

THE MAYFLOWER AND HER LOG - ENTIRE

AZEL AMES*

THE MAY-FLOWER AND HER LOG

July 15, 1620–May 6, 1621
Chiefly from Original Sources

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BOOK 6.

CHAPTER IX

THE JOURNAL OF THE SHIP MAY-FLOWER

Thomas Jones, Master, from London, England, towards "Hudson's River"
in
Virginia

[The voyage of the MAY-FLOWER began at London, as her consort's did at Delfshaven, and though, as incident to the tatter's brief career, we have been obliged to take note of some of the happenings to the larger ship and her company (at Southampton, etc.), out of due course and time, they have been recited only because of their insuperable relation to the consort and her company, and not as part of the MAY-FLOWER'S own proper record]

SATURDAY, July 15/25, 1620
Gravesend. Finished lading. Got
passengers aboard and got under way for
Southampton. Dropped down the Thames to
Gravesend with the tide.

[Vessels leaving the port of London always, in that day, "dropped down with the tide," tug-boats being unknown, and sail-headway against the tide being difficult in the narrow river.]

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Masters Cushman and Martin, agents of the chartering-party, came aboard at London.

SUNDAY, July 16/26
Gravesend. Channel pilot aboard. Favoring wind.

MONDAY, July 17/27
In Channel. Course D.W. by W. Favoring wind.

TUESDAY, July 18/28
In Channel. Southampton Water.

WEDNESDAY, July 19/29
Southampton Water. Arrived at Southampton and came to anchor.

[Both ships undoubtedly lay at anchor a day or two, before hauling in to the quay. The MAY-FLOWER undoubtedly lay at anchor until after the SPEEDWELL arrived, to save expense]

THURSDAY, July 20/30
Lying at Southampton off north end of "West Quay."

FRIDAY, July 21/31
Lying at Southampton. Masters Carver, Cushman, and Martin, three of the agents here. Outfitting ship, taking in lading, and getting ready for sea.

SATURDAY, July 22/Aug 1
Lying off Quay, Southampton.

SUNDAY, July 23/Aug 2
Lying off Quay, Southampton.

MONDAY, July 24/Aug 3
Lying off Quay, Southampton.

TUESDAY, July 25/Aug 4
Lying off Quay, Southampton. Waiting for consort to arrive from Holland.

WEDNESDAY, July 26/Aug 5
Lying off Quay, Southampton. Pinnace SPEEDWELL, 60 tons, Reynolds, Master, from Delfshaven, July 22, consort to this ship, arrived in harbor, having on board some 70

passengers and lading for Virginia. She came to anchor off north end "West Quay."

THURSDAY, July 27/Aug. 6
Lying at Quay, Southampton, SPEEDWELL warped to berth at Quay near the ship, to transfer lading.

[Some of the cargo of the SPEEDWELL is understood to have been here transferred to the larger ship; doubtless the cheese, "Hollands," and other provisions, ordered, as noted, by Cushman]

FRIDAY, July 28/Aug. 7
Lying at Quay, Southampton, Much parleying and discontent among the passengers.

[Bradford gives an account of the bickering and recrimination at Southampton, when all parties had arrived. Pastor Robinson had rather too strenuously given instructions, which it now began to be seen were not altogether wise. Cushman was very much censured, and there was evidently some acrimony. See Cushman's Dartmouth letter of August 17 to Edward Southworth, Bradford's Historie, Mass. ed. p. 86.]

SATURDAY, July 29/Aug. 8
Lying at Quay, Southampton. Some of the passengers transferred from SPEEDWELL and some to her. Master Christopher Martin chosen by passengers their "Governour" for the voyage to order them by the way, see to the disposing of their provisions, etc. Master Robert Cushman chosen "Assistant." The ship ready for sea this day, but obliged to lie here on account of leakiness of consort, which is forced to retrim. Ship has now 90 passengers and consort 30.

SUNDAY, July 30/Aug. 9
Lying at Southampton.

MONDAY, July 31/Aug. 10
Lying at Southampton. Letters received for passengers from Holland. One from the Leyden Pastor [Robinson] read out to the company that came from that place.

TUESDAY, Aug. 1/Aug. 11
Lying at anchor at Southampton. SPEEDWELL retrimmed a second time to overcome leakiness.

WEDNESDAY, Aug. 2/Aug. 12

Lying at anchor at Southampton. Master Weston, principal agent of the Merchants setting out the voyage, came up from London to see the ships dispatched, but, on the refusal of the Planters to sign certain papers, took offence and returned to London in displeasure, bidding them "stand on their own legs," etc.

[The two "conditions" which Weston had changed in the proposed agreement between the Adventurers and Planters, the Leyden leaders refused to agree to. Bradford, *op cit.* p. 61. He says: "But they refused to sign, and answered him that he knew right well that these were not according to the first Agreement." Dr. Griffis has made one of those little slips common to all writers—though perfectly conversant with the facts—in stating as he does (The Pilgrims in their Three Homes, etc. p. 158), with reference to the new "conditions" which some blamed Cushman for assenting to, as "more fit for thieves and slaves than for honest men," that, "nevertheless they consented to them;" while on p. 169 he says "The SPEEDWELL people [i.e. the Leyden leaders would not agree with the new conditions, without the consent of those left behind in Leyden."

The fact is that the Pilgrims did not assent to the new conditions, unwarrantably imposed by Weston, though of small consequence in any view of the case, until Cushman came over to New Plymouth in the FORTUNE, in 1621, and by dint of his sermon on the "Sin and Danger of Self-Love," and his persuasion, induced them (they being also advised thereto by Robinson) to sign them. All business up to this time had been done between the Adventurers and the Pilgrims, apparently, without any agreement in writing. It was probably felt, both by Robinson and the Plymouth leaders, that it was the least reparation they could make Cushman for their cruel and unjust treatment of him, realizing at length that, through all vicissitudes, he had proven their just, sagacious, faithful, and efficient friend. There does not appear to be any conclusive evidence that any articles of agreement between the Adventurers and colonists were signed before the MAY-FLOWER Sailed.]

THURSDAY, Aug. 3/Aug. 13

Lying at anchor at Southampton. After Master Weston's departure, the Planters had a meeting and resolved to sell some of such stores as they could best spare, to clear port charges, etc., and to write a general letter to the Adventurers explaining the case, which they did. Landed some three score firkins of butter, sold as

determined.

FRIDAY, Aug. 4/Aug. 14

Lying at anchor at Southampton. Consort nearly ready for sea. Heard that the King's warrant had issued to Sir James Coventry, under date of July 23, to prepare a Patent for the Council for the Affairs of New England to supersede the Plymouth Virginia Company, Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Sir Robert Rich the Earl of Warwick among the Patentees.

SATURDAY, Aug. 5/Aug. 15

Weighed anchor, as did consort, and in company dropped down Southampton Water. Took departure from Cowes, Isle of Wight, and laid course down the Solent to Channel. Winds baffling. General course S.W. by S.

SUNDAY, Aug. 6/Aug. 16

Head winds. Beating out Channel. SPEEDWELL In Company. Passed Bill of Portland.

MONDAY, Aug. 7/Aug. 17

Wind contrary. Beating out Channel. SPEEDWELL In company.

TUESDAY, Aug. 8/Aug. 18

Wind still contrary. Beating out Channel. SPEEDWELL in company.

WEDNESDAY, Aug. 9/Aug. 19

Wind ahead. Beating down Channel. Consort in company.

THURSDAY, Aug. 10/20

Wind fair. All sail set. SPEEDWELL in company. Signalled by consort, which hove to. Found to be leaking badly. On consultation of Masters and chief of passengers of both ships, it was concluded that both should put into Dartmouth, being nearest port. Laid course for Dartmouth with wind ahead.

THURSDAY, Aug. 11/21

Wind ahead. Bearing up to Dartmouth.

SATURDAY, Aug. 12/22

Made port at Dartmouth. SPEEDWELL in company, and came to anchor in harbor.

[Bradford, op. cit. Deane's ed. p. 68, note. Russell (Pilgrim Memorials, p. 15) says: "The ships put back into Dartmouth, August 13/23." Goodwin (op. cit. p. 55) says: "The port was reached about August 23: Captain John Smith strangely omits the return of the ships to Dartmouth, and confuses dates, as he says "But the next day after leaving Southampton the lesser ship sprung a leak that forced their return to Plymouth," etc. Smith, New England's Trials, 2d ed. 1622. Cushman's letter, written the 17th, says they had then lain there "four days," which would mean, if four full days, the 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th.]

SUNDAY, Aug. 13/23

Lying at anchor with SPEEDWELL leaking badly in Dartmouth harbor. No passengers, except leaders, allowed ashore.

[Cushman in his letter to Edward Southworth, written at Dartmouth, August 17, says that Martin, the "governour" of the passengers in the MAY-FLOWER, "will not suffer them the passengers to go, ashore lest they should run away." This probably applied especially to such as had become disaffected by the delays and disasters, the apprenticed ("bound") servants, etc. Of course no responsible colonist would be thus restrained for the reason alleged.]

MONDAY, Aug. 14/24

Lying at anchor, Dartmouth harbor.
SPEEDWELL at Quay taking out lading for thorough overhauling.

TUESDAY, Aug. 15/25

Lying at anchor, Dartmouth harbor.

WEDNESDAY, Aug. 16/26

Lying at anchor, Dartmouth harbor.
SPEEDWELL being thoroughly overhauled for leaks. Pronounced "as open and leaky as a sieve." Much dissatisfaction between the passengers, and discontent with the ship's "governour" Master Martin, between whom and Mr. Cushman, the "assistant," there is constant disagreement.

[Cushman portrays the contemptible character and manner of Martin very sharply, and could not have wished to punish him worse for his meannesses than he has, by thus holding him up to the scorn of the world, for all time. He says, 'inter alia': "If I speak to him, he

flies in my face and saith no complaints shall be heard or received but by himself, and saith: "They are froward, and waspish, discontented people, and I do ill to hear them.""]

THURSDAY, Aug. 17/27

Lying at anchor, Dartmouth harbor. Consort being searched and mended. Sailors offended at Master Martin because of meddling.

[Cushman's letter, Dartmouth, August 17. He says: "The sailors also are so offended at his ignorant boldness in meddling and controlling in things he knows not what belongs to, as that some threaten to mischief him But at best this cometh of it, that he makes himself a scorn and laughing stock unto them."]

FRIDAY, Aug. 18/28

Lying at anchor, Dartmouth harbor. Consort still repairing. Judged by workmen that mended her sufficient for the voyage.

SATURDAY, Aug. 19/29

Lying at anchor, Dartmouth harbor. SPEEDWELL relading.

SUNDAY, Aug. 20/30

Lying at anchor, Dartmouth harbor.

MONDAY, Aug. 21/31

Lying at anchor, Dartmouth harbor. Consort relading.

TUESDAY, Aug. 22/Sept. 1

Lying at anchor, Dartmouth harbor. Both ships ready for sea.

[Bradford, *Historie*, Deane's ed. p. 68. He says: "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." Bradford shows (op. cit. p. 69, note that they must have left Dartmouth "about the 21st" of August. Captain John Smith gives that date, though somewhat confusedly. Arber (*the Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, p. 343) says: "They actually left on 23 August." Goodwin (*Pilgrim Republic*, p. 55) says: "Ten days were spent in discharging and re-stowing the SPEEDWELL and repairing her from stem to stern," etc.)]

WEDNESDAY, Aug. 23/Sept. 2

Weighed anchor, as did consort. Laid course W.S.W. Ships in company. Wind fair.

THURSDAY, Aug. 24/Sept. 3
Comes in with wind fair. General course
W.S.W. Consort in company.

FRIDAY, Aug. 25/Sept. 4
Comes in with wind fair. Course W.S.W.
SPEEDWELL in company.

SATURDAY, Aug. 26/Sept. 5
Observations showed ship above 100 leagues
W.S.W. of Land's End. SPEEDWELL signalled
and hove to. Reported leaking dangerously.
On consultation between Masters and
carpenters of both ships, it was concluded
to put back into Plymouth—Bore up for
Plymouth. Consort in company.

SUNDAY, Aug. 27/Sept. 6
Ship on course for Plymouth. SPEEDWELL in
company.

MONDAY, Aug. 28/Sept. 7
Made Plymouth harbor, and came to anchor in
the Catwater, followed by consort.

TUESDAY, Aug. 29/Sept. 8
At anchor in roadstead. At conference of
officers of ship and consort and the chief
of the Planters, it was decided to send the
SPEEDWELL back to London with some 18 or 20
of her passengers, transferring a dozen or
more, with part of her lading, to the MAY-
FLOWER.

WEDNESDAY, Aug. 30/Sept. 9
At anchor in Plymouth roadstead off the
Barbican. Transferring passengers and
lading from consort, lying near by.
Weather fine.

[Goodwin notes (Pilgrim Republic, p. 57) that "it was fortunate for the overloaded MAY-FLOWER that she had fine weather while lying at anchor there, . . . for the port of Plymouth was then only a shallow, open bay, with no protection. In southwesterly gales its waters rose into enormous waves, with such depressions between that ships while anchored sometimes struck the bottom of the harbor and were dashed in pieces."]

THURSDAY, Aug. 31/Sept. 10

At anchor in Plymouth roadstead.
Transferring cargo from SPEEDWELL.

FRIDAY, Sept. 1/Sept. 11
At anchor in Plymouth roadstead.
Transferring passengers and freight to and from consort. Master Cushman and family, Master Blossom and son, William Ring, and others with children, going back to London in SPEEDWELL. All Of SPEEDWELL'S passengers who are to make the voyage now aboard. New "governour" of ship and assistants chosen. Master Carver "governour."

[We have seen that Christopher Martin was made "governour" of the passengers on the MAY-FLOWER for the voyage, and Cushman "assistant." It is evident from Cushman's oft-quoted letter (see ante) that Martin became obnoxious, before the ship reached Dartmouth, to both passengers and crew. It is also evident that when the emigrants were all gathered in the MAY-FLOWER there was a new choice of officers (though no record is found of it), as Cushman vacated his place and went back to London, and we find that, as noted before, on November 11 the colonists "confirmed" John Carver as their "governour," showing that he had been such hitherto. Doubtless Martin was deposed at Southampton (perhaps put into Cushman's vacant place, and Carver made "governour" in his stead.)]

