

# Extracts from the History of Plimoth Plantation



by

**William Bradford**  
Governor of Plimoth Plantation  
1621 - 1656

extracted by Bassetlaw Museum, Retford, Nottinghamshire.  
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These extracts have been given modern spelling and punctuation, but the text remains unaltered and is taken from the edition published by order of the General Court, Boston in 1900.

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## **The Second Book**

Which covers the period 1620 to 1648, from which extracts have been made from 1620 to 1623 when the first Thanksgiving Day was held and New England expanded rapidly with a number of new towns being set up. Also extracted are the deaths of John Robinson and William Brewster. The list of Mayflower passengers includes details taken from the end of the Second Book written by William Bradford in 1650.

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## Chapter 1

*And the first of the occasions and inducements thereunto that I may truly unfold I must begin at the very root and rise of the same. The which I shall endeavour to manifest in a plain style with singular regard to the simple truth in all things at least as near as my slender judgement can attain the same.*

By travel and diligence of some godly and zealous preachers, and God's blessing on their labours, as in other places of the land in the North parts, many became enlightened by the word of God, and their ignorance and sins discovered unto them and began by his grace to reform their lives and make conscience of their ways, the work of God was no sooner manifest in them, but presently they were both scoffed and scorned by the profane multitude, and the ministers urged with the yoke of subscription, or else must be silence; and the poor people were so vexed with apparators and pursuants and the commissary courts, as truly their affliction was not small, which they bore sundry years with much patience, till they were occasioned (by the continuance and increase of these troubles, and other means which the Lord raised up in those days) to see further into things by the light of the word of God.

How not only these base and beggarly ceremonies were unlawful, but also that the lordly and tyrannous power of the prelates ought not to be submitted unto; which thus, contrary to the freedom of the gospel, would load and burden men's consciences, and by their compulsive power make a profane mixture of persons and things in the worship of God. And that their offices and callings, courts and canons were unlawful and antichristian; being such as have no warrant in the word of God; but the same were used in popery and still retained.

Of which a famous author thus writes in his Dutch commentaries at the coming of King James into England: *The new king found their established reformed religion, according to the reformed religion of King Edward VI. Retaining or keeping still of the spiritual state of the Bishops after the old manner, much varying and differing from the reformed churches in Scotland, France and the Netherlands, Embden, Geneva and whose reformation is cut or shaped much nearer the first Christian churches as it was used in the apostles times.*

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

These people became 2 distinct bodies or churches, and in regard to distance of place did congregate severally; for they were of sundry towns and villages, some in Nottinghamshire, some in Lincolnshire and some in Yorkshire, where they border nearest together.

In one of these churches (besides others of note) was Mr John Smith, a man of able gifts and a good preacher, who afterwards was chosen their pastor. But these, afterwards falling into some errors in the Low Countries, there (for the most part) buried themselves and their names.

But in this other church (which must be the subject of our discourse) besides other worthy men, was Mr Richard Clifton, a grave and revered preacher, who by his pains and diligence had done much good, and under God had been a means of the conversion of many. And also that famous and worthy man Mr John Robinson, who afterwards was their pastor for many years, till the Lord took him away by death. Also Mr William Brewster, a reverent man, who afterwards was chosen an elder of the church and lived with them till old age.

But after these things they could not long continue in any peaceable condition, but were hunted and persecuted on every side, so as their former afflictions were but as flea-bitings in comparison of these which now came upon them. For some were taken and clapped 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. Yet these and many other sharper things that afterward befell them, were no other than they looked for, and therefore were better prepared to bear them by the assistance of Gods grace and spirit.

Yet seeing themselves thus molested, and that there was no hope of their continuance there, by a joint consent they resolved to go into the Low Countries, where they heard was freedom of religion for all men, as also how sundry from London and other parts of the land, had been exiled and persecuted for the same clause, and were gone thither and lived at Amsterdam and in other places of the land. So after they had continued together about a year, and kept their meetings every Sabbath in one place or other, exercising the worship of God amongst themselves, notwithstanding all the diligence and malice of their adversaries, they seeing they could no longer continue in that condition, they resolved to get over into Holland as they could, which was in the year 1607 and 1608, of which more at large in the next chapter.

## Chapter 2

*Of their departure into Holland and their troubles thereabout,  
With some of the many difficulties they found and met withal.*

1608

Being thus constrained to leave their native soil and country, their lands and livings, and all their friends and familiar acquaintances, it was much, and thought marvellous by many. But to go into a country they knew not (but by hearsay) where they must learn a new language and get their livings they knew not how, it being a dear place and subject to the miseries of war, it was by many thought an adventure almost desperate, a case intolerable, and a misery worse than death. Especially seeing they were not acquainted with trades nor traffic, (by which that country does subsist) but had only been used to a plain country life and the innocent trade of husbandry. But these things did not dismay them (though they did sometimes trouble them) for their desires were set on the ways of God, and to enjoy his ordinances but they rested on his providence and knew whom they had believed.

Yet, this was not all, for though they could not stay, yet were not suffered to go, but the ports and havens were shut against them, so as they were fain to seek secret means of conveyance and to bribe and fee the mariners and give extraordinary rates for their passages. And yet were they often times betrayed (many of them) and both they and their goods intercepted and surprised, and thereby put to great trouble and charge, of which I will give an instance or two and omit the rest.

There was a large company of them purposed to get passage at Boston in Lincolnshire, and for that end had hired a ship wholly to themselves, and made agreement with the master to be ready at a certain day and take them and their goods in, at a convenient place, where they accordingly would all attend in readiness. So after long waiting and large expenses, though he kept not the day with them, then he came at length and took them in, in the night. But when he had them and their goods aboard, he betrayed them, having before hand plotted with the searchers and other officers so to do, who took them and put them into open boats and there rifled and ransacked them, searching them to their shirts for money, yet even the women further than became modesty; and then carried them back into the town and made them a spectacle and wonder to the multitude, which came flocking on all sides to behold them.

Being thus, first by catchpole officers rifled and stripped of their money, books and much other goods, they were presented to the magistrates and messengers sent to inform the lords of the Council of them, and so they were committed to ward. Indeed, the magistrates used them courteously, and showed them what favour they could, but could not deliver them, till order came from the Council table. But the issue was that after a month's imprisonment, the greatest part were dismissed and sent to the places from

whence they came, but 7 of the principal were still kept in prison, and bound over to the assizes.

The next spring after, there was another attempt made by some of these and others, to get over at another place. And it so fell out, that they learned of a Dutchman at Hull, having a ship of his own belonging to Zealand; they made agreements with him, and acquainted him with their condition, hoping to find more faithfulness in him, than in the former of their own nation. He bade them not fear, for he would do well enough. He was by appointment to take them in between Grimsby and Hull, where was a large common a good way distant from any town. Now against the prefixed time, the women and children with the goods were sent to the place in a small barke, which they had hired for that end; and the men were to meet them by land. But it so fell out that they were there a day before the ship came, and the sea being rough and the women very sick, prevailed with the seamen to put into a creek hard by, where they lay on the ground at low water.

The next morning the ship came, but they were fast and could not stir till about noon. In the mean time, the ship's master, perceiving how the matter was, sent his boat to be getting the men aboard whom he saw ready, walking about the shore. But after the first boat full was got aboard and he was ready to go for more, the master espied a great company, both horse and foot, with bills and guns and other weapons, for the country was raised to take them.

The Dutchman seeing that swore his country's oath 'sacramento' and having the wind fair, weighed his anchor, hoisted sails and away. But the poor men which were got aboard were in great distress for their wives and children, which they saw thus to be taken and were left destitute of their help; and themselves also, not having a clothe to shift them with, more than they had on their backs, and some scarce a penny about them, all they had being aboard the barke. It drew tears from their eyes and anything they had they would have given to have been ashore again; but all in vain, there was no remedy, they must thus sadly part.

And afterwards endured a fearful storm at sea, being 14 days or more before they arrived at their port, in 7 whereof they neither saw sun, moon or stars and were driven near the coast of Norway; the mariners themselves often despairing of life; and once with shrieks and cries gave over all, as if the ship had been foundered in the sea, and they sinking without recovery. But when man's hope and help wholly failed, the Lord's power and mercy appeared in their recovery, for the ship rose again and gave the mariners courage again to manage her. And if modesty would suffer me, I might declare with what fervent prayers they cried unto the Lord in this great distress (especially some of them) even without any great distraction, when the water ran into their mouths and ears; and the mariners cried out, 'We Sink, we sink'; they cried (if not with miraculous, yet with a great height or degree of divine faith), 'Yet Lord thou canst save, yet Lord thou canst save'; with such other expressions as I will forbear. Upon which the ship did not only recover, but shortly after the violence of the storm began to abate, and the Lord filled their afflicted minds with such comforts as every one can understand and in the end

brought them to their desired Haven, where the people came flocking admiring their deliverance, the storm having been so long and sore, in which much hurt had been done, as the masters friends related unto him in their congratulations.

But to return to the others where we left them. The rest of the men that were in greatest danger, made shift to escape away before the troop could surprise them; those only staying that best might be to assistant unto the women. But pitiful it was to see the heavy case of these poor women in this distress; what weeping and crying on every side, some for their husbands, that were carried away in the ship as is before related; others not knowing what should become of them and their little ones; others again melted in tears, seeing their poor little ones hanging about them, crying for fear and quaking with cold. Being thus apprehended, they were hurried from one place to another, and from one justice to another, till in the end they knew not what to do with them, for to imprison so many women and innocent children for no other cause (many of them) but that they must go with their husbands, seemed to be unreasonable and all would cry out of them; and to send them home again was as difficult, for the alleged, as the truth was, they had no homes to go to, for they had either sold, or otherwise disposed of their houses and livings. To be short, after they had been thus turmoiled a good while, and conveyed from one constable to another, they were glad to be rid of them in the end upon any terms, for all were wearied and tired of them. Though in the mean time they (poor souls) endured misery enough; and thus in the end necessity forced a way for them.

But that I be not tedious in these things, I will omit the rest, though I might relate many other notable passages and troubles which they endured and underwent in their wanderings and travels both at land and sea, but haste to other things. ... And in the end, notwithstanding all these storms of oppression, they all got over at length, some at one time and some at another, and some in one place and some in another, and met together again according to their desires, with no small rejoicing.

### Chapter 3

*Of their settling in Holland and their manner of living and entertainments there.*

Being now come into the Low Countries, they saw many goodly and fortified cities, strongly walled and guarded with troops of armed men. Also they heard a strange and uncouth language, and beheld the different manners and customs of the people, with their strange fashions and attires; all so far differing from that of their plain country villages (wherein they were bred and had so long lived) as it seemed they were come into a new world. But these were not the things they much looked on, or long took up their thoughts; for they had other work in hand and another kind of war to wage and maintain. For though they saw fair and beautiful cities, flowing with abundance of all sorts of wealth and riches, Yet it was not long before they saw the grim and

grisly face of poverty coming upon them like an armed man, with whom they must buckle and encounter, and from whom they could not fly; but they were armed with faith and patience against him and all his encounters; and though they were sometimes foiled, Yet by God's assistance they prevailed and got the victory.

Now when Mr Robinson, Mr Brewster and other principal members were come over (for they were the last, and stayed to help the weakest over before them) such things were thought on as were necessary for their settling and best ordering of the church affairs. And when they had lived at Amsterdam about a year, Mr Robinson, their pastor, and some others of best discerning, seeing how Mr John Smith and his company was already fallen in to contention with the church that was there before them, and no means they could use would do any good to cure the same, and also that the flames of contention were like to break out in that ancient church itself (as afterwards lamentably came to pass) which things they prudently foreseeing, thought it best to remove, before they were any way engaged with the same; though they well knew it would be much to the prejudice of their outward estates, both at present and in likelihood in the future as indeed it proved to be.

#### *Their removal to Leiden*

For these and some other reasons they removed to Leiden, a fair and beautiful city and of a sweet situation, but made more famous by the university where with it is adorned, in which of late had been so many learned men. But wanting that traffic by sea which Amsterdam enjoys, it was not so beneficial for their outward means of living and estate. But being now here pitched, they fell to such trade and employments as they best could, valuing peace and their spiritual comfort above any other riches whatsoever. And at length they came to raise a competent and comfortable living, but with hard and continual labour.

