Stephen Hopkins

Stephano - "I shall no more to sea, to sea; Here shall I die ashore"

William Shakespeare - "The Tempest" Act II scene ii,
Stephen Hopkins
1581 - 1644

Sea Venture - Bermuda - Jamestown - "Mayflower" - Plymouth

Tenth Great Grandfather of Merle G Ladd

ORIGINS

BAPTISM: 30 April 1581 at Upper Clatford, Hampshire, England, son of John and Elizabeth (Williams) Hopkins. Parish Church of All Saints, Upper Clatford.

The parish church of Upper Clatford as it would have looked at the time Stephen Hopkins was baptized there in 1581.

FIRST MARRIAGE: Mary, possibly the daughter of Robert and Joan (Machell) Kent of Hursley, Hampshire, prior to 1604.

SECOND MARRIAGE: Elizabeth Fisher on 19 February 1617/8 at St. Mary Matfelon, Whitechapel, Middlesex, England.

CHILDREN (by Mary): Elizabeth, Constance, and Giles.

CHILDREN (by Elizabeth): Damaris (died young), Oceanus, Caleb, Deborah, Damaris, Ruth, and Elizabeth. [1]

DIED: between 6 June 1644, when his will was made, and 17 July 1644, when the inventory of his estate was taken.
John Hopkins married Agnes Borrow. Agnes, John's wife of five years, died in 1578 probably from complications of childbirth. They had two children, William and Alice. John married Elizabeth Williams, at the Church of All Saints, on 28 July, 1579, not long after Agnes' death; baby Stephen was their first child together. [5]

The Hopkins' and Williams' families had been in Upper Clatford for a couple generations at least; They had been raising crops on a farm with three common fields, called Norman's Court Farm. Three years after Stephen's baptism, the Hopkins family was back at All Saints for another; newborn sister Susanna. Susanna would be Stephen's only full-blooded sibling. [5]

John and Elizabeth Hopkins and their family of four children did not remain in Upper Clatford much beyond the birth of Susanna. By the time Stephen was five or six, the family moved about ten miles south to the bustling city of Winchester. John Hopkins first shows up in the parish of St. Thomas, Winchester, in 1586, where he was assessed a lay subsidy - a tax that Queen Elizabeth I used primarily to subsidize the English navy. He paid additional lay subsidy taxes, usually about £4, in subsequent years as well. He also appears to have been an archer in the local militia. John Hopkins died unexpectedly around August of 1593. Exactly what happened to the family following John's death is unclear. [5]

Stephen Hopkins was born during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I and came of age as England was experiencing great economic growth, increased overseas exploration, and a renaissance in the arts. Stephen was among the new class of Englishmen who left the countryside for London to become merchants, seamen, or settlers in the New World, but his adventurous nature would eventually put him in a class by himself. [5]

The parish of Hursley, Hampshire, is where Stephen Hopkins emerges as an adult, from the black hole that was his teenage years. Merdon Castle, built there in 1138 by Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, had been abandoned and in ruins a few decades before Stephen arrived. [5]
Stephen's first appearance in the parish records of Hursley, occurs on 13 March 1605, when his first child, a daughter named Elizabeth, was baptized at the local parish church of All Saints. Stephen was married to a woman named Mary. With little circumstantial evidence there is hints that she might have been the daughter of Giles Machell of Hursley- but that identification is far from conclusive. Stephen and Mary's marriage would have likely occurred around 1602 or 1603. On 11 May 1606, Stephen and Mary baptized their second daughter, Constance. On 30 January 1698 Stephen and Mary baptized their first son, whom they named Giles. If suspicions are right about Mary's identity, then their son was named after Mary's father, Giles Machell. [5]

On 19 May 1608 Stephen Hopkins' lease at Hursley's Merdon Manor, where the family had apparently been residing for the past several years, was turned over to a "widow Kent". Stephen would not hang around Hursley for much longer. [5]

Stephen somehow managed to get himself associated with a group of investors and colonist headed for the newly-founded Jamestown Colony in Virginia. Stephen signed on as a minister's clerk for Rev. Richard Buck, an Oxford-educated minister described as an "able and painful preacher." [5]

On 2 June 1609, Hopkins boarded the Sea Venture in Plymouth, England, the flagship of a fleet of seven ships and two pinnaces headed for Virginia, to start his new life. Wife Mary, two daughters Elizabeth and Constance, and young son Giles - then barely a year old - were left behind in Hursley to fend for themselves until he would return, or send for them to come; seven
years later by contract. It must have been a difficult time for Mary. Life without a husband present in 17th century England was tough indeed, especially with three young children. [5]

In his contract with the Virginia Company, Stephen would serve three years as an indentured servant, his labors profiting those who had financed the venture. In exchange, he would receive free transportation, food, lodging, and 10 shillings every three months for his family back home. At the end of three years, he would be freed from his indenture and given 30 acres in the colony. [2]
In response to the inadequacy of its vessels, the Virginia Company built, probably in Aldeburgh, Sea Venture as England's first purpose-designed emigrant ship. She measured "300 tunnes", cost £1,500, and differed from her contemporaries primarily in her internal arrangements. Her guns were placed on her main deck, rather than below decks as was then the norm. This meant the ship did not need double-timbering, and she may have been the first single-timbered, armed merchant ship built in England. The hold was sheathed and furnished for passengers. She was armed with eight 9-pounder (4.1 kg) demi-culverins, eight 5-pounder (2.3 kg) sakers, four 3-pounder (1.4 kg) falcons, and four arquebuses. The ship was launched in 1609, and her uncompleted journey to Jamestown appears to have been her maiden voyage. 

On May 15, 1609, the Sea Venture, sailed down the Thames followed by the rest of the Virginia Company's fleet – The Sea Venture with Captain Christopher Newport; The Blessing with Captain Gabriel Archer and Captain Adams; The Lion with Captain Webb; The Falcon with Captain John Martin and Master Francis Nelson; The Unitie with Captain Wood and Master Pett; The Diamond with Captain John Ratcliffe and Captain King; The Swallow with Captain Moone and Master Somers; The Virginia of the North Colony with Captain Davis and Master Davis; The Catch with Master Matthew Fitch. On the Sea Venture, were the "sturdy soldier" Sir Thomas Gates, Deputy Governor of the Virginia Colony, and "the old sea rover" Sir George Somers, Admiral of the Seas. The Captain was the famous Christopher Newport who had made many trips, including the first, between England and Virginia. Hodges writes, "For seven weeks the ships stayed within sight of each other, often within earshot, and captains called to one another by way of trumpets. On the Sea Venture all was peaceful. Morning and evening,
Chaplain Buck and Clerk Hopkins gathered the passengers and crew on deck for prayers and the singing of a psalm." 

The ships were only eight days from the coast of Virginia, when they were suddenly caught in a hurricane, and the Sea Venture became separated from the rest of the fleet. William Strachey chronicled the Sea Venture's final days.

"On St. James Day, being Monday, the clouds gathering thick upon us and the wind singing and whistling most unusually, a dreadful storm and hideous began to blow from out the northeast, which, swelling and roaring as it were by fits, at length did beat all night from Heaven; which like a hell of darkness, turned black upon us . . . For four-and- twenty hours the storm in a restless tumult had blown so exceedingly as we could not apprehend in our imaginations any possibility of greater violence; yet did we still find it not only more terrible but more constant, fury added to fury, and one storm urging a second more outrageous than the former . . ."

The next day was worse. "It could not be said to rain," wrote Strachey. "The waters like whole rivers did flood in the air. Winds and seas were as mad as fury and rage could make them. Howbeit this was not all. It pleased God to bring greater affliction yet upon us; for in the beginning of the storm we had received likewise a mighty leak."
Comparably sized ships had survived such weather, but Sea Venture had a critical flaw in her newness: her timbers had not set. The caulking was forced from between them, and the ship began to leak rapidly. The ship had begun to take on water and every man who could be spared went below to plug the leaks and work the pumps. The men worked in waist-deep water for four days and nights, but by Friday morning they were exhausted and gave up. [2]

Another chronicler, Silvester Jourdain, wrote that those who have a private stock of alcoholic beverages; "having some good and comfortable waters [gin and brandy] in the ship, fetched them and drank one to the other, taking their last leave one of the other until their more joyful and happy meeting in a more blessed world." Then there was a crash and the Sea Venture began to split seam by seam as the water rushed in. Jourdain continues:

"... we were taken with a most sharp and cruel storm ...which did not only separate us from the residue of our fleet ... but with the violent working of the seas our ship became so shaken, torn, and leaked that she received so much water as covered two tier of hogsheads above the ballast; that our men stood up to the middles with buckets ... and kettles to bail out the water and continually pumped for three days and three nights together without any intermission; and yet the water seemed rather to increase than to diminish. Insomuch that all our men, being utterly spent ... were even resolved, without any hope of their lives ... to have committed themselves to the mercy of the sea ... seeing no help nor hope ... that [they] would escape ... present sinking."

"And there neither did our ship sink but, more fortunately in so great a misfortune, fell in between two rocks, where she was fast lodged and locked for further budging; whereby we gained not only sufficient time, with the present help of our boat and skiff, safely to set and convey our men ashore . . . " [3]
The *Sea Venture* had been thrown upon a reef off Gate's Bay about a mile from *Bermuda*, then known as the "Isle of the Devils." Those who could swim lowered themselves into the waves and grasped wooden boxes, debris, or anything that would keep their heads above water. Stephen made it to shore clutching a barrel of wine. The entire crew, including the ship's dog, survived. It was stripped of all useful parts and materials, not only by her crew and passengers, but by subsequent settlers; what was left of her eventually disappeared beneath the waves. Two of her guns were salvaged in 1612 and used in the initial fortification of Bermuda (one was placed on *Governor's Island*, opposite Paget's Fort, the other on *Castle Island*). After the wreck's submergence, her precise location was unknown until rediscovered by sport divers Downing and Heird in October 1958. Despite the lack of artifacts to be found, she was positively identified in 1959, in time for the 350th anniversary of the wrecking. [7]

As it turned out, on July 23, 1609, the *Sea Venture* did not break apart and the men were able to retrieve the tools, food, clothing, muskets, and everything that meant their survival. Most of the ship's structure also remained, so using the wreckage and native cedar trees, the 150 castaways immediately set about building two new boats so that they could complete their voyage to Jamestown. [2]

The ships had run into a massive forty-four hour 'tempest' on July 25, and became separated. Thirty two people from two ships were thrown overboard with *yellow fever*, and the *London plague* broke out on the *Diamond*. After the storm, The *Blessing*, the *Lion*, the *Falcon* and the *Unitie* (all on board were sick) came together and headed for Virginia, "falling into the James River." The *Diamond* appeared a few days later, and the *Swallow* a few days after that. The *Catch* was lost at sea, and nothing has been found as to when the ship *Virginia* arrived. The *Diamond, Falcon, Blessing*, and *Unitie* would return to England leaving October 14, 1609, with John Smith and thirty unruly youths sent from England but rejected by the colony. [12]
### Shipwrecked Party

- Sir THOMAS GATES  
  Governor of Virginia
- Sir GEORGE SOMERS  
  Admiral of the Fleet
- Rev RICHARD BUCK  
  Chaplin to the Expedition
- SARAH BUCK  
  Wife, Died on the island
- ELIZABETH BUCK  
  Daughter of Rev Richard
- BRIDGET BUCK  
  Daughter of Rev Richard
- BERMUDA BUCK  
  Born and died in Bermuda
- FRANCIS PEAREPOINT  
- WILLIAM STRACHEY  
  Secretary Virginia Company
- Mr HENRY SHELLY  
- ROBERT WALSINGHAM  
  Coxswain

### About 150 persons were cast ashore. (There is no complete list)

- WILLIAM BRIAN  
- HENRY RAVENS  
  Master Mate, lost at Sea when he sailed for help.
- STEPHEN HOPKINS  
- CHRISTOPHER CARTER  
  Deserted, Stayed on the island
- ROBERT WATERS  
  Deserted, Stayed on the island
- EDWARD WATERS  
- SAMUEL SHARPE  
- HENRY PAINE  
  Shot to death for mutiny
- HUMPHREY REEDE  
- CHRISTOPHER NEWPORT  
  Capt of the Sea Venture, former privateer
- SILvester JOURDAIN  
  of Lyme Regis, Dorset
- JAMES SWIFT  
- THOMAS POWELL  
  Cook
- EDWARD EASON  
- MISTRESS EASON
- BERMUDA EASON  
  Son born in Bermuda
- JOHN WANT  
- MISTRESS HORTON
- ELIZABETH PERSONS  
  Maid to Mistress Horton
  Married Thomas Powell in Bermuda
- Capt Sir GORGE YEARDLEY  
  Veteran of Dutch Wars
- JEFFERY BRIARS  
  Died in Bermuda
- FRANCIS PEAREPOINT  
- ROBERT FROBISHER  
  Carpenter
- RICHARD LEWIS  
  Died in Bermuda
- EDWARD SAMUEL  
  Murdered by Robert Waters
- WILLIAM HITCHMAN  
  Died in Bermuda
- THOMAS WHITTINGHAM  
  Lost at sea with Ravens (above)
- EDWARD CHARD  
  Stayed behind on the island
- Capt MATTHEW SOMERS  
  Nephew and heir of Sir George
- ROBERT RICH  
  Brother of Sir Nathaniel Rich, a shareholder, was a soldier, returned to Bermuda 1617, died there 1630
- THOMAS GODBY

- JOHN ROLPHE  
  Young man in his 20s
- MISTRESS ROLFE  
  First wife of John Rolfe
- BERMUDA ROLFE  
  Baby girl born in Bermuda, Christened 11 Feb 1610, died and buried there
- ELIZABETH JOONS  
  Servant, aged 30
- JOHN LIGHTFOOTE  
  Servant
- JOHN PROCTOR
- JOSUAH CHARD
- HENRY BAGWELL
- Capt WILLIAM PIERCE
- GEORGE GRAVE
- JOSEPH CHARD
- EDWARD WATERS  
  Aged 40
"ISLE OF DEVILS"
BERMUDA

