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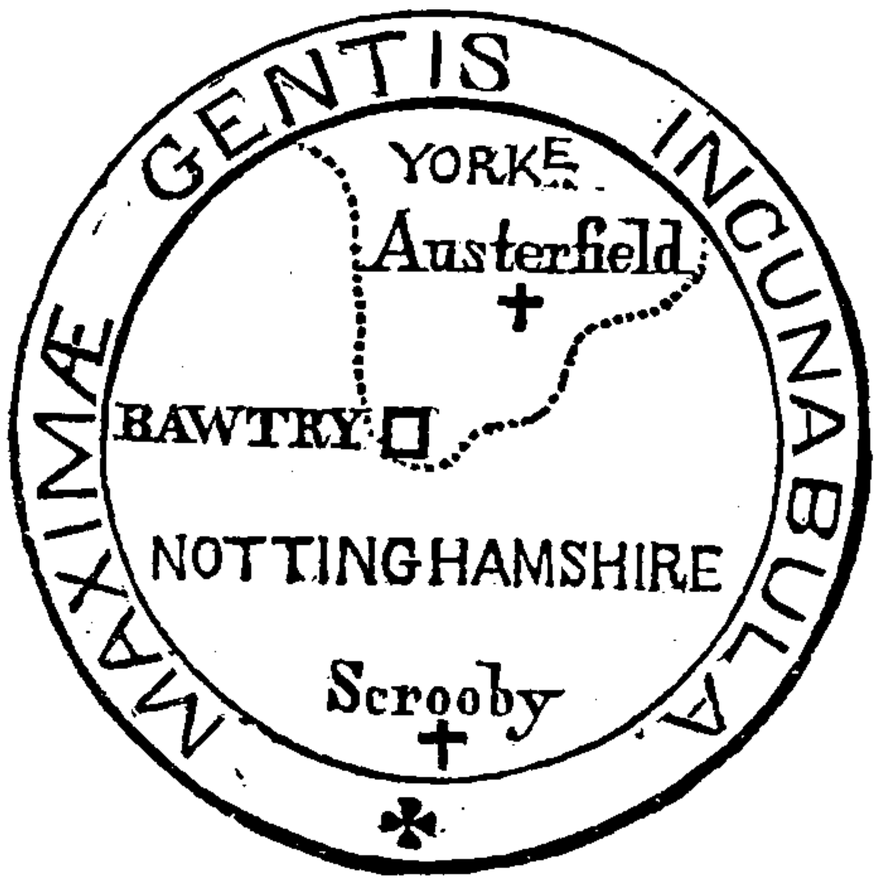
MR. HUNTER'S

Critical and Historical Tracts.

Nº II.

THE FIRST COLONISTS OF NEW ENGLAND.



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EARLY HISTORY OF FOUNDERS OF NEW



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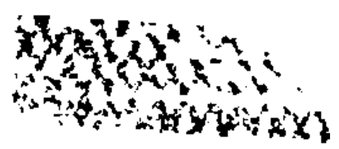

COLLECTIONS

CONCERNING

THE EARLY HISTORY

OF THE

FOUNDERS OF NEW PLYMOUTH,

THE

FIRST COLONISTS OF NEW ENGLAND.

BY

JOSEPH HUNTER, F.S.A.,

AN ASSISTANT-KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS.

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THE FIRST COLONISTS

OF

NEW ENGLAND.

Governor Hutchinson, writing in 1767, when he is about to give an account of the arrival of the first company of English emigrants on the shores of New England, at the point where is now the town of New Plymouth, remarks, that "the settlement of this colony occasioned the settlement of Massachusetts Bay, which was the source of all the other colonies in New England. Virginia was in a dying state, and seemed to revive and flourish from the example of New England;" and he further says: "I am not preserving from oblivion the names of heroes whose chief merit is the overthrow of cities, provinces, and empires, but the names of the founders of a flourishing town and colony, if not of the whole British Empire in America."*

As time has passed on, the interest about these fathers of the Anglo-American race has gathered strength. The latest English traveller who has given us the result of his observations among the people of New England, describes with some minuteness the memorials of this event which he found at New Plymouth; the relics which are exhibited of these "Pilgrim-fathers," as they are affectionately called, and the traditions which are