Being thus settled (after many difficulties) they continued many years in a comfortable condition, enjoying much sweet and delightful society and spiritual comfort together in the ways of God, under the able ministry and prudent government of Mr John Robinson and Mr William Brewster who was an assistant unto him in the place of an Elder, unto which he was now called and chosen by the church. So as they grew in knowledge and other gifts and graces and the spirit of God and lived together in peace, love and holiness, and many came unto them from diverse parts of England so they grew into a great congregation. And if at any time any differences arose, or offences broke out (as it cannot be, but some time there will, even amongst the best of men) they were ever so met with and nipped in the head betimes, or otherwise so well composed, as still love, peace and communion was continued; or else the church purged of those that were incurable and incorrigible, when, after much patience used, no other means would serve, which seldom came to pass. Yea, such was the mutual love and reciprocal respect that this worthy man had to his flock and his flock to him that it might be said of them as it once was of that famous emperor Marcus Aurelius and the people of Rome, that it was hard to judge whether he delighted more in

having such a people, or they in having such a pastor. His love was great towards them and his care was always bent for their best good, both for soul and body....

But seeing it is not my purpose to treat of the several passages that befell this people whilst they thus lived in the Low Countries (which might worthily require a large treatise of itself) but to make way to show the beginning of this plantation, which is that I aim at....

## Chapter 4

### *Showing the reasons and causes of their removal*

After they had lived in this city about some 11 or 12 years (which is the more observable being that the whole time of that famous truce between that state and the Spaniards) and sundry of them were taken away by death and many others began to be well stricken in years ... at length they began to incline to this conclusion, of removal to some other place. Not out of any newfangledness or such like giddy humour, by which men are often times transported to their great hurt and danger, but for sundry weighty and solid reasons....

For many, though, they desired to enjoy the ordinances of God in their purity and the liberty of the gospel with them, yet alas they admitted of bondage, with danger of conscience, rather than to endure these hardships; yea, some preferred and chose the prisons in England rather than this liberty in Holland, with these afflictions. But it was thought that if a better and easier place of living could be had, it would draw many and take away these discouragements. Yea, their pastor would often say, that many of those who both wrote and preached now against them, if they were in a place where they might have liberty and live comfortably, they would then practise as they did...

The place they had thoughts on was some of those vast and unpeopled countries of America, which are fruitful and fit for habitation, being devoid of all civil inhabitants, where there are only savage and brutish men, which range up and down, little otherwise than the wild beasts of the same. This proposition being made public and coming to the scanning of all, it raised many variable opinions amongst men, and caused many fears and doubts amongst themselves.

Some, from their reasons and hopes conceived, laboured to stir up and encourage the rest to undertake and prosecute the same; others, again, out of their fears objected against it and sought to divert from it, alleging many things and those neither unreasonable nor improbable; as that it was a great design and subject to many inconceivable perils and dangers, as besides the casualties of the seas (which none can be freed from) the length of the voyage was such as the weak bodies of women and other persons worn out with age and travail (as many of them were) could never be able to endure. And yet if they should, the miseries of the land, which they should be exposed unto, would be too hard to be borne and likely, some or all of them together,

to consume and utterly ruinate them. For there, they should be liable to famine and nakedness and want in a manner of all things. The change of air, diet and drinking water would infect their bodies with sore sickness and grievous diseases. And also those which should escape or overcome these difficulties, should yet be in continual danger of the savage people who are cruel, barbarous and most treacherous...

It was answered that all great and honourable actions are accompanied with great difficulties and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable courage. It was granted the dangers were great, but not desperate; the difficulties were many, but not invincible. Yea, though they should lose their lives in this action, yet might they have comfort in the same, and their endeavours would be honourable. They lived here but as men in exile and in a poor condition; and as great miseries might possibly befall them in this place for the 12 years of truce were now out and there was nothing but beating of drums and preparing for war, the events whereof are always uncertain. The Spaniard might prove as cruel as the savages of America and the famine and pestilence as sore here as there, and their liberty less to look out for remedy. After many other particular things answered and alleged on both sides, it was fully concluded by the major part to put this design in execution and to prosecute it by the best means they could.

## Chapter 5

### *Showing what means they used for preparation to this weighty voyage*

And first after their humble prayers unto God for his direction and assistance and a general conference held here about, they consulted what particular place to pitch upon and prepare for it. Some (and none of the meanest) had thoughts and were earnest for Guiana or some of those fertile places in those hot climates; others were for some parts of Virginia, where the English had already made entrance and beginning.

Those for Guiana alleged that the country was rich, fruitful and blessed with a perpetual spring, and flourishing greens; where vigorous nature brought forth all things in abundance and plenty without any great labour or art of man. So as it must needs make the inhabitants rich, seeing less provision of clothing and other things would serve, than in more colder and less fruitful countries must be had. Also, that the Spaniards (having much more than they could possess) had not yet planted there, nor anywhere very near the same. But to this it was answered, that out of question the country was both fruitful and pleasant and might yield riches and maintenance of the possessors more easily than the other, yet other things considered, it would not be so fit for them. And first, that such hot countries are subject to grievous diseases and many noisome impediments, which other more temperate places are freer from, and would not so well agree with our English bodies. Again, if they should there live and do well, the jealous Spaniard would never suffer them long but would displant or overthrow them as he did the French in Florida.

On the other hand, for Virginia it was objected that if they lived among the English where they planted, or so near them as to be under their government, they should be in as great danger as to be troubled and persecuted for the cause of religion, as if they lived in England, and it might be worse. And if they lived too far off, they should neither have succour, nor defence from them.

But at length the conclusion was, to live as a distinct body by themselves, under the general Government of Virginia, and by their friends to sue to his majesty that he would be please to grant them freedom of religion and that this might be obtained, they were put in good hope by some great persons, of good rank and quality that were made their friends. Whereupon 2 were chosen and sent to England (at the charge of the rest) to solicit this matter, who found the Virginia Company very desirous to have them go thither and willing to grant them a patent with as ample privileges as they had, or could grant to any and to give them the best furtherance they could....

Upon this resolution, other messengers were dispatched, to end with the Virginia Company as well as they could. And to procure a patent with as good and ample conditions as they might by any good means obtain. And also to treat and conclude with such merchants and other friends as had manifested their forwardness to provoke too and adventure in this voyage. For which end they had instructions given them upon what conditions they should proceed with...

This patent being sent over for them to view and consider, as also the passages about the propositions between them and such merchants and friends as should either go or adventure with them, and especially with those on whom they did chiefly depend for shipping and means, whose proffers had been large, they were requested to fit and prepare themselves with all speed...

## Chapter 6

*Concerning the agreements and articles between them and such merchants and others as adventured money with other things falling out about making their provisions.*

Upon the receipt of these things by one of their messengers, they had a solemn meeting and a day of humiliation to seek the Lord for his direction... After which they concluded both what number and what persons should prepare themselves to go with the first, for all that were willing to have gone could not get ready for their other affairs in so short a time; neither if all could have been ready, had there been means to have transported them altogether. Those that stayed being the greater number required the pastor to stay with them, and indeed for other reasons he could not then well go and so it was the more easily yielded unto. The other then desired the elder Mr Brewster to go with them, which was also condescended unto.

It was also agreed on by mutual consent and covenant, that those that went should be an absolute church of themselves as well as those that stayed; seeing in such a dangerous voyage, and a removal to such a distance, it might come to pass they should (for the body of them) never meet again in this world; yet with this proviso, that as any of the rest came over to them, or of the other returned upon occasion, they should be reputed as members without any further dismissal or testimonial. It was also promised to those that went first, by the body of the rest, that if the Lord gave them life and means and opportunity, they would come to them as soon as they could.

About this time, whilst they were perplexed with the proceedings of the Virginia Company and the ill news from thence about Mr Blackwell and his company, and making enquiry about the hiring and buying of shipping for the voyage, some Dutchmen made them fair offers about going with the. Also one Mr Thomas Weston, a merchant of London, came to Leiden about the same time, (who was well acquainted with some of them, and a furtherer of them in their former proceedings, having much conference with Mr Robinson and other of the chief of them, persuaded them to go on (as it seems) and not to meddle with the Dutch, or too much to depend on the Virginia Company, for if that failed, if they came to resolution, he and such merchants as were his friends (together with their own means) would set them forth; and they should make ready, and neither fear want of shipping nor money; for what they wanted should be provided. And, not so much for himself as for the satisfying of such friends as he should procure to the adventure in this business, they were to draw such articles of agreement and make such propositions as might better induce his friends to venture. Upon which, articles were drawn and agreed unto, and were shown to him and approved by him, and afterwards by their messenger (Mr John Carver) sent into England, who together with Robert Cushman, were to receive the monies and make provision both for shipping and other things for the voyage, with this charge, not to exceed their commission, but to proceed according to the former articles.

Also, some were chosen to do the like for such things as were to be prepared there; so those that were to go, prepared themselves with all speed, and sold their estates and (such as were able) put in their monies into the common stock, which was disposed of by those appointed, for the making of the general provisions.

About this time also they had heard, both by Mr Weston and others that sundry honourable Lords had obtained a large grant from the King for the more northerly parts of that country, derived out of the Virginia patent, and wholly secluded from their Government, and to be called by another name, viz. New-England. Unto which Mr Weston and the chief of them began to incline it was best for them to go, as for other reasons, so chiefly for the hope of present profit to be made by the fishing that was found in that country.

But as in all businesses the acting part is most difficult, especially where the work of many agents must concur, so it was found in this, for some of those that should have gone to England fell off, and would not go; other merchants

and friends that had offered to adventure their monies withdrew and pretended many excuses...

But now another difficulty arose, for Mr Weston and some others that were for this course, either for their better advantage or rather for the drawing on of others, as they pretended, would have some of those conditions altered that were first agreed on at Leiden.

It will be meet I here insert these conditions, which are as follows

1620 July 1

1. The adventurers and planters do agree that every person that goes being aged 16 years and upward, be rated at £10, and 10 pounds be accounted a single share.
2. That he goes in person and furnishes himself out with £10 either in money or provisions, be accounted as having £20 in stock and in the division shall receive a double share.
3. The persons transported and the adventurers shall continue their joint stock and partnership together for the space of 7 years (except some unexpected impediment do cause the whole company to agree otherwise) during which time, all profits and benefits that are got by trade, traffic, trucking, working, fishing or any other means of any person or persons, remain still in the common stock until the division.
4. That at their coming there, they chose out such a number of fit persons as may furnish their ships and boats for fishing upon the sea, employing the rest in their several faculties upon the land; as building houses, tilling and planting the ground, and making such commodities as shall be most useful for the colony.
5. That at the end of 7 years, the capital and profits, viz. the houses, lands, goods and chattels, be equally divided betwixt the adventurers and planters, which done every man shall be free from other of them of any debt or detriment concerning this adventure.
6. Whosoever cometh to the colony hereafter or puts any into the stock, shall at the end of the 7 years be allowed proportionally to time of his doing so.
7. He that shall carry his wife and children, or servants, shall be allowed for every person now aged 16 years and upward, a single share in the division, or if he provided them necessaries, a double share, or if they be between 10 years old and 16, then 2 of them be reckoned for a person, both in transportation and division.
8. That such children as now go and are under the age of ten years, have no other share in the division, but 50 acres of unmanured land.

9. That such persons as die before the 7 years be expired, their executors to have their part or share at the division, proportionally to the time of their life in the colony.
10. That all such persons as are of the colony, are to have their meat, drink, apparel and all provisions out of the common stock and goods of the said colony.

The chief and principal differences between these and the former conditions stood in those 2 points; that the houses and lands improved, especially gardens and home lots should remain undivided wholly to the planters at the 7 years end. Secondly, that they should have had 2 days in a week for their own private employment for the more comfort of themselves and their families, especially such as had families.

## Chapter 7

*On their departure from Leiden and other things thereabout, with their arrival at Southampton, where they all met together and took in their provisions*

At length, after much travail and these debates, all things were got ready and provided. A small ship (of some 60 tons) was bought and fitted in Holland, which was intended as to serve to help to transport them, so to stay in the country and attend upon fishing and such other affairs as might be for the good and benefit of the colony when they came there. Another was hired at London, of burden about 9 score and all other things got in readiness. So it being ready to depart, they had a day of solemn humiliation...

The time was spent in powering out prayers to the Lord with great fervency, mixed with an abundance of tears. And the time being come that they must depart they were accompanied with most of their brethren out of the city, to a town, sundry miles, off called Delfes-Haven where the ship lay ready to receive them. So they left that goodly and pleasant city which had been their resting place near 12 years; but they knew they were pilgrims and looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to the heavens, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits.

When they came to the place they found the ship and all things ready; and such of their friends as could not come with them followed after them, and sundry also came from Amsterdam to see them shipped and to take their leave of them. That night was spent with little sleep by the most, but with friendly entertainment and Christian discourse and other real expressions of true Christian love. The next day, the wind being fair, they went aboard, and their friends with them, where truly doleful was the sight of that sad and mournful parting; to see what sighs and sobs and prayers did sound amongst them, what tears did gush from every eye and pithy speeches pierced each heart; that sundry of the Dutch strangers that stood on the quay as spectators,

could not refrain from tears. Yet comfortable and sweet it was to see such lively and true expressions of dear and unfeigned love.