SATURDAY, Sept. 2/Sept. 12
At anchor, Plymouth roadstead. Some of principal passengers entertained ashore by friends of their faith. SPEEDWELL sailed for London. Quarters assigned, etc.

SUNDAY, Sept. 3/Sept. 13
At anchor in Plymouth roadstead.

MONDAY, Sept. 4/Sept. 14
At anchor in Plymouth roadstead. Some Of company ashore.

TUESDAY, Sept. 5/Sept. 15
At anchor in Plymouth roadstead. Ready for sea.

WEDNESDAY, Sept. 6/Sept. 16
Weighed anchor. Wind E.N.E., a fine gale. Laid course W.S.W. for northern coasts of Virginia.

THURSDAY, Sept. 7/Sept. 17
Comes in with wind E.N.E. Light gale
continues. Made all sail on ship.

FRIDAY, Sept. 8/Sept. 18
Comes in with wind E.N.E. Gale continues.
All sails full.

SATURDAY, Sept. 9/Sept. 19
Comes in with wind E.N.E. Gale holds.
Ship well off the land.

SUNDAY, Sept. 10/Sept. 20
Comes in with wind E.N.E. Gale holds.
Distance lost, when ship bore up for
Plymouth, more than regained.

MONDAY, Sept. 11/Sept. 21
Same; and so without material change, the
daily record of wind, weather, and the
ship's general course—the repetition of
which would be both useless and wearisome—
continued through the month and until the
vessel was near half the seas over. Fine
warm weather and the "harvest-moon." The
usual equinoctial weather deferred.

SATURDAY, Sept. 23/Oct. 3
One of the seamen, some time sick with a
grievous disease, died in a desperate manner.
The first death and burial at sea of the
voyage.

[We can readily imagine this first burial at sea on the MAY FLOWER,
and its impressiveness. Doubtless the good Elder "committed the
body to the deep" with fitting ceremonial, for though the young man
was of the crew, and not of the Pilgrim company, his reverence for
death and the last rites of Christian burial would as surely impel
him to offer such services, as the rough, buccaneering Master (Jones
would surely be glad to evade them).

Dr. Griffis (The Pilgrims in their Three Homes, p. 176) says "The
Puritans [does this mean Pilgrims ?] cared next to nothing about
ceremonies over a corpse, whether at wave or grave." This will
hardly bear examination, though Bradford's phraseology in this case
would seem to support it, as he speaks of the body as "thrown
overboard;" yet it is not to be supposed that it was treated quite
so indecorously as the words would imply. It was but a few years
after, certainly, that we find both Pilgrim and Puritan making much
ceremony at burials. We find considerable ceremony at Carver's

burial only a few months later. Choate, in his masterly oration at New York, December 22, 1863, pictures Brewster's service at the open grave of one of the Pilgrims in March, 1621.]

A sharp change. Equinoctial weather, followed by stormy westerly gales; encountered cross winds and continued fierce storms. Ship shrewdly shaken and her upper works made very leaky. One of the main beams in the midships was bowed and cracked. Some fear that the ship could not be able to perform the voyage. 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.

There was great distraction and difference of opinion amongst the mariners themselves. Fain would they do what would be done for their wages' sake, being now near half the seas over; on the other hand, they were loath to hazard their lives too desperately. In examining of all opinions, the Master and others affirmed they knew the ship to be strong and firm under water, and for the buckling bending or bowing of the main beam, there was a great iron scrue the passengers brought out of Holland which would raise the beam into its place. The which being done, the carpenter and Master affirmed that a post put under it, set firm in the lower deck, and otherwise bound, would make it sufficient. As for the decks and upper works, they would caulk them as well as they could; and though with the working of the ship they would not long keep staunch, yet there would otherwise be no great danger if they did not overpress her with sails. So they resolved to proceed.

In sundry of these stormes, the winds were so fierce and the seas so high, as the ship could not bear a knot of sail, but was forced to hull drift under bare poles for

divers days together. A succession of strong westerly gales. In one of the heaviest storms, while lying at hull, [hove to D.W.] a lusty young man, one of the passengers, John Howland by name, coming upon some occasion above the gratings latticed covers to the hatches, was with the seel [roll] of the ship thrown into the sea, but caught hold of the topsail halliards, which hung overboard and ran out at length; yet he held his hold, though he was sundry fathoms under water, till he was hauled up by the same rope to the brim of the water, and then with a boathook and other means got into the ship again and his life saved. He was something ill with it.

The equinoctial disturbances over and the strong October gales, the milder, warmer weather of late October followed.

Mistress Elizabeth Hopkins, wife of Master Stephen Hopkins, of Billericay, in Essex, was delivered of a son, who, on account of the circumstances of his birth, was named Oceanus, the first birth aboard the ship during the voyage.

A succession of fine days, with favoring winds.

MONDAY Nov. 6/16
William Batten; a youth, servant to Doctor Samuel Fuller, died. The first of the passengers to die on this voyage.

MONDAY Nov. 7/17
The body of William Batten committed to the deep. The first burial at sea of a passenger, on this voyage.

MONDAY Nov. 8/18
Signs of land.

MONDAY Nov. 9/19
Closing in with the land at nightfall. Sighted land at daybreak. The landfall made out to be Cape Cod the bluffs [in what is now the town of Truro, Mass.]. After a conference between the Master of the ship

and the chief colonists, tacked about and stood for the southward. Wind and weather fair. Made our course S.S.W., continued proposing to go to a river ten leagues south of the Cape Hudson's River. After had sailed that course about half the day fell amongst dangerous shoals and foaming breakers [the shoals off Monomoy] got out of them before night and the wind being contrary put round again for the Bay of Cape Cod. Abandoned efforts to go further south and so announced to passengers.

[Bradford (Historie, Mass. ed. p. 93) says: "They resolved to bear up again for the Cape." No one will question that Jones's assertion of inability to proceed, and his announced determination to return to Cape Cod harbor, fell upon many acquiescent ears, for, as Winslow says: "Winter was come; the seas were dangerous; the season was cold; the winds were high, and the region being well furnished for a plantation, we entered upon discovery." Tossed for sixty-seven days on the north Atlantic at that season of the year, their food and firing well spent, cold, homesick, and ill, the bare thought of once again setting foot on any land, wherever it might be, must have been an allurements that lent Jones potential aid in his high-handed course.]

SATURDAY Nov. 11/21

Comes in with light, fair wind. On course for Cape Cod harbor, along the coast. Some hints of disaffection among colonists, on account of abandonment of location

[Bradford (in Mourt's Relation) says: "This day before we come to harbor Italics the author's, observing some not well affected to unity and concord, but gave some appearance of faction, it was thought good there should be an Association and Agreement that we should combine together in one body; and to submit to such Government and Governors as we should, by common consent, agree to make and choose, and set our hands to this that follows word for word." Then follows the Compact. Bradford is even more explicit in his Historie (Mass. ed. p. 109), where he says: "I shall a little returne backe and begin with a combination made by them before they came ashore, being ye first foundation of their governments in this place; occasioned partly by ye discontent & mutinous speeches that some of the strangers amongst them [i.e. not any of the Leyden contingent had let fall from them in ye ship—That when they came ashore they would use their owne libertie: for none had power to command them, the patents they had being for Virginia, and not for New-England which belonged to another Government, with which ye London [or First Virginia Company had nothing to doe, and partly

that such an acte by them done . . . might be as firm as any patent, and in some respects more sure." Dr. Griffis is hardly warranted in making Bradford to say, as he does (*The Pilgrims in their Three Homes*, p. 182), that "there were a few people I 'shuffled' in upon them the company who were probably unmitigated scoundrels." Bradford speaks only of Billington and his family as those "shuffled into their company," and while he was not improbably one of the agitators (with Hopkins) who were the proximate causes of the drawing up of the Compact, he was not, in this case, the responsible leader. It is evident from the foregoing that the "appearance of faction" did not show itself until the vessel's prow was turned back toward Cape Cod Harbor, and it became apparent that the effort to locate "near Hudson's River" was to be abandoned, and a location found north of 41 degrees north latitude, which would leave them without charter rights or authority of any kind. It is undoubtedly history that Master Stephen Hopkins,—then "a lay-reader" for Chaplain Buck,—on Sir Thomas Gates's expedition to Virginia, had, when some of them were cast away on the Bermudas, advocated just such sentiments—on the same basis—as were now bruited upon the MAY-FLOWER, and it could hardly have been coincidence only that the same were repeated here. That Hopkins fomented the discord is well-nigh certain. It caused him, as elsewhere noted, to receive sentence of death for insubordination, at the hands of Sir Thomas Gates, in the first instance, from which his pardon was with much difficulty procured by his friends. In the present case, it led to the drafting and execution of the Pilgrim Compact, a framework of civil self-government whose fame will never die; though the author is in full accord with Dr. Young (*Chronicles*, p. 120) in thinking that "a great deal more has been discovered in this document than the signers contemplated,"—wonderfully comprehensive as it is. Professor Herbert B. Adams, of Johns Hopkins University, says in his admirable article in the *Magazine of American History*, November, 1882 (pp-798 799): "The fundamental idea of this famous document was that of a contract based upon the common law of England,"—certainly a stable and ancient basis of procedure. Their Dutch training (as Griffis points out) had also led naturally to such ideas of government as the Pilgrims adopted. It is to be feared that Griffis's inference (*The Pilgrims in their Three Homes*, p. 184), that all who signed the Compact could write, is unwarranted. It is more than probable that if the venerated paper should ever be found, it would show that several of those whose names are believed to have been affixed to it "made their 'mark.'" There is good reason, also, to believe that neither "sickness" (except unto death) nor "indifference" would have prevented the ultimate obtaining of the signatures (by "mark," if need be) of every one of the nine male servants who did not subscribe, if they were considered eligible. Severe illness was, we know, answerable for the absence of a few, some of whom died a few days later.

The fact seems rather to be, as noted, that age—not social status was the determining factor as to all otherwise eligible. It is evident too, that the fact was recognized by all parties (by none so clearly as by Master Jones) that they were about to plant themselves on territory not within the jurisdiction of their steadfast friends, the London Virginia Company, but under control of those formerly of the Second (Plymouth) Virginia Company, who (by the intelligence they received while at Southampton) they knew would be erected into the "Council for the Affairs of New England." Goodwin is in error in saying (Pilgrim Republic, p. 62), "Neither did any other body exercise authority there;" for the Second Virginia Company under Sir Ferdinando Gorges, as noted, had been since 1606 in control of this region, and only a week before the Pilgrims landed at Cape Cod (i.e. on November 3) King James had signed the patent of the Council for New England, giving them full authority over all territory north of the forty-first parallel of north latitude, as successors to the Second Virginia Company. If the intention to land south of the forty-first parallel had been persisted in, there would, of course, have been no occasion for the Compact, as the patent to John Pierce (in their interest) from the London Virginia Company would have been in force. The Compact became a necessity, therefore, only when they turned northward to make settlement above 41 deg. north latitude. Hence it is plain that as no opportunity for "faction"—and so no occasion for any "Association and Agreement"—existed till the MAY-FLOWER turned northward, late in the afternoon of Friday, November 10, the Compact was not drawn and presented for signature until the morning of Saturday, November 11. Bradford's language, "This day, before we came into harbour," leaves no room for doubt that it was rather hurriedly drafted—and also signed—before noon of the 11th. That they had time on this winter Saturday—hardly three weeks from the shortest day in the year—to reach and encircle the harbor; secure anchorage; get out boats; arm, equip, and land two companies of men; make a considerable march into the land; cut firewood; and get all aboard again before dark, indicates that they must have made the harbor not far from noon. These facts serve also to correct another error of traditional Pilgrim history, which has been commonly current, and into which Davis falls (Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth, p. 60), viz. that the Compact was signed "in the harbor of Cape Cod." It is noticeable that the instrument itself simply says, "Cape Cod," not "Cape Cod harbour," as later they were wont to say. The leaders clearly did not mean to get to port till there was a form of law and authority.]

for settlement on territory under the protection of the patent granted in their interest to John Pierce, by the London Virginia Company.

[The patent granted John Pierce, one of the Merchant Adventurers, by the London Virginia Company in the interest of the Pilgrims,

was signed February 2/12, 1619, and of course could convey no rights to, or upon, territory not conveyed to the Company by its charter from the King issued in 1606, and the division of territory made thereunder to the Second Virginia Company. By this division the London Company was restricted northward by the 41st parallel, as noted, while the Second Company could not claim the 38th as its southern bound, as the charter stipulated that the nearest settlements under the respective companies should not be within one hundred miles of each other.]

Meeting in main cabin of all adult male passengers except their two hired seamen, Trevore and Ely, and those too ill—to make and sign a mutual 'Compact'

[The Compact is too well known to require reprinting here (see Appendix); but a single clause of it calls for comment in this connection. In it the framers recite that, "Having undertaken to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia," etc. From this phraseology it would appear that they here used the words "northern parts of Virginia" understandingly, and with a new relation and significance, from their connection with the words "the first colony in," for such declaration could have no force or truth except as to the region north of 41 deg. north latitude. They knew, of course, of the colonies in Virginia under Gates, Wingfield, Smith, Raleigh, and others (Hopkins having been with Gates), and that, though there had been brief attempts at settlements in the "northern plantations," there were none there then, and that hence theirs would be in a sense "the first," especially if considered with reference to the new Council for New England. The region of the Hudson had heretofore been included in the term "northern parts of Virginia," although in the southern Company's limit; but a new meaning was now designedly given to the words as used in the Compact, and New England was contemplated.]

to regulate their civil government. This done, they confirmed Master Carver their "governour" in the ship on the voyage, their "governour" for the year. Bore up for the Cape, and by short tacks made the Cape [Paomet, now Provincetown] Harbor, coming to an anchorage a furlong within the point. The bay so circular that before coming to anchor the ship boxed the compass [i.e. went clear around all points of it].

