe. It was these men who bought from Endicott's party all their rights under the patent of 1628, and who obtained a royal charter (March 4, 1629) constituting them a legal corporation under the name of the 'Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England.' Matthew Cradock was elected governor, and then a second government was appointed to be resident in the colony, consisting of a governor, deputy-governor, and twelve councillors. Each shareholder was to have two hundred acres of land for every 50*l.* invested, and every emigrant, not a shareholder, was to have fifty acres. Religious wants were also provided for, and three ministers were chosen—Samuel Skelton, a Cambridge man, who had a church in Lincolnshire; Francis Higginson, also a Cambridge man, and formerly vicar of a church at Leicester, but inhibited on account of his Puritan sympathies; and Francis Bright, of Rayleigh, Essex.

Men of various occupations and grades in life joined the enterprise, including a surgeon, a barber-surgeon, a land surveyor, and skilled mechanics. Explicit instructions, both on secular and religious matters, were sent out by the company with them. The propagation of the Gospel was to be the chief aim; no one was to be allowed to injure the Indians; any rights claimed by the Indians were to be lawfully purchased. In order that the Sabbath might be properly observed, all employments were to cease at three o'clock on Saturday afternoon, and the rest of that day was to be spent in 'catechism and preparations for the Sabbath, as the ministers shall direct.' If any of the planters should prove disorderly and vicious, they were to be shipped back to England promptly; family prayer was enjoined morning and evening, and a watchful eye kept on the youth of every family.

Higginson's Party.—These planters numbered between two and three hundred, and they sailed in five vessels, one of which was the renowned Mayflower, in the spring of 1629. On arriving at Salem, Skelton was chosen pastor, apparently on the ground of seniority, and Higginson teacher. These ministers were then re-ordained, with the laying-on of hands, but for what reason does not appear. They and others conferred with Endicott, who told them that his party were inclined to adopt the church principles of the Plymouth colony. Skelton and Higginson favoured this idea, but Bright entirely disapproved of it, and removed to Charlestown. A confession and covenant were drawn up, based on the simplest evangelical principles, the acceptance of which became the test of church membership.

But in the minds of others, besides Bright, dissatisfaction arose. Two members of the Council, John and Samuel Browne, strongly objected to the ministers not using the Book of Common Prayer, not adopting the ceremonies of the Church of England at the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, and to their avowed intention of prohibiting scandalous persons from partaking of the latter ordinance. They then began conducting services according to the Prayer Book, but were speedily stopped. Governor Endicott, with the company's explicit instructions regarding disorderly persons in his hands, summoned the two leading malcontents before him. They charged the two ministers with being Separatists;

but Skelton and Higginson replied that they were not Separatists, that they had not departed from the Church of England, but only from its corruptions, and had left England in order to get away from the Prayer Book and sinful ceremonies. It was quite clear that New England was no place for the two brothers; why they left the old country at all was a wonder. They were therefore sent back home, much against their will, before the year was out.

State Church Sympathies.—It should be noted that, although Skelton and Higginson and their party left England hostile to Separatism, and warm friends of the Church, yet on reaching Salem they adopted some of the leading principles on which Separatism was grounded, and became, at first sight, identical with the Pilgrim Church at New Plymouth. But there was a difference. The Pilgrims were uncompromising anti-State Church people; the Salem settlers were not. With the former, non-membership with their church was no bar to official position in their government; but with the latter, church fellowship was essential to political franchise and to any office in the government; and, moreover, the formation of new churches came under government supervision. The magistrate at Salem also had powers in religious matters. When Higginson drew up the confession of faith and covenant, 'because they foresaw that this wilderness might be looked upon as a place of liberty, and therefore might in time be troubled with erroneous spirits, therefore they did put in one article into the confession of faith, on purpose, about the duty and power of the magistrate in matters of religion.'[1]

John Winthrop, and the Great Exodus of 1630.—Seventeen ships—including the Mayflower once more—with about fifteen hundred passengers, sailed from England for Massachusetts in 1630. The Bay Company appointed John Winthrop Resident Governor, and with him went Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, and Thomas Dudley, as well as other governors of the company. Other emigrants followed, and in a short time Winthrop found himself governor of some two thousand people at Salem. But Salem not being 'pleasing,' many of the planters dispersed; some went to Boston, others to Charlestown, Dorchester, Roxbury and other places, and before the end of a year there were eight settlements along the seaboard. Winthrop himself removed to Boston, which thus became the chief town. Scarcity of food and death caused great trouble during the first twelve months, and two hundred people died. Questions of government and representation arose, and the independent spirit of the colonists, which in religious matters had led them to forsake their native land, asserted itself in a demand for certain legislative rights in the public affairs of the Bay Company. But John Winthrop was equal to such emergencies, and yielded to the claims of the freemen, so far as he saw they were just and right. Winthrop was elected governor eleven times, and his name stands in the front rank amongst the pioneers of English influence in America.