* The History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, &c. 8vo, Boston, 1767, p. 462.

cherished respecting them; and, having done so, he observes—"When we consider the grandeur of the results which have been realized in the interval of 225 years since the May Flower sailed into Plymouth Harbour, how in that period a nation of twenty millions of souls has sprung into existence and peopled a vast continent, and covered it with cities and churches, schools, colleges, and railroads, and filled its rivers and ports with steamboats and shipping—we regard the pilgrim relics with that kind of veneration which trivial objects usually derive from high antiquity alone. For we measure time not by the number of arithmetical figures representing years or centuries, but by the importance of a long series of events which strike the imagination."*

I leave to others to dilate on the magnitude of this event, of which it is *the beginning only* that I have to treat—the great things accomplished, and the greater things to be discerned in the distant future, both in the new nation and new order of society in the country itself, and in the reaction upon the state of Europe: not proposing to treat the subject in a philosophic but in an antiquarian spirit; to be a mere collector of facts from sources seldom visited, and occasionally to intermix conjectures, which the reader will receive or reject according to his own judgment on the apparent probability attending them. My business with these founders of New England relates to the time before they abandoned their native country to gain that freedom of religious profession which they could not enjoy at home. When they have set their feet on the American shore I have done with them; and even that part of their intermediate history, while they were living

* A Second Visit to the United States of North America. By Sir Charles Lyell, 12mo, 1849, vol. i, p. 117.

in Holland, does not fall within the scope of my design. It is to shew who and what the leaders of this enterprise were *while they lived in England*, to trace the few whom it is possible to trace, to their homes; but especially BREWSTER and BRADFORD, the Aaron and Moses of the enterprise, who were originally neighbours and friends in a little obscure district of England.

The subject has, therefore, an English as well as an American interest; but it is to America that I must chiefly look for the toleration of such minute inquiry, where the "first comers" are regarded with a veneration almost superstitious, as if one day, like the founders of more ancient states and cities, they are to be worshipped with honours little less than divine.

The accounts which are given by all later writers of the origin of this settlement are substantially the same; and they must needs be so since they are all derived from one source, no later writer having entered upon the course of inquiry on which we are about to enter, or made any material additions to the information which they drew from that source. That source, however, is most eminently deserving of the respect which has been paid to it; and probably no modern colony, and certainly no ancient state, has such authentic and minute information of all events in their earliest history. They are Commentaries, written by Bradford himself, the most active of the persons engaged in the enterprise, and one who for a series of years was annually elected to the office of governor of the new colony; a man who had enjoyed, indeed, few advantages of education, differing in this from his colleague Brewster, but possessed of excellent sense, and master of a simple, natural eloquence. He ought to take his place amongst English authors; his works, so they may be called, being these: 1. Some Account of the Religious Community of

which he was a member, before its removal to Holland in 1608, and from thence to its greater removal to the wilds of America in 1620. 2. A Diary of Occurrences during the first year after their landing, in which Edward Winslow, another of the emigrants, had a share with him. 3. A Dialogue between Young People of the Colony and Ancient People, in which the latter give an account of the principles and the grounds of those principles, out of which the state of things arose which determined the members of this church or community to abandon their native land. 4. A Biographical Account of William Brewster, who, more than any other person, is to be regarded as the founder of the community, and who administered the ecclesiastical affairs, while the civil were so ably conducted by Bradford.

These are the original authorities for the primeval history of the Plymouth colony: they are almost the only authorities for anything relating to it previously to the actual landing of the first company of pilgrims. The history of these writings is something curious. The second of them was printed in England as early as 1622; but the others remained in manuscript, and while in that state have been used most liberally by a succession of writers. First, by Bradford's nephew, Nathaniel Morton, in his valuable work entitled 'New-England's Memorial,' published in 1667; again by Prince,* and afterwards by Hutchinson, who was Governor in the reign of George the Third of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, a later settlement, to which Plymouth was united in 1692. In one or other of