Let go anchors three quarters of an English mile off shore, because of shallow water, sixty-seven days from Plymouth (Eng.), eighty-one days from Dartmouth, ninety-nine

days from Southampton, and one hundred and twenty from London. Got out the long-boat and set ashore an armed party of fifteen or sixteen in armor, and some to fetch wood, having none left, landing them on the long point or neck, toward the sea.

[The strip of land now known as Long Point, Provincetown (Mass.) harbor.]

Those going ashore were forced to wade a bow-shot or two in going aland. The party sent ashore returned at night having seen no person or habitation, having laded the boat with juniper wood.

SUNDAY, Nov. 12/22

At anchor in Cape Cod harbor. All hands piped to service. Weather mild.

MONDAY, Nov. 13/23

At anchor in Cape Cod harbor, unshipped the shallop and drew her on land to mend and repair her.

[Bradford (Historie, Mass. ed. p. 97) says: "Having brought a large shallop with them out of England, stowed in quarters in ye ship they now gott her out and sett their carpenters to worke to trime her up: but being much brused and shatered in ye ship with foule weather, they saw she sould be longe in mending." In 'Mourt's Relation' he says: "Monday, the 13th of November, we unshipped our shallop and drew her on land to mend and repair her, having been forced to cut her down, in bestowing her betwixt the decks, and she was much opened, with the peoples lying in her, which kept us long there: for it was sixteen or seventeen days before the Carpenter had finished her." Goodwin says she was "a sloop-rigged craft of twelve or fifteen tons." There is an intimation of Bradford that she was "about thirty feet long." It is evident from Bradford's account (Historie, Mass. ed. p. 105) of her stormy entrance to Plymouth harbor that the shallop had but one mast, as he says "But herewith they broake their mast in 3 pieces and their sail fell overboard in a very grown sea."]

Many went ashore to refresh themselves, and the women to wash.

TUESDAY, Nov. 14/24

Lying at anchor. Carpenter at work on shallop. Arms and accoutrements being got ready for an exploring party inland.

WEDNESDAY, Nov. 15/25

Lying at anchor in harbor. Master and boat's crew went ashore, followed in the afternoon by an armed party of sixteen men under command of Captain Myles Standish. Masters William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Tilley being joined to him for council. The party to be gone from the ship a day or two. Weather mild and ground not frozen.

THURSDAY, Nov. 16/26

Lying at anchor in harbor. Exploring party still absent from ship. Weather continues open.

FRIDAY, Nov. 17/27

At anchor, Cape Cod harbor. Weather open. Saw signal-fire on the other side of bay this morning, built by exploring party as arranged. The Master, Governor Carver, and many of the company ashore in afternoon, and met exploring party there on their return to ship. Hearing their signal-guns before they arrived at the shore, sent long-boat to fetch them aboard. They reported seeing Indians and following them ten miles without coming up to them the first afternoon out, and the next day found store of corn buried, and a big ship's kettle, which they brought to the ship with much corn. Also saw deer and found excellent water.

SATURDAY, Nov. 18/28

At anchor, Cape Cod harbor. Planters helving tools, etc. Carpenter at work on shallop, which takes more labor than at first supposed. Weather still moderate. Fetched wood and water.

SUNDAY, Nov. 19/29

At anchor, Cape Cod harbor. Second Sunday in harbor. Services aboard ship. Seamen ashore. Change in weather. Colder.

MONDAY, Nov. 20/30

At anchor, Cape Cod harbor. Carpenter and others at work on shallop, getting out stock for a new shallop, helving tools,

making articles needed, etc.

TUESDAY, Nov. 21/Dec. 1

At anchor in harbor. Much inconvenienced in going ashore. Can only go and come at high water except by wading, from which many have taken coughs and colds.

WEDNESDAY, Nov. 22/Dec. 2

At anchor in harbor. Weather cold and stormy, having changed suddenly.

THURSDAY, Nov. 23/Dec. 3

At anchor in harbor. Cold and stormy. Work progressing on shallop.

FRIDAY, Nov. 24/Dec. 4

At anchor in harbor. Continues cold and stormy.

SATURDAY, Nov. 25/Dec. 5

At anchor in harbor. Weather same. Work on shallop pretty well finished and she can be used, though more remains to be done. Another exploration getting ready for Monday. Master and crew anxious to unlade and return for England. Fetched wood and water.

SUNDAY, Nov. 26/Dec. 6

At anchor, Cape Cod harbor. Third Sunday here. Master notified Planters that they must find permanent location and that he must and would keep sufficient supplies for ship's company and their return.

[Bradford, *Historie, Mass.* ed. p. 96. The doubt as to how the ship's and the colonists' provisions were divided and held is again suggested here. It is difficult, however, to understand how the Master "must and would" retain provisions with his small force against the larger, if it came to an issue of strength between Jones and Standish.]

MONDAY, Nov. 27/Dec. 7

At anchor, Cape Cod harbor. Rough weather and cross winds. The Planters determined to send out a strong exploring party, and invited the Master of the ship to join them and go as leader, which he agreed continued to, and offered nine of the crew and the

long-boat, which were accepted. Of the colonists there were four-and-twenty, making the party in all four-and-thirty. Wind so strong that setting out from the ship the shallop and long-boat were obliged to row to the nearest shore and the men to wade above the knees to land. The wind proved so strong that the shallop was obliged to harbor where she landed. Mate in charge of ship. Blowed and snowed all day and at night, and froze withal. Mistress White delivered of a son which is called "Peregrine." The second child born on the voyage, the first in this harbor.

TUESDAY, Nov. 28/Dec. 8

At anchor, Cape Cod harbor. Cold. Master Jones and exploring party absent on shore with long-boat and colonists' shallop. The latter, which beached near ship yesterday in a strong wind and harbored there last night, got under way this morning and sailed up the harbor, following the course taken by the long-boat yesterday, the wind favoring. Six inches of snow fell yesterday and last night. Crew at work clearing snow from ship.

WEDNESDAY, Nov. 29/Dec. 9

At anchor, Cape Cod harbor. Cold. Foul weather threatening. Master Jones with sixteen men in the long-boat and shallop came aboard towards night (eighteen men remaining ashore), bringing also about ten bushels of Indian corn which had been found buried. The Master reports a long march, the exploration of two creeks, great numbers of wild fowl, the finding of much corn and beans,' etc.

[This seems to be the first mention of beans (in early Pilgrim literature) as indigenous (presumably) to New England. They have held an important place in her dietary ever since.]

THURSDAY, Nov. 30/Dec. 10

At anchor in harbor. Sent shallop to head of harbor with mattocks and spades, as desired by those ashore, the seamen taking their muskets also. The shallop came alongside at nightfall with the rest of the

explorers—the tide being out—bringing a lot of Indian things, baskets, pottery, wicker-ware, etc., discovered in two graves and sundry Indian houses they found after the Master left them. They report ground frozen a foot deep.

FRIDAY, Dec. 1/11

At anchor, Cape Cod harbor. Carpenter finishing work on shallop. Colonists discussing locations visited, as places for settlement.

SATURDAY, Dec. 2/12

At anchor in harbor. Much discussion among colonists as to settlement, the Master insisting on a speedy determination. Whales playing about the ship in considerable numbers. One lying within half a musket-shot of the ship, two of the Planters shot at her, but the musket of the one who gave fire first blew in pieces both stock and barrel, yet no one was hurt. Fetched wood and water.

SUNDAY, Dec. 3/13

At anchor in Cape Cod harbor. The fourth Sunday here. Scarce any of those aboard free from vehement coughs, some very ill. Weather very variable.

MONDAY, Dec. 4/14

At anchor in Cape Cod harbor. Carpenter completing repairs on shallop. Much discussion of plans for settlement. The Master urging that the Planters should explore with their shallop at some distance, declining in such season to stir from the present anchorage till a safe harbor is discovered by them where they would be and he might go without danger. This day died Edward Thompson, a servant of Master William White, the first to die aboard the ship since she anchored in the harbor. Burying-party sent ashore after services to bury him.

TUESDAY, Dec. 5/15

At anchor in harbor. Francis Billington, a young son of one of the passengers, put the

ship and all in great jeopardy, by shooting off a fowling-piece in his father's cabin between decks where there was a small barrel of powder open, and many people about the fire close by. None hurt. Weather cold and foul.

WEDNESDAY, Dec. 6/16

At anchor in harbor. Very cold, bad weather. This day died Jasper More, a lad bound to Governor Carver. The second death in the harbor. The third exploring party got away from the ship in the afternoon in the shallop, intent on finding a harbor recommended by the second mate, Robert Coppin, who had visited it. Captain Standish in command, with whom were Governor Carver, Masters Bradford, Winslow, John Tilley and Edward Tilley, Warren and Hopkins, John Howland, Edward Dotey, and two of the colonists' seamen, Alderton and English, and of the ship's company, the mates Clarke and Coppin, the master-gunner and three sailors, eighteen in all. The shallop was a long time getting clear of the point, having to row, but at last got up her sails and out of the harbor. Sent burying-party ashore with body of little More boy, after services aboard.

THURSDAY, Dec. 7/17

At anchor in Cape Cod harbor. This day Mistress Dorothy Bradford, wife of Master Bradford, who is away with the exploring party to the westward, fell over board and was drowned.

FRIDAY, Dec. 8/18

At anchor in harbor. A strong south-east gale with heavy rain, turning to snow and growing cold toward night, as it cleared. This day Master James Chilton died aboard the ship. The third passenger, and first head of a family; to die in this harbor.

SATURDAY, Dec. 9/19

At anchor in harbor. Burying-party sent ashore after services aboard, to bury Chilton. Fetched wood and water.

[The death of Chilton was the first of the head of a family, and it may readily be imagined that the burial was an especially affecting scene, especially as following so closely upon the tragic death of Mrs. Bradford (for whom no funeral or burial arrangements are mentioned?? D.W.)]

SUNDAY, Dec. 10/20

At anchor in Cape Cod harbor. The fifth Sunday in this harbor. The exploring party still absent. Four deaths one by drowning; very severe weather; the ship's narrow escape from being blown up; and the absence of so many of the principal men, have made it a hard, gloomy week.

MONDAY, Dec. 11/21

At anchor in harbor. Clear weather.

TUESDAY, Dec. 12/22

At anchor in harbor. Exploration party still absent.

WEDNESDAY, Dec. 13/23

At anchor in harbor. Exploration party returned to ship, where much sad intelligence met them (especially Master Bradford), as to his wife's drowning. The exploring party report finding a considerable Indian burying-place; several Indian houses; a fierce attack on them by Indians on Friday morning, but without harm; a severe gale on the same afternoon, in which their rudder-hinges broke, their mast was split in three pieces, their sail fell over board in a heavy sea, and they were like to have been cast away in making a harbor which Master Coppin thought he knew, but was deceived about. They landed on an island at the mouth of the harbor, which they named for Master Clarke, the first mate, and spent Saturday and Sunday there, and on Monday examined the harbor they found, and are agreed that it is the place for settlement. Much satisfaction with the report among the colonists.

THURSDAY, Dec. 14/24

At anchor, Cape Cod harbor. The colonists have determined to make settlement at the harbor they visited, and which is

apparently, by Captain John Smith's chart of 1616, no other than the place he calls "Plimoth" thereon. Fetched wood and water.

FRIDAY, Dec. 15/25

Weighed anchor to go to the place the exploring party discovered. Course west, after leaving harbor. Shallop in company. Coming within two leagues, the wind coming northwest, could not fetch the harbor, and was faine to put round again towards Cape Cod. Made old anchorage at night. The thirty-fifth night have lain at anchor here. Shallop returned with ship.

SATURDAY, Dec. 16/26

Comes in with fair wind for Plymouth. Weighed anchor and put to sea again and made harbor safely. Shallop in company. Within half an hour of anchoring the wind changed, so if letted [hindered] but a little had gone back to Cape Cod. A fine harbor. Let go anchors just within a long spur of beach a mile or more from shore. The end of the outward voyage; one hundred and two days from Plymouth (England to Plymouth New England). One hundred and fifty-five days from London.

THE SHIPS JOURNAL WHILE SHE LAY IN PLYMOUTH HARBOR

SUNDAY, Dec. 17/27

At anchor in Plymouth harbor. Services on ship. This harbor is a bay greater than Cape Cod, compassed with goodly land. It is in fashion like a sickle or fish-hook.

MONDAY, Dec. 18/28

At anchor, Plymouth harbor: The Master of the ship, with three or four of the sailors and several of the Planters, went aland and marched along the coast several miles. Made careful examination of locality. Found many brooks of fine water, abundant wood, etc. The party came aboard at night weary with marching.

TUESDAY, Dec. 19/29

At anchor, Plymouth harbor. A party from

the ship went ashore to discover, some going by land and some keeping to the shallop. A creek was found leading up within the land and followed up three English miles, a very pleasant river at full sea. It was given the name of "Jones River" in compliment to the Master of the ship. A bark of thirty tons may go up at high tide, but the shallop could scarcely pass at low water. All came aboard at night with resolution to fix, to-morrow, which of the several places examined they would settle upon.

WEDNESDAY, Dec. 20/30

At anchor, Plymouth harbor, many ill. Dec. After service the colonists decided to go ashore this morning and determine upon one of two places which were thought most fitting for their habitation. So a considerable party went ashore and left twenty of their number there to make a rendezvous, the rest coming on board at night. They reported that they had chosen by the most voices the site first looked at by the largest brook, near where they landed on the 11th on a large rock [Plymouth Rock].

[The "Rock" seems to have become the established landing place of the Pilgrims, from the time of the first visit of the third exploring party on December 11/21. The absurdity of the claims of the partisans of Mary Chilton, in the foolish contention which existed for many years as to whether she or John Alden was the first person to set foot upon the "Rock," is shown by the fact that, of course, no women were with the third exploring party which first landed there, while it is also certain that Alden was not of that exploring party. That Mary Chilton may have been the first woman to land at Cape Cod harbor is entirely possible, as it is that she or John Alden may have been the first person to land on the "Rock" after the ship arrived in Plymouth harbor. It was a vexatious travesty upon history (though perpetuated by parties who ought to have been correct) that the Association for building the Pilgrim Monument at Plymouth should issue a pamphlet giving a picture of the "Landing of the Pilgrims, December 21, 1620," in which women are pictured, and in which the shallop is shown with a large fore-and-aft mainsail, while on the same page is another picture entitled, "The Shallop of the MAY-FLOWER," having a large yard and square-sail, and a "Cuddy" (which last the MAY-FLOWER'S shallop we know did not have). The printed description of the picture, however, says:

"The cut is copied from a picture by Van der Veldt, a Dutch painter of the seventeenth century, representing a shallop," etc. It is matter of regret to find that a book like Colonel T. W. Higginson's 'Book of American Explorers', intended for a text-book, and bearing the imprint of a house like Longmans, Green & Co. should actually print a "cut" showing Mary Chilton landing from a boat full of men (in which she is the only woman) upon a rock, presumably Plymouth Rock.]