The question had not occurred to anyone during all the hubbub and frenzy to get ashore and save their lives; but now that they had a moment to think about it, ...just here were they? Word quickly spread around: they were on the most feared island in the world, the Isle of Devils, so named because they were thought to be haunted, enchanted, and deviled by spirits and apparitions. [5]

Sea Venture Beach

There were upwards of 150 people onshore, including ten women, who now needed food, water and shelter. First up was to figure out who was in charge. Sir George Somers was the fleet's Admiral, whereas Sir Thomas Gates was the colony's appointed governor. Since they were not at sea, Sir George Somers was not really in charge any longer. But since they were not at Jamestown, Sir Thomas Gates was not really in charge either. Luckily for everyone involved, there was no power struggle to speak of--that could have doomed the group from the very start. Gates took charge, and Somers remained a strong ally sharing in that authority, as did Christopher Newport, the Sea Venture's captain. [5]

The men were pleasantly surprised to find that the island's climate was agreeable, food plentiful, and shelters easily constructed from cedar wood and palm leaves. The Isle of the Devils, turned out to be paradise, and a few began to wonder why they should leave. Strachey recounts that some of the sailors, who had been to Jamestown with the Second Supply, stated that "in Virginia nothing but wretchedness and labor must be expected, there being neither fish, flesh, or fowl which here at ease and pleasure might be enjoyed." [2]

Bermuda cedar, fully grown can be 50' tall and have a 4 ft wide trunk
The ship’s longboat was fitted with a mast. Henry Ravens, the Sea Venture's master's mate and pilot, was volunteered to lead the voyage, and accepted. He, along with cape merchant Thomas Whittingham and six other sailors, set sail on September 1, a little more than a month after the shipwreck, headed for Jamestown. The eight men were never seen or heard from again. 151

Longboats were normally rowed but often had a removable mast and sail

For the following nine months, the crew and passengers would forage, fish, hunt and pray for survival and rescue. They found that Bermuda provided plenty of food with its plants and animals, including countless wild hogs probably left by earlier Spanish shipwrecks. However, numerous near-mutinies threatened the castaways on Bermuda. Only the strong leadership and discipline of men like Thomas Gates and George Somers prevented chaos. 181

Spanish feral hogs, a choice source of food for the newcomers

After salvaging all they could from the wreck, the group began to construct two small new ships, the Patience and the Deliverance, to carry the survivors the final distance to Jamestown. The Patience was slightly larger than the Godspeed, one of the three ships that brought English colonists to Virginia in 1607, and the Deliverance was slightly larger than the Discovery, smallest of the 1607 ships. 171

So even as Governor Gates and Admiral Somers were pursuing plans to organize an escape from the island, there were others who began to actively subvert their efforts. If they did not
want to go to Jamestown, who had the right or authority to force them? The dissention started first with the Sea Venture's crew, since unlike the other castaways, they had less contractual obligations to the Virginia Company.

Strachey recounts that some of the sailors, who had been to Jamestown with the Second Supply, stated that: [2]

“In Virginia nothing but wretchedness and labor must be expected, there being neither fish, flesh, or fowl which here at ease and pleasure might be enjoyed.”

The first attempt at mutiny was made by Nicholas Bennit who “made much profession of Scripture” and was described by Strachey as a “mutinous and dissembling imposter.” Bennit and five other men escaped into the woods, but were captured and banished to one of the distant islands. The banished men soon found that life on the solitary island was not altogether desirable and humbly petitioned for a pardon, which they received. But the clemency of the Governor only encouraged the spirit of mutiny. [2]

Stephen Hopkins began to grow more and more discontented with the colony's situation or as Secretary William Strachey put it, Hopkins "more subtly began to shake the foundation of our quiet safety." On January 24, while on a break with Samuel Sharpe and Humfrey Reede, Stephen argued: [2]

[T]herin did one Stephen Hopkins commence the first act or overture - who in January the twenty-fourth, broke with one Samuel Sharp and Humphrey Reed (who presently discovered it to the governor) and alleged substantial arguments both civil and divine (the Scripture falsely quoted) that it was no breach of honesty, conscience, not religion to decline from the obedience of the governor or refuse to go any further led by his authority (except it so pleased themselves), since the authority ceased when the wreck was committed, and, with it, they were all then freed from the government of any man, and for a matter of conscience it was not unknown to the meanest how much we were therein bound each one to provide for himself and his own family. +For which were two apparent reasons to stay them even in this place: first, abundance by God's providence of all manner of good food; next, some hope in reasonable time, when they might grow weary of the place, to build a small bark, with the skill and help of the aforesaid Nicholas Bennett, whom they insinuated to them, albeit he was now absent from his quarter and working in the main island with Sir George Somers upon his pinnace, to be of the conspiracy, that so might get clear from hence at their own pleasures.

The mutiny was brought to a quick end when Sharpe and Reede reported Stephen to Sir Thomas Gates who immediately put him under guard. That evening, at the tolling of a bell, the entire company assembled and witnessed Stephen’s trial: [3]

“. . . the Prisoner was brought forth in manacles, and both accused, and suffered to make at large, to every particular, his answere; which was onely full of sorrow and teares, pleading simplicity, and deniall. But he being onely found, at this time, both the, Captaine and the
follower of this Mutinie, and generally held worthy to satisfie the punishment of his offence, with the sacrifice of his life, our Governour passed the sentence of a Maritiall Court upon him, such as belongs to Mutinie and Rebellion. But so penitent hee was, and made so much moane, alleadging the ruine of his Wife and Children in this his trespass, as it wrought in the hearts of all the better sorts of the Company, who therefore with humble entreaties, and earnest supplications, went unto our Governor, whom they besought (as likewise did Captaine Newport, and my selfe) and never left him untill we had got his pardon.”

Stephen appears to have learned his lesson well. He fades quickly into the background, keeps his mouth shut, and continues his duties as Minister’s Clerk and worked quietly with the others to finish the construction of the ships from Bermuda cedar and materials salvaged from the Sea Venture, especially her rigging. [5]

A month and a half later, yet another mutiny was uncovered, this time led by Henry Paine. Stephen was not involved in any way, and kept on the sidelines. Paine was not so lucky; Governor Gates sentenced him to death, and this time the execution was carried out that evening, Secretary Strachey noting "the sun and his life setting together."

Some members of the expedition died in Bermuda before the Deliverance and the Patience set sail on 10 May 1610. Among those left buried in Bermuda were the wife and child of John Rolfe, who would found Virginia’s tobacco industry, and find a new wife in Chief Powhatan’s daughter Matoaka (Pocahontas). [2]

Only three members of the original castaways refused to go on to Virginia. They were imprisoned for mutiny but escaped and fled, believed to have been to the Walsingham area of the Main Island. The three who chose to stay, These miscreants were Edward Chard, Robert Waters and Christopher Carter, who were later fancifully but falsely referred to themselves as the “Three Kings of Bermuda”, purely because they were the only known inhabitants for a while. As fugitives, they lived as such, instead of trying to redeem themselves by improving
their lot. Later, in 1612 when Bermuda was settled by design and not by accident as before, they were caught appropriately punished and deported in irons back to England. [10]

On May 10, 1610, the men boarded the newly built Deliverance and Patience and set out for Virginia. They arrived in Jamestown on May 24, almost a full year after they had left England.

Meanwhile, another English colony, created because of the Sea Venture and conceived as a partner to Virginia, thrived. Bermuda, not New England, as is commonly assumed, was the location of England's second New World colony. The Somers Island Company, named for George Somers, operated as a subsidiary of the Virginia Company from 1612 until 1615. During those years, the company sent about 600 colonists to Bermuda and consistently turned a profit. Bermudians enjoyed lower mortality rates and longer life expectancy than their countrymen in both Virginia and England. By 1625, nine forts secured the island from Spanish encroachments, ministers led services at six churches, and 2,500 residents were governed in part by an elective assembly. From the loss of the Sea Venture and the founding of Bermuda, England gained an invaluable entry into the Spanish-dominated Caribbean and the profits and hope to continue pursuing its colonial ambitions. [14]
Strachey's account of the wreck of the Sea Venture had made it back to England. Strachey was no stranger to the theater people who met regularly at the Mermaid Tavern, so it's probable that Shakespeare was among those who got a preview of the work. Some believe he used it as the basis for his farewell play, The Tempest, which relates the story of a shipwrecked group stranded on an enchanted island. In a play to be performed for King James I and his royal court at Whitehall on Hallowmas Night or All Saints Day, November 1, 1610. A rebel could only be shown as a clown or a villain, so Shakespeare created a drunken, mutinous butler (or bottler) with delusions of grandeur who he named Stephano.\[3\]

It is set on a remote island, where Prospero, the rightful Duke of Milan, plots to restore his daughter Miranda to her rightful place using illusion and skillful manipulation. He conjures up a storm, the eponymous tempest, to lure his usurping brother Antonio and the complicit King Alonso of Naples to the island. There, his machinations bring about the revelation of Antonio’s low nature, the redemption of the King, and the marriage of Miranda to Alonso’s son, Ferdinand. Stephano is a boisterous and often drunk butler of King Alonso. He, Trinculo and Caliban plot against Prospero. In the play, he wants to take over the island and marry Prospero’s daughter, Miranda. Caliban believes Stephano to be a god because he gave him wine to drink which Caliban believes healed him.\[2\]

It was revitalized to decorate for the wedding festivities of Princess Elizabeth in 1613 and was incidentally the last play performed in London in 1642 when the Puritan Party closed play houses until restoration from the Stuarts in 1660.\[3\]

Hodges writes, "To have provided some of the fabric for Shakespeare's vision of The Tempest and to appear in the play, even in the absurd disguise as Stephano, this in itself is a kind of immortality for Stephen Hopkins."\[3\]
JAMESTOWN

At last, on May 10, 1610, the two new ships set sail for Virginia, laden with supplies and all of the survivors but three, mutineers who remained on Bermuda and allowed the English to maintain a claim to the islands. Ten days later the ships sailed into the Chesapeake Bay and made their way toward Jamestown.

Jamestown settlement in 1607

The relief and elation the survivors felt gave way to horror and despair when they saw the condition of the Jamestown settlers. Arriving at the end of what is known as the “Starving Time,” they found the fort in shambles and the few remaining settlers hungry and hopeless. The Bermuda survivors soon decided that the situation was futile and chose to abandon Jamestown along with the 60 surviving Jamestown settlers. On June 7, 1610, they fired a final salute and sailed down the James River to make their way home to England. [3]

Jamestown Starving Time Dead

Strachey wrote of Jamestown: [2]

“the palisades torn down, the ports open, the gates off the hinges, and empty houses rent up and burnt, rather than the dwellers would step into the woods a stone’s cast off to fetch other firewood. The Indians killed as fast, if our men but stirred beyond the bounds of their blockhouse, as famine and pestilence did.”

When Stephen saw these things, like everyone else his stomach must have sunk. He had been right all along; they never should have left Bermuda, full of so many plentiful resources and so much potential. Now he and all the others would either starve, get sick, or be killed. [5]

In this desolation and misery our governor found the condition and state of the colony and (which added more to his grief) no hope how to amend it or save his own company and those
yet remaining alive from falling into the like necessities. For we had brought... no greater store of provision ... than might well serve... for a sea voyage. And it was not possible at this time of the year to amend it by any help from the Indian... Nor was there at the fort... any means to take fish... All which considered, it pleased our governor to make a speech unto the company... [that] "he would make ready and transport them all into their native country..." at which there was a general acclamation and shout of joy on both sides, for even our own men began to be "disheartened and faint when they saw this misery amongst the others and no less threatened unto themselves". William Strachey [8]

Before they could even make open water, they met the newly arrived military governor, Lord de la Warr, with his three ships of new settlers and supplies. With new hope, everyone returned to Jamestown, determined to make it succeed. [8]

Using the same discipline in Virginia as the castaway leaders had in Bermuda, the colonists’ fate changed for the better. They found food, security and better organization in the company of such strong leaders. Along with providing guidance, the survivors of the Sea Venture also contributed to the financial success of the Virginia Company. One of them, John Rolfe, planted the tobacco seed he brought and produced the first profitable crop of tobacco by 1614, thus ensuring the success of the colony with his “cash crop.” [8]

When a permanent residence was established in Bermuda. It became a supplier of materials to Virginia, thus establishing trade between the two colonies. Over the years Bermuda developed into an overseas territory within the British Commonwealth. The story of the Sea Venture and the founding of Bermuda is in fact a crucial part of American history. Without those who had been aboard the Sea Venture or their experiences in Bermuda, the story of Jamestown and English America may have been very different indeed. [8]

Stephen Hopkins would not see England again for five or six years. Jamestown was his new home. [5]
Mr. Hopkins obtained passage on a vessel back to England, and was back in his home country again. Upon returning in the fall of 1615 or 1616, he found that his wife, Mary, had died in 1613. (Some theories maintain it was of the plague, though this is seemingly not concrete.) He was greeted by the news and to learn that his children were orphans in the custody of the Church. With Stephen absent and presumed dead, the Church liquidated the couple's estate to provide for the children. 

By late 1617 Stephen and his children had settled into a home just outside of the east wall of London, where he was said to be working as a tanner. On February 9, 1618, in the local church of St. Mary Matfellon in Whitechapel, he married his second wife, Elizabeth Fisher. In late 1618 Elizabeth and Stephen added another child to the family – a daughter they named Damaris.

Nearby the Hopkins' home was the infamous Heneage House, the Duke’s Place, in Aldgate – a mansion that had been converted into apartments which housed a number of nonconformists. Among these were Robert Cushman, John Carver, and William Brewster, members of the Scrooby Separatist congregation who had fled to Leyden, Holland years earlier to escape religious persecution. The three had returned to raise money for a patent to create a settlement in the New World for their congregation now living in exile in Holland.

Hopkins was recruited by the Merchant Adventurers to provide governance for the colony as well as assist with the colony’s ventures. He was a member of a group of passengers known to the Pilgrims as “The Strangers” since they were not part of the Pilgrims’ religious congregation.