* Thomas Prince, whose 'Chronological History of New England' was printed at Boston in 1736. He appears to have been acquainted with writings of Bradford not now known to be in existence: see his preface, p. vi. So dangerous it is to allow valuable writings to remain in single copies.

the published writings of these persons, nearly the whole of Bradford's facts are to be found. But a higher justice has lately been done to him by the publication of his writings in an entire form. This service to historical literature has been rendered by a gentleman of Boston, in New England, Mr. Alexander Young, who has collected in the same volume other early tracts, and a few letters and other memorials of Bradford and the first settlers, and has illustrated the whole with many very valuable notes.*

It would seem by this enumeration of the literary remains of Bradford, that he would have left little to be told for the satisfaction of a reasonable curiosity. But it is otherwise. Bradford deals far too much in general statements. He avoids, indeed, in the most tantalizing manner, to give us dates or names of persons or places. He speaks of the church of which he was a member, but he nowhere tells us where it was situated, or rather where it held its meetings for discipline and worship. He speaks of the persecutions of the persons composing it in terms of such energy, that we might think they approached in atrocity to the persecutions of the Protestants in the days of Queen Mary; but he rarely points out a sufferer by name, he points out no particular oppressor, he gives no date of any one act of this kind, nor any particular account of any distinct act of oppression which drove them from their homes. This is unfortunate on an historical account. But I must think that he ought to have supported his severe remarks by particular instances, which would now admit of examination and proof. But while I write thus, I am fully sensible of the value of these historical remains, and shall be

* Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth from 1602 to 1625, &c. Boston, 8vo. 1844. Second Edition.

greatly indebted to them as we proceed. They are most authentic and valuable, *as far as they go.*

A most important passage in Governor Bradford's history of the Church or Religious Community,—I use the terms indifferently,—illustrates this want of particularity:

"Several religious people near the joining borders of Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire, finding their pious ministers urged with subscription, or silenced, and the people greatly vexed with the commissary courts, apparitors, and pursuivants, which they had borne sundry years with much patience, till they were occasioned, by the continuance and increase of these troubles and other means, to see further into these things by the light of the Word of God: how that not only the ceremonies were unlawful, but that the lordly and tyrannous power of the prelates, who would, contrary to the freedom of the Gospel and the consciences of men, and by their compulsive power, make a profane mixture of things and persons in divine worship; that their officers, courts, and canons were unlawful; being such as have no warrant in the Word of God, but the same that were used in Popery, and still retained. Upon which the people shake off this yoke of anti-Christian bondage, and, as the Lord's free people, form themselves by covenant into a Church-state, to walk in all his ways made known or to be made known to them, according to their best endeavours, whatever it cost them."

Now, who specifically were these "religious people," for they were the true beginners of the New England colony? What district is specifically meant by "near the joining borders of Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire?"—To this second question an explicit answer will now be given. To the first an answer will be given, though but an incomplete

one, nor can we ever hope to recall many of the names from the oblivion into which they have passed.

Dr. Cotton Mather in that singular work, the *Magnalia*, printed in 1702, which was long considered as a book of very high authority, places the Church, if I mistake not, in the north of Yorkshire. Hubbard writes vaguely, fixing it "in the north of England."* Of late years it has been more usually called the Lincolnshire Church. A recent English writer, who has paid more attention to the question of *place* than any one before him, fixes it at or near to the town of Thorne, in Yorkshire, which does indeed answer very well to some of the conditions. But a passage in Bradford's account of Brewster enables us to fix not only the town or village at which the Church held its meetings, but the very house in which they assembled; and to proceed at once to the removal of this uncertainty, I add that it is manifest to any one who has an intimate knowledge of those parts of the kingdom, that the seat and centre of the Church, while it remained in England, was at the village of SCROOBY, in Nottinghamshire, and in the principal mansion of that village, the house which had been for centuries a palace of the Archbishops of York, but which was in those days held under one of the many leases of episcopal lands granted by Archbishop Sandys.

Scrooby will be found in the maps about a mile and a half south of Bawtry, a market and post town situated on the borders of Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire. The nearest point of the county of Lincoln is distant six or seven miles.