THURSDAY, Dec. 21/31

At anchor, Plymouth harbor. Wet and stormy, so the Planters could not go ashore as planned, having blown hard and rained extremely all night. Very uncomfortable for the party on shore. So tempestuous that the shallop could not go to land as soon as was meet, for they had no victuals on land. About eleven o'clock the shallop went off with much ado with provision, but could not return, it blew so strong. Such foul weather forced to ride with three anchors ahead. This day Richard Britteridge, one of the colonists, died aboard the ship, the first to die in this harbor.

FRIDAY, Dec. 22/Jan. 1

At anchor, Plymouth harbor. The storm continues, so that no one could go ashore, or those on land come aboard. This morning goodwife Allerton was delivered of a son, but dead-born. The third child born on board the ship since leaving England,—the first in this harbor.

SATURDAY, Dec. 23/Jan. 2

At anchor in Plymouth harbor. Sent body of Britteridge ashore for burial, the storm having prevented going before, and also a large party of colonists to fell timber, etc. Left a large number on shore at the rendezvous. Fetched wood and water.

SUNDAY, Dec. 24/Jan. 3

At anchor, Plymouth harbor. Second Sunday here. This day died Solomon Prower, one of the family of Master Martin, the treasurer of the colonists, being the sixth death this month, and the second in this harbor. A burying-party went ashore with Prower's

body, after services aboard.

MONDAY, Dec. 25/Jan. 4

At anchor in Plymouth harbor. Christmas Day, but not observed by these colonists, they being opposed to all saints' days, etc. The men on shore Sunday reported that they "heard a cry of some savages," as they thought, that day. A large party went ashore this morning to fell timber and begin building. They began to erect the first house about twenty feet square for their common use, to receive them and their goods. Another alarm as of Indians this day. All but twenty of the Planters came aboard at night, leaving the rest to keep court of guard. The colonists began to drink water, but at night the Master caused them to have some beer.

TUESDAY, Dec. 26/Jan. 5

At anchor in Plymouth harbor. A violent storm of wind and rain. The weather so foul this morning that none could go ashore.

WEDNESDAY, Dec. 27/Jan. 6

At anchor in harbor. Sent working party ashore. All but the guard came aboard at night.

THURSDAY, Dec. 28/Jan. 7

At anchor. All able went ashore this morning to work on a platform for ordnance on the hill back of the settlement, commanding the harbor. The Planters this day laid out their town-site and allotted ground to the several families. Many of the colonists ill from exposure. All but the guard came off to the ship at night.

FRIDAY, Dec. 29/Jan. 8

At anchor in harbor. No working-party went aland. The Planters fitting tools, etc., for their work. The weather wet and cold.

SATURDAY, Dec. 30/Jan. 9

At anchor in harbor. Very stormy and cold. No working-party sent aland. The Planters fitting tools, etc. Great smokes of fires

visible from the ship, six or seven miles away, probably made by Indians.

SUNDAY, Dec. 31/Jan. 10

At anchor in harbor. The third Sunday in this harbor. Sailors given leave to go ashore. Many colonists ill.

MONDAY, Jan. 1/Jan. 11

At anchor in Plymouth harbor. This day Degory Priest, one of the colonists, died aboard the ship. A large party went ashore early to work. Much time lost between ship and shore, the ship drawing so much water as obliged to anchor a mile and a half off. The working-party came aboard at nightfall. Fetched wood and water.

TUESDAY, Jan. 2/Jan. 12

At anchor in harbor. Sent burying-party ashore with Priest's body. Weather good. Working-party aland and returned to ship at night.

WEDNESDAY, Jan. 3/Jan. 13

At anchor in harbor. Working-party aland, returned at night. They report seeing great fires of the Indians. Smoke seen from the ship. Have seen no savages since arrival.

THURSDAY, Jan. 4/Jan. 14

At anchor in Plymouth harbor. Captain Standish, with four or five men, went to look for savages, and though they found some of their old houses "wigwams" could not meet with any of them.

FRIDAY, Jan. 5/Jan. 15

At anchor in Plymouth harbor. Working-party went aland early. One of the sailors found a live herring upon the shore, which the Master had to his supper. As yet have caught but one cod.

SATURDAY, Jan. 6/Jan. 16

At anchor in harbor. In judgment of Masters Brewster, Bradford, and others, Master Martin, the colonists' treasurer, was so hopelessly ill that Governor Carver,

who had taken up his quarters on land, was sent for to come aboard to speak with him about his accounts. Fetched wood and water.

SUNDAY, Jan. 7/Jan. 17

At anchor in harbor. Fourth Sunday here. Governor Carver came aboard to talk with Master Martin, who was sinking fast.

MONDAY, Jan. 8/Jan. 18

At anchor in Plymouth harbor. A very fair day. The working-party went aland early. The Master sent, the shallop for fish. They had a great tempest at sea and were in some danger. They returned to the ship at night, with three great seals they had shot, and an excellent great cod. Master Martin died this day. He had been a "governour" of the passengers on the ship, and an "assistant," and was an Adventurer. One of the Master-mates took a musket, and went with young Francis Billington to find the great inland sea the latter had seen from the top of a tree, and found a great water, in two great lakes [Billington Sea,] also Indian houses.

TUESDAY, Jan. 9/Jan. 19

At anchor in harbor. Fair day. Sent burying-party ashore after services aboard, with the body of Master Martin, and he was buried with some ceremony on the hill near the landing-place. The settlers drew lots for their meersteads and garden-plots. The common-house nearly finished, wanting only covering.

WEDNESDAY, Jan. 10/Jan. 20

At anchor in harbor. Party went aland from ship. Frosty.

THURSDAY, Jan. 11/Jan. 21

At anchor in harbor. A fair day. Party ashore from ship and coming off at night, reported Master William Bradford very ill: Many ill aboard.

FRIDAY, Jan. 12/Jan. 22

At anchor in harbor. Began to rain at noon and stopped all work. Those coming aboard

ship at night reported John Goodman and Peter Browne, two of the colonists, missing, and fears entertained that they may have been taken by Indians. Froze and snowed at night. The first snow for a month. An extremely cold night.

SATURDAY, Jan. 13/Jan. 23

At anchor in harbor. The Governor sent out an armed party of ten or twelve to look for the missing men, but they returned without seeing or hearing anything at all of them. Those on shipboard much grieved, as deeming them lost. Fetched wood and water.

SUNDAY, Jan. 14/Jan. 24

At anchor in harbor. About six o'clock in the morning, the wind being very great, the watch on deck spied the great new rendezvous on shore on fire and feared it fired by Indians, but the tide being out, men could not get ashore for three quarters of an hour, when they went armed. At the landing they heard that the lost men were returned, some frost-bitten, and that the thatch of the common-house only was burnt by a spark, but no other harm done the roof. The most loss was Governor Carver's and Master Bradford's, both of whom lay sick in bed, and narrowly missed being blown up with powder. The meeting was to have been kept ashore to-day, the greater number of the people now being there, but the fire, etc., prevented. Some of those sick in the common-house were fain to return aboard for shelter. Fifth Sunday in this harbor.

MONDAY, Jan. 15/Jan. 25

At anchor in Plymouth harbor. Rained much all day. They on shipboard could not go ashore nor they on shore do any labor, but were all wet.

TUESDAY, Jan. 16/Jan. 26

At anchorage. A fine, sunshining day like April. Party went aland betimes. Many ill both on ship and on shore.

WEDNESDAY, Jan. 17/Jan. 27

At anchorage. Another fine, sunshining day. Working-party went aland early. Set on shore some of the Planters' goods.

[Mourt's Relation, Dexter's ed. p. 77. Bradford states (op. cit. Mass. ed. p. 110) that they were hindered in getting goods ashore by "want of boats," as well as sickness. Mention is made only of the "long-boat" and shallop. It is possible there were no others, except the Master's skiff]

THURSDAY, Jan. 18/Jan. 28

At anchorage. Another fine, bright day. Some of the common goods [i.e. belonging to all] set on shore.

FRIDAY, Jan. 19/Jan. 29

At anchorage. A shed was begun on shore to receive the goods from the ship. Rained at noon but cleared toward night.

[Cleared toward evening (though wet at noon), and John Goodman went out to try his frozen feet, as is recorded, and had his encounter with wolves.]

SATURDAY, Jan. 20/Jan. 30

At anchorage. Shed made ready for goods from ship. Fetched wood and water.

SUNDAY, Jan. 21/Jan. 31

At anchor in Plymouth harbor. Sixth Sunday in this harbor. Many ill. The Planters kept their meeting on land to-day for the first time, in the common-house.

MONDAY, Jan. 22/Feb. 1

At anchorage. Fair day. Hogsheads of meal sent on shore from ship and put in storehouse.

TUESDAY, Jan. 23/Feb. 2

At anchorage. The general sickness increases, both on shipboard and on land.

WEDNESDAY, Jan. 24/Feb. 3

At anchor in harbor. Fair weather. Party on shore from ship and returned at night.

THURSDAY, Jan. 25/Feb. 4

At anchorage. Weather good. Party set ashore and came aboard at night.

FRIDAY, Jan. 26/Feb. 5

At anchorage. Weather good. Party set ashore. The sickness increases.

SATURDAY, Jan. 27/Feb. 6

At anchorage. Weather fair. Good working weather all the week, but many sick. Fetched wood and water.

SUNDAY, Jan. 28/Feb. 7

At anchorage, Plymouth harbor. Seventh Sunday in this harbor. Meeting kept on shore. Those of Planters on board who were able, and some of the ship's company, went ashore, and came off after service.

MONDAY, Jan. 29/Feb. 8

At anchor, Plymouth harbor. Morning cold, with frost and sleet, but after reason ably fair. Both long-boat and shallop carrying Planters' goods on shore. Those returning reported that Mistress Rose Standish, wife of Captain Standish, died to-day.

TUESDAY, Jan. 30/Feb. 9

At anchorage. Cold, frosty weather, so no working-party went on shore from ship. The Master and others of the ship's company saw two savages that had been on the island near the ship [Clarke's Island]. They were gone so far back again before they were discovered that could not speak with them. The first natives actually seen since the encounter on the Cape.

WEDNESDAY, Jan. 31/Feb. 10

At anchor in harbor. Still cold and frosty, with sleet. No party went on shore. Eight of the colonists have died this month on the ship and on shore.

THURSDAY, Feb. 1/Feb. 11

At anchor in harbor. Weather better, and some of those on board the ship went on shore to work, but many ill.

FRIDAY, Feb. 2/Feb. 12

At anchorage. The same.

SATURDAY, Feb. 3/13

At anchorage. Weather threatening. Fetched wood and water.

SUNDAY, Feb. 4/14

At anchor, Plymouth harbor. The eighth Sunday in this harbor, and now inexpedient to think of getting away, till both Planters and crew in better condition as to health.

[Bradford, *Historie*, p. 92; Young, *Chronicler*, p. 198. Bradford says (op. cit. Mass. ed, pp. 120, 121): "The reason on their parts why she stayed so long was ye necessitie and danger that lay upon them, for it was well toward ye ende of December before she could land anything here, or they able to receive anything ashore. Afterwards, ye 14 of January the house which they had made for a general randevoze by casulty fell afire, and some were faine to retire aboard for shelter. Then the sickness begane to fall sore amongst them, and ye weather so bad as they could not make much sooner dispatch. Againe, the Governor & chiefe of them seeing so many dye, and fall down sick dayly, thought it no wisdom to send away the ship, their condition considered, and the danger they stood in from ye Indians, till they could procure some shelter; and therefore thought it better to draw some more charge upon themselves & friends ["demurrage?"] than hazard all. The Mr. and sea-men likewise; though before they hasted ye passengers a shore to be goone [gone], now many of their men being dead, and of ye ablest of them [as is before noted, and of ye rest many lay sick & weake, ye Mr, durst not put to sea till he saw his men begine to recover, and ye hart of winter over."]]

A very rainy day with the heaviest gusts of wind yet experienced. The ship in some danger of oversetting, being light and unballasted.

MONDAY, Feb. 5/15

At anchor in harbor. Clearing weather.

TUESDAY, Feb. 6/16

At anchor in harbor. Cold and clear.

WEDNESDAY, Feb. 7/17

At anchor in harbor. Much colder.

THURSDAY, Feb. 8/18

At anchorage. Hard, cold weather.

FRIDAY, Feb. 9/19

At anchorage. Cold weather continues.

Little work possible. The little house for the sick people on shore took fire this afternoon, by a spark that kindled in the roof. No great harm done. The Master going ashore, killed five geese, which he distributed among the sick people. He also found a good deer the savages had killed, having also cut off his horns. A wolf was eating him. Cannot conceive how he came there.

SATURDAY, Feb. 10/20

At anchor in harbor. Getting goods on shore, but sickness makes both Planters and crew shorthanded. Fetched wood and water.

SUNDAY, Feb. 11/21

At anchor in Plymouth harbor. Ninth Sunday in this harbor.

MONDAY, Feb. 12/22

At anchorage. Getting goods on shore.

TUESDAY, Feb. 13/23

At anchorage. Rainy.

WEDNESDAY, Feb. 14/24

At anchorage. More sickness on ship and on shore than at any time, and more deaths. Rainy, clearing.

[The sickness and mortality had rapidly increased and was now at its height]

THURSDAY, Feb. 15/25

At anchorage. Northerly wind and frost.