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[1] Morton's *New England's Memorial*, p. 146.

Connecticut Valley.—By the year 1634 about four thousand Englishmen had come over; and still they came. About twenty villages had been set up along the shores of the bay. Trade in furs, timber, and salted fish, and other articles rapidly increased, and large herds of cattle and goats covered the pastures. It was time for the colonists to extend their borders, and in 1636 a number of them migrated a hundred miles westward to the Connecticut Valley. The towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield quickly sprang up, and within twelve months they had a population of about eight hundred. Municipal independence advanced to representative government, and in 1638 the three towns proclaimed themselves a commonwealth.

Thomas Hooker, formerly lecturer and assistant at Chelmsford, was the chief leader of this migration, and it is on the basis of the constitution which he was the means of forming, that the present government of the United States is founded. All freemen, irrespective of church membership, had the right of voting for the legislative deputies, and also at the annual election of the governor and assistants; whilst church membership was essential for the post of governor only. Before long these settlers were attacked by the Indians, and suffered much loss. Some time previously the Indians had more than once been guilty of violence and murder on English traders. To check such practices Endicott had severely punished them, burning wigwams, sinking canoes, seizing corn, and taking several lives. Reprisals followed, and the new-comers in the valley were the chief sufferers. Murder, mutilation, roasting a man alive, and the abduction of English girls were some of the crimes perpetrated. At last the English applied to Boston and Plymouth for help, and then dire vengeance was exacted. Nearly seven hundred Indians were killed in their stronghold; but after that event no Indian tribe attacked the English for thirty-eight years.

New Haven.—In 1638 a party of emigrants—London merchants and their families—reached Boston, under the leadership of Theophilus Eaton, a member of the Bay Company, and John Davenport, their pastor, and formerly rector of a church in Coleman Street, London. After looking about for a place of settlement, the emigrants fixed on a spot, soon to be known as New Haven. In a few months eighty additional planters arrived, who bought land from the Indians in the same locality, and built the towns of Guildford and Milford. Two years later Stamford was added, and in 1643 the four towns were made into the republic of New Haven.

Leaders.—Many of the leaders in the exodus from England between 1628 and 1640 have already been mentioned, and there are others who should not be forgotten. Amongst those who sailed with John Winthrop in 1830 was *John Wilson*, a son of a

Prebendary of St. Paul's, and grand-nephew of Archbishop Grindal. He was trained at King's College, Cambridge, and though at one time hostile to the Puritans, he became an ardent sympathiser by accidentally meeting with Richard Rogers' *Seven Treatises.* His next step was to hear Rogers preach. Then he fraternised with the Puritans; and whilst holding a living at Sudbury had to battle with the ecclesiastical courts concerning his opinions, and at length decided to leave England. He went with Winthrop from Salem to Boston, at which place he was appointed pastor.