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

Thus hoisting sail (this was about 22 July), with a prosperous wind they came in short time to Southampton, where they found the bigger ship come from London, lying ready with all the rest of their company. After a joyful welcome, and mutual congratulations, with other friendly entertainments, they fell to parley about their business, how to dispatch with the best expedition; as also with their agents, about the alterations of the conditions...

Mr Weston, likewise, came up from London to see them despatched and to have the conditions confirmed. But they refused, and answered him, that he knew right well that these were not according to the first agreement, neither could they yield to them without the consent of the rest that were behind. And indeed they had special charge when they came away, from the chief of those that were behind, not to do it. At which he was much offended and told them they must then look to stand on their own legs. So he returned in displeasure and this was the first ground of discontent between them. And whereas they wanted well near £100 to clear things at their going away, he would not take order to disburse a penny, but let them shift as they could. So they were forced to sell off some of their provisions to stop this gap, which was some 3 or 4 score firkins of butter, which commodity they might best spare, having provided too large a quantity of that kind. Then they write a letter to the merchants and adventurers about the differences concerning the conditions...

At their parting, Mr Robinson wrote a letter to the whole company, which though it has already been printed yet I thought it good here likewise to insert it.

‘Loving Christian friends, I do heartily and in the Lord salute you all, as being they with whom I am present in my best affection, and most earnest longings after you, though I be constrained for a while to be bodily absent from you. I say constrained, God knowing how willingly, and much rather than otherwise, I would have borne my part with you in this first brunt, were I not by strong necessity held back for the present. Make account of me in the mean while, as of a man divided in myself with great pain, and as (natural bonds set aside) having my better part with you. And though I doubt not, but in your godly wisdoms, you both foresee and resolve upon that which concerns your present state and condition, both severally and jointly, yet have I thought it my duty to add some further spur of provocation to them, who run already, if not because you need it, yet because I owe it in love and duty. And first, as we are daily to renew our repentance with our God, especially for our sins known, and generally for our unknown trespasses, so does the Lord call us in a singular manner upon the occasions of such difficulty and danger as lies upon

you, in a both more narrow search and careful reformation of your ways in his sight; lest he, calling to remembrance our sins forgotten by us or unrepented of, take advantage against us, and in judgement leave us for the same to be swallowed up in one danger or another; whereas, on the contrary, sin being taken away by earnest repentance and the pardon thereof from the Lord sealed up unto man's conscience by his spirit, great shall be his security and peace in all dangers, sweet his comforts in all distresses, with happy deliverance from all evil, whether in life or in death.

Now next after this heavenly peace with God and our own consciences, we are carefully to provide for peace with all men what in us lies, especially with our associates, and for that watchfulness must be had, that we neither at all in ourselves do give, nor easily take offence being given by others. Woe be unto the world for offences, for though it be necessary (considering the malice of Satan and man's corruption) that offences come, yet woe unto the man or woman either by whom the offence comes, says Christ, Matthew chapter 18, verse 7. And if offences in the unseasonable use of things in themselves indifferent, be more to be feared than death itself, as the Apostle teaches, 1 Corinthians, chapter 9, verse 15, how much more in things simply evil, in which neither honour of God nor love of man is though worthy to be regarded. Neither yet is it sufficient that we keep ourselves by the grace of God from giving offence, except withal we be armed against the taking of them when they be given by others. For how imperfect and lame is the work of grace in that person who wants charity to cover a multitude of offences, as the scriptures speak. Neither are you to be exhorted to this grace, only upon the common grounds of Christianity, which are, that persons ready to take offence, either want charity to cover offences, of wisdom duly to weigh human frailty; or lastly, are gross, though close hypocrisies, as Christ our Lord teaches, Matthew chapter 7, verses 1, 2, 3, as indeed in my own experience, few or none have been found which sooner give offence, than such as easily take it, neither have they ever proved sound and profitable members in societies, which have nourished this touchy humour. But besides these, there are diverse motives provoking you above others to great care and conscience this way. As first, you are many of you strangers, as to the persons, so to the infirmities one to another, and so stand in need of more watchfulness this way, least when such things fall out in men and women as you suspected not, you be inordinately affected with them; which does require at your hands much wisdom and charity for the covering and preventing of incidental offences that way. And lastly, your intended course of civil community will minister continual occasion of offence and will be as fuel for that fire, except you diligently quench it with brotherly forbearance. And if taking of offence causelessly or easily at men's doings be so carefully to be avoided, how much more heed is to be taken that we taken not offence at God himself, which yet we certainly do so often as we do murmur at his providence in our crosses, or bear impatiently such afflictions as wherewith he pleases to visit us. Store up therefore, patience against the evil day, without which we take offence at the Lord himself in his holy and just works.

Another thing there is carefully to be provided for, to wit, that with your common employments you join common affections truly bent upon the

general good, avoiding as a deadly plague of your both common and special comfort all retiredness of mind for proper advantage, and all singularly affected any manner of way; let every man repress in himself and the whole body in each person, as so many rebels against the common good, all private respects of men's selves, not sorting with the general convenience. And as men are careful not to have a new house shaken with any violence before it is well settled, and the parts firmly knitted, so be you, I beseech you, brethren, much more careful, that the house of God which you are, and are to be, be not shaken with unnecessary novelties or other oppositions at the first settling thereof.

Lastly, whereas you are become a body politic, using amongst yourselves civil government, and are not furnished with any persons of special eminence above the rest, to be chosen by you into office of government, let your wisdom and godliness appear, not only in choosing such persons as do entirely love and will promote the common good, but also in yielding to them all due honour and obedience in their lawful administrations; not beholding in them the ordinariness of their persons, but God's ordinance for your good, not being like the foolish multitude who more honour the gay coat, than either the virtuous mind of the man, or glorious ordinance of the Lord. But you know better things, and that the image of the Lord's power and authority which the magistrate bears, is honourable, in how mean persons so ever. And this duty you both may the more willingly and ought more conscionably to perform, because you are at least for the present to have only them for your ordinary governors, which yourselves shall make choice of for the work.

Sundry other things of importance I could put you in mind of, and of those before mentioned, in more words, but I not so far wrong your godly minds as to think you heedless of these things, there being also diverse among you so well able to admonish both themselves and others of what concerns them. These few things therefore, and the same in few words, I do earnestly commend to your care and conscience, joining therewith my daily incessant prayers to the Lord, that he who has made the heavens and the earth, the sea and all rivers of waters, and whose providence is over all his works, especially over all this dear children for good, would so guide and guard you on your way, as inwardly by his Spirit, so outwardly by the hand of his power, as that both you and we also, for and with you, may have after matter of praising his name all the days of your and our lives. Fare you well in him whom you trust and in whom I rest.

An unfained wellwiller of your happy success in this hopeful voyage,  
John Robinson.'

This letter, though large, yet being so fruitful in itself, and so suitable to their occasion, I thought meet to insert in this place

And also a brief letter written at the same time to Mr Carver, in which the tender love and godly care of a true pastor appears.

'My dear Brother, I received in your last letter the most of information which I shall carefully keep and make use of as there shall be occasion. I have a true feeling of your perplexity of mind and toil of body, but I hope that you who have always been able so plentifully to administer comfort unto others in their trials, are so well furnished for your self as that far greater difficulties than you have yet undergone (though I conceive them to have been great enough) cannot oppress you, though they press you, as the Apostle speaks. The spirit of man (sustained by the spirit of God) will sustain his infirmity, I doubt not so will yours. And the better much when you shall enjoy the presence and help of so many godly and wise brethren, for the bearing of part of your burden, who also will not admit into their hearts the least thought of the suspicion of any the least negligence, at least presumption, to have been in you, whatsoever they think in others. Now what shall I say or write unto you and your good wife my loving sister? Even only this, I desire (and always shall) unto you from the Lord, as unto my own soul; and assure yourself that my heart is with you, and that I will not for slow my bodily coming at the first opportunity. I have written a large letter to the whole, and am sorry I shall not rather speak than write to them; and the more, considering the want of a preacher, which I shall also make spur to my hastening after you. I do ever commend my best affection to you, which if I thought you made any doubt of, I would express in more and the same more ample and full words. And the Lord in whom you trust and whom you serve ever in this business and journey, guide you with his hand, protect you with his wings, and show you and us his salvation in the end, and bring us in the meanwhile together in the place desired, if such be his good will, for his Christ's sake. Amen. July 27 1620. Jo. R.'

This was the last letter Mr Carver lived to see from him.

All things now being ready and every business dispatched, the company was called together and the letter read amongst them. They then ordered and distributed their company for either ship, as they conceived for the best... Which being done, they set sail from thence about 5 August but what befell them further upon the coast of England will appear in the next chapter.

## Chapter 8

*Of the troubles that befell them on the coast, and at sea being forced, after much trouble to leave one of their ships and some of their company behind them*

Being thus put to sea they had not gone far but Mr Reynolds the master of the lesser ship complained that he found his ship so leaky as he dare not put further to sea till she was mended. So the master of the bigger ship (called Mr Jonas) being consulted with, they resolved to put into Dartmouth and have her there searched and mended, which accordingly was done to their great charge and loss of time and a fair wind.

She was here thoroughly searched from stem to stern, some leaks were found and mended, and now it was conceived by the workmen and all, that she was sufficient and they might proceed without either fear or danger. So, with good hopes from hence, they put to sea again, conceiving they should go comfortably on, not looking for any more lets of this kind; but it fell out otherwise, for when they were gone to sea again above 100 leagues without the lands end, holding company together all this while, the master of the small ship complained his ship was so leaky as he must bear up or sink at sea, for they could scarce free her with much pumping.

So they came to consultation again, and resolved both ships to bear back again and put into Plymouth, which accordingly was done. But no special leak could be found, but it was judged to be the general weakness of the ship and that she would not prove sufficient for the voyage. Upon which it was resolved to dismiss her and part of the company, and proceed with the other ship. The which, (though it was grievous and caused great discouragements) was put in execution. So after they had took out such provision as the other ship could well stow, and concluded both what number and what persons to send back, they made another sad parting, the one ship going back for London and the other was to proceed on her voyage. Those that went back were for the most part such as were willing so to do, either out of some discontent, or fear they conceived of the ill success of the voyage, seeing so many crosses befall and the year time so far spent, but others, in regard to their own weakness, and the charge of many young children, were thought least useful and most unfit to bear the brunt of this hard adventure.

But here, by the way let me show you, how afterward it was found that the leakiness of this ship was partly by being over masted, and too much pressed with sails, for after she was sold and put into her old trim, she made many voyages and performed her service very sufficiently to the great profit of her owners. But more especially, by the cunning and deceit of the master and his company, who were hired to stay a whole year in the country, and now fancying dislike and fearing want of victuals, they plotted this strategy to free themselves as afterwards was known and by some of them confessed.

Amongst those that returned were Mr Cushman and his family, whose heart and courage was gone from them.

## Chapter 9

### *Of their voyage and how they passed the sea and of their safe arrival at Cape Cod*

September 6, these troubles being blown over, and now all being compact together in one ship, they put to sea again with a prosperous wind, which continued divers days together, which was some encouragement to them; yet according to the usual manner, many were afflicted with sea sickness. And I may not omit here a special work of God's providence. There was a proud

and very profane young man, one of the sea men, of a lusty able body, which made him more haughty; he would always be contemptuous of the poor people in their sickness, and cursing them daily with grievous execrations and did not let to tell them that he hoped to help to cast half of them overboard before they came to their journey's end and to make merry with what they had, and if he were by any gently reprov'd, he would curse and swear most bitterly. But it pleased God before they came half the seas over, to smite this young man with a grievous disease, of which he died in a desperate manner, and so was himself the first that was thrown overboard. Thus his curses light on his own head, and it was an astonishment to all his fellows, for they noted it to be the just hand of God upon him.

After they had enjoyed fair winds and weather for a season, they encountered many times cross winds and met with many fierce storms, with which the ship was soundly shaken and her upper works made very leaky, and one of the main beams in the mid ships was bowed and cracked, which put them in some fear the ship would not be able to perform the voyage. So some of the chief of the company, perceiving the mariners to fear the sufficiency of the ship, as appeared by their mutterings, they entered into serious consultation with the master and other officers of the ship, to consider in time of the danger; and rather to return than to cast themselves into a desperate and inevitable peril.

And truly there was great distraction and difference of opinion amongst the mariners themselves; fain would they do what could be done for their wages sake, (being now half the seas over) and on the other hand they were loath to hazard their lives too desperately. But in examining all opinions, the master and others affirmed they knew the ship to be strong and firm under water, and for the buckling of the main beam, there was a great iron screw the passengers brought out of Holland which would raise the beam into its place; which being done, the carpenter and master affirmed that with a post put under it, set firm in the lower deck and otherwise bound, he would make it sufficient. And as for the decks and upper works, they would caulk them as well as they could, and though with the working of the ship they would not long keep staunch, yet there would otherwise be no great danger, if they did not over press her with sails.