FRIDAY, Feb. 16/26

At anchorage. Northerly wind continues, which continues the frost. Those from shore reported that one of the Planters, being out fowling and hidden in the reeds, about a mile and a half from the settlement, saw twelve Indians marching toward the plantation and heard many more. He hurried home with all speed and gave the alarm, so all the people in the woods at work returned and armed themselves, but saw nothing of the Indians. Captain Standish's and Francis Cooke's tools also stolen by

Indians in woods. A great fire toward night seen from the ship, about where the Indians were discovered.

SATURDAY, Feb. 17/27

At anchorage. All the colonists on the ship able to go on shore went this morning to attend the meeting for the establishment of military orders among them. They chose Captain Standish their captain, and gave him authority of command in affairs. Two savages appeared on the hill, a quarter of a mile from the plantation, while the Planters were consulting, and made signs for Planters to come to them. All armed and stood ready, and sent two towards them, Captain Standish and Master Hopkins, but the natives would not tarry. It was determined to plant the great ordnance in convenient places at once. Fetched wood and water.

SUNDAY, Feb. 18/28

At anchor in Plymouth harbor. The Feb. tenth Sunday in this harbor. Many sick, both on board the ship and on shore.

MONDAY, Feb. 19/Mar. 1

At anchorage. Got one of the great guns on shore with the help of some of the Planters.

TUESDAY, Feb. 20/Mar. 2

At anchorage. Getting cannon ashore and mounted.

WEDNESDAY, Feb. 21/Mar. 3

At anchorage. The Master, with many of the sailors, went on shore, taking one of the great pieces called a minion, and with the Planters drew it up the hill, with another piece that lay on the shore, and mounted them and a saller and two bases—five guns—on the platform made for them. A hard day's work. The Master took on shore with him a very fat goose he had shot, to which the Planters added a fat crane, a mallard, and a dried neat's tongue (ox tongue), and Planters and crew feasted together. When the Master went on shore, he sent off the

Governor to take the directions of Master Mullens as to his property, as he was lying near to death,—as also Master White. Master Mullens dictated his will to the Governor, which he noted down, and Giles Heale, the chirurgeon, and Christopher Joanes, of the crew, witnessed, they being left aboard to care for the sick, keep the ship, etc. Master Mullens and Master White both died this day. Two others also died. Got the men aboard about nightfall.

THURSDAY, Feb. 22/Mar. 4

At anchorage. Large burial-party went ashore with bodies of Masters Mullens and White, and joined with those on shore made the chief burial thus far had. The service on shore, the most of the people being there, Master Mullens being one of the chief subscribing Adventurers, as well as one of the chief men of the Planters, as was Master White. Their deaths much deplored.

FRIDAY, Feb. 23/Mar. 5

At anchorage. Party from the ship went on shore to help finish work on the ordnance.

SATURDAY, Feb. 24/Mar. 6

At anchorage. Same. Fetched wood and water.

SUNDAY, Feb. 25/Mar. 7

At anchorage in Plymouth harbor. Eleventh Sunday in this harbor. Mistress Mary Allerton, wife of Master Isaac Allerton, one of the chief men of the colonists, died on board this day, not having mended well since the birth of her child, dead-born about two months ago.

MONDAY, Feb. 26/Mar. 8

At anchor in harbor. Burying-party went ashore to bury Mistress Allerton, services being held there.

TUESDAY, Feb. 27/Mar. 9

At anchorage. The sickness and deaths of the colonists on shore have steadily increased, and have extended to the ship,

which has lost several of its petty officers, including the master gunner, three quarter-masters, and cook, and a third of the crew, many from scurvy.

[There can be no doubt that both planters and ship's crew suffered severely from scurvy. The conditions all favored it, the sailors were familiar with it, and would not be likely to be mistaken in their recognition of it, and Dr. Fuller, their competent physician, would not be likely to err in his diagnosis of it. Tuberculosis was its very natural associate.]

WEDNESDAY, Feb. 28/Mar. 10

At anchorage. The last day of the month. The fifty-third day the ship has lain in this harbor, and from the present rate of sickness and death aboard, no present capacity or prospect of getting away, those better being yet weak. The Planters have lost seventeen this month, their largest mortality.

THURSDAY, Mar. 1/11

At anchorage. Blustering but milder weather.

FRIDAY, Mar. 2/12

At anchorage. Same.

SATURDAY, Mar. 3/13

At anchorage. Wind south. Morning misty [foggy]. Towards noon warm and fine weather. At one o'clock it thundered. The first heard. It rained sadly from two o'clock till midnight. Fetched wood and water.

SUNDAY, Mar. 4/14

At anchor in Plymouth harbor. The twelfth Sunday in this harbor. Cooler. Clear weather.

MONDAY, Mar. 5/15

At anchorage. Rough weather.

TUESDAY, Mar. 6/16

At anchorage. Same.

WEDNESDAY, Mar. 7/17

At anchor in harbor. Wind full east, cold but fair. The Governor went this day with a party of five, to the great ponds, discovered by one of the ship's mates and Francis Billington. Some planting done in the settlement.

THURSDAY, Mar. 8/18

At anchor in harbor. Rough easterly weather.

FRIDAY, Mar. 9/19

At anchorage. Same. Many sick aboard.

SATURDAY, Mar. 10/20

At anchorage. Same. Fetched wood and water.

SUNDAY, Mar. 11/21

At anchorage, Plymouth harbor. The thirteenth Sunday the ship has lain in this harbor. Many of crew yet ill, including boatswain.

MONDAY, Mar. 12/22

At anchorage. Easterly weather.

TUESDAY, Mar. 13/23

At anchorage. The sickness and mortality on ship and on shore continue.

WEDNESDAY, Mar. 14/24

At anchorage. Same.

THURSDAY, Mar. 15/25

At anchorage. Same.

FRIDAY, Mar. 16/26

At anchorage. A fair, warm day, towards noon. The Master and others went ashore to the general meeting. The plantation was startled this morning by a visit from an Indian who spoke some English and bade "Welcome." He is from Monhiggon, an island to the eastward some days' sail, near where Sir Ferdinando Gorges had a settlement. He was friendly, and having had much intercourse with Englishmen who came to fish in those parts, very comfortable with them. He saw the ship in the harbor from a

distance and supposed her to be a fishing vessel. He told the Governor that the plantation was formerly called "Patuxet" [or Apaum], and that all its inhabitants had been carried off by a plague about four years ago. All the afternoon was spent in communication with him. The Governor purposed sending him aboard the ship at night, and he was well content to go and went aboard the shallop to come to the ship, but the wind was high and water scant [low], so that the shallop could not go to the ship. The Governor sent him to Master Hopkins's house and set a watch over him.

SATURDAY, Mar. 17/27

At anchor in harbor. The Master and others came off to the ship. Samoset the Indian went away back to the Massasoits whence he came. A reasonably fair day. Fetched wood and water.

SUNDAY, Mar. 18/28

At anchor in Plymouth harbor. The fourteenth Sunday the ship has lain at this anchorage. A fair day. The sickness stayed a little. Many went on shore to the meeting in the common-house. Samoset the savage came again, and brought five others with him.

[This Sunday visit was doubtless very much to the dislike of the good brethren, or at least of the leaders, but policy dictated every possible forbearance. Their consciences drew the line at trade, however, and they got rid of their untimely visitors as soon as possible without giving offense. Massasoit's men seem to have shown, by leaving their peltry with them, a confidence in their new white neighbors that is remarkable in view of the brevity of their friendship.]

They left their bows and arrows a quarter of a mile from the town, as instructed. The Planters gave them entertainment, but would not truck with them.

["Truck-to trade." All early and modern lexicographers give the word, which, though now obsolete, was in common use in parts of New England fifty years ago.]

They sang and danced after their manner,

and made semblance of amity and friendship. They drank tobacco and carried pounded corn to eat. Their faces were painted. They brought a few skins which they left with the Planters, and returned the tools which Captain Standish and Francis Cooke left in the woods. The Planters dismissed them with a few trifles as soon as they could, it being Sunday, and they promised soon to return and trade. Samoset would not go with them, feigning sick, and stayed. Those on shore from the ship came off to her at night.

MONDAY, Mar. 19/29

At anchorage. A fair day. The Planters digging and sowing seeds.

TUESDAY, Mar. 20/30

At anchorage. A fine day. Digging and planting of gardens on shore. Those sick of the crew mending.

WEDNESDAY, Mar. 21/31

At anchorage. A fine warm day. Beginning to put ship in trim for return voyage. Bringing ballast, etc. Some, including the Masters-mates, went on shore, who on return reported that the Planters sent the Indian Samoset away. A general meeting of the Planters was held at the common-house, to conclude laws and orders, and to confirm the military orders formerly proposed, and twice broken off by the savages coming, as happened again. After the meeting had held an hour or so, two or three savages appeared on the hill over against the town, and made semblance of daring the Planters. Captain Standish and another, with their muskets, went over to them, with the two Masters-mates of the ship, who were ashore, also armed with muskets. The savages made show of defiance, but as our men drew near they ran away. This day the carpenter, who has long been ill of scurvy, fitted the shallop to carry all the goods and furniture aboard the ship, on shore.

THURSDAY, Mar. 22/Apr. 1

At anchorage. A very fair, warm day.

At work on ship getting ready for sea, bringing ballast aboard, etc. Another general meeting of the Planters which all able attended. They had scarce been an hour together when Samoset the Indian came again with one Squanto, the only native of Patuxet (where the Planters now inhabit) surviving, who was one of the twenty captives carried away from this place by Captain Hunt, to England. He could speak a little English. They brought three other Indians with them. They signified that their great Sagamore, Masasoyt, was hard by, with Quadequina his brother, and all their men. They could not well express what they would in English, but after an hour the king came to the top of the hill, over against the plantation, with his train of about sixty men. Squanto went to him and brought a message that one should be sent to parley with him, and Master Edward Winslow went, to know his mind, and signify the wish of the Governor to have trading and peace with him, the Governor sending presents to the king and his brother, with something to eat and drink.

[Edward Winslow gives us here another proof of that rare self-sacrifice, that entire devotion to his work, and that splendid intrepidity which so signally characterized his whole career. At this most critical moment, the fate of the little colony trembling in the balance, when there was evident fear of treachery and surprise on the part of both the English and the savages; though the wife of his youth lay at the point of death (which came but two days later), and his heart was heavy with grief; forgetting all but the welfare of his little band of brethren, he goes forward alone, his life in his hand, to meet the great sachem surrounded by his whole tribe, as the calm, adroit diplomatist, upon whom all must depend; and as the fearless hostage, to put himself in pawn for the savage chief.]

The king, leaving Master Winslow with brother, came over the brook, with some twenty of his men, leaving their bows and arrows behind them, and giving some six or seven of their men as hostages for Master Winslow. Captain Standish, with Master Williamson, the ship's-merchant, as interpreter,

[It would seem from the frequent mention of the presence of some of

the ship's company, Master Jones, the "Masters-mates," and now the "ship's-merchant," that the ship was daily well represented in the little settlement on shore. The presence of Master Williamson on this occasion is perhaps readily accounted for. Every other meeting with the Indians had been unexpected, the present one was anticipated, and somewhat eagerly, for upon its successful issue almost everything depended. By this time Standish had probably become aware that Tisquantum's command of English was very limited, and he desired all the aid the ship's interpreter could give. By some means, the sachem and the colonists succeeded in establishing on this day a very good and lasting understanding.]

and a guard of half a dozen musketeers, met
the king at the brook,

[The guard was probably made thus small to leave the body of the colonists as strong a reserve force as possible to meet any surprise attack on the part of the Indians. Colonel Higginson, in his *Book of American Explorers*, gives a cut of this meeting of Massasoit and his pineses with Standish and his guard of honor, but it is defective in that the guard seems to have advanced to the hill ("Strawberry," or later "Watson's") to meet the sachem, instead of only to "the brook;" and more especially in that there are but two officers with the "six musketeers," where there ought to be three, viz. Standish, in command, Edward Window, as the envoy and hostage (in full armor), and "Mr. Williamson," the ship's-merchant or purser, as interpreter, perhaps acting as lieutenant of the guard. It is always matter of regret when books, especially text-books, written by authors of some repute, and published by reputable houses, fail, for want of only a little care in the study of the available history of events they pictorially represent, to make their pictures and the known facts correspond.]

and they saluted each other, and the guard conducted the Sagamore to one of the new houses then building, where were placed a green rug and three or four cushions. Then came the Governor with drum and trumpet, and a guard of musketeers, and they drank to each other in some strong waters, and the Governor gave the king and his followers meat, and they made a treaty in King James's name, and drank tobacco together. His face was painted a sad red, and his head and face were oiled, which made him look greasy. All his followers were more or less painted. So after all was done, the Governor conducted him to the brook, and his brother came, and was also feasted, and then conveyed him to the

brook, and Master Winslow returned. Samoset and Squanto stayed in the town and the Indians stayed all night in the woods half a mile away. The last of the colonists on board the ship went ashore to remain to-day.

FRIDAY, Mar. 23/Apr. 2

At anchor. A fair day. Some of the ship's company went on shore. Some of the Indians came again, and Captain Standish and Master Allerton went to see the king, and were welcomed by him. This morning the Indians stayed till ten or eleven of the clock, and the Governor, sending for the king's kettle, filled it with pease, and they went their way? Making ready for sea, getting ballast, wood, and water from the shore, etc. The Planters held a meeting and concluded both of military orders and some laws, and chose as Governor, for the coming year, Master John Carver, who was "governor" on the ship.

SATURDAY, Mar. 24/April 3

At anchorage. The ship's company busy with preparations for the return voyage, bringing ballast, wood, and water from the shore, etc., the ship having no lading for the return. This day died, on shore, Mistress Elizabeth Winslow, wife of Master Winslow. Many still sick. More on the ship than on shore.

SUNDAY, Mar. 25/April 4

At anchor in Plymouth harbor. The fifteenth Sunday in this port. Many of the crew dead and some still sick, but the sickness and mortality lessening.

MONDAY, Mar. 26/April 5

At anchor. Bringing ballast from shore and getting ship in trim.

TUESDAY, Mar. 27/April 6

At anchorage. Getting ballast, overhauling rigging, getting wood, water, etc., from shore.

WEDNESDAY, Mar. 28/April 7

At anchorage. Same.