Hopkins was the perfect candidate, especially with his previous experience in Jamestown, and he signed on as a “Stranger.” This time he packed up his pregnant wife, three children and two servants, to make the voyage with him on the Mayflower, leaving on September 6, 1620. Somewhere in the Atlantic a baby was born, and they named him Oceanus.
The Bible, From Latin To English

Until the latter part of the sixteenth century, the only Bibles available were printed in Latin. After the Reformation began the Geneva Bible was published in English. For the first time the common men were able to read the Scriptures for themselves. The Geneva Bible is the version that would have been most familiar to the older generation of Pilgrims. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, King James authorized another translation of the Bible into English, which still bears his name [The King James Version]. Until these English versions came into being, the common man was not able to read or understand the Scriptures. It was necessary for the ministers and church officials to tell the worshippers what was in the Bible and interpret the Scriptures. As the English translations became more readily available, the people were able to read the Scriptures for themselves, and controversies began to arise concerning the interpretation of many passages in the Bible. Other controversies arose concerning the rituals of the church service. [6]

The State Church

At the time the Pilgrim Fathers were living in England there was only one church approved by the English rulers. Everyone was required to attend that church - and ONLY that church - every week. If the English ruler were Protestant, all people of the realm were required to follow the Protestant beliefs and attend those church services; if the ruler were Catholic, everyone in the kingdom was required to practice the Catholic faith and rituals. All religion in the kingdom was strictly dictated by the government. This is what we call a "State Church."

The reigning ruler appointed the archbishop of his or her choice and every church in the kingdom was under the direct orders of the ruler and the archbishop. There was no freedom to choose what a person believed or how he could worship.

Anyone who objected to the beliefs of the state church or the forms of the church services could be arrested, questioned and thrown into prison. If they refused to give up their personal beliefs, they could be tortured in an effort to make them agree with the state church. If they still refused to give up their convictions after torture, they could be executed. Many people were imprisoned,
tortured and put to death. Those who were executed for their religious beliefs died painful
dead. Many were hanged and quartered, some were burned at the stake, while others were
crushed to death under heavy weights.

There were two major groups of believers who disagreed with the beliefs and practices of the
Church of England. One group wanted to stay in the church, but hoped to change its forms of
worship: This group was called "Puritan" because they wanted to "purify" the church. The other
group did not believe the state church could be changed: This group was called "Separatist"
because they wanted to separate completely from the Church of England.

At the beginning of the 1600s, a group of Separatists began to gather at Scrooby in the
northeastern county of Nottingham. Scrooby was located on the main post road which ran
between Scotland and London. When Queen Elizabeth I died in 1603 and James VI of Scotland
was to become James I of England, he traveled the post road on his way to be crowned.

James I was a Protestant and the Separatists were hopeful he would be more tolerant of
differing religious views. It was not long, however, before the Separatists learned that differing
religious views would not be allowed under the new king.

**Separatists (Pilgrims)**

One group was called the Separatists because they demanded a complete separation from the
Church of England. They wanted to worship in a very simple manner without all of the ritual
and symbols which were used in the Anglican Church. In their study of the Bible they had
decided the original church in New Testament times had been a simple church and they wished
to follow that example in their own worship. They believed there were so many changes needed
to be made in the Anglican Church that it could not be accomplished to their satisfaction.
Therefore, the only possibility for them was to "separate" completely from the state church.

Their pastor, Richard Clyfton, had guided this religious community into a form of democratic
self-government. Various points of view were tolerated, but the will of the majority ruled in
decision-making. The members of this group believed in equal rights and equal duties for
members of its congregation. Our modern concepts of a democratic system of government
began with Pastor Richard Clyfton. It was their Pastor John Robinson who first coined the word
"independent" in the matter of self-government.
The Pilgrims were warm, generous and thoughtful in their dealings with their fellow citizens and with the Indians they met in America.

Their manner of dress was typical of the ordinary fashions in England at that time. We know from Wills and Inventories of that early period that some of the leading men wore brightly colored clothing. Some even wore breeches of red, green or violet. This is a far cry from the dark, somber clothing of the Puritans which we see pictured every Thanksgiving. The Pilgrims were a good-natured, fun-loving people who loved life and insisted on the freedom of choice.

It was the Pilgrims who established Plymouth Colony. It was the Pilgrims who celebrated that first Thanksgiving with the Indians. It was the Pilgrims who brought our American principles of democratic government into being - not the Puritans. [6]

**Puritans**

The other major group in opposition to the Church of England was the Puritan group, which believed that the Anglican church could be changed to their satisfaction. They simply wanted to "purify" the church by eliminating the objectionable aspects of worship in the established church. This became a rather severe and militant group. Their church authorities ruled every aspect of their lives and, like the Church of England, they were extremely intolerant of any points of view which conflicted with their own dogma.

In their enthusiasm to keep their religion "pure," they were extremely severe in their punishment of anyone who would oppose them: Witness the atrocities during the witch-trials in Salem. They dressed in dark and somber clothing with no fashionable decorations. Gaudy apparel was certain to be an indication of the devil at work.

The Pilgrims and the Puritans were poles apart in their religious views, their systems of government, their everyday attitudes, and their style of clothing. [6]

**The Leiden Separatists**

In 1608 the Scrooby congregation made another attempt to leave England. During this attempt they were again troubled by the authorities who discovered their plot. The men had already boarded the ship, but the women and children were still on shore when the authorities arrived. The Dutch captain of the ship was forced to depart with the men, while the crying women and
children on shore were taken into custody by the authorities. However, it was not long until the Separatist families were rejoined in Amsterdam.

In Amsterdam some disputes arose over church affairs and in 1609 a group of about one hundred Separatists moved to Leiden, Holland, where they centered their activities around Leiden University under the leadership of Pastor John Robinson. At that time, Leiden University was one of the leading universities in Europe.

Their years in Leiden seem to have been peaceful for the most part until William Brewster (who had become a printer of sorts) began publishing books in opposition to the Church of England and smuggling them back into England for distribution. This, of course, created tensions between the authorities in England and Holland.

King James demanded the Dutch authorities to arrest Brewster and return him to England for punishment. There are many letters between the English and Dutch authorities (which have been preserved) telling this intriguing part of the story. [6]

**Decision To Leave Holland**

The decision to leave Holland was based on a number of considerations. In the early 17th Century, Holland was overpopulated in relation to the economic situation of the day—much like England. William Bradford spoke of "the hardness of the place and country." The only occupations available to English immigrants were those in low-paying jobs such as cloth-making, related trades and other labor-intensive occupations. Some of the English who had fled to Holland expended their funds and "returned to the prisons of England rather than endure the hardships in Holland."

In many instances the children were forced to labor alongside their parents in order to survive. As Bradford put it, "their bodies bowed under the weight of the same, and became decrepit in their youth, the vigour of nature being consumed in the very bud as it were." Some of the young men became soldiers in the Dutch military and others took to the sea for livelihood—life situations which tended to lead them into "dissoluteness and the danger of their souls." The Pilgrim fathers "saw their posterity would be in danger to degenerate and be corrupted." [6]

It appeared to the English community that the Dutch did not remember the Lord's Day and keep it holy, but after Sunday church services allowed feasting and merrymaking—especially among the children. This was intolerable to the English.
Finally, the Leiden Separatists asked King James for a Royal Charter, which would allow them to establish a colony in the New World. Although James refused to give them a Charter, he promised that he would not try to stop them from settling abroad.

After long delays and great expense the Leiden group succeeded in getting a Patent from the London Virginia Company, which was a group of merchants who were investing their money in new settlements in America in hopes of financial gain. Because these merchants were investors looking for large gains, the Pilgrims were forced to agree to terms which indentured them for seven years before they would be free to take any profits for themselves. [6]
**“MAYFLOWER” PASSENGERS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Congregation</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Allerton, Isaac</td>
<td>Leiden</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>(possibly Suffolk), Tailor &amp; Merchant,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary (Norris) Allerton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wife (Newbury, Berkshire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartholomew Allerton</td>
<td>Leiden</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>son, 7 (Leiden, Holland)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remember Allerton</td>
<td>Leiden</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>daughter, 6 (Leiden, Holland)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Allerton</td>
<td>Leiden</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>daughter, 3 (Leiden, Holland)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Billington, John</td>
<td>Stranger</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>(possibly Lancashire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellen Billington</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Billington</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Billington</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bradford, William</td>
<td>Leiden</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>(Austerfield, Yorkshire), Fustian Maker, son left behind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorothy (May) Bradford</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wife (Wisbech, Cambridgeshire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brewster, William</td>
<td>Leiden</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>(possibly Nottingham), Printer, children left behind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Brewster</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love Brewster</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>son, (Leiden)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wrestling Brewster</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britteridge, Richard</td>
<td>Stranger</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>(possibly Sussex), single, died first winter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Browne, Peter</td>
<td>Stranger</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Dorking, Surrey)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Button, William</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a youth, (possibly Nottingham)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Servant to Samuel Fuller</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>died during the voyage, three days before Cape Cod was sighted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carter, Robert</td>
<td>Teenager</td>
<td></td>
<td>(possibly Surrey), Family Servant or apprentice to William Mullins, single, died first winter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carver, John</td>
<td>Leiden</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>(possibly Yorkshire), no children, died first winter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katherine (Leggett) (White)</td>
<td>Carver</td>
<td></td>
<td>wife, (probably Sturton-le-Steeple, Nottinghamshire), died first winter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chilton, James</td>
<td>Leiden</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>(Canterbury, Kent), Tailor, another daughter and her husband came later</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susana Furner Chilton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Chilton</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margesson, Edmund</td>
<td>Stranger</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>(possibly Norfolk), died first winter, no issue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martin Christopher</td>
<td>Stranger</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>(Billericay, Essex), Merchant, died first winter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary (Prower) Martin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wife (died first winter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minter, Desire</td>
<td>Leiden</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>(Norwich, Norfolk), a servant of John Carver whose parents died in Leiden, (returned to England, died without issue)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More, Ellen</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(Shipton, Shropshire), assigned as a servant of Edward Winslow, died first winter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mullins, William</td>
<td>Stranger</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>(Dorking, Surrey), Boot &amp; Shoe Maker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alice Mullins</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priscilla Mullins</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>daughter, married John Alden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Mullins</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priest, Digory</td>
<td>Leiden</td>
<td></td>
<td>Congregation, Hatter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prower, Solomon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Billericay, Essex), Family servant to Christopher Martin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rigsdale, John</td>
<td>Stranger</td>
<td></td>
<td>(possibly Lincolnshire), (died first winter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alice Rigsdale</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wife (died first winter, no issue)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rogers, Thomas</td>
<td>Leiden</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>(Watford, Northamptonshire), (his other children came after)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Rogers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soule, George</td>
<td></td>
<td>21-25</td>
<td>(possibly Bedfordshire), servant or employee of Edward Winslow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standish, Myles</td>
<td>Stranger</td>
<td></td>
<td>(probably Lancashire), Military Captain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rose Standish</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Story, Elias</td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>under 21, in the care of Edward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Family Status</td>
<td>Notes</td>
<td></td>
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<td>-----------------------</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Clarke, Richard</td>
<td>&quot;Stranger&quot;</td>
<td>Single, died first winter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooke, Francis</td>
<td>Leiden Congregation</td>
<td>37, Wool Comber, wife and other children came after</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>John Cooke, son, 13, (Leiden).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crackston, John</td>
<td>Leiden Congregation</td>
<td>45 (possibly Colchester, Essex),</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>John Crackston, son</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doty, Edward</td>
<td>(possibly Lincolnshire)</td>
<td>about 21, Family Servant to Stephen Hopkins</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eaton, Francis</td>
<td>&quot;Stranger&quot;</td>
<td>25, (Bristol, Gloucestershire/Somerset), House Carpenter,</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sarah Eaton, wife</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Samuel Eaton, son 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fletcher, Moses</td>
<td>Leiden Congregation</td>
<td>35 (Sandwich, Kent), Blacksmith</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuller, Edward</td>
<td>Leiden Congregation</td>
<td>45 (Redenhall, Norfolk),</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bridget Lee Fuller, wife</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Samuel Fuller, son 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuller, Samuel</td>
<td>(Redenhall, Norfolk)</td>
<td>40, Physician, brother to Edward</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardinar, Richard</td>
<td>&quot;Stranger&quot;, 38.</td>
<td>(Harwich, Essex), Seaman, died later at sea</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodman, John</td>
<td>Leiden Congregation, (possibly Northampton), single, died early</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holbeck, William</td>
<td>under 21, Family Servant to William White, died first winter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hooke, John</td>
<td>(probably Norwich, Norfolk)</td>
<td>apprenticed to Isaac Allerton, died first winter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopkins, Stephen</td>
<td>&quot;Stranger&quot; (Upper Clatford, Hampshire).</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Elizabeth (Fisher) Hopkins, wife</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Giles Hopkins, son by first marriage, 12</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Constance Hopkins, daughter by first marriage, 14</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Damaris Hopkins, daughter, 1-2</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Oceanus Hopkins, son, born in-route on the mayflower</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howland, John</td>
<td>21, (Fenstanton, Huntingdonshire), manservant and executive assistant for Governor John Carver.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Langmore, John</td>
<td>under 21, Family Servant to Christopher Martin, died first winter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latham, William</td>
<td>11, (possibly Lancashire),</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winslow.</td>
<td>(died first winter)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thompson, Edward</td>
<td>under 21, in care of William White, (died first winter)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tilley, Edward</td>
<td>Leiden Congregation, 32, (Henlow, Bedfordshire) (no children)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ann (Cooper) Tilley, wife, (Henlow, Bedfordshire)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Samson, Henry, cousin, child, (Henlow, Bedfordshire)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cooper, Humility, cousin, (probably Leiden) baby daughter of Robert Cooper, returned to England</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tilley, John</td>
<td>Leiden Congregation, 49 (Henlow, Bedfordshire)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Joan (Hurst) (Rogers) Tilley, wife, (Henlow, Bedfordshire)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Elizabeth Tilley, daughter, 13, (Henlow, Bedfordshire), married John Howland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tinker, Thomas</td>
<td>Leiden Congregation, (possibly Norfork) family died first winter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs. Thomas Tinker, wife</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>son (died in the winter of 1620)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turner, John</td>
<td>Leiden Congregation, (possibly Norfork), Wood Sawyer, he had a daughter who came years later</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>boy Turner, son died in the winter of 1620</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>boy Turner, son died in the winter of 1620</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Warren, Richard</td>
<td>&quot;Stranger&quot;, 42, (Hertford, England), Merchant (wife and children left behind)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White, William</td>
<td>Leiden Congregation, 30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Susanna White, wife (later married Edward Winslow)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Resolved White, son 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Peregrine White, son, Born aboard the Mayflower in Provincetown Harbor</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilder, Roger</td>
<td>under 21, Family Servant to John Carver, died first winter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams, Thomas</td>
<td>25, died first winter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winslow, Edward</td>
<td>Leiden Congregation, 25 (Droitwich, Worcestershire), Printer,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Elizabeth (Barker) Winslow, wife</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winslow, Gilbert</td>
<td>&quot;Stranger&quot;, 20 (Droitwich, Worcestershire), (brother to Edward Winslow,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Christopher Jones,  
Ship's Master