So they committed themselves to the will of God and resolved to proceed. In sundry of these storms the winds were so fierce and the seas so high, as they could not bear a knot of sail, but were forced to hull, for divers days together. And in one of them, as they thus lay at hull, in a mighty storm, a lusty young man (called John Howland) coming upon some occasion above the gratings, was thrown into the sea, but it pleased God that he caught hold of the top sail halliards which hung over board, and ran out at length; yet he held his hold (though he was sundry fathoms under water) till he was hauled up by the same rope to the brim of the water, and then with a boat hook and other means got into the ship again and his life saved; and though he was something ill with it, yet he lived many years after and became a profitable member of the church and common wealth. In all this voyage there died but

one of the passengers, which was William Button, a youth, servant to Samuel Fuller, when they drew near the coast.

But to omit other things (that I may be brief) after long beating at the sea they fell with that land which is called Cape Cod, the which being made and certainly known to be it, they were not a little joyful. After some deliberation amongst themselves and with the master of the ship, they tacked about and resolved to stand for the southward (the wind and weather being fair) to find some place about Hudson's River for their habitation. But after they had sailed that course about half a day, they fell amongst dangerous shoals and roaring breakers, and they were so far entangled there they conceived themselves in great danger, and the wind shrinking upon them, they resolved to bear up again for the Cape, and thought themselves happy to get out of those dangers before night overtook them, as by God's providence they did.

And the next day they got into the Cape harbour where they rode in safety. A word or two by the way of the Cape, it was named by captain Gosnole and his company in 1602, because they took much of that fish there, and after by Captain Smith was called Cape James; but it retains the former name amongst sea men. Also, that point which first showed those dangerous shoals they called Point Care and Tuckers Terror, but the French and Dutch to this day call it Malabarr by reason of those perilous shoals and the losses they have suffered there.

Being this arrived in a good harbour and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed the God of heaven, who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all the perils and miseries thereof, again to set their feet on the firm and stable earth, their proper element...

But here I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amazed at this poor people's present condition, and so I think will the reader too, when he well considers the same. Being thus passed the vast ocean and a sea of troubles before in their preparation (as may be remembered by that which went before) they had now no friends to welcome them, nor inns to entertain or refresh their weather beaten bodies, no houses or much less towns to repair to, to seek for succour.

It is recorded in scripture (Acts 28) as a mercy to the apostle and his shipwrecked company that the barbarians showed them no small kindness in refreshing them, but these savage barbarians, when they met with them (as after will appear) were readier to fill their sides full of arrows than otherwise.

And for the season, it was winter, and they that know the winters of that country know them to be sharp and violent, and subject to cruel and fierce storms, dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search an unknown coast. Besides, what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men and what multitude there might be of them they knew not... For what ever way so ever they turned their eyes (save upward to the heavens) they could have little solace or content in respect of any outward objects. For Summer being done, all things stand upon

them with a weather beaten face; and the whole country, full of woods and thickets, represented a wild and savage view.

If they looked behind them, there was the mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a main bar or gulf to separate them from all the civilised parts of the world. If it be said they had a ship to succour them, it is true, but what they heard daily from the master and company but that which speed they should look out a place with shallop, where they could be at some distance; for the season was such as he would not stir from thence till a safe harbour was discovered by them where they would be... and he might go without danger; and that victuals were consumed apace, but he must and would keep sufficient for themselves for their return. Yea, it was muttered by some, that if they got not a place in time, they would turn them and their goods ashore and leave them.

What could now sustain them but the spirit of God and his grace? May not and ought not the children of these fathers rightly say; 'Our fathers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this wilderness but they cried unto the Lord and he heard their voice...'

## Chapter 10

### *Showing how they sought out a place of habitation and what befell them thereabout*

Being thus arrived at Cape Cod the 11 November, and necessity calling them to look out a place for habitation ...they having brought a large shallop with them out of England, stowed in quarters in the ship, they now got her out and set their carpenters to work to trim her up, but being much bruised and shattered in the ship by foul weather, they saw she would be long in mending. Whereupon a few of them tendered themselves to go by land and discover those nearest places, whilst the shallop was in mending; and as they went into that harbour, there seemed to be an opening some 2 or 3 leagues off, which the master judged to be a river. It was conceived there might be some danger in the attempt, yet seeing them resolute, they were permitted to go, being 16 of them, well armed under the conduct of Captain Standish, having such instructions given them as was thought meet.

They set forth on the 15 November and when they had marched about the space of a mile by the sea side, they espied 5 or 6 persons with a dog coming towards them, who were savages; but they fled from them and ran up into the woods and the English followed them, partly to see if they could speak with them, and partly to discover if there might not be more of them lying in ambush. But the Indians seeing themselves thus followed, they again forsook the woods and ran away on the sands as hard as they could, so as they could not come near them, but followed them by the tracks of their feet sundry miles, and saw that they had come the same way.

So night coming on, they made their rendezvous and set out their sentinels, and rested in quiet that night., and the next morning followed their tracks till they had headed a great creek and so left the sands and turned another way into the woods. But they still followed them by guesswork, hoping to find their dwellings, but they soon lost both them and themselves, falling into such thickets as were ready to tear their clothes and armour in pieces but were most distressed for want of drink. But at length they found water and refreshed themselves being the first New England water they drunk of, and was now in their great thirst as pleasant unto them as wine or beer had been in foretimes.

Afterwards they directed their course to come to the other shore, for they knew it was a neck of land they were to cross over, and so at length got to the sea side and marched to this supposed river, and by the way found a pond of clear fresh water, and shortly after a good quantity of clear ground where the Indians had formerly set corn, and some of their graves.

And proceeding further they saw new stubble where corn had been set the same year, also they found where lately a house had been, where some planks and a great kettle was remaining, and heaps of sand newly paddled with their hands, which they, digging up, found in them diverse fair Indian baskets filled with corn, and some ears, fair and good, of diverse colours which seemed to them a very goodly sight (having never seen any such before). This was near the place of that supposed river they came to seek, unto which they went and found it opened itself into 2 arms with a high cliff of sand in the entrance, but more like to be creeks of salt water than any fresh for ought they saw; and that there was good harbourage for their shallop, leaving it further to be discovered by their shallop when she was ready.

So their time limited them being expired, they returned to the ship lest they should be in fear of their safety, and took with them part of the corn and buried the rest and so like the men from Eshcoll, carried with them the fruits of the land, and showed their brethren; of which and their return, they were marvellously glad and their hearts encouraged.

After this, the shallop being got ready, they set out again for the better discovery of this place, and the master of the ship desired to go him self so there went some 30 men, but found it be no harbour for ships but only for boats; there was also found 2 of their houses covered with mats and sundry of their implements in them, but the people were run away and could not be seen; also there was found more of their corn, and of their beans of various colours. The corn and beans they brought away, purposing to give them full satisfaction when they should meet with any of them (as about some 6 months afterwards they did, to their good content).

And here is to be noted a special providence of God, and a great mercy to this poor people that here they got seed to plant them corn the next year, or else they might have starved, for they had none, nor any likelihood to get any till the season had been past (as the sequel did manifest). Neither is it likely they had had this, if the first voyage had not been made, for the ground was now all covered with snow and hard frozen.

The month of November being spent in these affairs and much foul weather falling in, the 6 December they sent out their shallop again with 10 of their principal men and some sea men upon further discovery, intending to circulate that deep bay of Cape Cod. The weather was very cold and it froze so hard as the spray of the sea lighting on their coats, they were as if they had been glazed, yet that night betimes they got down into the bottom of the bay and as they drew near the shore they saw some 10 or 12 Indians busy about something. They landed about a league or 2 from them and had much ado to put to shore anywhere, it lay so full of flats. Being landed, it grew late, and they made themselves a barricade of logs and boughs as well as they could in the time and set out their sentinel and betook them to rest, and saw the smoke of the fire of the savages made that night.

When morning was come, they divided their company, some to coast along the shore in the boat and the rest to march through the woods to see the land, if any fit place might be for their dwelling. They also came to the place where they saw the Indians the night before and found they had been cutting up a great fish like a grampus, being some 2 inches thick of fat like a hog, some pieces they had left by the way; and the shallop found 2 more of these fishes dead on the sands, a thing usual after storms in that place, by reason of the great flats of sand that lie off. So they ranged up and down all that day, but found no people, nor any place they liked.

When the sun grew low, they hastened out of the woods to meet with their shallop, to whom they made signs to come to them into a creek hard by, the which they did at high water, of which they were very glad, for they had not seen each other all that day, since the morning. So they made them a barricade (as they usually did every night) with logs, stakes and thick pine boughs, the height of a man, leaving it open to leeward, partly to shelter them from cold and wind (making their fire in the middle and lying round about it), and partly to defend them from any sudden assaults of the savages, if they should surround them.

So being very weary they betook them to rest. But about midnight they heard a hideous and great cry and their sentinel called 'Arm, arm'; so they bestirred them and stood to their arms and shot off a couple of muskets, and then the noise ceased. They concluded it was a company of wolves or other such wild beasts; for one of the seamen told them he had often heard such a noise in Newfoundland. So they rested till about 5 of the clock in the morning, for the tide and purpose to go from thence, made them bestirring betimes. So after prayer they prepared for breakfast, and it being day dawning, it was thought best to be carrying things down to the boat. But some said it was not best to carry the arms down, others said they would be the readier, for they had wrapped them up in their coats from the dew. But some 3 or 4 would not carry theirs till they went themselves, yet as it fell out the water being not high enough, they laid them down on the banks side and came up to breakfast.

But presently, all of a sudden, they heard a great and strange cry, which they knew to be the same voices they heard in the night, though they varied their notes, and one of their company being abroad came running in and cried,

'Men, Indians, Indians' and with all, their arrows came flying amongst them. Their men ran with speed to recover their arms as by the good providence of God they did. In the mean time, of those that were there ready, two muskets were discharged at them and 2 more stood ready in the entrance of their rendezvous, but were commanded not to shoot till they could take full aim at them; and the other 2 charged again with all speed, for there were only 4 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 the rendezvous towards the shallop, to recover their arms, the Indians wheeling about upon them. But some running out with coats of mail on and cutlasses in their hand, they soon got their arms and let fly amongst them, and quickly stopped their violence. Yet there was a lusty man, and no less valiant, stood behind a tree within half a musket shot, and let his arrows fly at them. He was seen to shoot 3 arrows which were all avoided. He stood 3 shots of a musket, till one taking full aim at him and 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.

They left some to keep the shallop, and followed them about a quarter of a mile and shouted once or twice, and shot 2 or 3 pieces and so returned. This they did, that they might conceive that they were not afraid of them or any way discouraged. Thus it pleased God to vanquish their enemies and give them deliverance; and by his special providence so to dispose that not any one of them were either hurt or hit, though their arrows came close by them and on every side, and sundry of their coats which were hung up in the barricade, were shot through and through. Afterwards they gave God solemn thanks and praise for their deliverance and gathered up a bundle of their arrows and sent them into England afterwards by the master of the ship and called that place the first encounter.

From hence they departed and coasted all along, but discerned no place likely for a harbour and therefore hastened to a place that their pilot (one Mr Coppin who had been in the country before) did assure them was a good harbour, which he had been in, and they might fetch it before night; of which they were glad, for it began to be foul weather. After some hours sailing, it began to snow and rain, and about the middle of the afternoon the wind increased and the sea became very rough, and they broke their rudder and it was as much as 2 men could do to steer her with a couple of oars. But their pilot bade them be of good cheer, for he saw the harbour; but the storm increasing and night drawing on, they bore what sail they could to get in, while they could see.

But herewith they broke their mast in 3 pieces, and their sail fell overboard, in a very grown sea, so as they had like to have been cast away. Yet by God's mercy they recovered themselves and having the flood with them, they struck into the harbour. But when it came to, the pilot was deceived in the place, and said the Lord be merciful unto them, for his eyes never saw that place before; and he and master mate would have run her ashore, in a cove full of breakers, before the wind. But a lusty seaman which steered bade those which rowed, if

they were men, about with her, or else they were all cast away; the which they did with speed. So he bid them be of good cheer and row lustily, for there was a fair sound before them, and he doubted not that they should find a place or other where they might ride in safety. And though it was very dark and rained sore, yet in the end they got under the lea of a small island and remained there all that night in safety. But they knew not this to be an island till morning, but were divided in their minds, some would keep to the boat for fear they might be amongst the Indians; other were so weak and cold they could not endure, but got ashore and with much ado got fire (all things being so wet) and the rest were glad to come to them; for after midnight the wind shifted to the north-west and it froze hard. But though this had been a day and night of much trouble and danger unto them yet God gave a morning of comfort and refreshing (as usually he doth to his children) and the next day was a fair, sun shining day, and they found themselves to be on an island secure from the Indians and where they might dry their stuff, fix their pieces and rest themselves and gave God thanks for his mercies and their manifold deliverances.