THURSDAY, Mar. 29/April 8

At anchorage. The Master offered to take back any of the colonists who wished to return to England, but none desired to go. Getting in stores and ballast.

FRIDAY, Mar. 30/April 9

At anchorage. Hastening all preparations for sailing. Getting ballast, etc. Water butts filled.

SATURDAY, Mar. 31/April 10

At anchorage. Setting up rigging, bending light sails, etc. Getting ballast and wood from the beach and island. The colonists have lost thirteen by death the past month, making in all half of their number.

SUNDAY, April 1/11

At anchor in Plymouth harbor. The sixteenth Sunday the ship has lain at anchor here, and to be the last, being nearly ready to sail. Most of the crew ashore on liberty. In the sixteen weeks the ship has lain here, half of her crew (but none of her officers) have died, and a few are still weak. Among the petty officers who have died have been the master gunner, boatswain, and three quartermasters, beside the cook, and more than a third of the sailors. A bad voyage for the owner, Adventurers, ship, and crew.

MONDAY, April 2/12

Still at anchor, but making last preparations for voyage. Ship's officers made farewells on shore. Governor Carver copied out, and Giles Heale and Chris. Jones witnessed, Master Mullens's will, to go to England.

TUESDAY, April 3/13

Still at anchorage, but (near) ready to sail with a fair wind. Master Williamson, the ship's-merchant [purser], appointed by Master Mullens an overseer of his will, takes copy of same to England for probate, with many letters, keepsakes, etc., etc.,

to Adventurers and friends. Very little lading, chiefly skins and roots. Make adieus to Governor Carver and company.

WEDNESDAY, April 4/14

Still at anchor in Plymouth harbor. Sails loosened and all ready for departure except Governor's letters. Last visits of shore people to ship. Sail with morning tide, if wind serves. One hundred and ten days in this harbor.

THURSDAY, April 5/15

Got anchors, and with fair wind got underway at full tide. Many to bid adieu. Set colors and gave Planters a parting salute with the ensign and ordnance. Cleared the harbor without hindrance, and laid general course E.S.E. for England with a fine wind. Took departure from Cape Cod early in the day, shook off the land and got ship to rights before night. All sails set and the ship logging her best.

And so the MAY-FLOWER began her speedy, uneventful, homeward run, of but thirty-one days, arriving in England May 6, 1621, having been absent, on her "round voyage," from her sailing port, two hundred and ninety-six days.

THE END OF THE VOYAGE
AND OF THIS
JOURNAL

AUTHOR'S NOTE. Of the "Log" Of the MAY-FLOWER, the author is able to repeat the assurance given as to the brief Journal of the SPEEDWELL, and is able to say, in the happy phrase of Griffis, "I have tried to state only recorded facts, or to give expression to well grounded inferences."

APPENDIX

In view of the natural wish of many of "restricted facilities," to consult for themselves the full text of certain of the principal letters and documents which have imparted much of the most definite and valuable information concerning the Pilgrim movement, it has been thought well to include certain of them here verbatim, that they may be of ready availability to the reader. The list comprises copies of-

I. The Agreement of the Merchant Adventurers and Planters;

II. The Letter of the Leyden Leaders to John Carver and Robert Cushman (at London), May 31/June 10, 1620;

III. The Letter of Robert Cushman to John Carver (then at Southampton), Saturday, June 10/20, 1620;

IV. The Letter of Robert Cushman to the Leyden Leaders, June 10/20, 1620;

V. The Letter of Robert Cushman to the Leyden Leaders, Sunday, June 11/21, 1620;

VI. The Letter of Rev. John Robinson to John Carver at London, June 14/24, 1620;

VII. The Letter of the Planters to the Merchant Adventurers from Southamp ton, August 3, 1620;

VIII. The Letter of Robert Cushman (from Dartmouth) to Edward Southworth, Thursday, August 17,1620;

IX. The MAY-FLOWER Compact;

X. The Nuncupative Will of Master William Mullens; and

XI. The Letter of "One of the Chiefe of ye Companie" (The Merchant Adventurers), dated at London, April 9, 1623-

Many other early original documents frequently referred to in this volume are of no less interest than those here given, but most of them have either had such publication as to be more generally known or accessible, or involve space and cost disproportionate to their value in this connection.

I THE AGREEMENT OF THE MERCHANT ADVENTURERS AND PLANTERS

Anno: 1620, July 1.

1. The adventurers & planters doe agree, that every person that goeth being aged 16. years & upward, be rated at 10li., and ten pounds to be accounted a single share.

2. That he goeth in person, and furnisheth him selfe out with 10li. either in money or other provisions, be accounted as haveing 20li. in stock, and in ye devission shall receive a double share.

3. The persons transported & ye adventurers shall continue their joynt stock & partnership together, ye space of 7 years, (excepte some unexpected impedimente doe cause ye whole company to agree otherwise,)

during which time, all profits & benefits that are gott by trade, traffick, trucking, working, fishing, or any other means of any person or persons, remaine still in ye comone stock untill ye division.

4. That at their coming ther, they chose out such a number of fitt persons, as may furnish their ships and boats for fishing upon ye sea; imploying the rest of their severall faculties upon ye land; as building houses, tilling, and planting ye ground, & makeing shuch comodities as shall be most usefull for ye collonie.

5. That at ye end of ye 7 years, ye capitall & profits, viz. the houses, lands, goods and chatels, be equally devided betwixte ye adventurers, and planters; wch done, every man shall be free from other of them of any debt or detrimente concerning this adventure.

6. Whosoever cometh to ye colonie hereafter, or putteth any into ye stock, shall at the ende of ye 7. years be alowed proportionably to ye time of his so doing.

7. He that shall carie his wife & children, or servants, shall be alowed for everie person now aged 16. years & upward, a single share in ye devision, or if he provid them necessaries, a duple share, or if they be between 10. year old and 16., then 2. of them to be reconed for a person, both in trasportation and devision.

8. That such children as now goe, & are under ye age of ten years, have noe other shar in ye devision, but 50. acers of unmanured land.

9. That such persons as die before ye 7. years be expired, their executors to have their parte or sharr at ye devision, proportionably to ye time of their life in ye collonie.

10. That all such persons as are of this collonie, are to have their meate, drink, apparell, and all provissions out of ye comon stock & goods of ye said collonie.

Governor Bradford adds:-

"The chief and principal differences betwene these & the former [original] conditions, stood in those 2. points; that ye houses, & lands improved, espetially gardens & home lotts should remaine undevide wholly to ye planters at ye 7. years end. 2ly, yt they should have had 2. days in a weeke for their owne private employmente, for ye more comforte of themselves and their families, espetially such as had families."

[Apparently, as has been noted, neither these articles of agreement, nor their predecessors which received the approval of the Leyden leaders, were ever signed by the contracting parties, until Robert Cushman brought the later draft over in the FORTUNE, in 1621, and the planter body (advised thereto by Pastor Robinson, who had previously bitterly opposed)

signed them. Much might be truly said on either side of this controversy—indeed was said at the time; but if the Pilgrims were to abandon their contention, whatever its merits, in a year's time, as they did, it would seemingly have been much better not to have begun it, for it undoubtedly cost them dear.]

II
LETTER OF THE LEYDEN LEADERS TO JOHN CARVER AND
ROBERT CUSHMAN, AT LONDON

May 31/June 10, 1620.

To their loving freinds John Carver and Robart Cushman, these, &c.

Good bretheren, after salutations, &c. We received diverse letters at ye coming of Mr. [Thomas] Nash & our pilott, which is a great encouragment unto us, and for whom we hop after times will minister occasion of praising God; and indeed had you not sente him, many would have been ready to fainte and goe backe. Partly in respecte of ye new conditions which have bene taken up by you, which all men are against, and partly in regard of our owne inabilitie to doe any one of those many waightie bussineses you referr to us here. For ye former wherof, wheras Robart Cushman desirs reasons for our dislike, promising therupon to alter ye same, or els saing we should thinke he hath no brains, we desire him to exercise them therin, refering him to our pastors former reasons, and them to ye censure of ye godly wise. But our desires are that you will not entangle your selvs and us in any such unreasonable courses as those are, viz. yt the marchants should have ye halfe of mens houses and lands at ye dividente; and that persons should be deprived of ye 2. days in a weeke agreed upon, yea every momente of time for their owne perticuler; by reason wherof we cannot conceive why any should carie servants for their own help and comfort; for that we can require no more of them than all men one of another. This we have only by relation from Mr. Nash, & not from any writing of your owne, & therefore hope you have not proceeded farr in so great a thing without us. But requiring you not to exceed the bounds of your comission, which was to proceed upon ye things or conditions agred upon and expressed in writing (at your going over it), we leave it, not without marveling, that your selfe, as you write, knowing how smale a thing troubleth our consultations, and how few, as you fear, understands the busnes aright, should trouble us with such matters as these are, &c. Salute Mr. Weston from us, in whom we hope we are not deceived; we pray you make known our estate unto him, and if you thinke good shew him our letters, at least tell him (yt under God) we much relie upon him & put our confidence in him; and, as your selves well know, that if he had not been an adventurer with us, we had not taken it in hand; presuming that if he had not seene means to accomplish it, he would not have begune it; so we hope in our extremitie he will so farr help us as our expectation be no way made frustrate concerning him. Since therfor, good brethren, we have plainly opened ye state of things with us in this matter, you will, &c. Thus beseeching ye Allmightie, who

is allsufficente to raise us out of this depth of difficulties, to assiste us herin; raising such means by his providence and fatherly care for us, his pore children & servants, as we may with comferte behold ye hand of our God for good towards us in this our bussines, which we undertake in his name & fear, we take leave & remaine Your perplexed, yet hopful bretheren,
June 10, New Stille
Ano: 1620. SAMUEL FULLER, EDWARD WINSLOW,
WILLIAM BRADFORD, ISAAC ALLERTON.

III
THE LETTER OF ROBERT CUSHMAN (AT LONDON), TO
JOHN CARVER (AT SOUTHAMPTON)

Saturday, June 10/20, 1620.

To his loving freind Mr. John Carver, these, &c.

Loving freind, I have received from you some letters, full of affection & complaints, & what it is you would have of me I know not; for your crieing out, Negligence, negligence, negligence, I marvell why so negligente a man was used in ye bussines: Yet know you yt all that I have power to doe hear, shall not be one hower behind, I warent you. You have reference to Mr. Weston to help us with money, more then his adventure; wher he protesteth but for his promise, he would not have done any thing. He saith we take a heady course, and is offended yt our provissions are made so farr of; as also that he was not made aquainted with our quantitie of things; and saith yt in now being in 3. places, so farr remote, (i.e. Leyden, London, and Southampton) we will, with going up & downe, and wrangling & expostulating, pass over ye sourer before we will goe. And to speake ye trueth, they is fallen already amongst us a flatt schisme; and we are redier to goe to dispute, then to sett forwarde a vaiage. I have received from Leyden since you wente (to Southampton) 3. or 4. letters directed to you, though they only concerne me. I will not trouble you with them. I always feared ye event of ye Amsterdamers (members of Rev. Henry Ainsworth's church there) striking in with us. I trow you must excommunicate me, or els you must goe without their companie, or we shall wante no quareling; but let them pass.

We have reckoned, it should seeme, without our host; and, count upon a 150. persons, ther cannot be founde above 1200li. & odd moneys of all ye venturs you can reckone, besids some cloath, stockings, & shoes, which are not counted; so we shall come shorte at least 3. or 400li. I would have had some thing shortened at first of beare (beer) & other provissions in hope of other adventurs, & now we could have, both in Amsterd & Kente, beere enough to serve our turne, but now we cannot accept it without prejudice. You fear we have begune to build & and shall not be able to make an end; indeed, our courses were never established by counsell, we may therfore justly fear their standing.

Yea, then was a schisme amongst us 3. at ye first. You wrote to Mr. Martin, to prevente ye making of ye provissions in Kente, which he did, and sett downe his resolution how much he would have of every thing, without respecte to any counsell or exception. Surely he yt is in a societie & yet regards not counsell, may better be a king then a consort. To be short, if then be not some other dispossession settled unto then yet is, we yt should be partners of humilitie and peace, shall be examples of jangling & insulting. Yet your money which you ther [Southampton] must have, we will get provided for you instantly. 500li. you say will serve; for ye rest which hear & in Holand is to be used, we may goe scratch for it. For Mr. Crabe, of whom you write, he hath promised to goe with us, yet I tell you I shall not be without feare till I see him shipped, for he [i.e. his going] is much opposed, yet I hope he will not faile. Thinke ye best of all, and bear with patience what is wanting, and ye Lord guid us all.

Your loving freind,
ROBART CUSHMAN.

London June 10.

Ano: 1620.

IV

THE LETTER OF ROBERT CUSHMAN TO THE LEYDEN LEADERS

(Probably written at London, Saturday, June 10/20, 1620.)

Brethern, I understand by letters & passagess yt have come to me, that ther are great discontents, & dislike of my proceedings amongst you. Sorie I am to hear it, yet contente to beare it, as not doubting but yt partly by writing, and more principally by word when we shall come togeather, I shall satisfie any reasonable man. I have been perswaded by some, espetially this bearer, to come and clear things unto you; but as things now stand I cannot be absente one day, excepte I should hazard all ye viage. Neither conceive I any great good would come of it. Take then, brethern, this as a step to give you contente. First, for your dislike of ye alteration of one clause in ye conditons, if you conceive it right, ther can be no blame lye on me at all. For ye articles first brought over by John Carver were never seene of any of ye adventurers hear, excepte Mr. Weston, neither did any of them like them because of that clause; nor Mr. Weston him selfe, after he had well considered it. But as at ye first ther was 500li. withdrawne by Sr. Georg Farrer and his brother upon that dislike, so all ye rest would have withdrawne (Mr. Weston excepted) if we had not altered yt clause. Now whilst we at Leyden conclude upon points, as we did, we reckoned without our host, which was not my faulte. Besids, I shewed you by a letter ye equitie of yt condition, & our inconveniences, which might be sett against all Mr. Rob: [Robinson's] inconveniences, that without ye alteration of yt clause, we could neither have means to gett thither, nor supplie wherby to subsiste when we were ther. Yet notwithstanding all those reasons, which were not mine, but other mens wiser than my selfe, without answer to any one of them, here cometh over many quirimonies, and complaints

against me, of lording it over my brethern, and making conditions fitter for theeves & bondslaves then honest men, and that of my owne head I did what I list. And at last a paper of reasons, framed against yt clause in ye conditions, which as yey were delivered me open, so my answer is open to you all. And first, as they are no other but inconveniences, such as a man might frame 20. as great on ye other side, and yet prove nor disprove nothing by them, so they misse & mistake both ye very ground of ye article and nature of ye project.