John Clarke,  
Ship's Pilot and Master's Mate

Robert Coppin,  
Master's Mate

Andrew Williamson,  
Master's Mate

John Parker,  
Master's Mate

Giles Heale,  
Ship's Surgeon

John Alden,  
Cooper (Barrel-maker), Hired to stay one year

George Kerr,  
Carpenter

John Allerton, 29  
Seaman (was to go back to help the others behind, died before the ship returned

Richard Ely,  
Seaman, Hired to stay one year (returned when time was up)

Thomas English,  
Seaman, Hired to stay one year (was to be master of a shallop here, died before the ship returned)

William Trevore,  
Seaman, Hired to stay one year (returned when time was up)

"Master" Leaver,  
Unknown, He may have been a principal officer

The other 20 or so are unknown

According to author Charles Edward Banks, the *Mayflower* had fourteen officers consisting of the captain, four mates, four quartermasters, surgeon, carpenter, cooper, cook, boatswain, gunner and about thirty-six men before the mast, making a total of fifty. Other authors in more recent times estimate a crew of about thirty. The entire crew stayed with the *Mayflower* in Plymouth through the winter of 1620-1621. During that time, about half of the crew died. The crewmen that survived returned on the *Mayflower* which sailed for London on April 5, 1621.
THE SHIP

Mayflower structure and layout

The Pilgrim ship *Mayflower* was a typical English merchant ship of the early 17th century – square-rigged and beak-bowed, with high, castle-like structures *fore* and *aft* that served to protect the ship’s crew and the main deck from the elements. But having on her stern such structures as the 30-foot high, square aft-castle made the *Mayflower* extremely difficult to sail against the wind. This awkward superstructure configuration of the *Mayflower*, making it unable to sail well against the North Atlantic *Prevailing Westerlies*, especially in the Fall/Winter season of 1620, is the direct cause of the ship's voyage from England to America taking over two months. The *Mayflower*’s return trip to London in April–May 1621, with the same strong winds following this time, took less than half that time.

By 1620, the *Mayflower* was an aging ship, nearing the end of the usual English merchant ship working life in that era of fifteen years. No dimensions of its hull can be exact since this was an era many years before such measurements were standardized. Very likely *Mayflower* measured about 100 feet in length from the forward end at the beak of her prow aft to the tip of her stern superstructure. She was about 25 feet at her widest point, with about 12 feet of keel below the waterline. William Bradford estimated that *Mayflower* had a cargo volume of 180 tons, but he was not a mariner. What is known on the basis of records from that time that have survived is that she could certainly accommodate 180 casks of wine in her cargo hold. The casks were great barrels that each held hundreds of gallons of claret wine.
This was a ship that traditionally was heavily armed while on trading routes around Europe due to the possibility of encountering pirates and privateers of all types. And with its armament, the ship and crew could easily be conscripted by the English monarch at any time in case of conflict with other nations.

The general layout of the ship was as follows:

- She had three masts – Mizzen (aft), Main (midship) and Fore, and also a Spritsail[^6] in the bow area.
- She had three primary levels – main deck, gun deck and cargo hold.
Main deck

Aft on the main deck in the stern was the cabin for Master Christopher Jones, measuring about ten by seven feet. Forward of that was the steerage room, which housed a whip-staff (sort of a tiller) for sailing control – not a wheel as in later ships. Also here was the ship's compass and likely berthing place for the ship's officers. Forward of the steerage room was the capstan – a vertical axle used to pull in ropes or cables. Far forward on the main deck just aft of the bow was the forecastle space where the ship’s cook prepared meals for the crew; it may also have been where the ship's sailors slept. Above the cabin of Master Jones, on the highest ship's level above the stern on the aft castle, was the poop deck, on which was the poop house, which may have been for passengers' use either for sleeping or cargo. On normal merchant ships this space was likely a chart room or a cabin for the master's mates.
Orlop or Gun Deck

The gun deck was where the passengers resided during the voyage in a space measuring about fifty feet by twenty-five feet with a five foot overhead (ceiling). But it was also a dangerous place in conflict as it had port and starboard gun ports from which cannon could be run out to fire on the enemy. In the stern area of the deck was the gun room, to which passengers had no access due to it being the storage space for powder and ammunition for the ship's cannons and any other guns or weapons belonging to the ship. The gun room might also house a pair of 'stern chasers' – small cannons used to fire out the stern of the ship. Forward on the gun deck in the bow area was a windlass – equipment similar in function to the capstan in steerage – which was used to raise and lower the ship's main anchor. There was no stairs for the passengers on the gun deck to go up through the gratings to the main deck. To get up to the main deck, passengers were required to climb a wooden or rope ladder.
There was no facility for a latrine or privy on the *Mayflower* and ship’s crew had to fend for themselves in that regard. Gun deck passengers most likely used a bucket-turned-chamber pot affixed to the deck or bulkhead to keep it from being jostled at sea.

The largest gun was a **minion cannon**, which was brass, weighed about 1,200 pounds, and could shoot a 3.5 pound cannonball almost a mile. The *Mayflower* also had on board a **saker cannon** of about 800 pounds, and two base cannons that weighed about 200 pounds which shot a 3 to 5 ounce ball. She carried at least ten pieces of ordnance on the port and starboard sides of her gun deck – seven cannons for long range purposes and three smaller guns often fired from the stern at close quarters that were filled with musket balls. Later at New Plymouth, *Mayflower* Master Jones unloaded four of the pieces to help fortify the colony against invaders and would not have done so unless he was comfortable with the armament he still had on board.

**Cargo hold**

Below the gun deck was the cargo hold where the passengers kept most of their food stores and other supplies. Other items included most of their clothing and bedding. The hold also stored the passenger’s personal weapons and military equipment – armor, muskets, gunpowder and shot as well as swords and bandoliers. Also all the tools the Pilgrims would need as well as all the equipment and utensils needed to prepare meals in the New World. It is also known that some Pilgrims such as Allerton and Mullins, and possibly others, loaded trade goods on board with these also most likely being stored in the cargo hold.
Early history

When and where the *Mayflower* of the Pilgrim voyage of 1620 was built is not known, but it is likely that she was launched at Harwich in the county of Essex, England, and although later known ‘of London’, she was designated as ‘of Harwich’ in the Port Books of 1609-11. Harwich was the birthplace of *Mayflower* master Christopher Jones about 1570.

Since Captain Jones became master eleven years prior to the *Mayflower* Pilgrims' voyage, the ship had sailed cross-Channel taking English woolens to France and bringing French wine to London. In addition to wine and wool, Jones had transported hats, hemp, Spanish salt, hops and vinegar to Norway and may have taken the *Mayflower* whaling in the North Atlantic in the Greenland area. It had traveled to Mediterranean ports, being then owned by Christopher Nichols, Robert Child, Thomas Short and Christopher Jones, the ship’s master. In 1620 Capt. Jones and Robert Child still owned their quarter shares in the ship, and it was from them that Thomas Weston chartered her in the summer of 1620 to undertake the Pilgrim voyage. Weston was deeply involved in the *Mayflower* voyage due to his membership in the investor group Merchant Adventurers, and eventually came to Plymouth Colony himself.

From the Port Books of England in the reign of James I (1603-1625), there were twenty-six vessels bearing the same name as the Pilgrim ship and the reason for such popularity has never been found.

- A particular *Mayflower* that has caused historical confusion is a *Mayflower* erroneously named as the *Mayflower* of the 1620 Pilgrims. This particular ship was partly owned by John Vassall and was outfitted for Elizabeth I of England in 1588 during the time of the Spanish Armada, a war for which he outfitted several ships. There are no records of this Vassall *Mayflower* beyond 1594.

From records of the time, and to avoid confusion with the many other *Mayflower* ships, the identity of Captain Jones’ *Mayflower* is based on her home port, her tonnage (est. 180-200 tons), and the master’s name in 1620.

August 1609 records first note Christopher Jones as master and part owner of the *Mayflower* when his ship was chartered for a voyage from London to Drontheim (Trondheim) in Norway, and back to London. Due to bad weather, on her return, the ship lost an anchor and made short delivery of her cargo of herrings. Litigation was involved and was proceeding in 1612.

In a document of January 1611, Christopher Jones is described as being ‘of Harwich’, and his ship is called the *Mayflower* of Harwich (in Essex county). Records of Jones’ ship *Mayflower* have the ship twice in the Thames in London in 1613 – once in July and again in October and November.
Records of 1616 again state Jones’ ship was in the Thames and the noting of wine on board suggests the ship had recently been on a voyage to France, Spain, Portugal, the Canaries, or some other wine-producing country.

After 1616, there is no record which specifically relates to Jones’ *Mayflower* until 1624. This is unusual for a ship trading to London, as it would not usually disappear for such a long time from the records. There is no Admiralty court document relating to the Pilgrim Fathers' voyage of 1620 that can be found. Perhaps the situation of the way the transfer of the pilgrims from Leyden to New England was arranged may account for this. Or possibly many of the records of the period have been lost.

**Later history**

On May 4, 1624, two years after Captain Jones’ death in 1622, an application was made to the Admiralty court for an appraisal of the *Mayflower* by three of her owners including Jones’ widow, Mrs. Josian (Joan) Jones. This appraisal probably was made to determine the valuation of the ship for the purpose of settling the estate of its late master. The appraisal was made by four mariners and shipwrights of Rotherhithe, home and burial place of Captain Jones, where the *Mayflower* was apparently then lying in the Thames at London. The appraisement is extant and provides information on ship’s gear on board at that time as well as equipment such as muskets and other arms. The ship may have been laid up since Jones’ death and allowed to get out of repair, as that is what the appraisal indicates.

What finally became of the *Mayflower* is an unsettled issue. Per Banks, an English historian of the Pilgrim ship claims that this historic ship was finally broken up, with her timbers used in the construction of a barn at Jordans village in Buckinghamshire. At the present time, within the grounds of Old Jordan in South Buckinghamshire is what tradition calls the *Mayflower Barn*. In 1624 Thomas Russell supposedly added to part of a farmhouse already there with timbers from a ship, believed to be from the Pilgrim ship ‘Mayflower’, bought from a shipbreaker's yard in Rotherhithe. The well-preserved structure is a present-day tourist attraction, receiving visitors each year from all over the world and particularly from America. [13]
Christopher Jones: Master Of The “Mayflower”

Notice here we refer to Jones as master of the ship - not the captain. In those times the skipper of a naval ship carried the rank of captain. The skipper of a merchant ship such as Mayflower was called the master.

Christopher Jones was born into a seafaring family. He was trained from childhood to carry on the family tradition. He undoubtedly went through the full sea training of the time - probably shipping out as a cabin boy by at least the age of 12. He inherited 1/4 ownership of a ship at his coming of age. He then became a merchant seaman and a master of ships. He was also a naval architect of some repute. In fact, he designed and built a large ship, the Josian, which he named for his second wife.

The Josian was so well-designed and built that it attracted the attention of the British Navy, and those plans were used in the construction of some naval ship by order of King James I. So we know Master Jones was not some unknown skipper Cushman and Carver picked up at a dockside tavern in London. He was a highly respected seaman with a number of years of experience.
We also know *Mayflower* had been used in the merchant trade with the Scandinavian countries as well as Spain, France and possibly Italy for about twelve years. This ship had endured the waters of the North Sea, which is the most treacherous body of water in the world. Jones had served as master on those crossings. He knew *Mayflower* well. He also knew that if she were strong enough to travel the North Sea, she was surely strong enough to endure the Atlantic crossing. This man, who designed and built ships, would not have ventured to cross the Atlantic in a tiny, creaky, old ship.

Aside from the accounts of Bradford and Winslow, the only facts we have concerning the *Mayflower* are some records of her earlier voyages, a partial list of her crew in 1620, and mention of her cargo carrying capacity. Employment in the wine trade had made her a "sweet ship." Leakage from the wine casks over the space of years had neutralized the garbage and other filth which sailors in those days threw into the hold instead of bothering to drop it overboard. That explains why the Pilgrims lost only one of their number by illness on the long, rough, cold voyage. [6]

**The Mayflower Barn**

Within the grounds of Old Jordans is the [Mayflower Barn](#) on the edge of the Chiltern hills in the South Buckinghamshire countryside, about midway between London and Oxford, in the small village (and associated farmstead) of Jordans.
The farm's name seems to date back into the late Middle Ages. Its known history begins in 1618 when Thomas Russell bought it. Part of the present farmhouse was already there and Thomas Russell added to it in 1624, when he also built a substantial new main barn with timbers from a ship. In the 1920s antiquarian J. Rendel Harris concluded that the barn had been built with timbers from a ship called the "Mayflower" bought from a shipbreaker's yard in Rotherhithe and that this was the Mayflower which carried the Pilgrim Fathers from Plymouth to New England. However, Harris' research was speculative and drawn mostly from his claims of an oral tradition. Moreover, given there may have been up to 37 Mayflowers plying the oceans at the time and the farm's name is older than the ship, the timbers' origin has not been verified.