And this being the last day of the week, they prepared there to keep the Sabbath. On Monday they sounded the harbour and found it fit for shipping; and marched into the land and found diverse cornfields and little running brooks, a place (as they supposed) fit for situation; at least it was the best they could find, and the season and their present necessity, made them glad to accept of it. So they returned to their ship again with this news to the rest of their people, which did much comfort their hearts.

On the 15th December they weighed anchor to go the place they had discovered and came within 2 leagues of it, but were fain to bear up again. But the 16th day the wind came fair and they arrived safe in this harbour. And afterwards took better view of the place and resolved where to pitch their dwelling; and the 25<sup>th</sup> day began to erect the first house for the common use to receive them and their goods.

## **The Second Book**

The rest of this history (if God give me life and opportunity) I shall, for brevity's sake, handle by way of years, noting only the heads of principal things and passages as they fell in order of time, and may seem to be profitable to know, or to make use of. And this may be the second book.

### **The Remainder of 1620**

I shall a little return back and begin with a combination made by them before they came ashore, being the first foundation of their government in this place; occasioned partly by the discontented and mutinous speeches that some of the strangers amongst them had let fall from them in the ship – that when they came ashore, they would use their own liberty; for none had power to command them, the patent they had being for Virginia and no for New England, which belonged to another Government, with which the Virginia Company had nothing to do. And partly that such an act done by them (this their condition considered) might be as firm as any patent, and in some respects more sure.

The form was as follows

In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are under written, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, king, defender of the faith etc, having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these present solemnly and mutually in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names of Cape Cod 11<sup>th</sup> of November in the year of the reign of our sovereign lord, King James, of England, France and Ireland the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty fourth. Anno Domini 1620.

After this they chose, or rather confirmed, Mr John Carver (a man godly and well approved amongst them) their Governor for that year. And after they had provided a place for their goods, or common store (which were long in unloading for want of boats, foulness of winter weather and sickness diverse) and begun some small cottages for their habitation, as time would admit, they met and consulted on laws and orders, both for their civil and military Government, as the necessity of their condition did require, still adding thereunto as urgent occasion in several times, and as cases did require.

In these hard and difficult beginnings they found some discontents and murmurings arise amongst some, and mutinous speeches and carriages in

other; but they were soon quelled and overcome by the wisdom, patience and just and equal carriage of things by the Governor and better part, which cleaved faithfully together in the main. But that which was most sad and lamentable was, that in 2 or 3 months time half of their company died, especially in January and February, being the depth of winter and wanting houses and other comforts; being infected with the scurvy and other diseases, which this long voyage and their ill accommodated condition had brought upon them; so as there died some 2 or 3 of a day, in the aforesaid time; that of 100 and odd persons, scarce 50 remained.

And of these in the time of most distress, there was but 6 or 7 sound persons who, to their great commendation be it spoken, spared no pains, night and day, but with abundance of toil and hazard to their own health, fetched them wood, made them fires, dressed them meat, made their beds, washed their loathsome clothes, clothed and unclothed them; in a word, did all the homely and necessary offices for them which dainty and queasy stomachs cannot endure to hear named; and all this willingly and cheerfully, without any grudging in the least, showing herein their true love unto their friends and brethren. A rare example and worthy to be remembered, two of these 7 were Mr William Brewster, their reverend Elder and Myles Standish, their captain and military commander, unto whom myself and many others, were much beholden in our low and sick condition. And yet the Lord so upheld these persons, as in this general calamity, they were not at all infected either with sickness or lameness. And what I have said of these, I may say of many others who died in the general visitation, and others yet living, that whilst they had health, yea, or any strength continuing, they were not wanting to any that had need of them. And I doubt not but their recompense is with the Lord.

But I may not here pass by another remarkable passage not to be forgotten. As this calamity fell among the passengers that were to left here to plant, and were hasted ashore and made to drink water, that the seamen might have the more beer, and one (which was this author himself) in his sickness desiring but a small can of beer, it was answered, that if he were their own father he should have none; the disease began to fell amongst them also, so as almost half of their company died before they went away, and many of their officers and lustiest men as the bosun, gunner, 3 quartermasters, the cook and others. At which the master was something stricken and sent to the sick ashore and told the Governor he should send for beer for them that had need of it, though he would have to drink water homeward bound. But now amongst his company there was far another kind of carriage in this misery than amongst the passengers; for they that before had been boon companions in drinking and jollity in the time of their health and welfare, began now to desert one another in this calamity, saying they would no hazard their lives for them, they should be infected by coming to help them in their cabins and so after they came to die by it, would do little or nothing for them, but if they died, let them die.

But such of the passengers as were yet aboard showed them what mercy they could, which made some of their hearts relent, as the bosun (and some others), who was a proud young man, and would often curse and scoff at the

passengers; but when he grew weak, they had compassion on him and helped him; then he confessed he did not deserve it at their hands, he had abused them in word and deed. 'Oh!' said he, 'You, I now see, show your love like Christians indeed one to another, but we let one other lie and die like dogs. Another lay cursing his wife, saying if it had not been for her he would never have come on this unlucky voyage, and another one cursing his fellows, saying he had done this and that for some of them, he had spent so much amongst them, and they were now weary of him, and did not help him, having need. Another gave his companion all he had, if he died, to help him in his weakness; he went and got a little spice and made him a mess of meat once or twice, and because he died not so soon as he expected, he went amongst his fellows and swore the rogue would cousin him, he would see him choked before he made him any more meat; and yet the poor fellow died before morning.

All this while the Indians came skulking about them, and would sometimes show themselves aloof, but when any approached near them they would run away. And once they stole away their tools where they had been at work and were gone to dinner. But about the 16<sup>th</sup> March a certain Indian came boldly amongst them and spoke to them in broken English, which they could well understand, but marvelled at it. At length they understood by discourse with him, that he was not of these parts, but belonged to the eastern parts, where some English ships came to fish, with which he was acquainted, and could name sundry of their names, amongst whom he had got his language. He became profitable to them in acquainting them with many things concerning the state of the country in the eastern parts where he lived, which was afterwards profitable to them; as also of the people here, of their names, numbers and strength; of their situation and distance from this place, and who was chief amongst them.

His name was Samaset; he told them also of another Indian whose name was Squanto, a native of this place, who had been to England and could speak better English than himself. Being, after some time of entertainments and gifts dismissed, a while after he came again and 5 more with him, and they brought again all the tools that were stolen away before, and made way for the coming of their great Sachem, called Massasoit; who, about 4 or 5 days after, came with the chief of his friends and other attendance with the aforesaid Squanto. With whom, after friendly entertainment and some gifts given him, they made a peace with him (which hath now continued these 24 years) in these terms.

1. That neither he nor any of his, should injure or do hurt to any of their people.
2. That if any of his did any hurt to any of theirs, he should send the offender, that they might punish him.
3. That if anything were taken away from any of theirs, he should cause it to be restored; and they should the like to his.

4. If any did unjustly war against him, they would aid him; if any did war against them, he should aid them.
5. He should send to his neighbour's confederates, to certify them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might be likewise comprised in the conditions of peace.
6. That went their men came to them, they show leave their bows and arrows behind them.

After these things he returned to his place called Sowams, some 40 miles from this place, but Squanto continued with them, and was their interpreter, and was a special instrument sent of God for their good beyond their expectation. He directed them how to set their corn, where to take fish and to procure other commodities, and was also their pilot to bring them to unknown places for their profit, and never left them till he died. He was a native of this place and scarce any left alive beside himself. He was carried away with divers others by one Hunt, a master of a ship, who thought to sell them for slaves in Spain; but he got away for England, and was entertained by a merchant in London and employed to Newfoundland and other parts, and lastly brought hither into these parts by one Mr Dermer, a gentleman employed by Sr. Ferdinando Gorges and others, for discovery, and other designs in these parts. Of whom I shall say something, because it is mentioned in a book set forth in 1622 by the President and Council for New England, that he made the peace between the savages of these parts and the English, of which this plantation, as it is intimated, had the benefit. But what a peace it was, may appear... This Mr Dermer was here the same year that these people came, as appears by an account written by him and given me by a friend, bearing the date June 30<sup>th</sup> 1620. And we came in the November following, so there was about 4 months difference. In relation to his honoured friend, he had written these passages of this very place.

'I will first begin' said he 'with that place from whence Squanto or Tisquantem, was taken away; which on Captain Smith's map is called Plimouth; and I would that Plimouth had the like commodities. I would that the first plantation might here be seated, if they come to the number of 50 persons, or upward. Otherwise at Charlton, because there the savages are less to be feared. The Pocanawkits, which live to the west of Plimouth, bear an inveterate malice to the English, and have more strength than all the savages from there to Penobscote. Their desire for revenge was occasioned by an Englishman, who having many of them on board, made a great slaughter with their murderers and small shot, when as they say they offered no injury on their parts. Whether they were English or no, it may be doubted, yet they believe they were...for which cause Squanto cannot deny but they would have killed me when I was at Namasket, had he not entreated hard for me.

The soil on the borders of this great bay may be compared to most of the plantations, which I have seen in Virginia. The land is of diverse sorts; for Patuxite is a hardy by strong soil, Nawsel and Saughtughtett are for the part a

blackish and deep mould, much like that where grows the best tobacco in Virginia. In the bottom of the great bay is a store of Cod and bass or mullet. But above all, he commends Pacanawkite for the richest soil, and much open ground fit for English grain etc...

But to return, the spring now approaching, it pleased God that the mortality began to cease amongst them, and the sick and lame recovered apace, which put as it were new life into them; though they had borne their said affliction with much patience and contentedness, as I think any people could do. But it was the Lord, which upheld them, and had beforehand prepared them, many having long borne the yoke from their youth. Many other small matters I omit, sundry of them having already been published in a journal made by one of the company; and some other passages and journeys and relations already published, to which I refer those that are willing to know them more particularly. And now being come to the 25<sup>th</sup> March, I shall begin the year 1621.

## 1621

They now began to dispatch the ship away, which had them brought over, which lay till about this time, or the beginning of April. The reason on their parts why she stayed so long was the necessity and danger that lay upon them, for it was well towards the end of December before she could land anything here, or they able to receive anything ashore. Afterwards, on 14<sup>th</sup> January, the house, which they had made for a general rendezvous by accident, fell afire, and some were fain to retire aboard for shelter. Then the sickness began to fall sore amongst them, and the weather so bad as they could not make much sooner any dispatch. Again, the Governor and chief of them, seeing so many die and fall down sick daily, thought it no wisdom to send away the ship, their condition considered, and the danger they stood in from the Indians, till they could procure some shelter; and therefore thought it better to draw some more charge upon themselves and friends than hazard all. The master and seamen likewise, though before they hasted the passengers ashore to be gone, now many of their men being dead... and of the rest many lay sick and weak, the master dare not put to sea, until he saw his men begin to recover and the heart of winter over.

Afterwards, they (as many as were able) began to plant their corn, in which service Squanto stood them in great stead, showing them both the manner how to set it, and afterwards how to dress and tend it. Also he told them, except they got fish and set with it (in these old grounds) it would come to nothing, and he showed that that in the middle of April they should store enough up the brook, by which they began to built, and taught them how to take it, and where to get other provisions necessary for them; all which they found true by trial and experience. Some English seed they sowed, as wheat and peas, but it came not to good, either by the badness of the seed, or lateness of the season, or both, or some other defect.

In this month of April, whilst they were busy about their seed, their Governor (Mr John Carver) came out of the field very sick, it being a hot day; he complained greatly of his head, and lay down, and within a few hours his senses failed, so as he never spoke more till he died, which was within a few days after. His death was much lamented, and caused great heaviness amongst them, as there was cause. He was buried in the best manner they could, with some volleys of shot by all that bore arms; and his wife being a weak woman, died within 5 or 6 weeks after him.

Shortly after, William Bradford was chosen Governor in his stead, and not yet recovered from his illness, in which he had been near the point of death, Isaac Allerton was chosen to be an assistant to him, who, by renewed election every year, continued sundry years together, which I here note once and for all.

May 12 was the first marriage in this place, which according to the laudable custom of the Low Countries, in which they had lived, was thought most requisite to be performed by a magistrate, as being a civil thing, upon which many questions about inheritance do depend... And this practice has continued amongst not only them, but has been followed by all the famous churches of Christ in these parts to this time, 1646.

Having in some sort ordered their business at home, it was thought meet to send some abroad to see their new friend Massasoyet, and to bestow upon him some gratuity to bind him faster to them; as also that hereby they might view the country and see in what manner he lived, what strength he had about him, and how the ways were to his place, if at any time they should have occasion to go there.