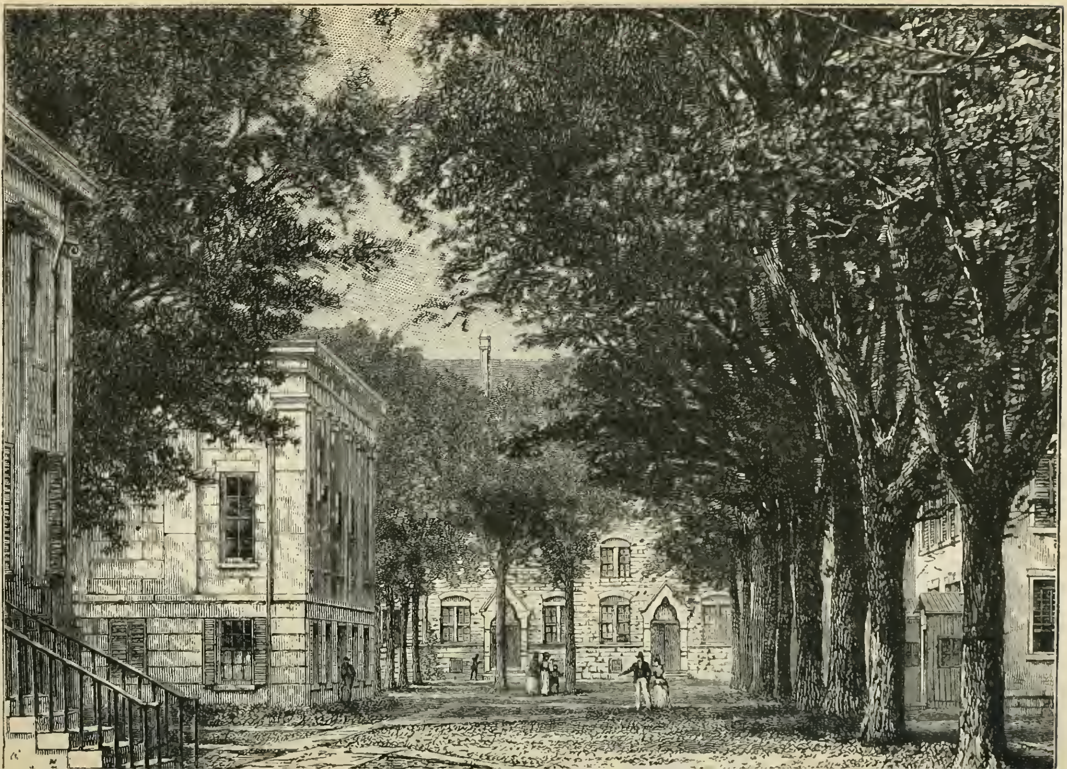
Another Puritan clergyman who fled from England in search of freedom was *John Cotton,* for twenty years Vicar of Boston. Brought under Puritan influence whilst at Cambridge University, he was soon known as a man 'of great gravity and sanctity of life,' 'of rare parts for his learning, eloquent and well spoken.' His opinions and mode of conducting worship gave rise to complaints, and for a time the bishop had to silence him. Later, he openly taught that bishops were only entitled to rule no larger diocese than one congregation, and that the keys of ecclesiastical government are given by Christ to each separate church. Stricken by sickness, and harried by his foes, he at length resigned his living. Writs against him were issued, and leaving Lincolnshire in disguise, he lay in hiding at the house of John Davenport, Vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, until the opportunity offered to cross the seas. He arrived at the New England Boston in 1633, and became the colleague of John Wilson.

Another Cambridge man, *Thomas Shepard*, whilst at Emmanuel College—the *alma mater* of John Robinson and many other Puritan ministers—became imbued with anti-Church of England teaching, and whilst holding the lectureship at Earl's Colne, Essex, incurred the displeasure of Archbishop Laud. He records the browbeating inflicted when summoned into the great man's presence. Laud was so angry that he 'looked as though blood would have gushed out of his face, and did shake as if he had been haunted with an ague fit.' He called Shepard a prating coxcomb, and finished his harangue by inhibiting him from working in his diocese. 'If you do,' he added, 'and I hear of it, I will follow you wherever you go, in any part of the kingdom, and so everlastingly disenable you.' He suffered many privations before leaving for New England, whither he was followed by a number of his people from Essex. He then became pastor of the church at Newtown, afterwards named Cambridge.

In 1633 *Richard Mather*, holding a living at Toxteth, near Liverpool, was suspended for declining to perform the ceremonies of the Church, and soon migrated to the New Country. He was chosen minister of the church at Dorchester, near Boston. The next two generations of his family hold prominent places in the story of Young America, for his son, Increase Mather, was a president of Harvard College, and the chief instrument in obtaining from William III. the removal of Governor

Andros; and his grandson, Cotton Mather, was the author of *Magnalia Christi Americana*, an ecclesiastical history of New England, and of more than three hundred other publications.

John Eliot, known the world over as 'the Indian apostle,' was born in Hertfordshire in 1604. He took orders in the Church of England; but his Nonconformist opinions led him to cast in his lot with the Puritan emigrants. He landed at Boston in 1631, became pastor of the church at Roxbury, and set himself to learn the Indian language. His first sermon to the Indians in their native dialect was delivered in 1646. Believing it absolutely necessary to carry on civility with religion, he set about the civilisation of his converts, and established settlements, where industrial occupations and schools were carried on. Great interest was excited amongst his colonial brethren, as well as in England, and considerable sums of money were raised to support and extend Eliot's work. He finished his translation of the Bible into the Indian tongue in 1658. The printing of the work was not completed until 1663, and this was the first Bible printed on the American continent. Whilst visiting the Indians at regular intervals he continued his pastoral duties at Roxbury, where he remained till his death in 1690. Eliot's name is also identified with the 'Bay Psalm Book,' the first book printed in New England, having, in conjunction with Richard Mather and Thomas Weld, prepared this English metrical version for the use of the churches.