* We find nothing on the early history of the Church in Hubbard, which he had not derived mediately or immediately from Bradford. See vol. v of the Second Series of Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, p. 42.

The passage in Bradford's writings which first led to the discovery of this new fact in the history of the colonists is this: "After they were joined together in communion, he (meaning Brewster) was a special stay and help to them. They ordinarily met at his house on the Lord's day, *which was a manor of the bishop's*, and with great love he entertained them when they came, making provision for them to his great charge, and continued so to do while they could stay in England." "Manor" does not here mean what it is commouly used to denote, and as it appears to be understood by one of the American writers upon this subject, a district throughout which certain feudal privileges are enjoyed. It here means a mansion, just as we have Worksop-Manor, Winfield-Manor, Sheffield-Manor, Brierley-Manor, and many others in the north of England. It is an abbreviation of "Manor-place," a term of perpetual occurrence in Leland, and applied by him to this very Scrooby-Manor. A tenant or agent describes himself in his will, dated 1574, thus: "Thomas Wentworth, of Scrooby-Manor, Esquire."

I can speak with confidence to the fact, that there is no other episcopal manor but this, which at all satisfies the condition of being near the borders of the three counties. Here then we fix the site of the Church, and as a necessary consequence, we are to look to the country around Scrooby as having been the residence of the persons who composed the religious community which, with various accrescences during its residence in Holland, were the fathers of New England.

That no hesitation may remain respecting this, which is the cardinal point of the present treatise, I shall anticipate what will afterwards come more fully before us, and state, that we find a Brewster assessed to a subsidy granted to Queen

Elizabeth, in the township of Scrooby-cum-Ranskill; and that in 1608, when a fine was imposed upon William Brewster by the commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, he is described as being of Scrooby.

The best description we possess of this village and its manor is that given by Leland, who was here in 1541: "In the meane townlet of Scrooby I marked two things—the parish church, not big, but very well builded; the second was a great manor-place, standing within a mote, and longing to the Archbishop of York; builded in two courts, whereof the first is very ample, and all builded of timber, saving the front of the house, that is of brick, to the which *ascenditur per gradus lapideos*. The inner court building, as far as I marked, was of timber building, and was not in compass past the fourth part of the utter court."* Here would be sufficient room to receive even a more numerous church than that of which Brewster was the elder. It had been a frequent residence of the archbishops of York; and it may not be uninteresting, as this house was the original seat of the church, to introduce a few facts in its history. It was a very ancient possession of the see of York. Godwin informs us that, in the reign of Henry VII, Archbishop Savage often made it his residence, that he might enjoy the diversion of hunting, for which the neighbouring Chace of Hatfield afforded unrivalled opportunities.†. When Wolsey was dismissed by his tyrannical master to his northern diocese, he passed many weeks at Scrooby. It is a pleasing picture which his faithful servant Cavendish gives of him at this period of his life: "ministering many deeds of charity, and attending on Sundays at some

* Itinerary, vol. i, p. 36.

† De Præsulibus, vol. ii, p. 71.

parish church in the neighbourhood, hearing or saying mass himself, and causing some one of his chaplains to preach to the people; and that done, he would dine in some honest house of that town, where should be distributed to the poor a great alms, as well of meat and drink as of money, to supply the want of sufficient meat, if the number of the poor did so exceed of necessity."* A few years later, King Henry VIII slept in this house for one night during his northern progress in 1541. The elevation of Dr. Edwin Sandys to the see of York was a fatal event for Scrooby. It was in the year 1576. He granted long-enduring leases of it to one of his sons, and, in fact, alienated it from the see. This and similar acts, both at York and Worcester, where he was formerly bishop, are supposed to blemish a character in many respects worthy of high esteem. In fact, he raised a powerful family, afterwards ennobled, out of the goods of the church, the first Protestant prelate who had done so. But in respect of Scrooby, his conduct appears very much to require justification; for there is a letter printed by Le Neve,† in which he excuses himself from granting a lease of Scrooby to the queen, on the ground of the injury which would thereby be done to his see. He speaks of it as a usual residence of the archbishops, and says that he himself had lived for four months together there and at Southwell; and says that "the reserved rent for this newly conceived lease is forty pounds by year, and yet the annual rent thereof to the bishop is £170 by year; but this is a small loss to that which followeth. I am compelled by law to repair two fair houses standing upon these two manors; by this lease, if it should pass, I am excluded out of both."