So on the 2<sup>nd</sup> July they sent Mr Edward Winslow and Mr Hopkins, with the aforesaid Squanto for their guide, who gave him a suit of clothes, and a horseman's coat, with some other small things, which were kindly accepted; but they found but short commons, and came both weary and hungry home. For the Indians used then to have nothing so much corn as they have since the English have stored them in their houses, and seen their industry in breaking new grounds therewith.

They found his place to be 40 miles from here, the soil good and the people not many, being dead and abundantly wasted in the late great mortality which fell in all these parts about three years before the coming of the English, wherein thousands of them died, they not being able to bury one another, their skulls and bones were found in many places lying still above ground, where there houses and dwellings had been, a very sad spectacle to behold. But they brought word that the Narighansets lived on the other side of the great bay and were a strong people, and many in number, living compact together, and had not been at all touched by this wasting plague.

About the latter end of this month, one John Billington, lost himself in the woods, and wandered up and down some 5 days, living on berries and what he could find. At length he alighted on an Indian plantation, 20 miles south of

this place, called Manamet. They conveyed him further off, to Nawsett, amongst these people that had before set upon the English when they were coasting, whilst the ship lay at Cape Cod, as is before noted. But the Governor caused him to be enquired for among the Indians, and at length Massassoyt sent word where he was, and the Governor sent a shallop for him and had him delivered. Those people also came and made their peace; and they gave full satisfaction to those whose corn they had found and taken when they were at Cape Cod. Thus their peace and acquaintance was pretty well established with natives about them...

The 18<sup>th</sup> September they sent out their shallop to the Massachusetts, with 10 men and Squanto for their guide and interpreter, to discover and view that bay and trade with the natives, the which they performed and found kind entertainment. The people were much afraid of the Tarentins, a people to the eastward, who used to come in harvest time and take away their corn and many times kill their persons. They returned in safety and brought home a good quantity of beaver, and made report of the place, wishing they had been there settled (but it seems the Lord who assigns to all men the bounds of their habitations had appointed it for another use)...

They began now to gather in the small harvest they had, and to fit up their houses and dwellings against winter, being all well recovered in health and strength and had all things in good plenty, for as some were thus employed in affairs abroad, others were exercised in fishing cod, bass and other fish of which they took good store, of which every family had their portion. All the summer there was no want. And now began to come in store of fowl, as winter approached, of which this place did abound when they came first (but afterwards decreased by degrees). And besides water fowl, there was a great store of wild turkeys, of which they took many, besides venison etc. Besides, they had about a peck of meal a week to a person, or now since harvest, Indian corn to that proportion. Which made many afterwards write so largely of their plenty here to their friends in England, which were not false but true reports.

In November, about that time twelve month after they themselves came, there came a small ship to them unexpected or looked for, in which came Mr Cushman (so much spoken of before) and with him 35 persons to remain and live in the plantation; which did not a little rejoice them. And when they came ashore and found all well, and saw plenty of victuals in every house, were no less glad. For most of them were lusty young men, and many of them wild enough, who little considered whether or about what they went, till they came into the harbour at Cape Cod and there saw nothing but a naked and barren place... So they were all landed; but there was not so much as a biscuit cake or any other victuals (nay they were fain to spare the ship some to carry her home.) Neither had they any bedding, but some sorry things they had in their cabins, nor pot nor pan, to dress any meat in, nor over many clothes, for many of them had sold away their coats and cloaks at Plymouth as they came.

But there was sent over some burching-lane suits in the ship, out of which they were supplied. The plantation was glad of this addition of strength, but could have wished that many of them had been of better condition, and all of them better furnished with provisions, but that could not now be helped. In this ship Mr Weston send a large letter to Mr Carver, the late Governor, now deceased, full of complaints and expostulations about former passages at Southampton; and the keeping of the ship so long in the country and returning her without loading etc, which for brevity I omit...

After the departure of this ship (which stayed not above 14 days,) the Governor and his assistant, having disposed of these late comers into several families, as they best could, took an exact account of all their provisions in store, and proportioned the same to the number of persons, and found that it would not hold out above 6 months at half allowance, and hardly that. And they could not well give less this wintertime till fish came in again. So they were presently put to half allowance, one as well as another, which began to be hard, but the bore it patiently under hope of supply.

Soon after this ships departure, the great people of the Narigansets, in a brave manner, sent a messenger unto them with a bundle of arrows tied about with a great snakeskin; which their interpreters told them was a threat and a challenge. Upon which 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, or should they find them unprepared. And by another messenger, sent the snakeskin back with bullets in it; but they would not receive it, but sent it back again. But these things I do not mention, because they have already been put in print by Mr Winslow, at the request of some friends. And it is like the reason was their own ambition, who (since the death of so many Indians) though to dominate and lord it over the rest and conceived the English would be a bar in their way, and saw that Massasoyt took shelter already under their wings.

But this made them more carefully to look to themselves, so as they agreed to enclose their dwellings with a good strong pale, and make flankers in convenient places, with gates to shut, which were every night locked, and a watch kept, and when need required, there was also warding in the daytime. And the company was by the Captain, and the Governor advised, divided into 4 squadrons, and everyone had their quarter appointed them, to which they were to repair upon any sudden alarm. And if there should be a cry of fire, a company were appointed for a guard with muskets, whilst others quenched the same, to prevent Indian treachery. This was accomplished very cheerfully and the town impaled round by the beginning of March, in which every family had a pretty garden plot secured.

And herewith I shall end this year. Only I shall remember one passage more, rather of mirth than of weight. On the day called Christmas day, the Governor called them out to work (as was usual) but the most of this new company excused themselves and said it went against their consciences to work that day. So the Governor told them that if they made it a matter of conscience, he

would spare them till they were better informed. So he led away the rest and left them; but when they came home at noon from their work, he found them in the street at play, openly; some pitching the bar and some at stool-ball and such like sports. So he went to them and took away their implements, and told them that it was against his conscience that they should play and others work. If they made the keeping of it a matter of devotion, let them keep to their houses, but there should be no gaming or revelling in the streets. Since which time nothing had been attempted that way, at least openly.

## 1622

At the spring of the year they had appointed the Massachusetts to come again and trade with them, and began now to prepared for that voyage about the latter end of March...

Shortly after, Mr Weston came over with some of the fishermen, under another name and the disguise of a blacksmith, where he heard of the ruin and dissolution of his colony. He got a boat and with a man or 2, came to see how things were. But by the way, for want of skill, in a storm, he cast away his shallop in the bottom of the bay between Meremek River and Pascataquack, and hardly escaped with life, and afterwards fell into the hands of the Indians, who pillaged him of all he had saved from the sea, and stripped him out of all this clothes to his shirt. At last he got to Pascataquack and borrowed a suit of clothes, and got means to come to Plimouth. A strange alteration there was in him to such as had seen and known him in his former flourishing condition...

After many passages and much discourse (former things boiling in his mind) ... he desired to borrow some beaver from them; and told them he had hope of a ship and a good supply to come to him, and then they should have anything for it they stood in need of. They gave little credit to his supplies but pitied his case, and remembered former courtesies. They told him he saw their wants, and they knew not when they should have any supplies; also how the case stood between them and their adventurers, he well knew; they had not much beaver and if they should let him have it, it were enough to make a mutiny among the people, seeing there was no other means to procure them food which they so much wanted, and clothes also.

Yet they told him they would help him, considering his necessity, but must do it secretly for the former reasons. So they let him have 100 beaver skins, which weighed 170 odd pounds. Thus they helped him when all the world failed him, and with this means he went again to the ships, and stayed his small ship and some of his men, and brought provisions... But he requited them ill, for he proved after to be a bitter enemy to them on all occasions, and never repaid them anything for it, to this day, but reproaches and evil words. Yea, he divulged it to some that were none of their best friends, whilst he yet had the beaver in his boat; that he could now set them altogether by the ears, because they had done more than they could answer, in letting him have this

beaver, and he did not spare to do what he could. But his malice could not prevail.

All this while no supply was heard of, neither knew they when they might expect any. So they began to think how they might raise as much corn as they could, and obtain a better crop than they had done, that they might not still thus languish in misery. At length, after much debate of things, the Governor (with the advice of the chiefest among them) gave way that they should set corn every man for his own particular, and in that regard, trust to themselves; in all other things to go in the general way as before. And so was assigned to every family, a parcel of land according to the proportion of their number for that end, only for present use (but made no division for inheritance) and ranged all boys and youths under some family. This had a very good success; for it made all hands industrious, so as much more corn was planted than otherwise would have been by any means the Governor or any other could use, and saved him a great deal of trouble and gave far better content. The women now went willingly into the field and took their little ones with them to set corn, which before would allege weakness and inability; whom to have compelled them would have been thought great tyranny and oppression.

The experience that was had in the common course and condition, tried sundry years, and 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 the community into a common wealth, 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. For the young men that were most able and fit for labour and service did repine that they should spend their time and strength to work for other men's wives and children, without any recompense. The strong, or man of parts, had no more division of victuals and clothes than if he was weak and not able to do a quarter the other could; this was though unjust. The aged and graver men to be ranked and equalised in labours and victuals and clothes etc with the meaner and younger sort, thought it some indignity and disrespect unto them. And for men's wives to be commanded to do service for other men, as dressing their meat, washing their clothes etc, they deemed it a kind of slavery, neither could many husbands well brook it. 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 has set amongst men, yet it did at least much diminish and take off the mutual respect that should be preserved amongst them...

But to return, after this course was settled, and by that their corn was planted, all their victuals were spent, and they were only to rest on God's providence; at night not many times knowing where to have a bite of anything the next day. And so, as one well observed, had need to pray that God would give them their daily bread, above all people in the world. Yet they bore these wants with great patience and alacrity of spirit, and that for so long a time as for the most part of 2 years. But alas! These people, when they had maize (that is Indian Corn) they thought it as good as a feast, and wanted not only

for 5 days together, but sometimes 2 or 3 months together, and neither had bread nor any kind of corn. That with their miseries they opened a way to these new lands; and after these storms, with what ease other men came to inhabit them, in respect of the calamities these men suffered; so as they seem to go to a bridal feast where all things are provided for them.

They having but one boat left and she not over well fitted, they were divided into several companies, 6 or 7 to a gang or company, and so went out with a net they had bought, to take bass and such like fish, but course, every company knowing their turn. No sooner was the boat discharged of what she brought, but the next company took her and went out with her. Neither did they return till they had caught something, though it were 5 or 6 days before, for they knew there was nothing at home, and to go home empty would be a great discouragement to the rest. Yea, they strived who should do best. If she stayed long or got little, then all went to seeking shellfish, which at low water they dug out of the sands. And this was their living in the summer time till God sent them better; and in winter they were helped with groundnuts and fowl. Also in the summer they got now and then deer; for one or 2 of the fittest was appointed to range the woods for that end and what was got that way was divided amongst them.

At length they received some letters from the adventurers, too long and tedious here to record, by which they heard of their further crosses and frustrations beginning in this manner.

*Loving friends, as your sorrows and afflictions have been great, so our crosses and interceptions in our proceedings here have not been small. For after we had with much trouble and charge sent the Paragon away to sea and thought all the pain past, within 14 days after she came again hither, being dangerously leaked and bruised with tempestuous storms, so as she was fain to be had into the dock and £100 bestowed upon her. All the passengers lying upon our charge for 6 or 7 weeks, and much discontent and distemper was occasioned hereby, so as some dangerous event has like to ensue. But we trust all shall be well and work for the best and your benefit, if yet with patience you can wait, and have strength to hold to life. Whilst these things were doing, Mr Weston's ship came and brought diverse letters from you. It rejoiced us much to here of those good reports that diverse have brought home from you etc.*

These letters were dated December 21 1622.

This ship was brought by Mr John Pierce, and set out at his own charge, upon hope of great matters. These passengers and the goods the company sent in her, he took for freight, for which they agreed with him to be delivered here.

About the latter end of June came in a ship, with Captain Francis West, who had a commission to be Admiral of New England, to restrain interlopers and such fishing ships as came to fish and trade without a licence from the Council of New England, for which they should pay a round sum of money. But he could do no good, for they were too strong for him, and he found the fishermen to be stubborn fellows. And their owners, upon complaint made to the Parliament, procured an order that the fishing should be free. He told the Governor they spoke with a ship at sea, and were aboard her, that was coming to this plantation, in which were sundry passengers, and they marvelled she was not arrived, fearing some miscarriage; for she was lost in a storm that fell shortly after they had been aboard. Which relation filled them full of fear, yet mixed with hope. The master of this ship had some 2 hogs head of peas to sell, but seeing their wants, held them at £9 sterling a hogs head and under £8 he would not take, and yet would have beaver at under rate. But they told him they had lived so long without, and would do so still, rather than give so unreasonably. So they went from hence to Virginia.