Amongst other men who helped to build up these colonies were Peter Bulkely, the founder and first minister of Concord; Zachary Symmes, minister at Charlestown, who formerly held a living at Dunstable; Samuel Whiting, who was cited before the Court of High Commission for neglect of certain rites and ceremonies, but quitted his native land and became pastor of Lynn, named after the scene of his labours in Norfolk; Peter Hobart, born at Hingham, Norfolk, and founder of Hingham, New England; Charles Chauncey, John Fisk, and John Norton.

Harvard and Yale Colleges.—Between 1630 and 1647 at least ninety university men went to Massachusetts. Education and learning, fostered by their influence, soon became great forces in the progress of New England. In 1636 the General Court of Massachusetts voted four hundred pounds towards establishing a college or grammar school at Cambridge. The following year, John Harvard, a graduate of Emmanuel College, and a Nonconformist minister, bequeathed to the college half his fortune, of about 1,500*l.*, and his library of nearly three hundred volumes. The seminary was named from that time Harvard College. Not to be behind in providing a centre of light and learning, the people of Connecticut opened a college at Saybrook, which, on its removal to New Haven, became the University of Yale. Other schools and colleges were opened in the course of years, and in 1647 it was ordered that schools of two classes should be established in Massachusetts.

In every place containing fifty householders there was to be an elementary school; and in places of a hundred or more householders grammar schools were to be opened.

✓ **Intolerance.**—The weakest points in these new colonies, especially at Massachusetts Bay, were their intolerance, and the severity of their penal code. The Quakers, and others who did not share the ecclesiastical and doctrinal views of the churches, and made no secret of their opinions, were cruelly treated, and this intolerance seemed to justify the saying that people who have once been persecuted for their religious opinions become persecutors themselves. It is sickening to read the many crimes for which either capital or corporal punishment was inflicted. The return of a Romish priest after banishment upon the first conviction was a capital offence; also burglary and theft on the Sabbath upon a third conviction, as well as blasphemy, idolatry, and cursing one's father or mother. The Puritan lawgivers thought they were warranted by the Old Testament, as well as by the customs of other countries, in assigning such penalties, and forgot to consider the milder spirit of the New. In these two matters, at least, the Plymouth colonists stand out in favourable contrast with their Puritan friends in the north and west. Quakers, and other people with peculiar religious views, applied to Plymouth for permission to settle within its bounds, and it was readily granted. The town of Swansay, also within the Plymouth jurisdiction, was inhabited chiefly by Baptist refugees from Massachusetts, and when one of their ministers settled in the church at Plymouth he was allowed to baptise by immersion, providing he raised no objection to his brother ministers baptising by sprinkling. Miles Standish, although never a member of the church—indeed, in some quarters it is assumed that he was a Catholic to the end of his life—was allowed to take a prominent part in the management of the affairs of the colony, and no questions were raised as to his fitness for civil and military duties. The laws of the Pilgrim Fathers, although severe enough, were far in advance in their merciful and liberal aspects, not only of those of Massachusetts, but also of the penal code which they left behind in the old country. So reluctant were they to carry out the death penalty that, when John Billington killed a man in 1630, they deemed it desirable to consult with Governor Winthrop before proceeding to hang the murderer. Persecution, in their case, had taught them to be merciful.

CHAPTER XIII

CONFEDERATION—AMERICAN CONGREGATIONALISM

New England Confederacy. — While the three new colonies were in process of formation, Plymouth was gradually extending its borders. In 1632 Captain Standish, William Brewster, and others removed five miles to the north, for the sake of the more fertile land in that locality, and named their town Duxbury, after the captain's home in Lancashire. On Captain's Hill, at this place, stands the monument to Standish —a landmark for many miles round. Other towns and churches were founded during the next ten years, including Barnstable, Yarmouth, Sandwich, and Scituate, and by 1643 Plymouth colony consisted of eight separate towns. The friendly relations between Plymouth and Massachusetts gradually led to the creation of a Federal Union—the first on the American continent. In 1643 Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven became the United Colonies of New England. The Articles of Confederation stated that the objects of the union were to constitute a league of friendship for offence and defence, mutual advice and succour upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the Gospel, and for mutual safety and welfare. Each colony was to maintain its own jurisdiction; all public charges to be met by contributions levied on the colonies in proportion to the number of their inhabitants; and the affairs of the confederation to be managed by commissioners from each colony. For the next thirty-one years the colonies went on prospering—trade and commerce extending, education and religion moulding the race of the coming America.