For, first, it is said, that if ther had been no divission of houses & lands, it had been better for ye poore. True, and yt showeth ye inequality of ye condition; we should more respect him yt ventureth both his money and his person, then him yt ventureth but his person only.

2. Consider whereabout we are, not giveing almes, but furnishing a store house; no one shall be porer then another for 7. years, and if any be rich, none can be pore. At ye least, we must not in such bussines crie, Pore, pore, mercie, mercie. Charitie hath it[s] life in wraks, not in venturs; you are by this most in a hopefull pitie of makeing, therefore complaine not before you have need.

3. This will hinder ye building of good and faire houses, contrarie to ye advise of pollitiks. A. So we would have it; our purpose is to build for ye presente such houses as, if need be, we may with litle greefe set a fire, and rune away by the lighte; our riches shall not be in pompe, but in strength; if God send us riches, we will imploye them to provid more men, ships, munition, &c. You may see it amongst the best pollitiks, that a comonwele is readier to ebe then to flow, when once fine houses and gay cloaths come up.

4. The Govet may prevente excess in building. A. But if it be on all men beforehand resolved on, to build mean houses, ye Govet labour is spared.

5. All men are not of one condition. A. If by condition you mean wealth, you are mistaken; if you mean by condition, qualities, then I say he that is not contente his neighbour shall have as good a house, fare, means, &c. as him selfe, is not of a good qualitie. 2ly. Such retired persons, as have an eie only to them selves, are fitter to come wher catching is, then closing; and are fitter to live alone, then in any societie, either civil or religious.

6. It will be of litle value, scarce worth 5li. A. True, it may not be worth halfe 5li. If then so smale a thing will content them, (the Adventurers) why strive we thus aboute it, and give them occasion to suspecte us to be worldly & covetous? I will not say what I have heard since these complaints came first over [from Leyden].

7. Our freinds with us yt adventure mind not their owne profite, as did ye old adventurers. A. Then they are better than we, who for a little

matter of profite are readie to draw back, and it is more apparente, brethern looke too it, that make profit your maine end; repente of this, els goe not least you be like Jonas to Tarshis. Though some of them mind not their profite, yet others doe mind it; and why not as well as we? venturs are made by all sorts of men, and we must labour to give them all contente, if we can.

8. It will break ye course of comunitie, as may be showed by many reasons. A. That is but said, and I say againe, it will best foster comunion, as may be showed by many reasons.

9. Great profite is like to be made by trucking, fishing, &c. A. As it is better for them, so for us; for halfe is ours, besids our living still upon it, and if such profite in yt way come, our labour shall be ye less on ye land, and our houses & lands will be of less value.

10. Our hazard is greater than theirs. A. True, but doe they put us upon it? doe they urge or egg us? hath not ye motion & resolution been always in our selves? doe they any more then in seeing us resolute if we had means, help us to means upon equall termes & conditions! If we will not goe, they are content to keep their moneys.

Thus I have pointed at a way to loose those knots, which I hope you will consider seriously, and let me have no more stirr about them.

Now funder, I hear a noise of slavish conditions by me made; but surly this is all I have altered, and reasons I have sent you. If you mean it of ye 2. days in a week for perticuler, as some insinuate, you are deceived; you may have 3. days in a week for me if you will. And when I have spoken to ye adventurers of times of working, they have said they hope we are men of discretion & conscience, and so fitt to be trusted our selves with that. But indeed ye ground of our proceedings at Leyden was mistaken, and so here is nothing but tottering every day, &c.

As for them of Amsterdam, [i.e. the members of Rev. Henry Ainsworth's church there] I had thought they would as soon gone to Rome as with us; for our libertie is to them as ratts bane, and their riggour as bad to us as ye Spanish Inquisition. If any practise of mine discourage them, let them yet draw back; I will undertake they shall have their money againe presently paid hear. Or if the Company think me to be ye Jonas, let them cast me of before we goe; I shall be content to stay with good will, having but ye cloaths on my back; only let us have quietnes, and no more of these clamors; full little did I expect these things which are now come to pass, &c.

Yours,
R. CUSHMAN.

V
THE LETTER OF ROBERT CUSHMAN TO THE LEYDEN LEADERS,
LONDON

(Sunday, June 11/21, 1620.)

Salutations, &c. I received your letter [of May 31/June 10] yesterday, by John Turner, with another ye same day from Amsterdam by Mr. W. savouring of ye place whenc it came. And indeed the many discouragements I find her,[London] togeather with ye demurrs and retirings ther,[Leyden] had made me to say, I would give up my accounts to John Carver, & at his comeing aquainte him fully with all courses, and so leave it quite, with only ye pore cloaths on my back. But gathering up my selfe by further consideration, I resolved yet to make one triall more, and to acquainte Mr. Weston with ye fainted state of our bussines; and though he hath been much discontented at some thing amongst us of late, which hath made him often say, that save for his promise, he would not meadle at all with ye bussines any more, yet considering how farr we were plunged into maters, & how it stood both on our credits & undoing, at ye last he gathered up him selfe a litle more, & coming to me 2. hours after, he tould me he would not yet leave it. And so advising togeather we resolved to hire a ship, and have tooke liking of one till Monday, about 60. laste, for a greater we cannot gett, excepte it be tow great; but a fine ship it is. And seeing our neer freinds ther are so streite lased, we hope to assure her without troubling them any further; and if ye ship fale too small, it fitteth well yt such as stumble at straves already, may rest them ther a while, least worse blocks come in ye way ere 7. years be ended. If you had beaten this bussines so throuly a month agoe, and write to us as now you doe, we could thus have done much more conveniently. But it is as it is; I hope our freinds they, if they be quitted of ye ship hire, will be indusced to venture ye more. All yt I now require is yt salt and netts may ther be boughte, and for all ye rest we will here provid it; yet if that will not be, let them but stand for it a month or tow, and we will take order to pay it all. Let Mr. Reinholds tarie ther, and bring ye ship to Southampton. We have hired another pilote here, one Mr. Clarke, who went last year to Virginia with a ship of kine.

You shall here distinctly by John Turner, who I thinke shall come hence on tewsdays night. I had thought to have come with him, to have answered to my complaints; but I shal lerne to pass litle for their censurs; and if I had more minde to goe & dispute & expostulate with them, then I have care of this waightie bussines, I were like them who live by clamours & jangling. But neither my mind nor my body is at libertie to doe much, for I am fettered with bussines, and had rather study to be quiet, then to make answer to their exceptions. If men be set on it, let them beat ye eair; I hope such as are my sinceire freinds will not thinke but I can give some reason of my actions. But of your mistaking aboute ye mater, & other things tending to this bussines, I shall nexte informe you more distinctly. Mean space entreate our freinds not to be too bussie in answering matters, before they know them. If I doe such things as I cannot give reasons for, it is like you have sett a foole aboute your bussines, and so turne ye reproofe to your selves, & send an other, and let me come againe to my Combes. But setting aside my naturall

infirmities, I refuse not to have my cause judged, both of God, & all indifferent men; and when we come together I shall give accounte of my actions hear. The Lord, who judgeth justly without respect of persons, see into ye equitie of my cause, and give us quiet, peacable, and patient minds, in all these turmoils, and sanctifie unto us all crosses whatsoever. And so I take my leave of you all, in all love & affection. I hope we shall gett all hear ready in 14. days.

Your pore brother,
ROBART CUSHMAN.

[London]

June 11. 1620 [O.S.].

VI

A LETTER OF MR. JOHN ROBINSON TO JOHN CARVER,
JUNE 14. (N.S.), 1620

[Professor Arber ("The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers," p. 317) has apparently failed to notice that in the original MS. of Bradford, this letter is dated "June 14, 1620, N. Stile," which would make it June 4., O.S., while Arber dates it "14/24 June," which is manifestly incorrect. A typographical error in Arber (p. 317) directs the letter to "Leyden" instead of to London.]

June 14. 1620. N. Stile.

My dear freind & brother, whom with yours I alwise remember in my best affection, and whose wellfare I shall never cease to comend to God by my best & most earnest praies. You doe throwly understand by our generall letters ye estate of things hear, which indeed is very pitifull; espetially by wante of shiping, and not seeing means lickly, much less certaine, of having it provided; though withall ther be great want of money & means to doe needfull things. Mr. [Edward] Pickering, you know before this, will not defray a peny hear; though Robert Cushman presumed of I know not how many 100li. from him, & I know not whom. Yet it seems strange yt we should be put to him to receive both his & his partners [William Greene's] advenure, and yet Mr. Weston write unto him, yt in regard of it, he hath drawne upon him a 100li. more. But they is in this some misterie, as indeed it seems ther is in ye whole course. Besids, wheras diverse are to pay in some parts of their moneys yet behinde, they refuse to doe it, till they see shiping provided, or a course taken for it. Neither doe I thinke is ther a man hear would pay anything, if he had againe his money in his purse. You know right well we depended on Mr. Weston alone, and upon such means as he would procure for this commone bussines; and when we had in hand an other course with ye Dutchmen, broke it of at his motion, and upon ye conditions by him shortly after propounded. He did this in his love I know, but things appeare not answerable from him hitherto. That he should have first have put in his moneys, is thought by many to have been but fitt, but yt I can well excuse, he being a marchante and haveing use of it to his benefite; whereas others, if it had been in their hands, would have consumed it.

But yt he should not but have had either shipping ready before this time, or at least certaine means, and course, and ye same knowne to us for it, or have taken other order otherwise, cannot in my conscience be excused. I have heard yt wen he hath been moved in the bussines, he hath put it of from him selfe, and referred it to ye others; and would come to Georg Morton [in London] & enquire news of him aboute things, as if he had scarce been some accessarie unto it. Wlether he hath failed of some helps from others which he expected, and so be not well able to goe through with things, or whether he hath feared least you should be ready too soone & so encrease ye charge of shiping above yt is meete, or whether he hath thought by withoulding to put us upon straits, thinking yt therby Mr. Brewer and Mr. Pickering would be drawne by importunitie to doe more, or what other misterie is in it, we know not; but sure we are yt things are not answerable to such an occasion. Mr. Weston maks himselfe mery with our endeavors aboute buying a ship, [the SPEEDWELL], but we have done nothing in this but with good reason, as I am perswaded, nor yet that I know in any thing els, save in those tow: ye one, that we employed Robart Cushman, who is known (though a good man & of spetiall abilities in his kind, yet) most unfitt to deale for other by reason of his singularitie, and too great indifferancie for any conditions, and for (to speak truly) that we have had nothing from him but termes & presumptions. The other, yt we have so much relyed, by implicite faith as it were, upon generalities, without seeing ye perticuler course & means for so waghie an affaire set down unto us. For shiping, Mr. Weston, it should seeme, is set upon hireing, which yet I wish he may presently effecte; but I see litle hope of help from hence if so it be. Of Mr. [Thomas] Brewer, you know what to expecte. I doe not thinke Mr. Pickering will ingage, excepte in ye course of buying [ships?] in former letters specified. Aboute ye conditions, you have our reason for our judgments of what is agreed. And let this spetially be borne in minde, yt the greatest pane of ye Collonie is like to be employed constantly, not upon dressing they perticuler land & building houses, but upon fishing, trading, &c. So as ye land & house will be but a trifell for advantage to ye adventurers, and yet the devission of it a great discouragemente to ye planters, who would with singuler care make it comfortable with borrowed houres from their sleep. The same consideration of comone employmente constantly by the most is a good reason not to have ye 2, daies in a week denyed ye few planters for private use, which yet is subordinate to comone good. Consider also how much unfite that you & your liks must serve a new prentishipe of 7. years, and not a daies freedome from taske. Send me word what persons are to goe, who of usefull faculties, & how many, & perticulerly of every thing. I know you wante not a minde. I am sorie you have not been at London all this while, but ye provissions could not want you. Time will suffer me to write no more; fare, you & yours well allways in ye Lord, in whom I rest.

Yours to use,
JOHN' ROBINSON.

VII
THE LETTER OF THE PLANTERS TO THE

MERCHANT ADVENTURERS (FROM SOUTHAMPTON)

Aug. 3. Ano. 1620.

Beloved freinds, sory we are that ther should be occasion of writing at all unto you, partly because we ever expected to see ye most of you hear, but espetially because ther should any difference at all be conceived betweene us. But seing it faleth out that we cannot conferr togeather, we thinke it meete (though brefly) to show you ye just cause & reason of our differing from those articles last made by Robert Cushman, without our comission or knowledg.