* Life of Wolsey. Singer's Edition, 8vo, 1825, vol. i, p. 260.

† Lives of the Protestant Archbishops, 8vo, 1720, p. 61.

He presses other arguments, and makes it appear, that if such a lease were granted, the loss to the see would be £60,000 at least; "too much, most gracious Sovereign, too much to pull from a bishoprick inferior to many others in revenue, but superior in charge and countenance." In this sum we must understand both Southwell and Scrooby to be included. This letter was written on November 24th, 1582. There must in the whole of this transaction be more than we at present understand; for it is certain that before May 1586, he had granted to his son, Sir Samuel Sandys, a lease of the Manor, the two Parks, the Mills, and Lound Woods for a rent of £65 6*s.* 8*d.**

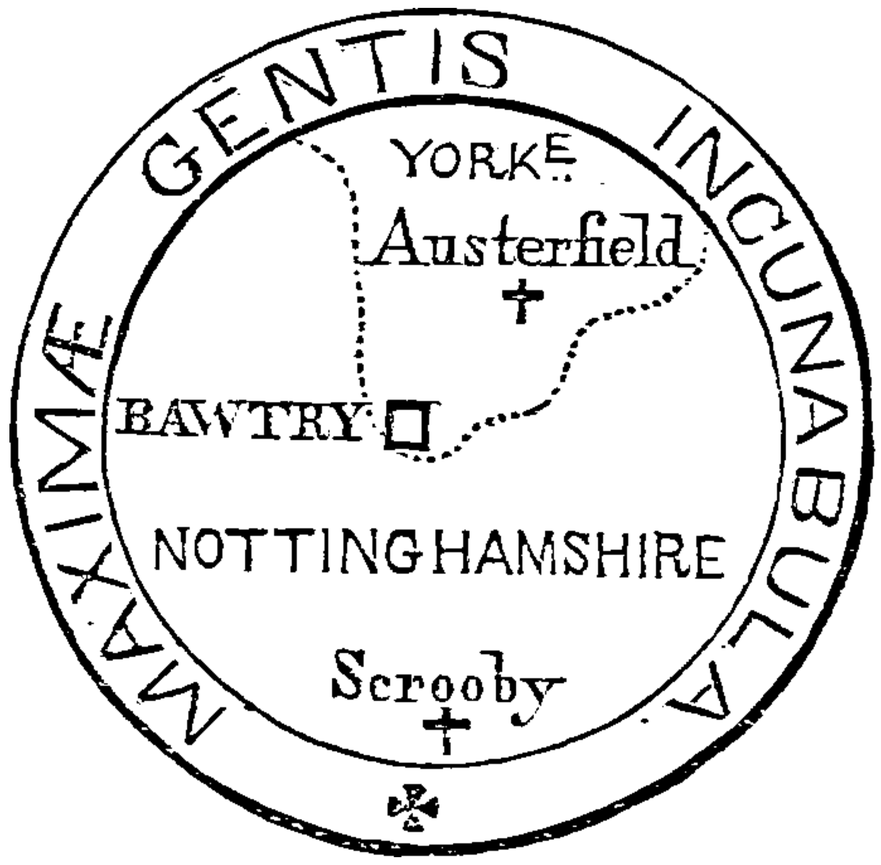
The Brewsters must have been under-tenants of the family of Sandys. The manor was after them inhabited by a son of Sir Samuel, who was named Martin, and probably by others of the family; but the house fell by degrees into decay. No portion of it is now standing, yet the site may be traced by a few irregularities in the surface of the ground.†

But not only is Brewster to be tracked to this little village

* See in vol. 50 of the Lansdowne MSS. at the British Museum, art. 34, a list of the leases which the archbishop had granted to his six sons. They are summed up by Lord Burghley in his own hand, thus:—Samuel 6 leases, Miles 5, Edwin 4, Henry 2, Thomas 2, George 2.