The well-preserved structure was a tourist attraction, receiving visitors each year from all over the world and particularly from the Americas but is now privately owned and not open to the public.

The Mayflower was not a Godly boat, despite its passengers and their ideals. It was a jobbing boat, fit for purpose, manned by sea dogs who knew their trade and mocked the softies who had paid for their passage. The journey out was at the wrong time of year, the arrival rather desperate. The winter and a virulent disease killed off half the ship’s company as they lived on that freezing ship all winter, and by the spring, the boat and its men were heart and body sick.

So Master Jones must wait until his depleted crew was strong again. And on April 5, 1621, he set off back home, weighting the empty belly of the ship down with stones from Plymouth Harbor Shore.

The Mayflower made excellent time, arriving back in England on May 6. But some say the journey took its toll on the ship and its captain. Jones died less than a year later and was buried at St Mary’s Church, Rotherhithe. And close by, The Mayflower sat berthed, a ship without a master.
In 1624, the probate lawyers looked the ship over for what it might be worth for scrap. £50 for the ship, five anchors at £25, Item. **8 muskitts, 6 bandeleers, and 6 piks at ——— 50 s.** A pitch pot and kettle for 13 shillings and four pence; and more besides. The whole lot totaled a

Now: let us remember that there were many Mayflowers out there. For this is where supposition turns quickly to folklore.

For the timber from one Mayflower, folks say the same Mayflower, was procured in Rotherhithe to build a barn in Buckinghamshire.

It stands in the ground of Jordans, the Quaker meeting-house and settlement where you can find the gravestone of William Penn, founder of Pennsylvania. For centuries it was used as a meeting place for the Quakers.

Tourists from all over the world believe the folklore. They flocked to see the barn, made from the timbers of the ungodly ship with took pilgrims, some to a new life, some to their death. But the barn was sold into private hands in 2006, and it sits behind a gate away from the eyes of the public now.
The voyage was set for early spring so that the colonists would arrive in the New World in time to prepare for winter. But there were many delays and the spring of 1620 came and went, and it was July before the Separatists left Leyden in their small ship, the *Speedwell*. They sailed to Southampton, a city on the English south coast, where they were joined by the investors and the non-Separatists recruited by Weston. For their primary transportation, the investors had hired the *Mayflower*, a larger ship that had been used in the wine trade.

The Separatists hoped to fulfill their contract with the investors by becoming fishermen, but some of the more experienced men, such as Stephen, realized the group was ill-prepared. They had purchased fish hooks that were too large and nets that were too weak, and brought almost nothing to trade with the Indians. When Robert Cushman arrived at Southampton, he was advised to buy more muskets and armor, as well as copper chains, beads, knives, scissors, and other things to trade with the natives.

Disagreement over the contract brought another delay. The original plan called for the colonists to work five days a week for seven years to pay their debt. In the end they would own their houses and a share of the land worth 10 pounds. After five weeks of pressure from the investors, Cushman signed a new agreement in which the colonists would work seven days a week for seven years to pay their debt and would own nothing privately, not even the roofs over their heads. Under the new agreement they would risk their lives and work like slaves for seven years with nothing to show for it but their share of land. They also learned that Thomas Weston had no clear patent from the Virginia Company and had not even invested his own money in the enterprise.

There had never been a more poorly planned and supplied venture, but the settlers were willing to forge ahead. On August 5, 1620, they boarded the two ships and set sail for the New World. Their voyage was soon interrupted, however, when the smaller *Speedwell* began leaking. They put into the port at Dartmouth and made repairs, but the condition recurred once they were under sail again. They managed to make it to port in neighboring Plymouth where they decided to abandon the unreliable ship. The already crowded Mayflower could take on only a few of the Speedwell's passengers, so the rest had to return to Leyden. Only 35 of the Separatists remained. The other 67 Mayflower passengers were the non-Separatist Londoners who had
been recruited by Weston. On September 6, 1620, these Pilgrims (Separatists and non-Separatists alike) set sail across the North Atlantic headed for the northernmost boundary of the Virginia colony. [3]

### The Speedwell

The Speedwell was a 60-ton pinnace that, along with Mayflower, transported the pilgrims and was the smaller of the two ships. A vessel of the same name and size traveled to the New World seventeen years prior as the flagship of the first expedition of Martin Pring.

*Speedwell* was built in 1577, under the name *Swiftsure*, as part of English preparations for war against Spain. She participated in the fight against the Spanish Armada. During the Earl of Essex's 1596 Azores expedition she served as the ship of his second in command, Sir Gilly Merick. After hostilities with Spain ended, she was decommissioned in 1605, and renamed *Speedwell*.

The Leiden Separatists bought the *Speedwell* in Holland, and embarked from Delfshaven on 22 July 1620. They then sailed under the command of Captain John Thomas Chappell to Southampton, England to meet the sister ship, Mayflower, which had been chartered by merchant investors. The Speedwell was already leaking. In Southampton almost two weeks while the *Speedwell* was being repaired, the group had to sell some of their belongings, food and stores, to cover costs and port fees.

Prior to the voyage, the *Speedwell* had been refitted in Leiden and had two masts. Nathaniel Philbrick theorizes that the crew used a mast that was too big for the ship, and that the added stress caused holes to form in the hull. William Bradford wrote that the "overmasting" strained the ship's hull, but attributes the main cause of her leaking to actions on the part of the crew. Passenger Robert Cushman wrote from Dartmouth in August 1620 that the leaking was caused by a loose board approximately two feet long. There is no record of the Speedwell being sailed again. *Speedwell's* replacement, Fortune, eventually followed, arriving at Plymouth Colony one year later on 9 November 1621.
The Voyage

The 102 passengers had to work out their own accommodations in the orlop, a large open under-deck meant for carrying freight. Some built small cabins, no bigger than a large bed, while others simply placed straw-filled mattresses on the deck. [15]

The Orlop

It was dark, rainy, and cold out on the open Atlantic, and the ship pitched and rolled. There were no other vessels on the tossing waves. The travelers on Mayflower were alone. It was autumn 1620. The ship's passengers - 102 in all - did not think they were sailing into history. They were more concerned about the weather. But this wind-tossed ship they traveled in would become an important symbol in the history of the United States. [15]

What appeared to be chaos among men and rigging slowly evolved into the smooth operation of a ship under sail. The passengers must have felt encouraged by the week of fair weather they had at the start of the voyage. Some of them could handle the constant motion of the ship, whereas others, even in calm weather, were seasick. Soon autumn gales began to blow. As William Bradford told it "they were encountered many times with crosswinds and met with fierce storms, with which the ship was shroudly [viciously] shaken, and her upper works made very leaky". During her stormy passage she suffered only a bowed and cracked main deck beam. While this frightened some mariners and passengers enough to suggest turning back to England, the ship's carpenter quickly had the damaged beam repaired. [15]

During the rough weather, conditions aboard Mayflower became increasingly wet and miserable. The air below decks smelled foul. Amid the cramped animal pens and crowded cabins, many passengers fell sick. Yet they felt blessed that only one colonist, William Butten, a servant in the Fuller family, died a sea. A sailor also died on the voyage. In fair weather the passengers were allowed up on deck to get fresh air and exercise. But in the long spells of bad weather that plagued the two-month crossing, they must have spent many uncomfortable hours cooped up below decks. One happy event was the birth of Elizabeth Hopkins son, appropriately named Oceanus. Sadly, he died shortly after. [15]
We are told the Mayflower was a ship of 180 tuns. But what does that mean? We are accustomed to thinking in terms of a 2,000 lb. measure of weight when we read the word. However, that is not what the tun of measure meant in the early 17th Century. A tun - spelled T-U-N - was a large barrel or cask for wine equal to double hogsheads (or 265 gallons).

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<td>1 Broad Axe</td>
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<td>1 Hand-Bill</td>
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Also there are divers other things necessary to bee taken over to this Plantation, as Bookes, Nets, Hookes and Lines, Cheese, Bacon, Kine, Goats, &c.
By Mayflower passenger Edward Winslow

"Now because I expect your coming unto us, with other of our friends, whose company we much desire, I thought good to advertise you of a few things needful. "Be careful to have a very good bread-room to put your biscuits in. Let your cask for beer and water be iron-bound, for the first tier, if not more. Let not your meat be dry-salted; none can better do it than the sailors. Let your meal be so hard trod in your cask that you shall need an adz or hatchet to work it out with. Trust not too much on us for corn at this time, for by reason of this last company that came, depending wholly upon us, we shall have little enough till harvest. Be careful to come by some of your meal to spend by the way; it will much refresh you. Build your cabins as open as you can, and bring good store of clothes and bedding with you. Bring every man a musket or fowling-piece. Let your piece be long in the barrel, and fear not the weight of it, for most of our shooting is from stands. Bring juice of lemons, and take it fasting; it is of good use. For hot water, aniseed water is the best, but use it sparingly. If you bring anything for comfort in the country, butter or salad oil, or both, is very good. Our Indian corn, even the coarsest, maketh as pleasant meat as rice; therefore spare that, unless to spend by the way. Bring paper and linseed oil for your windows, with cotton yarn for your lamps. Let your shot be most for big fowls, and bring store of powder and shot. I forbear further to write for the present, hoping to see you by the next return. So I take my leave, commending you to the Lord for a safe conduct unto us."

Sailors require significant quantities of fresh water on extended voyages. Fresh water was taken on board in casks that quickly developed algae and became slimy. Beer was a dietary mainstay in those days. Chances are the beverage in question was "ship's beer," a not-very-alcoholic concoction that, along with the even weaker "small beer," was drunk in formidable quantities during the colonial era (upwards of a quart per day seems to have been a typical ration). Undoubtedly an advantage was that, unlike more perishable foodstuffs, ship's beer would keep during long voyages and, having been boiled, was likely purer than ordinary water.

no surprise that a ship's surgeon should be aboard a merchant ship such as Mayflower when she departed on her historic voyage to establish a colony in America.

Little has been written in Pilgrim literature about the healing arts which were known at the time-a far more extensive knowledge than the contemporary reader might realize. In the accounts of Bradford and Winslow, the reader is made aware of the presence of a ship's surgeon on the voyage, but little or no attention is given to the several others on board who were trained and experienced in providing medical assistance.
Mayflower Compact

After 66 days at sea, on November 11 the *Mayflower* stopped in Provincetown, Massachusetts, north of their Hudson River destination. There was a lot of discussion about whether they should continue on to find the Hudson or stay put. Hopkins, despite almost being killed for his independent ideas in Bermuda, politicked for staying where they were so they would have less governing oversight and more freedom to do what they wanted. He argued, again, *that since they hadn't reached their original destination they were exempt from obligation to their original agreement.* [4]

The *Mayflower* anchored at Provincetown Harbor on November 11. The Pilgrims did not have a patent to settle this area, thus some passengers began to question their right to land; they complained that there was no legal authority to establish a colony. In response to this, a group of colonists, still aboard the ship as it lay off-shore, drafted and ratified the first governing document of the colony, the *Mayflower Compact*, the intent of which was to establish a means of governing the colony. Though it did little more than confirm that the colony would be governed like any English town, it did serve the purpose of relieving the concerns of many of the settlers. This social contract was written and signed by 41 Separatists. It was modeled on the church covenants *Congregationalists* used to form new congregations. It made clear that the colony should be governed by "*just and equal laws*", and those who signed it promised to keep these laws. [11]

The group remained on board the ship through the next day, a Sunday, for prayer and worship. The immigrants finally set foot on land at what would become Provincetown on November 13. The first task was to rebuild a *shallop*, a shallow draft boat that had been built in England and disassembled for transport aboard the *Mayflower*. It would remain with the Pilgrims while the *Mayflower* returned to England. [11]
EXPLORING CAPE COD

What the Pilgrims needed to find was a piece of ground that would best support their future colony. They needed some place that was near enough to a bay to facilitate easy anchorage of ships. They needed a place that was defendable and with some high ground to mount their defensive cannons. It needed to be an area where the soil could support crops, and that could be cleared with reasonable ease. There needed to be running fresh water nearby -- not only for drinking, washing and irrigation, but also access to food (primarily fish), boat moorage, and for eventually building mills to grind corn and wheat.

The Mayflower anchored inside what is now Provincetown Harbor, right at the tip of Cape Cod. The harbor was plenty big enough for ships, the area passed on of their criteria at least. They noted lots of waterfowl, and forests of oaks, pines, and juniper. There were whales in the bay, but unfortunately the colonists had no means to hunt them. As soon as they could get organized a group of about 16 men made a quick trip ashore just to see what was there, and to gather some firewood. They found the ground to be generally sandy with a small layer of good black crust. The women were taken ashore, and got right to work on the laundry - which had been piling up for two months! There can be no doubt that everyone was just a little smelly.
They started reassembling their main water transportation: a shallop they had disassembled and stored between the decks on the *Mayflower*. Some of the passengers had actually taken up residence inside the dismantled ship. The boat was in need of quite a lot of repairs, on top of needing to be reassembled. [51]

Realizing the shallop would be weeks, not days, in repair, the Pilgrims decided to head out on their first exploration on foot. Sixteen men volunteered, led by Myles Standish with William Bradford and Edward Tilly, both Leiden separatist; and Stephen Hopkins as advisors. They were set ashore on Tuesday, November 15th, and had only marched south about a mile before spotting six Indians and a dog off in the distance.