About 14 days after came in this ship, called the Ann, whereof Mr William Pierce was master, and about a week or 10 days after came in the pinnace which, in foul weather they lost at sea, a fine new vessel of about 44 tons, which the company had built to stay in the country. They brought about 60 persons for the general, some of them very useful persons and who became good members of the body, and some were the wives and children of such as were here already. And some were so bad, as they were fain to be at charge to send them home again next year.

Also, besides these there came a company that did not belong to the general body, but came on their own particulars, and were to have lands assigned to them, and be for themselves, yet subject to the general Government; which caused some difference and disturbance amongst them, as well after appear.

These passengers, when they saw their low and poor conditions ashore, were much daunted and dismayed and according to their diverse humours were diversely affected; some wished themselves in England again; others fell to weeping, fancying their own misery in what they saw in others; others pitying the distress they saw their friends had been long in, and were still under; in a word, all were full of sadness. Only some of their old friends rejoiced to see them, and that it was no worse with them, for they could not expect it should be better, and now hoped they should enjoy better days together.

And it truly was no marvel that they should be thus affected, for they were in a very low condition, many were ragged in apparel, and some little better then half naked, thought some that were well stored before, were well enough in this regard. But for food they were all alike, save some that had got a few peas off the ship that was last here. The best dish they could present their friends with was a lobster or a piece of fish, without bread or anything else but a cup of fair spring water. And the long continuance of this diet, and their labours abroad, had something abated the freshness of their former

complexion. But God gave them health and strength in a good measure and showed them by experience the truth of that word.

On the other hand the old planters were afraid that their corn, when it was ripe, would be shared with the newcomers, whose provisions which they brought with them they feared would fall short before the year went about (as indeed it did). They came to the Governor and besought him that it was before agreed that they should set corn for their own particular needs, and accordingly they had taken extraordinary pains thereabout, that they might freely enjoy the same, and they would not have a bite of the victuals now come, but wait until harvest for their own, and let the newcomers enjoy what they had brought; they would have none of it, except they could purchase any of it of them by bargain or exchange. Their request was granted them, for it gave both sides good content; for the newcomers were as much afraid that the hungry planters would have eaten up the provisions brought, and they should have fallen into a like condition.

This ship was in a short time laden with clapboard by the help of many hands. Also they sent in her all the beaver and other furs they had, and Mr Winslow was sent over with her, to inform of all things, and procure such things as were needful for the present condition.

I may not here omit how, notwithstanding all their great pains and industry, and the great hopes of a large crop, the Lord seemed to blast and take away the same, and to threaten further and more sore famine to them, by a great drought which continued from the 3<sup>rd</sup> week in May till about the middle of July, without any rain, and with great heat (for the most part) insomuch as the corn began to wither away, though it was set with fish, the moisture whereof helped it much. Yet a length it began to languish sorely, and some of the dryer grounds were parched like withered hay, part whereof was never recovered. Upon which, they set apart a solemn day of humiliation, to seek the Lord by humble and fervent prayer, in this great distress. And he was pleased to give them a gracious and speedy answer, both to their own and the Indians admiration, that lived amongst them.

For all the morning, and the greatest part of the day, it was clear weather and very hot, and not a cloud in the sky or any sign of rain to be seen, yet towards evening it began to be overcast, and shortly after to rain, with such sweet and gentle showers, as gave them cause for rejoicing and blessing God. It came, without wind, or thunder, or any violence, and by degrees in that abundance that the earth was thoroughly wet and soaked therewith. Which did so apparently revive and quicken the decayed corn and other fruits, as was wonderful to see, and made the Indians astonished to behold. And afterwards, the Lord sent them such seasonable showers, with interchange of fair warm weather, as, through his blessings, caused a fruitful and liberal harvest to their no small comfort and rejoicing. For which mercy, (in time convenient) they also set apart a day of thanksgiving.

By this time harvest was come, and instead of famine, now God gave them plenty and the face of things was changed, to the rejoicing of the hearts of

many, for which they blessed God. And the effect of their particular planting was well seen, for all had, one way and other, pretty well to bring the year about, and some of the abler sort and more industrious had some to spare and sell to others, so as any general want or famine has not been amongst them since to this day.

Those that came on their own particulars looked for greater matters than they found or could attain unto, about building great houses, and such pleasant situations for them, as themselves had fancied; as if they would be great men and rich, all of a sudden, but they proved castles in the air. These were the conditions agreed on between the colony and them.

1. That the Governor, in the name and consent of the company, does in all love and friendship receive and embrace them; and is to allot them competent places for habitations in the town. And promises to show them all such courtesies as shall be reasonable for them to desire or us to perform.
2. That they, on their parts, be subject to all such laws and orders as are already made, or here after shall be, for the public good.
3. That they be freed and exempt from the general employments of the said company, (which their present condition of community requires) except communal defence and such other employments as tend to the perpetual good of the colony.
4. Towards the maintenance of government and public officers of the said colony, every male above the age of 16 years shall pay a bushel of Indian wheat, or the worth of it, into the common store.
5. That (according to the agreement the merchants made with them before they came) they are to be wholly debarred from all trade with the Indians for all sorts of furs, and such like commodities, till the time of the communality be ended.

About the middle of September arrived Captain Robert Gorges in the Bay of the Massachusetts, with sundry passengers and families, intending there to begin a plantation; and pitched upon the place Mr Weston's people had forsaken. He had a commission from the Council of New England, to be General Governor of the country, and they appointed for his council and assistance, Captain Francis West, the aforesaid Admiral, Christopher Levite, Esquire and the Governor of Plymouth for the time being. Also, they gave him authority to chose such other as he should find fit. Also, they gave (by their commission) full power to him and assistants, or any three of them, whereof himself was always, to be one, and execute what they should seem good in all cases, Capital, Criminal and Civil etc with diverse other instructions. Of which, of his commission, it pleased him to suffer the Governor here to take a copy.

He gave them notice of his arrival by letter, but before they could visit him, he went to the eastward with the ship he came in; but a storm arising (and they wanting a good pilot to harbour them in those parts,) they bore up for this harbour. He and his men were kindly entertained; he stayed here 14 days. In the mean time came in Mr Weston with his small ship, which he had now recovered. Captain Gorges took hold of the opportunity and acquainted the Governor here, that one occasion of his going to the eastward was to meet Mr Weston and call him to account for some abuses he had to lay at his charge. Whereupon he called him before him and some other of his assistants with the Governor of this place and charged him.

### **Death of John Robinson**

About the beginning of April 1626 they heard of Captain Standish's arrival and sent a boat to fetch him home, and the things he brought. Welcome he was, but the news he brought of the news he brought was sad in many regards; not in only in regard of the former losses, before related, which their friends had suffered, by which some in a manner were undone, others much disabled from doing any further help, and some dead of the plague, but also that Mr Robinson, their pastor, was dead, which struck them with much sorrow and sadness, as they had cause. His and their adversaries had been long and continually plotting how they might hinder his coming here, but the Lord had appointed him to a better place; concerning whose death and the manner thereof, it will appear by these few lines written to the Governor and Mr Brewster.

'Loving and kind friends, I know not whether this will ever come to your hands, or miscarry as other of my letters have done; yet in regard of the Lord's dealing with us here, I have a great desire to write to you, knowing your desire to bear a part with us, both in our joys and sorrows, as we do with you. There are therefore to give you to understand, that it has pleased the Lord to take out of the vale of tears, your and our loving and faithful pastor, and my dear and Reverend brother, Mr John Robinson, who was sick some 8 days. He began to be sick on Saturday in the morning, yet the next day (being the Lord's day) he taught us twice. And so the week after he grew weaker, every day more than the last, yet he felt no pain but weakness all the time of his sickness. The physic he took wrought kindly in man's judgement, but he grew weaker every day, feeling little or no pain, and sensible to the very last. He fell sick on 22<sup>nd</sup> February and departed this life on 1<sup>st</sup> March. He had a continual inward ague, but free from infection, so that all this friends came freely to him. And if either prayers, tears or means would have saved his life, he would not have gone hence. But he having faithfully finished his course, and performed his work which the Lord had appointed him here to do, he now rests with the Lord in eternal happiness. We wanting him and all church governors yet we still (by the mercy of God) continue and hold close together in peace and quietness; and so hope we shall do, though we be very weak. Wishing (if such were the will of God) that you and we were again united together in one, either there or here; but seeing it is the will of the Lord this to dispose things, we must labour with patience to rest contented, till it please the Lord

otherwise to dispose. For news here, there is not much; only as in England we have lost our old King James, who departed this life about a month ago, as so here they have lost the old prince, Grave Maurice; who both departed this life since my brother Robinson. And as in England we have a new king, Charles, of whom there is great hope, so here they have made Prince Hendrick General in his brother's place.

Thus with my love remembered, I take leave and rest, your assured loving friend, Roger White. Leiden, April 28<sup>th</sup> 1625.'

Thus these two great princes, and their pastor, left this world near about one time. Death makes no difference. He further brought them notice of the death of their ancient friend, Mr Cushman, whom the Lord took away also this year and about this time, who was as their right hand with their friends the adventurers, and for diverse years had done and agitated all their business with them to their great advantage...It shows also that a man's ways are not in his own power, but in his hands who has the issues of life and death. Man may purpose, but God does dispose.

Their other friends in Leiden wrote many letters to them full of sad laments for their heavy loss; and though their wills were good to come to them, yet they saw now probability of means, how it might be affected, but concluded, as it were, that all their hopes were cut off, and many being aged, began to drop away by death.

All which things (before related) being well weighed and laid together, it could not but strike them with great perplexity; and to look humanly on the state of things as they presented themselves at this time, it is a marvel it did not wholly discourage them, and sink them. But they gathered up their spirits, and the Lord so helped them, whose work they had in hand, as now when they were at their lowest, they began to rise again, and being stripped (in a manner) of all human help and hopes, he brought things about otherwise, in his divine providence, as they were not only upheld and sustained, but their proceedings both honoured and imitated by others.

### **Obituary of William Brewster, 1643**

I am to begin this year with that which was a matter of great sadness and mourning unto them all. About 18th April died their Reverend Elder and my dear and loving friend, Mr William Brewster. He was near four score years of age (if not all out) when he died. I should say something of his life, if to say a little were not worse then to be silent. But I cannot wholly forbear, though happily more may be done hereafter.

After he had attained some learning, viz. the knowledge of the Latin tongue, and some insight in the Greek, and spent some small time at Cambridge, and then being first seasoned with the seeds of grace and virtue, he went to the Court, and served that religious and godly gentleman, Mr Davison, diverse years, when he was Secretary of State; who found him so discreet and faithful

as he trusted him above all others that were about him, and only employed him in all matters of greatest trust and secrecy.

He 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. He attended his master when he was sent as ambassador by the Queen into the Low Countries, in the Earl of Leicester's time, as for other weighty affairs of state, so to receive possession of the cautionary towns, and in token and sign thereof the keys of Flushing being delivered to him, in her majesties name, he kept them sometime, and committed them to his servant, who kept them under his pillow, on which he slept the first night. And, at his return, the state honoured him with a gold chain, and his master committed it to him, and commanded him to wear it when they arrived in England, as they rode through the country, till they came to the Court. He afterwards remained with him till his troubles, when he was put from his place about the death of the Queen of Scots; and some good time after, doing him many faithful offices of service in the time of his troubles.

Afterwards he went and lived in the country, in good esteem amongst his friends and the gentlemen of those parts, especially the godly and religious. He did much good in the country where he lived, in promoting and furthering religion, not only by his practice and example, and provoking and encouraging of others, but by the procuring of good preachers to the places there about and drawing on of others to assist and help forward in such a work; he himself most commonly deepest in the charge, and sometimes above his ability. And in this state he continued many years, doing the best good he could, and walking according to the light he saw, till the Lord revealed further unto him. And in the end, by the tyranny of the bishops against godly preachers and people in silencing the one and persecuting the other, he and many more of those times began to look further into things, and to see into the unlawfulness of their callings and the burden of many anti-christian corruptions, which both he and they endeavoured to cast off; as they also did, as in the beginning of this treatise is to be seen.

After they were joined together in communion, he was a special stay and help to them. They ordinarily met at his house on the Lord's day (which was a manor of the bishops) and with great love he entertained them when they came, making provision for them to his great charge. He was the chief of those that were taken at Boston, and suffered the greatest loss, and of the seven that were kept longest in prison, and after bound over to the assizes.