† The church of Scrooby presents some memorials of the ancient state of the village. There are monumental inscriptions for several officers of the archbishop, one of which is Mr. Robert Hill, who was "aiaciscanus" to Thomas (Rotherham) Archbishop of York, a word rarely found in English inscriptions, and equivalent to the farmer or manager of the estate. See Ducange, in voce *aiacis.* He died in 1494. A vine bearing clusters of grapes, one of the favorite Christian emblems of early times, may be traced in carvings throughout the church. Of modern inscriptions, there is one in memory of Penelope, daughter of Sir Martin Sandys, who died on the 25th of December, 1690.

adjacent to Bawtry, but his fellow-labourer and fellow-sufferer Bradford is also to be traced to the village of Austerfield, which is about as far to the north-east of Bawtry as Scrooby is to the south. That Bradford was born at this village has been a fact long concealed from public view, owing to an unfortunate but very excusable mistake of the author or printer of the *Magnalia*, who, in the valuable notice which he has left us of the life of Bradford, calls the place of his birth *An*sterfield. Endless have been the searches for Ansterfield: but the whole villare of England presents no place of that name; and as we proceed, most ample proof will be given of the residence of a family named Bradford at Austerfield, and of the birth in it at the proper time of a William Bradford.* A new interest is thus thrown over this little district.



A few words must now be said rather for the satisfaction of the English reader than the American, to whom this part of

* I had the pleasure of drawing the attention of my highly esteemed friend, the Hon. James Savage, of Boston, who visited England in 1842 for the purpose of collecting information concerning the early emigrants, to this fact, when the evidence was in a less complete state than it now is. My communication to him on this subject is inserted among his 'Gleanings for New England History' in the last published volume of 'The Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society.'

the subject is very familiar, on the peculiar nature or character of the church or religious community, which I shall now take the liberty to call the Scrooby Church, or Brewster's Church.

To escape from that religious disintegration, which was the almost inevitable consequence of the freedom with which religious questions were discussed at the time of the Reformation, the statesmen of the times, assisted by the most eminent ecclesiastical authorities, framed the Reformed Church of England, and gave to it the support of public authority. It was their design that as many as possible of the people of England should be comprehended within it, or at least should be able to conform without any violent shock to their opinions or prejudices. There were concessions to the feelings of those who retained a fondness for the ancient ritual and the striking services of the ancient church, and there were, on the other hand, concessions to those who fancied that the farther they were from Rome the nearer they were to Scripture and truth. The great mass of the English people, both clerks and laymen, arranged themselves in this church; but there were persons of extreme opinions on both sides, who would not enter the church as newly reformed or constituted: Romanists on the one hand, and those called Puritans on the other. The difficulty was to know what to do with these, and in an age when the wisdom of toleration was little understood, the policy most unfortunately was to seek to compel them to come in by affixing penalties to disobedience. Great was the suffering in consequence; but it fell with the greatest severity upon the Romanists. The Puritan, or extreme Protestant, though he disliked and disapproved of most of the ceremonies that were retained, had many objections to make to the service-book,

and thought that the whole constitution of the church was less in conformity with the intimations on that subject to be found in Scripture than the constitution of the Genevan Church, yet could yield for the most part such a conformity as would at least save him from the penalties.

About the middle of the reign of Queen Elizabeth there arose, however, amongst them a small body, who bore nearly the same relation to them which they bore to the great body of the Reformed—ultra-Puritans, as they were ultra-Protestants. These persons deemed it their religious duty to separate themselves entirely from the church, and in fact to war against it. The principle upon which they founded themselves was that there should be no national church at all, but that the whole nation should be cast in a multitude of small churches or congregations, each self-governed, and having only, as they believed, the officers of which we read in the New Testament—pastor, teacher, elder, and deacon. Two great advantages were supposed to attend this plan: the exclusion of immoral persons from the Lord's table, and the opportunity of further reformation should fresh light break in upon them. And so impressed were some of the more zealous Protestants with the duty of maintaining this principle in their practice, that before the close of the reign of Elizabeth, a few churches or religious communities of this kind were actually formed.