Myles Standish  William Bradford  Capt. John Smith

They did not know that the Indians on Cape Cod were not particularly fond of Europeans. In 1614, Captain John Smith (of Jamestown fame) left behind an associate, Captain Thomas Hunt, who later lured twenty-seven Nauset and Patuxet onboard his ship and then sailed away with his captives - selling them off as slaves in Malaga, Spain. The Pilgrims, seeing the Indians on the beach, and desiring to find a native village to establish communication and ultimately trade ignorantly gave chase. The Pilgrims followed the Indians' footprints for more than ten miles, before night fell. The next day they continued looking for Indians. What they found were some fifty acres of corn stubble from a previous season. Moving on, they found a mound of dirt with a mortar on top, which they dug into, and found some arrows and pots; suspecting a grave, they covered it up and moved on. They later came to an abandoned Indian house, outside in a mound of sand, they found a large cash of corn seed [Later known as corn hill]. With no present way to get any in fair trade, they decided to take what they found. What they got was 36 ears of corn and a bunch of loose seed as well, amounting in total to a couple of bushels. [51]
The Nauset, of course, saw things a little bit differently, The armed men who gave chase to them, had now dug into one of their graves, and then stole a family's entire supply of seed for the upcoming planting season. The Pilgrims were not making any friends at this point. [5]

![Plaque at first encounter beach](image)

That night, it rained profusely, so the Pilgrims built a sturdy rendezvous to ride out the stormy night. The next morning, they started to march back from where they had come, but promptly got lost in the thick woods. As they aimlessly wandered around, the group encountered a bizarre-looking man made contraption. Hopkins immediately recognized it as a deer trap. As everyone began to gather around to admire the handiwork and comment on the excellent rope work, William Bradford stumbled in from the rear wondering what everyone was looking at, stepped on and triggered the trap, and up he went with a Jerk! Everyone but William go a good laugh out of it. [5]

In late November, Susanna White (Wife of William White) gave birth to a son, Peregrine White, on the Mayflower. He was the first English child born to the Pilgrims in the New World. [11]

In late November, with the shallop patched up enough to be functional, thirty-six men were organized to head out on the next exploration. They decided to survey the Pamet River to see its possible suitability as a place to establish their colony. Surveying the area carefully, they determined the river could not support ships, although it was deep enough for boats. Everyone came to the conclusion that the area was not suitable. [5]

![Late Summer on the Pamet River](image)
The story of the “First Encounter” appears both in *Mourt’s Relation* by George Morton, published in London in 1622, and (in a condensed version) in William Bradford’s *Of Plymouth Plantation.*

“Wednesday, the sixth of December [1620]. It was resolved our discoverers should set forth ... So ten of our men were appointed who were of themselves willing to undertake it, to wit, Captain Standish, Master Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, John TILLEY, Edward Tilley, John HOWLAND, and three of London, Richard Warren, Stephen HOPKINS, and Edward Doten, and two of our seamen, John Alderton, and Thomas English. Of the ship’s company there went two of the master’s mates, Master Clarke and Master Coppin, the master gunner, and three sailors ...”

” ... the 6th of December [1620] they sent out their shallop again with ten of their principal men and some seamen, upon further discovery, intending to circulate that deep bay of Cape Cod. The weather was very cold and it froze so hard as the spray of the sea lighting on their coats, they were as if they had been glazed. Yet that night betimes they got down into the bottom of the bay, and as they drew near the shore they saw some ten or twelve Indians very busy about something. They landed about a league or two from them ... they made themselves a barricado with logs and boughs as well as they could in the time, and set out their sentinel and betook them to rest, and saw the smoke of the fire the savages made that night. When morning was come they divided their company, some to coast along the shore in the boat, and the rest marched through the woods to see the land, if any fit place might be for their dwelling. They came also to the place where they saw the Indians the night before, and found they had been cutting up a great fish like a grampus ...

“So they ranged up and down all that day, but found no people, nor any place they liked. When the sun grew low, they hasted out of the woods to meet with their shallop ... of which they were very glad, for they had not seen each other all that day since the morning. So they made them a barricado as usually they did every night, with logs, stakes and thick pine boughs, the height of a man, leaving it open to leeward, partly to shelter them from the cold and wind (making their fire in the middle and lying round about it) and partly to defend them from any sudden assaults of the savages, if they should surround them; so being very weary, they betook them to rest. But about midnight they heard a hideous and great cry, and their sentinel called “Arm! arm!” So they bestirred them and stood to their arms and shot off a couple of muskets, and then the noise ceased. They concluded it was a company of wolves or such like wild beasts, for one of the seamen told them he had often heard such noise in Newfoundland.

“So they rested till about five of the clock in the morning; for the tide, and their purpose to go from thence, made them be stirring betimes. So after prayer they prepared for breakfast, and it being day dawning it was thought best to be carrying things down to the boat ...

“But presently, all on the sudden, they heard a great and strange cry, which they knew to be the same voices they heard in the night, though they varied their notes; and one of their company
being abroad came running in and cried, “Men, Indians! Indians!” And withal, their arrows came flying amongst them. Their men ran with all speed to recover their arms, as by the good providence of God they did. In the meantime, of those that were there ready, two muskets were discharged at them, and two more stood ready in the entrance of their rendezvous but were commanded not to shoot till they could take full aim at them. And the other two charged again with all speed, for there were only four had arms there, and defended the barricado, which was first assaulted. The cry of the Indians was dreadful, especially when they saw their men run out of the rendezvous toward the shallop to recover their arms, the Indians wheeling about upon them. But some running out with coats of mail on, and cutlasses in their hands, they soon got their arms and let fly amongst them and quickly stopped their violence ...

“Thus it pleased God to vanquish their enemies and give them deliverance; and by his special providence so to dispose that not any one of them were either hurt or hit, though their arrows came close by them and on every side [of] them; and sundry of their coats, which hung up in the barricado, were shot through and through. Afterwards they gave God solemn thanks and praise for their deliverance, and gathered up a bundle of their arrows and sent them into England afterward by the master of the ship, and called that place the FIRST ENCOUNTER.”

While the men explored the coastline, the women were left on board the Mayflower to worry about the fate of their husbands, and contend with spreading sickness brought on by dampness, cold, and malnutrition. The colonists had to settle somewhere soon.

One of the ship's crew knew of a good inlet further along the coast that the sailors called "Thievish Harbor." On December 6, Stephen was one of ten men that braved the frigid weather to take the shallop along the coast. They found an Indian burial ground and some unoccupied dwellings before camping for the night. At daybreak they were attacked by members of the Nauset tribe. There was a brief exchange of arrows and musket shot, but no one was harmed. They got back in their boat and rowed on in hopes of finding the harbor. That afternoon they were caught in a rising storm which broke the rudder hinges and the mast. One of the Mayflower's mates managed to maneuver the shallop into a nearby harbor where they landed on an island and spent a cold and rainy night. The following day being Sunday, they did little but explore the island.

On Monday, the 11th of December, the weather had cleared up, the shallop had been mended, it was now time to coast around the rest of the harbor. The harbor was good and big, deep enough for ships. The ground was generally level; there were cleared areas of abandoned cornfields; and there were freshwater streams. This was the best they had seen, and they were out of time to look for anything else. They returned to the Mayflower with the news that they had, at last, found a suitable place to build their new community. The Mayflower arrived in the harbor on December 16, 1620 giving everyone onboard a first glimpse of their new home.
FOUNDING OF PLYMOUTH

The *Mayflower* dropped anchor in Plymouth Harbor on December 16, 1620 and spent three days looking for a settlement site. They rejected several sites, including one on Clark's Island and another at the mouth of the Jones River, in favor of the site of a recently abandoned Native American settlement named Patuxet. The location was chosen largely for its defensive position; the settlement would be centered on two hills: Cole's Hill, where the village would be built, and Fort Hill, where a defensive cannon would be stationed. Also important in choosing the site, the prior Native villagers had cleared much of the land, making agriculture relatively easy. Fresh water for the colony was provided by Town Brook and Billington Sea. Although there are no contemporary accounts to verify the legend, Plymouth Rock is often hailed as the point where the colonists first set foot on their new homeland. [11]
The area where the colonists settled had been identified as "New Plymouth" in maps by John Smith published in 1614. The colonists elected to retain the name for their own settlement—after their final point of departure from England: Plymouth, Devon. [11]

On December 21, 1620, the first landing party arrived at the site of what would later become the settlement of Plymouth. Plans to immediately begin building houses, however, were delayed by inclement weather until December 23. As the building progressed, twenty men always remained ashore for security purposes, while the rest of the work crews returned each night to the Mayflower. Women, children, and the infirm remained on board the Mayflower; many had not left the ship for six months. The first structure, a "common house" of relatively flat top of Cole's Hill, and a wooden platform was constructed to support the cannon that would defend the settlement from nearby Fort Hill. [11]
During the winter, the *Mayflower* colonists suffered greatly from diseases like scurvy, lack of shelter and general conditions onboard ship. Many of the able-bodied men were too infirm to work; 45 out of 102 immigrants died and were buried on Cole's Hill. Thus, only seven residences (of a planned nineteen) and four common houses were constructed during the first winter. By the end of January, enough of the settlement had been built to begin unloading provisions from the *Mayflower*. In mid-February, after several tense encounters with local Indians, the male residents of the settlement organized themselves into military orders; Myles Standish was designated as the commanding officer. By the end of the month, five cannons had been defensively positioned on Fort Hill. John Carver was elected governor to replace Governor Christopher Martin. [11]

The *Mayflower* remained anchored in the harbor throughout the winter. Although the ship was cold, damp, and unheated, it was their only shelter until the houses could be completed on shore. Exposure, malnutrition, and illness began taking their toll. Stephen had escaped the "starving time" at Jamestown, but he did not escape this one. William Bradford wrote:

*In two or three months' time half of their company died, especially in January and February, being the depth of winter, and wanting houses and other comforts; being infected with the scurvy and other diseases which this long voyage had brought up on them, so as there died sometimes two or three of a day. Of 100 and odd persons, scarce fifty remained. And of these, in the time of most distress, there was but six or seven sound persons who to their great commendations spared no pains night or day, but with abundance of toil and hazard to their own health, fetched them wood, made them fires, dressed them meat, made their beds, washed their loathsome clothes, clothed and unclothed them.* [3]

The women were the hardest hit with only four of eighteen surviving. By some miracle, the Hopkins family and their servants were spared. In March some of the sick began to recover, and those who were able began to plant their gardens. A grateful Bradford wrote:

"*the Spring now approaching, it pleased God the mortalitie begane to cease amongst them, and the sick and lame recovered apace, which put as it were new life into them; though they had borne their sadd affliction with much patience & contentednes.*" [5]

It was not until March 1 that everyone was finally brought ashore and began permanently living at Plymouth - by that time, some people had likely been living onboard the ship for about nine months. [5]

In early April, the *Mayflower* returned to England with a small cargo of beaver skins and sassafras. Not one of the pilgrims chose to return to England. William Bradford would later write:

"*May not and ought not the children of these fathers rightly say: Our fathers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this wilderness; but they cried unto the Lord, and He heard their voice and looked on their adversity.*" [3]
MEETING THE INDIANS

For some 12,000 years, the "Wampanoag" had lived in America fishing the waters, hunting the shores, and planting crops in the sheltered inland areas. Their name means "People of the First Light" but they referred to themselves simply as the "People". Their rich culture was organized around family, village, and nation. Their leaders, called sachems, governed by general agreement. [15]

Having learned a great deal from his experiences in Bermuda and Jamestown, Stephen quickly proved his worth to the colony. While skilled as a hunter and fisherman, his biggest contribution was his ability to relate to the native people. The Hopkins home became an embassy where Indian chiefs were entertained, and Stephen was asked to participate in several important trips to Indian settlements in the summer of 1621. As early as mid-February, the settlers had spotted Indians "skulking about the settlement," but it wasn't until mid-March that the groups finally met. [3]

On March 16, 1621, the first formal contact with the Indians occurred. An Indian named Samoset, originally from Pemaquid Point in modern Maine, walked boldly into the midst of the settlement and proclaimed, "Welcome, Englishmen!" He had learned some English from interacting with English fishermen and trappers (most probably from Bristol) operating in the region. It was during this meeting that the Pilgrims found out that the previous residents of the village, Patuxet, had died of an epidemic thought to be smallpox. They also discovered that the supreme leader of the region was a Wampanoag sachem (chief) by the name of Massasoit; and they learned of the existence of Squanto—also known by his full Massachusett name of Tisquantum—originally from Patuxet. Squanto had spent time in Europe and spoke English quite well. (During his lifetime, he crossed the Atlantic Ocean six times) Samoset spent the night in Plymouth and agreed to arrange a meeting with some of Massasoit's men. [11]
Samoset was taken to the Hopkins house where he was given a meal of the best they had to offer – brandy, roast duck, biscuits and cheese, and corn pudding. Over dinner Samoset explained that he had learned their language from the Englishmen who crossed the North Atlantic each year to fish for cod. He had heard about the pilgrim's arrival and, for some time, had been traveling south to meet them. [3]

He explained that the Nausets, with whom the colonists had skirmished, harbored ill-feelings toward the English because Captain Thomas Hunt, an English slave-trader, had kidnapped some of their people a few years earlier. [3]

Massasoit and Squanto were apprehensive about the Pilgrims. In Massasoit's first contact with the English, several men of his tribe had been killed in an unprovoked attack by English sailors. He also knew of the Pilgrims' theft of the corn stores in their landings at Provincetown. Squanto had been abducted in 1614 by the English explorer Thomas Hunt and had spent five years in Europe, first as a slave for a group of Spanish monks, then in England. He had returned to New England in 1619, acting as a guide to the explorer Capt. Robert Gorges. Massasoit and his men had massacred the crew of the ship and had taken in Squanto. [11]

Squanto whose adventures abroad had taught him a great deal about the ways of the Europeans. Being a man without a home, family, or tribe, Squanto settled in with the Hopkins and became the colony's agent in their interaction with the local tribes. His arrival paved the way for a visit by Ousamequin 'Yellow Feather' also known as Massasoit the 'great chief' of the Wampanoag. [3]

Massasoit, "Yellow Feather" was the "Great Sachem" of the Wampanoag Confederacy

On the day of his arrival, Massasoit was escorted to the Hopkins house. After eating and exchanging gifts, Massasoit and Governor Carver began negotiations. The Wampanoag had powerful enemies in the Narragansetts, and wanted the Englishmen as allies. Being so few in number, the colonists also needed allies, so the two signed a peace treaty stating that they would come to each other's aid in the event of attack from outsiders. It was a momentous occasion.
The peace agreement made in the Hopkins home that day would stand for more than fifty years.