And though he might propound good ends to himselfe, yet it no way justifies his doing it. Our maine diference is in ye 5.& 9. article, concerning ye deviding or holding of house and lands; the enjoying whereof some of your selves well know, was one spetiall motive, amongst many other, to provoke us to goe. This was thought so reasonable, yt when ye greatest of you in adventure (whom we have much cause to respecte), when he propounded conditions to us freely of his owne accorde, he set this downe for one; a cobby wherof we have sent unto you, with some additions then added by us; which being liked on both sids, and a day set for ye paimente of moneys, those in Holland paid in theirs. After yt, Robert Cushman, Mr. [John] Pierce, & Mr. [Christopher] Martine, brought them into a better forme, & write them in a booke now extante; and upon Robarts [Cushmans] shewing them and delivering Mr. [William] Mullins a cobby thereof under his hand (which we have), he payed in his money. And we of Holland had never seen other before our coming to Hamton, but only as one got for him selfe a private cobby of them; upon sight wherof we manifested uter dislike, but had put of our estats & were ready to come, and therfore was too late to reiecte ye vioage. Judge therefore we beseech you indifferently of things, and if a faulte have bene comited, lay it where it is, & not upon us, who have more cause to stand for ye one, then you have for ye other. We never gave Robart Cushman comission to make any one article for us, but only sent him to receive moneys upon articles before agreed on, and to further ye provissions till John Carver came, and to assiste him in it. Yet since you conceive your selves wronged as well as we, we thought meete to add a branch to ye end of our 9. article, as will allmost heale that wound of it selfe, which you conceive to be in it. But that it may appeare to all men yt we are not lovers of our selves only, but desire also ye good & inriching of our freinds who have adventured your moneys with our persons, we have added our last article to ye rest, promising you againe by leters in ye behalfe of the whole company, that if large profits should not arise within ye 7. years, yt we will continue togeather longer with you, if ye Lord give a blessing.—[Bradford adds in a note, "It is well for them yt this was not accepted."—]—This we hope is sufficiente to satisfie any in this case, espetially freinds, since we are asured yt if the whole charge was devided into 4. parts, 3. of them will not stand upon it, nether doe regarde it, &c. We are in shuch a streate at presente, as we are forced to sell away 60li. worth of our provissions to

cleare ye Haven [Southampton & withall put our selves upon great extremities, scarce haveing any butter, no oyle, not a sole to mend a shoe, nor every man a sword to his side, wanting many muskets, much armour, etc. And yet we are willing to expose our selves to such eminent dangers as are like to insue, & trust to ye good providence of God, rather then his name & truth should be evill spoken of for us. Thus saluting all of you in love, and beseeching ye Lord to give a blessing to our endeavore, and keepe all our harts in ye bonds of peace & love, we take leave & rest,
Yours, &c

Aug. 3. 1620.

[“It was subscribed with many names of ye cheefest of ye company.”
–Bradford, “Historie,” Mass. ed. p. 77.]

VIII
THE LETTER OF ROBERT CUSHMAN (FROM SOUTHAMPTON)
TO EDWARD SOUTHWORTH

To his loving friend Ed[ward] S[outhworth] at Henige House, in ye Duks Place [London], these, &c.

Dartmouth [Thursday] Aug. 17, [Anno 1620.]

Loving friend, my most kind remembrance to you & your wife, with loving E. M. &c. whom in this world I never looke to see againe. For besids ye eminent dangers of this viage, which are no less then deadly, an infirmitie of body hath seased me, which will not in all licelyhoode leave me till death. What to call it I know not, but it is a bundle of lead, as it were, crushing my harte more & more these 14. days, as that although I doe ye actions of a liveing man, yet I am but as dead; but ye will of God be done. Our pinass [the SPEEDWELL] will not cease leaking, els I thinke we had been halfe way at Virginia, our viage hither hath been as full of crosses, as our selves have been of crokednes. We put in hear to trime her, & I thinke, as others also, if we had stayed at sea but 3. or 4. howers more, shee would have sunke right downe. And though she was twice trimmed at Hamton, yet now shee is open and lekie as a seine; and ther was a borde, a man might have puld of with his fingers, 2 foote longe, wher ye water came in as at a mole hole. We lay at Hamton 7. days, in fair weather, waiting for her, and now we lye hear waiting for her in as faire a wind as can blowe, and so have done these 4. days, and are like to lye 4. more, and by yt time ye wind will happily turne as it did at Hamton. Our victualls will be halfe eaten up, I thinke, before we goe from the coaste of England, and if our viage last longe, we shall not have a months victualls when we come in ye countrie. Near 700li. hath bene bestowed at Hamton upon what I know not. Mr. Martin saith he neither can nor will give any accounte of it, and if he be called upon for accounts he crieth out of unthankfulness for his paines & care, that we are susspitious of him, and flings away, and will end nothing. Also

he so insulteh over our poore people with shuch scorne and contempte, as if they were not good enough to wipe his shoes. It would break your hart to see his dealing, and ye mourning of our people. They complaine to me, & alas! I can doe nothing for them; if I speake to him, he flies in my face, as mutinous, and saith no complaints shall be heard or received but by him selfe, and saith they are forwarde, & waspish, discontented people, & I doe ill to hear them. Ther are others yt would lose all they have put in, or make satisfaction for what they have had, that they might departe; but he will not hear them, nor suffer them to goe ashore, least they should rune away. The sailors also are so offended at his ignorante bouldnes, in meddling & controuling in things he knows not what belongs too, as yt some threaten to misscheefe him, others say they will leave ye shipe & goe their way. But at ye best this cometh of it, yt he maks him selfe a scorne & laughing stock unto them. As for Mr. Weston, excepte grace doe greatly swaye with him, he will hate us ten times more then ever he loved us, for not confirming ye conditions. But now, since some pinches have taken them, they begine to reveile ye trueth, and say Mr. Robinson was in ye falte who charged them never to consente to those conditions, nor chuse me into office, but indeede apointed them to chose them they did chose. But he and they will rue too late, they may now see, & all be ashamed when it is too late, that they were so ignorante, yea, & so inordinate in their courses. I am sure as they were resolved not to seale those conditions, I was not so resolute at Hamton to have left ye whole bussines, excepte they would seale them, and better ye vioage to have bene broken of then, then to have brought such miserie to our selves, dishonour to God, & detrimente to our loving freinds, as now it is like to doe. 4. or 5. of ye cheefe of them which came from Leyden, came resolved never to goe on those conditions. And Mr. Martine, he said he never received no money on those conditions, he was not beholden to ye marchants, for a pine [pennie], they were bloudsuckers, & I know not what. Simple man, he indeed never made any conditions wth the marchants, nor ever spake with them.

But did all that money flie to Hamton, or was it his owne? Who will goe lay out money so rashly & lavishly as he did, and never know how he comes by it, or on what conditions? I tould him of ye alteration longe agoe, & he was contente; but now he dominires, & said I had betrayed them into ye hands of slaves; he is not beholden to them, he can set out 2 ships him selfe to a viage. When, good man? He hath but 50li. in, & if he should give up his accounts he would not have a penie left him,— [”This was found true afterwards. W(illiam) B” [radford]]—as I am persuaded, &c. Freind, if ever we make a plantation, God works a mirakle; especially considering how scante we shall be of victualls, and most of all ununited amongst our selves, & devoyd of good tutors and regimente. Violence will break all. Wher is ye meek & humble spirite of Moyses? & of Nehemiah who reedified ye wals of Jerusalem, and ye state of Israell? Is not ye sound of Rehoboams braggs daly hear amongst us? Have not ye philosophers and all wise men observed yt, even in setled comone welths, violente governours bring either them selves, or people, or boath, to ruine; how much more in ye raising of comone wealths, when ye

mortar is yet scarce tempered yt should bind ye wales [walls]. If I should write to you of all things which promiscuously forerune our ruine, I should over charge my weake head and greeve your tender hart; only this, I pray you prepare for evill tidings of us every day. But pray for us instantly, it may be ye Lord will be yet entreated one way or other to make for us. I see not in reason how we shall escape even ye gasping of hunger starved persons; but God can doe much, & his will be done. It is better for me to dye, then now for me to bear it, which I doe daly, & expect it howerly; haveing received ye sentance of death, both within me & with out me. Poore William Ring & my selfe doe strive who shall be meate first for ye fishes; but we looke for a glorious resurrection, knowing Christ Jesus after ye flesh no more, but looking unto ye joye yt is before us, we will endure all these things and accounte them light in comparison of ye joye we hope for. Remember me in all love to our freinds as if I named them, whose praier I desire earnestly, & wish againe to see, but not till I can with more comforte looke them in ye face. The Lord give us that true comforte which none can take from us. I had a desire to make a breefe relation of our estate to some freind. I doubt not but your wisdome will teach you seasonably to utter things as here after you shall be called to it. That which I have writen is treue, & many things more which I have for borne. I write it as upon my life, and last confession in England. What is of use to be spoken of presently, you may speake of it, and what is fitt to conceile, conceall. Pass by my weake maner, for my head is weake, and my body feeble, ye Lord make me strong in him, and keepe both you & yours.

Your loving freind,
ROBART CUSHMAN.

Dartmouth, Aug. 17, 1620.

IX THE MAY-FLOWER COMPACT

In ye name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwriten, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by ye grace of God, of Great Britaine, Franc, & Ireland king, defender of ye faith, &c., haveing under taken, for ye glorie of God, and advancemente of ye Christian faith, and honour of our king & countrie, a voyage to plant ye first colonie in ye Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly & mutually in ye presence of God, and one of another, covenant & combine our selves together into a civill body politick, for our better ordering & preservation & furtherance of ye ends aforesaid: and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances, actes, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete & convenient for ye generall good of ye Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnes wherof we have here under subscribed our names at Cape-Codd ye 11. of November, in ye year of ye raigne of our soveraigne lord, King James, of England, France, & Ireland ye eighteenth, and of Scotland ye fiftie fourth. Ano. Dom. 1620

X
A COPY OF THE NUNCUPATIVE WILL OF MASTER WILLIAM MUL-
LENS

[Undoubtedly taken by Governor Carver on board the MAY-FLOWER.]

[Although the dictation must, apparently, have been taken on the day of Master Mullens's death, February 21/March 3, 1620, Governor Carver evidently did not write out his notes, and have them witnessed, till April 2, 1621, some weeks later.]

"April, 1621.

In the name of God, Amen: I comfit my Soule to God that gave it and my bodie to the earth from whence it came. Alsoe I give my goodes as followeth: That fforty poundes wch is in the hand of good-man Woodes I give my wife tenn poundes, my sonne Joseph tenn poundes, my daughter Priscilla tenn poundes, and my eldest sonne tenn poundes. Alsoe I give to my eldest sonne all my debtes, bonds, bills (onelye yt forty poundes excepted in the handes of goodman Wood) given as aforesaid wth all the stock in his owne handes. To my eldest daughter I give ten shillings to be paied out of my sonnes stock Furthermore that goodes I have in Virginia as followeth To my wife Alice halfe my goodes. 2. to Joseph and Priscilla the other halfe equallie to be devided betweene them. Alsoe I have xxi dozen of shoes, and thirteene paire of bootes wch I give into the Companys handes for forty poundes at seaven years end if they like them at that rate. If it be thought to deare as my Overseers shall thinck good. And if they like them at that rate at the devident I shall have nyne shares whereof I give as followeth twoe to my wife, twoe to my sonne William, twoe to my sonne Joseph, towe to my daughter Priscilla, and one to the Companie. Alsoe if my sonne William will come to Virginia I give him my share of land furdernore I give to my two Overseers Mr. John Carver and Mr. Williamson, twentye shillinges apeece to see this my will performed desiringe them that he would have an eye over my wife and children to be as fathers and freindes to them, Alsoe to have a speciall eye to my man Robert wch hathe not so approved himselfe as I would he should have done."

This is a Coppye of Mr. Mullens his Will of all particulars he hathe given. In witnes whereof I have sette my hande John Carver, Giles Heale, Christopher Joanes."

XI
THE LETTER OF "ONE OF THE CHIEFE OF YE COMPANIE"
[THE MERCHANT ADVENTURERS]
DATED AT LONDON, APRIL 9, 1623

Loving friend, when I write my last leter, I hope to have received one from you well-nigh by this time. But when I write in Des: I little thought to have seen Mr. John Pierce till he had brought some good

tidings from you. But it pleased God, he brought us ye wofull tidings of his returne when he was half-way over, by extraine tempest, werin ye goodnes & mercie of God appeared in sparing their lives, being 109. souls. The loss is so great to Mr. Pierce &c., and ye companie put upon so great charge, as veryly, &c. Now with great trouble & loss, we have got Mr. John Pierce to assigne over ye grand patente to ye companie, which he had taken in his owne name, and made quite voyd our former grante. I am sorie to writ how many hear thinke yt the hand of God was justly against him, both ye first and 2. time of his returne; in regard he, whom you and we so confidently trusted, but only to use his name for ye company, should aspire to be lord over us all, and so make you & us tenants at his will and pleasure, our assurance or patente being quite voyd & disanuled by his means. I desire to judg charitably of him. But his unwillingness to part with his royall lordship, and ye high rate he set it at, which was 500li. which cost him but 50li., maks many speake and judg hardly of him. The company are out for goods in his ship, with charge aboute ye passengers, 640li., &c.

We have agreed with 2 merchants for a ship of 140 tunes, caled ye Anne, which is to be ready ye last of this month, to bring 60 passengers & 60 tune of goods, &c-[Bradford, Historie, Mass. ed. p. 167.]

ADDENDA

Governor Winslow, in his "Hypocrisie Unmasked" (pp. 89,90), indicates that the representatives of the Leyden congregation (Cushman and Carver) sought the First (or London) Virginia Company as early as 1613. It is beyond doubt that preliminary steps toward securing the favor, both of the King and others, were taken as early as 1617, and that the Wincob Patent was granted in their interest, June 9/19, 1619. But the Leyden people were but little advanced by the issue of this Patent. They became discouraged, and began early in 1620 (perhaps earlier) negotiations with the Dutch, which were in progress when, at the instance of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Thomas Weston undertook (February 2/12, April 1/11, 1620) to secure the Leyden party, avowedly for the London Virginia Company, but really for its rival, the Second Virginia Company, soon to be merged in the "Council of Affairs for New England." It was then, and under these influences, that the Leyden leaders "broke off," as Bradford puts it, their negotiations with the Dutch authorities, who, however, apparently about the same time, determined to reject their propositions. While the renewal of the Leyden leaders' negotiations, through Weston, were, "on their face" (and so far as the Pilgrims were concerned), with the First Virginia Company, with whom, through Sir Edwin Sandys and other friends, their original efforts were made, they were, as stated, subverted by Gorges's plans and Weston's cooperation, in the interest of the Second Virginia Company. The Merchant Adventurers were represented, in the direct negotiations for the Patent only, by John Pierce, who, at that time, was apparently dealing honestly, and was not, so far as appears, in Gorges's confidence, though later he proved a traitor and a consummate rascal, albeit he always acted, apparently, alone. The so-called "Pierce

Patent" (which displaced the Wincob) was rendered worthless by the landing of the Pilgrims north of 41 deg. north latitude. The third Patent (Pierce's second) was from the Council for New England to Pierce, for the colonists, but was exchanged by him for a "deed-pole" to himself, though at last surrendered to the colony under stress.