This was a step which the authorities of the time could not tolerate. The members of these churches were proceeded against with so much severity, that the churches were either dissolved, or they removed themselves with their pastors to Holland, where at that time there was a general toleration of all Protestant forms of church-union and worship.

The Scrooby Church was one of these. The name by which

they called themselves was Separatists. Their enemies sought to fix on them the name of Brownists, which they emphatically disclaimed. They were no doubt opposed in various ways by the authorities of the time. Bradford, perhaps, a little exaggerates the amount of evil which their perseverance brought upon them; but in the remarkable passage before quoted from him we see the effect which the opposition produced. It but the more hardened their hearts against the church and its officers, and it finally drove them to adopt the course which so many persons of kindred sentiments had taken, by going in a body to Holland with their pastor, elder, and other officers, from whence after a time they proceeded to New England.

Forty years later many churches of this kind were formed in England, but at the beginning of the seventeenth century there had been few attempts to form them, and I am not acquainted with any other instance than this in the northern parts of England, except the neighbouring church of Smith of Gainsborough, of which more in the sequel.

When we look at the country around Scrooby, it appears to be the last in which we should expect to find a strenuous ecclesiastical or political movement like this; and as to the nature of the pursuits of its inhabitants, it was little different in those days, two hundred and fifty years ago, from what it now is. They were an agricultural people, collected for the most part in ancient villages, each with its own church and pastor, and in most of them a rural squire. In the immediate vicinity of Scrooby there were but two families of better note, the Serlbys and the Mortons, now supplanted by the respected names of Monckton and Milnes. Bawtry was a small and decaying town, possessing a little, and but a little, traffic on

the Idle, while to the north there was a large extent of unpeopled country reaching to Doncaster, on the right of which lay the Levels of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, inhabited by a people, many of whom were of that predatory character which the presence of game in great abundance and the forest-laws were so apt to engender. But though Yorkshire and Lincolnshire might contribute some members to the Scrooby Church, it is manifest that the greater part of them were inhabitants of the agricultural district of Nottinghamshire; that division of the hundred of Bassetlaw (so well known in parliamentary history) of which Retford and Worksop are the most considerable places. One fact relating to this district may deserve to be mentioned, though it is doubtful whether it is to be connected with the strong religious feeling by which these people were actuated, the existence in it of so many religious houses which had been suppressed within the memory of the men who preceded the then existing generation. Few districts in England had so many of these foundations. There were Cistercians at Rufford, Gilbertines at Mattersey, Carthusians in the Isle of Axholm, Benedictines at Blythe, Benedictine Ladies at Wallingwells, Augustinians at Worksop, and Premonstratensians at Welbeck, the chief house of that order. These formed quite a cordon round the part of Bassetlaw of which we are speaking, while a little beyond was another house of Cistercians, in a sequestered and stony valley called the House of St. Mary of the Rock. It might be expected that the services of these places of religion would leave a tincture of piety stronger than was elsewhere found, upon the country around them, but that hardly appears to have been the case; nor had they apparently much influence in indisposing the minds of the people of these regions to receive

the Reformation. Of families of consideration, it does not appear that any but the Mortons, with perhaps some of the Cressis and Cliftons, adhered to the old profession; and we find a Dutch minister, whose name was Van Baller, as early as the time of Archbishop Lee, preaching the doctrines of Luther under the shadow of the splendid monastery of Worksop, if not within its walls.

All this, however, had little to do with the movement, which is to be attributed mainly to the personal character and influence of Brewster acting upon a people who were prepared for him by the labours of a few Puritan ministers.

Bradford speaks of pious ministers by whom himself and others were greatly impressed; but he gives the names of only two, who became Puritan Separatists—these were JOHN SMITH and RICHARD CLIFTON: and here again, avoiding all specialty, he gives no information respecting the particular churches of which they were the ministers, or the particular districts of Bassetlaw, which enjoyed peculiarly the benefit of their labours. I have sought for them at some of the best sources of information of this kind. Smith I have not found; but I observe that by some recent writers he is said to have been of Gainsborough; probably a curate there. Gainsborough is upon the Trent, the river which separates Nottinghamshire from Lincolnshire, so that we may suppose his more distant influence to have been equally divided between the two counties. Proof of his residence there is probably to be found in some of the controversial tracts relating to him, now so hard to be procured.* Bradford describes him as a learned man: "a