Massasoit and Gov. Carver sign a treaty in the Hopkins' home.

In the spring the settlers began planting their crops. Squanto showed them how to make the most of their corn by planting it in mounds, using fish as fertilizer. Gov. John Carver was hoeing in the corn fields one day, when he suffered a stroke and died shortly afterward. The colony then elected William Bradford to rule over what remained of their fragile colony.

In July Governor Bradford asked Stephen, Squanto, and Edward Winslow to locate Packanokik, the settlement of chief Massasoit, so that they would be able to call on him quickly in time of need. They also wanted to determine the size and strength of his community and to renew the "league of peace and friendship" they had established with the Wampanoags. Winslow kept a record of their journey which would later appear in Mourt's Relations.

They reached Massasoit's village, but he was not at home. Winslow wrote that they "found the place to be 40 miles from hence, the soyle good, and the people not many, being dead and abundantly wasted in the late great mortalitie which fell in all these parts aboute three years before the coming of the English, wherein thousands of them dyed, they not being able to burie one another; their sculs and bones were found many playces lying still above ground, where their houses and dwellings had been; a very sad spectackle to behould."

When Massasoit returned, the Englishmen greeted him by firing their guns in salute. He welcomed them into his house, where Squanto acted as interpreter. They gave Massasoit a red cotton horseman's coat and copper necklace, which he immediately donned and modeled for the entertainment of his tribe.

As diplomat, Winslow suggested that Massasoit's people should only come to Plymouth with the consent of the chief, since the colony was short of food and could no longer entertain an unlimited number of guests. They also stated that they wanted to repay the Nauset for the corn they had taken from their mounds, and asked if Massasoit would send word to them. Winslow also asked for trading goods, such as beaver skins, which could be sent back to England. Massasoit agreed to all their requests and gave a lengthy speech explaining the matter to his
people and naming all thirty of his villages that were bound by the agreement. He ended his speech after pledging loyalty to the English King, and telling the pilgrims that he felt sorry for King James whose wife, Queen Anne, had died in 1619. He then lit tobacco for them, and they discussed matters in England, particularly how the King was getting along without a wife. [3]

When the group retired, Stephen and Winslow were invited to join the chief and his wife in their bed. By custom, the bed had to be full, so two other tribal leaders crowded in the remaining space. The four Wampanoags quickly put themselves to sleep through rhythmic chanting, but the Pilgrims had a restless night. The bed was full of lice and fleas, but moving outside meant they would be eaten alive by mosquitoes. Winslow later complained that they were more weary "of their lodging, than of their journey." [3]

They rose before sunrise the next day and departed with the six Indians who had brought them. They shared the last of their food with their guides who surprised them the next morning with a breakfast of fresh fish. They were caught in a "great storm" on the last day and reached Plymouth wet and weary, but elated with success. [3]

Stephen and Squanto had barely recuperated from their trip, when they were asked to join a search party to find young John Billington. They soon learned that he had been found in the woods by the unfriendly Nausets, so they gathered their courage and rowed the shallop to the Nauset village. Hearing that the pilgrims were coming, Chief Aspinet met the boat with "no less than a hundred of his men," but the colonists had nothing to fear. With Squanto's help, they understood that the pilgrims had come in peace and wished to pay for the corn they had taken. A great train of men then carried the boy through the water to the boat unharmed and bedecked with beads. The colonists thanked Chief Aspinet and the man who had found Billington with gifts of knives. [3]
As summer ended, the settlers took stock of their situation. Their crops were successful and, if their other food gathering efforts proved effective, they could survive a second winter. William Bradford wrote:

_They begane now to gather in ye small harvest they had, and to fitte up their houses and dwellings against winter, being well recovered in health & strenght, and had all things in good plenty; for some were thus imployed in affairs abroad, others were excersised in fishing, aboute codd, & bass, & other fish, of which yey tooke good store, of which every family had their portion. All ye somer ther was no wante. And now begane to come in store of foule, as winter aproached, of which this place did abound when they came first (but afterward decreased by degree). And besids water foule, ther was great store of wild Turkies, of which they took many, besids venison, &c. Besids they had aboute a peck a meale a weeke to a person, or now since harvest, Indea corne to yt proportion. Which made many afterwards write so largly of their plenty hear to their freinds in England, which were not fained, but true reports._ [3]

In their first ten months at Plymouth, just passed, they had erected seven dwellings, a Common Meeting house and three small store houses for food, clothing and other supplies. In spite of their numbers having been cut in half by sickness and death, they found reasons for thankfulness. They had gained their foot-hold on the edge of an inhospitable continent. They were well recovered in health and strength. They were making the best of a hard life in the wilderness. They had proved that they could sustain themselves in the new, free land. They were assured of the success of their purpose of establishing freedom. They had made firm friends with the Indians, who had been so kind to them. The original account of the first Pilgrim Thanksgiving is in a letter from Edward Winslow in Plymouth, dated Dec. 21st, 1621 to George Morton in England. It was printed in Mourt's Relation, London, 1662. Winslow relates the following: [13]
Our Corne [wheat] did prove well, & God be praysed, we had a good increase of Indian Corne, and our Barly indifferent good, but our Pease not worth the gathering, for we feared they were too late sowne, they came up very well, and blossomed, but the Sunne parched them in the blossome; our harvest being gotten in, our Governour sent foure men on fowling, that so we might after a more speciall manner reioyce together, after we had gathered the fruit of our labors; they foure in one day killed as much fowle, as with a little helpe beside, served the Company almost a weeke, at which time amongst other Recreations, we exercised our Armes, many of the Indians coming amongst us, and among the rest their greatest King Massasoyt, with some nintie men, whom for three dayes we entertained and feasted, and they went out and killed five Deere, which they brought to the Plantation and bestowed upon our Governour, and upon the Captaine, and others. And although it be not alwayes so plentifull, as it was at this time with us, yet by the goodneses of God, we are so farre from want, that we often wish you partakers of our plenty. [3]

The Feast

-- We have found the Indians very faithful in their Covenant of Peace with us; very loving and ready to pleasure us. Some of us have been fifty miles into the country by land with them. -- There is now great peace amongst us; and we, for our parts, walk as peaceably and safely in the woods here as in the highways in England. - I never in my life remember a more seasonable year than we have enjoyed. -- If we have but once kine, horses and sheep, I make no question but men might live as contented here, as in any part of the world. -- The country wanteth only industrious men to employ, for it would grieve your hearts to see so many miles together with goodly rivers uninhabited, and withall to consider those parts of the world wherein you live to be seven greatly burdened with abundance of people." For three days the Pilgrims and their Indian guests gorged themselves on venison, roast duck, goose and turkey, clams and other shell-fish, succulent eels, corn bread, hasty pudding, leeks and water-cress and other "sallet herbes," with wild plums and dried berries as dessert, all washed down with wine made of the wild grape. The affair was more like an out-door barbeque for the entire population, than a family reunion dinner. This feasting involved the preparation of unusually large quantities of food, some of it unfamiliar. Only four of their married women had survived, and only five
teenage girls, three of those being the sole survivors of their families. They must have been extremely industrious and efficient, and they must have worn themselves ragged, trying to fill a hundred and forty demanding stomachs for three days. Sufficient tribute has never been paid to them for making these festivities a success, under such trying conditions. Indeed, even the success of the Colony rested largely in their most capable and devoted hands. The gathering was enlivened by contests of skill and strength: running, jumping, wrestling. Also, there were games of various kinds. The Indians were probably amazed to learn that the white men could play games not unlike their own. The Indians performed their dances and struck up their singing. Standish put his little army of fourteen men through their military review. Then followed feats of marksmanship, muskets performing against bows and arrows. The Massasoit and his braves headed home at last with a warmth of feeling for his white friends which survived even the harsh tests to which it was soon subjected. Thus they elaborately celebrated the prospect of abundance until their next harvest. [13]
A Wampanoag Lullaby

Did you know you have been singing a Wampanoag lullaby all your life? The Wampanoag origin of the popular lullaby, “Rock-a-bye Baby in the Tree Top,” has been confirmed in an old volume of early English children’s songs and lullabies.

Here is the version of the story as told by Princess Red Wing.

The Wampanoag Indians were getting Strawberry Thanksgiving over in Plymouth. While the women were picking wild strawberries for the feast, they hung the cradleboards with their babies on the tree branches all around to keep them out of harms way, and one Indian was placed there to watch over them. As he watched the babies, the Indian was swinging a stick to an fro as he sang a little song.

By and by a Pilgrim came along and sat down beside him while the Indian kept singing and swinging his stick.

After a while the Pilgrim nudged the Indian and said, “Oh, I like your song,” and pointed to his lips.

The Indian understood what he meant and spoke the words of the lullaby. “Wind rock babies, but by and by wind blow fast, bow breaks, down come baby, cradle and all.” He laughed and said, “What a squall it would be if all of them came down at once.”

The Pilgrim laughed, too. Then he took a piece of birch bark and wrote it all out:

“Rock-a-bye baby, on the tree top.
When the wind blows, the cradle will rock.
If the bough breaks, the cradle will fall,
And down will come baby, cradle and all.”

He took it home to his Pilgrim family and friends, and they sang it to their babies. Mothers have been singing the Wampanoag lullaby ever since that time.
LAW MAKER AND BREAKER

Although loyal to King Charles I, the citizens of Plymouth created their own laws and local government. Hopkins was elected as one of seven Council Assistants who served as advisors to the governor and ruled in judicial matters. Being one to help create the laws did not make Hopkins a model citizen, however. In June, 1636 he was found guilty of beating John Tisdale and fined £5. As the owner of a tavern, he was responsible for the behavior of his patrons. Several times he was fined for serving drink on Sunday, for permitting servants to drink and play shuffle board at his place, and for allowing his friends to get drunk. He was also guilty of price gouging. He had to pay £5 for selling wine, beer and liquor for exorbitant prices, and he tried to sell a mirror for 16 pence that could be bought somewhere else for nine pence. [4]

Plymouth’s first criminal act was committed by Stephen’s indentured servants, Edward Doty and Edward Leister. While Stephen was off on one of his expeditions that first summer in Plymouth, the two men began to compete for the affections of his daughter, Constance. After an open quarrel, they went into the woods with swords and daggers and returned with wounds in the hand and thigh. Dueling was illegal, and Stephen returned home to find his servants in handcuffs and awaiting trial. After finding the men guilty, Governor Bradford consulted William Brewster’s book of English law which prescribed that the men have their necks tied to their feet and remain in that agonizing position for twenty-four hours in the town square. Stephen couldn’t bear their suffering and implored Governor Bradford and Captain Standish to set the men free. “Within an hour,” says an early record, “because of their great pains, at their own and their master’s humble request, they were released by the Governor.” [2]

One incident landed Hopkins in jail. His indentured servant, Dorothy Temple, was pregnant by a man who had been hung for murder. She was whipped for having a bastard child, but then she had nowhere to live. The court ordered Hopkins, as her owner, to be responsible for her support for the duration of her contract. Hopkins wanted to resolve the matter on his own terms without a court order, and he was found to be in contempt. He spent four days in jail until John Holmes
agreed to take Temple and her son to live with him for the payment of £3, relieving Hopkins of his obligation. [4]

LAND AND POSSESSIONS

In November 1621, one year after the Pilgrims first set foot in New England, a second ship sent by the Merchant Adventurers arrived. Named the *Fortune*, it arrived with 37 new settlers for Plymouth. However, as the ship had arrived unexpectedly, and also without many supplies, the additional settlers put a strain on the resources of the colony. Among the passengers of the *Fortune* were several additional people of the original Leiden congregation, including William Brewster's son Jonathan, Edward Winslow's brother John, and Philip Delano (the family name was earlier "de la Noye"). The *Fortune* began its return to England laden with £500 worth of goods, more than enough to keep the colonists on schedule for repayment of their debt, however the *Fortune* was captured by the French before she could deliver her cargo to England, creating an even larger deficit for the colony. Robert Cushman carried a terse letter from Thomas Weston asking the colonists why they had run up expenses by keeping the Mayflower at Plymouth all winter, and why they had not filled her hold with more cargo for the return trip. Then, because some of the non-Separatists had begun to press for individual property rights, Cushman gave a sermon comparing their "worldly ambition" to the "pride of Satan." [11] [3]
In July 1623, two more ships arrived named the *Anne*, under the command of Captain 'Master' William Peirce and Master John Bridges and Captain Emanuel Altham on the *Little James* ten days later, carrying 96 new settlers, among them Leideners, including William Bradford's future wife, Alice. Some of the passengers who arrived on the *Anne* were either unprepared for frontier life or undesirable additions to the colony and returned to England the next year. According to Gleason Archer, (With Axe and Musket at Plymouth. New York: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1936.) "those who remained were not willing to join the colony under the terms of the agreement with the Merchant Adventurers. They had embarked for America upon an understanding with the Adventurers that they might settle in a community of their own, or at least be free from the bonds by which the Plymouth colonists were enslaved. A letter addressed to the colonists and signed by thirteen of the merchants recited these facts and urged acceptance of the new comers on the specified terms." The new arrivals were allotted land in the area of the *Eel River*, known as *Hobs Hole*, which became Wellingsley, a mile south of Plymouth Rock. [11]
The Hopkins home sat across from Governor Bradford's on the eastern corner of Main and Leyden. It was one of the largest houses in Plymouth to accommodate its large family. By 1627 each house had a fenced garden with flowers and herbs. The Hopkins also had a barn, dairy, cow shed, and small apple orchard. Both Damaris and Oceanus died around 1626, but five new children, Caleb, Deborah, Damaris (again), Ruth, and Elizabeth, were born between 1622 and about 1630. Constance moved out in 1628 when she married carpenter Nicholas Snow who had sailed on the Anne. [3]

**Stephen Hopkins’ home at Plimoth Plantation**


Front of the house

Garden

Inside of the house

Back of the house
Stephen had been an early proponent of the fur trade, so expanded his house to include a store where the Indians could come and trade beaver skins for English goods. In 1624 when ships began importing wine, beer, brandy, and gin, Stephen added a tavern. He also built and owned the first wharf in Plymouth Colony, and in 1638 built a house at Yarmouth on Cape Cod, but soon returned to Plymouth. He gave the Yarmouth dwelling to Giles, who had married Catherine Wheldon in 1639. [3]

Between 1623 and 1638, Stephen made numerous appearances in Plymouth Colony records:

In the 1623 Plymouth division of land, "Steven Hobkins" received six acres as a passenger of the Mayflower.