Then (1674–76) occurred the disastrous war with the Indian 'King,' Philip, bringing mourning to nearly every household in New England, and the destruction of numerous towns. The next event of importance was the interference of England in the affairs of the colonies. In 1684 the charter of Massachusetts was annulled, and Sir Edmund Andros appointed governor, whose rule was execrated by all New Englanders. When William III. came to the throne, Andros was removed, and Governor Phipps sent out. He brought a charter which united Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth Colony, the Vineyard Archipelago, Maine and Acadia into the one province of Massachusetts. From that period the Puritans lose their existence as separate political bodies; and whilst their descendants spread north, south and west, the way was being prepared for the next great change—the Declaration of Independence in 1776, and the creation of the United States.

Death of Veterans.—The chief men of the Mayflower lived long enough to see the promise of a great nation growing out of their venture of courage and faith. William Brewster died in 1643, just before the Articles of Confederation were signed, at the age of eighty. Bradford speaks of his old friend as a man 'wise and discreet: of a very cheerful spirit, very sociable and pleasant amongst his friends, of an humble and honest mind; of a peaceable disposition, undervaluing himself and his own abilities, and sometimes overbalancing others; inoffensive and innocent in his life and conversation, which gained him the love of those without as well as those within. Yet he would tell them plainly of their faults and evils, both publicly and privately, but in such a manner as usually was well taken from him.' William Bradford passed away in 1657, having been elected governor for thirty-one years out of the thirty-six between his arrival and his death, and leaving behind his valuable history of the Plymouth Plantation.

Edward Winslow, governor, died at sea in 1655. During his last visit to England he was appointed one of the commissioners in Cromwell's disastrous expedition against Hispaniola (San Domingo), and it was on his voyage home that the end came. Miles Standish, after being engaged in military affairs and the business of the colony even until within a short time of his death, fell asleep in 1656, at the age of about seventy-two.[1]

Results.—The Congregational Church of America to-day is the complete and practical answer to the question, Was the object of the Pilgrim Fathers' migration accomplished? Fully convinced of the supremacy of conscience in matters of religion, and unable to carry out their convictions, the Pilgrims left their native country with the avowed object of establishing 'a free church in a free state.' They founded such a church at Plymouth, which, in essentials, was Congregational according to the recognised principles and methods of that denomination at the present time. Only in matters of little more than detail were there any differences. The office of 'teacher' was merged in after years into that of pastor, and the duties and authority of 'elders' were curtailed, and elders replaced by deacons.

The wave of Puritan emigration between 1628 and 1640 threatened to overwhelm the little church at Plymouth, for the new-comers were not Congregationalists. Professedly Churchmen, who desired to set up Church of England worship without its corruptions, and who distinctly objected to be called Separatists, they founded religious communities which were neither Church of England, Presbyterian, nor Congregational. They were of a mixed, hybrid pattern; in close union with the State, their principles and mode of worship partook partly of the Presbyterian and partly of the Congregational order. Though friendly with the Plymouth people, and gladly listening to their counsel and suggestions, they forbore from adopting the Plymouth model in the early years of their existence.

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[1] There is a considerable uncertainty as to the date of Standish's birth, some authorities giving 1565, and others 1584. The balance of probability inclines to the latter date. If born in 1565, he would have been upwards of ninety at his death; but it is scarcely likely that such a veteran would have been busily occupied with state matters within a short time of death.

It seemed more than likely for a time that a state church was to prevail in the new colonies, and the free church of Brewster and Bradford to suffer total extinction. But this was not to be. An anti-state church feeling gradually developed in the new colonies—the outgrowth of the democratic spirit which the settlers brought with them from fettered England to free America. The free air of the new country fostered and stimulated the growth of that spirit until it became a ruling force. The churches cut their anchorage to the state; and then, with a few exceptions, abandoned the rulership of pastors, elders, councils and synods, and became entirely self-governing—in fact, Congregational. They adopted the church method to which Plymouth had adhered, and even went beyond it by the abolition of the ruling eldership.

Thus the Pilgrim Fathers, besides being among the early pioneers of the colonisation of the great continent by the English, were the founders of American Congregationalism, and their real monument—the actual triumph, so far, of their work—consists of some five thousand churches with their more than half a million of members of the present day.

The Pilgrim Fathers sought for the emancipation of conscience from the control of individuals, or of any bodies of men, and they obtained it, and have transmitted the rights and privileges which they secured and asserted to the millions now peopling the United States. Little dreamed the Scrooby band when they decided to leave Leyden and seek a home in the Far West of the vast results of their venture. They felt called by God to journey thither, and nothing could turn them back, even though starvation and death stared them in the face. The persistency, courage, and faith of the venture are alone sufficient to crown with a halo of lasting honour those invincible Christians, who will be remembered, in centuries to come, as the Pilgrim Fathers—the Men of the Mayflower.

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