After he came to Holland he suffered much hardship, after he has spent the most of his means, having a great charge and many children; and in regard of his former breeding and course of life, not so fit for many employments as others were, especially such as were toilsome and laborious. But yet he ever bore his condition with much cheerfulness and contentment. Towards the later part of those 12 years spent in Holland, his outward condition was mended, and he lived well and plentifully; for he fell into a way (by reason he had the Latin tongue) to teach many students, who had a desire to learn the English tongue, to teach them English; and by his method they quickly attained it with

great facilities; for he drew rules to learn it by, after the Latin manner; and many gentlemen, both Danes and Germans, resorted to him, as they had time from other studies, some of them being great men's sons. He also had means to set up printing (by the help of some friends,) and so had employment enough, and by reason of many books which would not be allowed to be printed in England, they might have had more then they could do.

But now removing into this country, all these things were laid aside again, and a new course of living must be framed unto; in which he was no way unwilling to take his part, and to bear his burden with the rest, living many times without bread or corn many months together, having many times nothing but fish, and often wanting that also; and drunk nothing but water for many years together, yet till within 5 or 6 years of his death. And yet he lived (by the blessing of God) in health till very old age. And besides that, he would labour with his hands in the fields as long as he was able; yet when the church had no other minister, he 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. He did more in this behalf in a year, than many that have their hundreds a year do in all their lives.

For his personal abilities, he was qualified above many; he was wise and discreet and well spoken, having a grave and deliberate utterance, of a very cheerful spirit, very sociable and pleasant amongst his friends, of a humble and modest mind, of a peaceable disposition, under valuing himself and his own abilities, and some time overvaluing 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 weakness taken from him.

He was tender hearted, and compassionate to such as were in misery, but especially of such as had been of good estate and rank, and were fallen into want and poverty, either for goodness and religions sake, or by the injury and oppression by others; he would say of all men these deserved should be pitied most. And accordingly God gave good success to his endeavours all his days, and he saw the fruit of his labours in that behalf. But I must break off, having only thus touched a few, as it were, heads of things.

I cannot but here take occasion, not only to mention, but greatly to admire the marvellous providence of God, that notwithstanding the many changes and hardships that these people went through, and the many enemies they had and difficulties they met with, that so many of them should live to very old age! It was not only this revered man's condition (for one swallow makes no summer, as they say) but many more of them did the like, some dying about and before this time, and many still living, who attained to 60 years of age, and to 65, diverse to 70 and above and some near 80 as he did. It must needs be more than ordinary, and above natural reason, that so it should be, for it is found in experience that change of air, famine or unwholesome food, much drinking of water, sorrows and troubles etc, all of them are enemies to

health, causes of many diseases, consumers of natural vigour and the bodies of men and shortness of life. And yet of all these things they had a great part and suffered deeply in the same. They went from England to Holland, where they found both worse air and diet than that they came from, from thence (enduring a long imprisonment, as it were, in the ships at sea) into New-England; and how it hath been with them here has already been shown; and what crosses, troubles, fears, wants and sorrows they have been liable unto, is easy to conjecture.

Passengers and crew of the Mayflower and where they were in 1650				
Surname	First Name	Place of Origin	Occupation or Relationship	Situation
<b>Alden</b>	John	Harwich, Essex	Ships Cooper	Married Priscilla Mullins
<b>Allerton</b>	Isaac	London	Tailor	Married William Brewster's daughter, leaving 1 son living by her. After her death, he left this place long ago.
<b>Allerton</b>	Mary	Newbury	wife of Isaac Allerton	Died 1620
<b>Allerton</b>	Bartholomew	Leiden, Holland	son of Isaac Allerton	Returned to England
<b>Allerton</b>	Remember	Leiden, Holland	daughter of Isaac Allerton	Alive in 1650, married at Salem with 3 or 4 children living
<b>Allerton</b>	Mary	Leiden, Holland	daughter of Isaac Allerton	Alive in 1650, married with 4 children
<b>Allerton</b>	John	London	Seaman	Died before ship returned
<b>Billington</b>	John	London		Executed for murder about 1630
<b>Billington</b>	Eleanor	London	wife of John Billington	
<b>Billington</b>	Francis	London	son of John Billington	Died before 1630
<b>Billington</b>	John	London	son of John Billington	Alive in 1650. Married with 8 children living
<b>Bradford</b>	William	Austerfield, Notts		Alive in 1650, remarried with 4 children living
<b>Bradford</b>	Dorothy (May)	Wisbech, Lincs	wife of William Bradford	Died 1640
<b>Brewster</b>	William	Scrooby, Notts	Church Elder	Died 1643
<b>Brewster</b>	Mary	Scrooby, Notts	wife of William Brewster	Died some years before her husband
<b>Brewster</b>	Love	Leiden, Holland	son of William Brewster	Died 1650 leaving 4 children still living in 1650
<b>Brewster</b>	Wrestling	Leiden, Holland	son of William Brewster	Died a young man
<b>Britteridge</b>	Richard			Died 1620
<b>Browne</b>	Peter	Great Burstead, Essex		Married twice with 4 children living in 1650. Died 1634
<b>Butten</b>	William	Austerfield, Notts	servant to Samuel Fuller	Died at sea
<b>Carter</b>	Robert		Servant to William Mullins	

<b>Carver</b>	John	Doncaster, Yorkshire		Died 1621
<b>Carver</b>	Katherine	Sturton le Steeple, Notts	wife of John Carver	Died 1621
<b>Chilton</b>	James	Canterbury	Tailor	Died 1620
<b>Chilton</b>	Susanna	Canterbury	wife of James Chilton	Died 1620
<b>Chilton</b>	Mary		daughter of James Chilton	Living in 1650 with 10 children living
<b>Clarke</b>	Richard			Died 1620
<b>Clarke</b>	John		Master's Mate & Pilot	
<b>Cook/Cooke</b>	Francis	Blyth, Notts	Wool Comber	Living in 1650, with great grand children
<b>Cook/Cooke</b>	John	Leiden, Holland	son of Francis Cook	Living in 1650, with 4 children living
<b>Cooper</b>	Humility		Infant niece of Edward Tillie	Returned to England
<b>Coppin</b>	Robert		2nd Masters Mate	
<b>Crackston</b>	John	Colchester		Died 1620
<b>Crackston</b>	John	Leiden, Holland	son of John Crackston	Died about 1626, having lost himself in the woods & frozen
<b>Doty</b>	Edward	London	Servant to Stephen Hopkins	Living in 1650 with 7 children living
<b>Eaton</b>	Francis	Bristol	Carpenter	Married 2nd and 3rd, Died about 1634. 3 children with last, living in 1650.
<b>Eaton</b>	Sarah	Bristol	wife of Francis Eaton	Died 1620
<b>Eaton</b>	Samuel		son of Francis Eaton	Living in 1650 with 1 child
<b>Ely/Ellis</b>	Unknown		Seaman	
<b>English</b>	Thomas		Seaman	Died before ship returned
<b>Fletcher</b>	Moses	Sandwich, Kent	Blacksmith	Died 1620
<b>Fuller</b>	Edward	Redenhall, Norfolk		Died 1620
<b>Fuller</b>	Ann	Redenhall, Norfolk	wife of Edward Fuller	Died 1620
<b>Fuller</b>	Samuel	Leiden, Holland	son of Edward Fuller	Living in 1650 with 4 children living
<b>Fuller</b>	Samuel	London	Silk maker/Physician	Died about 1635. Left 2 children living in 1650.
<b>Gardiner</b>	Richard	Harwich, Essex		Became a seaman and returned to England
<b>Goodman</b>	John		Weaver	Died 1620
<b>Heale</b>	Giles		Ship's Surgeon	

<b>Holbeck</b>	William	Norwich, Norfolk	Servant to William White	Died 1620
<b>Hooke</b>	John	Leiden, Holland	Servant	Died 1620
<b>Hopkins</b>	Stephen	Wootton under Edge, Glous		Died about 1640 with 1 son and 4 daughters born here
<b>Hopkins</b>	Elizabeth		wife of Stephen Hopkins	Died about 1640 with 1 son and 4 daughters born here
<b>Hopkins</b>	Giles		son of Stephen	Living in 1650 with 4 children living
<b>Hopkins</b>	Constanta		daughter of Stephen	Living in 1650 with 12 children living
<b>Hopkins</b>	Damaris		daughter of Stephen	
<b>Hopkins</b>	Oceanus	born on Mayflower	son of Stephen Hopkins	
<b>Howland</b>	John		Servant to John Carver	Married Elizabeth Tillie, alive in 1650 with 10 children and 5 grandchildren living
<b>Jones</b>	Christopher		Ship's Captain	
<b>Langmore</b>	John		Servant to Christopher Martin	
<b>Latham</b>	William		Servant to John Carver	Stayed 20 years, returned to England, went to West Indies and died of starvation
<b>Leaver</b>	Master		Seaman	
<b>Lister</b>	Edward	London	Servant to Stephen Hopkins	Went to Virginia and died before 1650
<b>Margeson</b>	Edmund			Died 1620
<b>Martin</b>	Christopher	Great Burstead, Essex	Merchant	Died 1620
<b>Martin</b>	Mary		wife of Christopher Martin	Died 1620
<b>Minter</b>	Desire	Norwich	Servant to John Carver	Returned to England
<b>More</b>	Richard	London	Child under care of William Brewster	Alive in 1650 with 4 children living
<b>More</b>	Ellen		Child under the care of Edward Winslow	Died 1620
<b>More</b>	Jasper		Child under care of John Carver	Died 1620
<b>More</b>	Unknown		Child under care of William Brewster	
<b>Mullins</b>	William	Dorking, Surrey	Shop keeper	Died 1620

<b>Mullins</b>	Alice		wife of William Mullins	Died 1620
<b>Mullins</b>	Joseph		son of William Mullins	Died 1620
<b>Mullins</b>	Priscilla		daughter of William Mullins	Married John Alden. Died 1620
<b>Parker</b>	John		Seaman	
<b>Priest</b>	Degory	London	Hatmaker	Died 1620
<b>Prower</b>	Solomon	Essex	servant to of Christopher Martin	
<b>Rigdale</b>	John	London		Died 1620
<b>Rigdale</b>	Alice		wife of John Rigdale	Died 1620
<b>Rogers</b>	Thomas		Merchant	Died 1620
<b>Rogers</b>	Joseph	Leiden, Holland	son of Thomas Rogers	Living in 1650 with 6 children living
<b>Samson</b>	Henry		Cousin of Edward Tillie	Living in 1650 with 7 children living
<b>Soule</b>	George	Eckington, Worcester	Servant to Edward Winslow	
<b>Standish</b>	Myles	Ellenbane, Isle of Man	Soldier	Remarried and had 4 sons living in 1650
<b>Standish</b>	Rose		wife of Myles Standish	Died 1620
<b>Story</b>	Elias	London		
<b>Thompson</b>	Edward		Servant to William White	Died 1620
<b>Tillie/Tilley</b>	Edward	London	Cloth Maker	Died 1620
<b>Tillie/Tilley</b>	Ann		wife of Edward Tillie	Died 1620
<b>Tillie/Tilley</b>	John	London	Silk Maker	
<b>Tillie/Tilley</b>	Joan		wife of John Tillie	
<b>Tillie/Tilley</b>	Elizabeth		daughter of John Tillie	Married John Howland alive in 1650 with 10 children and 5 grandchildren living
<b>Tinker</b>	Thomas			Died 1620
<b>Tinker</b>	Unknown		wife of Thomas Tinker	Died 1620
<b>Tinker</b>	Unknown	Leiden, Holland	son of Thomas Tinker	Died 1620
<b>Trevore</b>	William		Seaman	
<b>Turner</b>	John		Merchant	Died 1620
<b>Turner</b>	Unknown		son of John Turner	Died 1620
<b>Turner</b>	Unknown		son of John Turner	Died 1620
<b>Unknown</b>	Dorothy		Servant	

<b>Warren</b>	Richard	London	Merchant	Died about 1625, 2 sons 5 daughters living in 1650 all married with children
<b>White</b>	William	Sturton, Notts	Wool Comber	Died 1620
<b>White</b>	Suzanna	Sturton, Notts	wife of William White	Married 2nd Edward Winslow and had 2 more children living in 1650
<b>White</b>	Resolved	Leiden, Holland	son of William White	Living in 1650 with 5 children living
<b>White</b>	Peregrine	born on Mayflower	son of William White	Living in 1650 with 2 children living
<b>Wilder</b>	Roger		Servant to John Carver	Died 1620
<b>Williams</b>	Thomas	Yarmouth		Died 1620
<b>Williamson</b>	Andrew		Seaman	
<b>Winslow</b>	Edward	Careswell, Worcester	Printer	Married 2nd Suzanna White, widow of William and had 2 children living in 1650
<b>Winslow</b>	Elizabeth	Chattisham, Norfolk	wife of Edward Winslow	Died 1620
<b>Winslow</b>	Gilbert		brother of Edward Winslow	After many years returned to England