In the 1627 Plymouth division of cattle, Stephen is listed with his wife Elizabeth, and children Gyles, Caleb, Deborah, and Damaris.

In the 1633 list of Plymouth freemen (those who were entitled to citizenship and other special privileges in the colony), Stephen is near the head of the list, included among the Council Assistants.

On July 1, 1633 "Mr. Hopkins" was ordered to mow where he had mowed the year before, followed by similar orders on March 14, 1635 and March 20, 1636.

In the Plymouth tax list of March 25, 1634 Stephen was assessed £1 7s.

In the list of Plymouth Colony freemen, March 7, 1636, he appears as "Steephen Hopkins, gent."

On February 5, 1637 "Mr. Stephen Hopkins requesteth a grant of lands towards the Six Mile Brook."

On July 17, 1637 "Stephen Hopkins of Plymouth, gent.," sold to George Boare of Scituate, yeoman, "all that his messuage, houses, tenements, outhouses lying and being at the Broken Wharfe towards the Eele River together with the six shares of lands thereunto belonging containing six acres."

On August 7, 1638 "liberty is granted to Mr. Steephen Hopkins to erect a house at Mattacheese, and cut hay there this year to winter his cattle, provided that it be not to withdraw him from the town of Plymouth."

On November 30, 1638 "Mr. Steephen Hopkins" sold to Josias Cooke "all those his six acres of land lying on the south side of the Town Brook of Plymouth."

On June 1, 1640 "Mr. Hopkins" was granted twelve acres of meadow.
On June 8, 1642, William Chase, in consideration of a debt of £5 which he owed to Stephen, mortgaged to him "his house and lands in Yarmouth containing eight acres of upland and six acres more lying at the Stony Cove." [3]

He seems to have been fairly prosperous, withal; for toward the close of his life we find him purchasing a share in a vessel of 40 or 50 tons, valued at two hundred pounds sterling. [11]

In September 1623, another ship carrying settlers destined to re-found the failed colony at Weymouth arrived and temporarily stayed at Plymouth. In March 1624, a ship bearing a few additional settlers and the first cattle arrived. A 1627 division of cattle lists 156 colonists divided into twelve lots of thirteen colonists each. Another ship also named the *Mayflower* arrived in August 1629 with 35 additional members of the Leiden congregation. Ships arrived throughout the period between 1629 and 1630 carrying new settlers; though the exact number is unknown, contemporary documents claimed that by January 1630 the colony had almost 300 people. In 1643 the colony had an estimated 600 males fit for military service, implying a total population of about 2,000. By 1690, on the eve of the dissolution of the colony, the estimated total population of Plymouth County, the most populous, was 3,055 people. It is estimated that the entire population of the colony at the point of its dissolution was around 7,000. For comparison it is estimated that between 1630 and 1640, a period known as the Great Migration, over 20,000 settlers had arrived in Massachusetts Bay Colony alone, and by 1678 the English population of all of New England was estimated to be in the range of 60,000. Despite the fact that Plymouth was the first colony in the region, by the time of its annexation it was much smaller than Massachusetts Bay Colony. [11]
NEW NEIGHBORS

Eight years after the pilgrims landed at Plymouth, a group of colonists under Governor John Endicott sailed into Massachusetts Bay. They were followed two years later by the eleven ships of the Winthrop fleet, which represented a far greater investment of time, energy, and money than had been spent on neglected Plymouth. The pilgrims undoubtedly looked on with some envy as the new colonists quickly established villages at Boston, Salem, Cambridge, Watertown, and Charlestown. [3]

Governor John Endicott

As the English began to pour into New England, tensions with the Indians mounted, particularly after the Indians began buying alcohol and firearms from unscrupulous adventurers. One of the worst was Thomas Morton who had arrived and taken control of a nearby plantation at Mount Wallarton, which he appropriately renamed "Merry Mount." [3]
William Bradford wrote that Morton and his followers, mostly outcasts from Plymouth, "set up a maypole with much drinking, dancing, and consorting with the Indian women . . . after this they all fell to a great licentiousness and from then on led a most dissolute life." To make matters worse, the pleasure-seekers traded their guns to the Indians for food rather than interrupt their activities to go hunting. [3]

The Indians soon became crack shots and, with little provocation, began to shoot at the English. The men at Plymouth felt that it was a matter of self-preservation to put an end to this gun trade, and Stephen was second in command of the expedition to wipe out Merry Mount. The raiding party caught Morton and his men off guard, disarmed them, and sent Morton back to England on the next ship. But even with Merry Mount gone, the Indians still had their weapons and major conflict seemed inevitable. [3]

The Pequot War of 1637, the first major conflict between Indians and colonists in New England, set a brutal precedent for subsequent Indian-European warfare. The Pequots were accused of murdering two Massachusetts Bay colony men, and refused to yield up the suspected killers. Colonial authorities decided to retaliate, a decision reinforced by Pequot resistance to new Connecticut settlements. On May 26, 1637, a force of white soldiers, along with Mohegan and Narragansett warriors, attacked the principal Pequot village, burned it, and slaughtered its inhabitants. The surviving Pequots were relentlessly pursued, until the tribe was largely destroyed. [3]

Hodges writes, "When Massachusetts Bay called on Plymouth for help, the older colony was reluctant. Like most men at Plymouth, Stephen Hopkins was opposed to the Pequot War. It not only threatened the physical safety of the colony, but it could bring an end to the fur trade which was the best hope Plymouth had to lift its burden of debt . . . However when the call came for volunteers, Stephen Hopkins and his two sons Giles and Caleb were among the able-bodied men who offered themselves as soldiers . . . but before the Plymouth volunteers could organize themselves, the Pequot War ended." [3]
STEPHEN'S LAST YEARS

Hopkins again outlived his wife when Elizabeth died in 1640 (The exact date is unknown). His oldest children, Constance and Giles, were gone by this time, but the five younger children were probably still at home as Caleb, the oldest, would have been just eighteen. [1]

Among the earliest wills probated at Plymouth, MA was that of Stephen Hopkins, 6 June 1644 directing that he be buried near his deceased wife, naming son Caleb, 'heir apparent,' mentioning other children and naming Captain Myles Standish as overseer of the will. He died sometime before July 17th when his will was proven. An inventory of his estate shows that he was a rich man by Plymouth standards. [2][3]

The inventory of the goods of Stephen Hopkins amounted to £128/16/7. [4]

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The Last Will and Testament of Stephen Hopkins

The sixt of June 1644 I Stephen Hopkins of Plymouth in New England being weake yet in good and prfect memory blessed be God yet considering the fraile estate of all men I do ordaine and make this to be my last will and testament in manner and forme following and first I do committ my body to the earth from whence it was taken, and my soule to the Lord who gave it, my body to be buryed as neare as conveyently may be to my wyfe Deceased.

And first my will is that out of my whole estate my funerall expences be discharged.

secondly that out of the remayneing part of my said estate that all my lawfull Debts be pay.

thirdly I do bequeath by this my will to my sonn Giles Hopkins my great Bull wch is now in the hands of Mris Warren. Also I do give to Stephen Hopkins my sonn Giles his sonne twenty shillings in Mris Warrens hands for the hire of the said Bull.

Also I give and bequeath to my daughter Constanc Snow the wyfe of Nicholas Snow my mare.

also I give unto my daughter Deborah Hopkins the brodhorned black cowe and her calf and half the Cowe called Motley.

Also I doe give and bequeath unto my daughter Damaris Hopkins the Cowe called Damaris heiffer and the white faced calf and half the cowe called Mottley.

Also I give to my daughter Ruth the Cowe called Red Cole and her calfe and a Bull at Yarmouth wch is in the keepeing of Giles Hopkins wch is an yeare and advantage old and half the curld Cowe.

Also I give and bequeath to my daughter Elizabeth the Cowe called Smykins and her calf and thother half of the Curld Cowe wth Ruth and an yearelinge heiffer wth out a tayle in the keeping of Gyles Hopkins at Yarmouth.

Also I do give and bequeath unto my foure daughters that is to say Deborah Hopkins Damaris
Hopkins Ruth Hopkins and Elizabeth Hopkins all the moveable goods the wch do belong to my house as linnen wollen beds bedcloathes pott kettles pewter or whatsoevr are moveable belonging to my said house of what kynd soever and not named by their pticular names all wch said moveables to be equally devided amongst my said daughters foure silver spoones that is to say to eich of them one.

And in case any of my said daughters should be taken away by death before they be marryed that then the part of their division to be equally devided amongst the Survivors.

I do also by this my will make Caleb Hopkins my sohn and heire apparent giveing and bequeathing unto my said sohn aforesaid all my Right title and interrest to my house and lands at Plymouth wth all the Right title and interrest wch doth might or of Right doth or may hereafter belong unto mee, as also I give unto my saide heire all such land wch of Right is Rightly due unto me and not at present in my real possession wch belongs unto me by right of my first coming into this land or by any other due Right, as by such freedome or otherwise giveing unto my saide heire my full & whole and entire Right in all divisions allottments appoyntments or distributions whatsoever to all or any pt of the said lande at any tyme or tymes so to be disposed.

Also I do give moreover unto my foresaid heire one paire or yooke of oxen and the hyer of them wch are in the hands of Richard Church as may appeare by bill under his hand.

Also I do give unto my said heire Caleb Hopkins all my debts wch are now oweing unto me, or at the day of my death may be oweing unto mee either by booke bill or bills or any other way rightfully due unto mee ffurthermore my will is that my daughters aforesaid shall have free recourse to my house in Plymouth upon any occasion there to abide and remayne for such tyme as any of them shall thinke meeet and conveyent & they single persons And for the faythfull prformance of this my will I do make and ordayne my aforesaid sohn and heire Caleb Hopkins my true and lawfull Executor ffurther I do by this my will appoynt and make my said sohn and Captaine Myles Standish joyntly supervisors of this my will according to the true meaneing of the same that is to say that my Executor & supervisor shall make the severall divisions parts or porcons legacies or whatsoever doth appertaine to the fullfilling of this my will.

It is also my will that my Executr & Supervisor shall advise devise and dispose by the best wayes & meanes they cann for the disposeing in marriage or other wise for the best advancnt of the estate of the forenamed Deborah Damaris Ruth and Elizabeth Hopkins Thus trusting in the Lord my will shalbe truly prformed according to the true meaneing of the same I committ the whole Disposeing hereof to the Lord that hee may direct you herein.

June 6th 1644 Witnesses hereof By me Steven Hopkins
Myles Standish
William Bradford

In 1650 William Bradford wrote, "Mr. Hopkins & his wife are now both dead, but they lived about 20 years in this place & had one son and four daughters born here. Their son [Caleb] became a seaman and dyed at Barbadoes, one daughter died here & two are married, one of them hath three children and one is yet to marry. So their increase which still survive are 5, but his son Giles is married & has 4 children. His daughter Constanta is also married & hath 12 children all of them living & one married. One of these children was Mary Snow, who married Thomas Paine. Stephen settled in the part of Eastham now included in the town of Orleans, on
the place at the head of the Cove, called by the Indians "Kesscayoganseet" and later owned and occupied by James Percival." [3]

During Stephen Hopkin's lifetime the settlements of Jamestown and Plymouth were more reviled than admired. Jamestown was a disaster, and Plymouth was damned as a hotbed of radicals who would destroy Church and State. But these settlements, which began as mere commercial enterprises, contributed to the United State's most treasured constitutional ideals. [3]

The tradition of representative government began in Jamestown and, echoing Stephen's declaration in Bermuda that he was "freed from the government of any man," Plymouth Colony created a government "of laws, not of men." It drew up a Bill of Rights, gave women property and dower rights, and honored a peace treaty with the Wampanoag for a record fifty years. If Stephen Hopkins had done nothing more than to help found 'Plimoth Plantation,' he would deserve a place in history. [3]
CHILDREN

Children of Stephen and Mary Hopkins, born in Hursley:

- **Elizabeth** was baptized on May 13, 1604. She was alive at her mother’s death, but there is no further reference.
- **Constance** was baptized on May 11, 1606. She married Nicholas Snow in Plymouth by May 22, 1627, and had twelve children. She died in Eastham in mid-October 1677.
- **Giles** was baptized on January 30, 1607/8. He married Catherine Whelden in Plymouth on October 9, 1639, and had ten children. He died in Eastham between March 5, 1688/9, and April 16, 1690.

Children of Stephen and Elizabeth Hopkins:

- **Damaris** was born about 1618 in England, and died young in Plymouth.
- **Oceanus** was born in the fall of 1620 aboard the Mayflower. He had died by May 22, 1627.
- **Caleb** was born in Plymouth about 1624. He became a seaman and died at Barbados between 1644 and 1651.
- **Deborah** was born in Plymouth about 1626. She married Andrew Ring in Plymouth on April 23, 1646, and had six children. She died probably before 1674.
- **Damaris** was born in Plymouth about 1627–8. She married Jacob Cooke after June 10, 1646, and had seven children. She died in Plymouth between January 1665/6 and November 18, 1669.
- **Ruth** was born about 1630. She died in Plymouth between November 30, 1644, and spring 1651, unmarried. Elizabeth was born in Plymouth about 1632 and probably died before October 6, 1659, unmarried.


[10] Bermuda-Online.org, Bermuda's History from 1500 to 1699, http://www.bermuda-online.org/history.htm


[15] National Geographic, Mayflower 1620, A New Look At A Pilgrim Voyage, Plimoth Plantation,