* The tracts alluded to were printed in Holland. They are not to be found in the Bodleian Library, Dr. Daniel Williams's Library, or even the Library of the British Museum, where all books of any importance in

man of able gifts and a good preacher." He gathered a Separatist church, with which he removed into Holland a little time before Brewster and his church took the same step. There he fell into strange opinions, and got involved in rancorous controversies. Brewster and his people seem to have stood aloof from him. Bradford writes gently about him: "His and his people's condition may be an object for pity in after-times;" and again: "Falling into some errors in the Low Countries, there for the most part he and his church buried themselves and their names." He also says that "the tyranny of the ecclesiastical courts in England had been harsh to him." He soon died in Holland, having carried with him the seeds of a consumption; so that probably he had not acted for any great length of time as a minister in England. The errors he fell into were for the most part concerning baptism.*

Richard Clifton is a name belonging more immediately to our history. He was closely connected with the church in Brewster's house, either as pastor or teacher, and he removed with it to Holland. Bradford describes him as "a grave and fatherly old man when he left England, having a great white beard;" and elsewhere as "a grave and reverend preacher, who, by his pains and diligence, did much good, and, under God, was the means of the conversion of many." He also says of him: "Much good had he done, and converted many to God by his faithful and painful ministry, both in preaching and catechising; sound and orthodox he always

English literature ought to be deposited. My own experience in the use of this library entitles me to remark how extremely deficient it is in books essential to an inquirer in any department of minute English history.

* The reader may find a few more particulars concerning him in 'The History of the English Baptists,' by Thomas Crosby, 8vo, 1738, vol. i, p. 91; also in the works of Brook and Hanbury on the Puritan History.

was, and so continued to the end." He "bore patiently his lot in being forced in his old age to leave his country." Brewster's church settled at first at Amsterdam, where Smith and his people were, and where also were Ainsworth and other English ministers of like sentiments. Brewster and his people, after a year's stay, removed to Leyden, and by this step they became separated from Clifton, who preferred to remain at Amsterdam, where he, like Smith, was deeply engaged in bitter controversies, and at Amsterdam he died.

My researches respecting Clifton have been rather more fortunate than those respecting Smith. I find that in 1585, on the 12th of February, a minister of this name was instituted to the vicarage of Marnham, near Newark, and in 1586, on July the 11th, to the rectory of Babworth, near Retford. It must have been from this place, which is in Bassetlaw, and not very far from Scrooby, that the influence of his ministerial services radiated through the country around.*

In 1593, he was nominated a supervisor in the will of Richard Jessop of Hayton, near Babworth, a family of distinction, who appear to have been among those who were influenced by his ministry and example, as one of them, Francis, a younger brother of Richard, was with him in Holland, and fought by his side in the controversies which so fearfully

* It is possible that to his other claims on the attention of the people of Nottinghamshire is to be added that he was a member of an ancient and eminent family of that county, there being a Richard Clifton in the family pedigree, a son of Gervas, a younger brother of Robert, from whom the baronets descended, as may be seen in the Harl. MSS. 6593, f. 10. The possible identity of Richard the minister with Richard, son of Gervas, will enter into the question, whenever it is raised, of the connexion of the Lord Clifton of Leighton Bronswold with the old Cliftons of Nottinghamshire.

raged among the English at Amsterdam. And with him was associated, as another supervisor, a young minister, named THOMAS TOLLER, who, though not mentioned by Bradford, is doubtless to be counted among the Puritan ministers of those parts of Nottinghamshire who prepared the way for the Separation. He was an intimate friend of the family of Jessop, who, having the presentation to the vicarage of Sheffield, in Yorkshire, about five and twenty miles distant, in 1597 or 1598 placed Mr. Toller in that cure. Mr. Toller was at Sheffield till his death, in July 1644, possessing great influence in the town and the country around, and producing throughout nearly the whole of the population a high tone of Puritan feeling. One remarkable proof of the severity of his zeal we find in a paper preserved in the British Museum, being an account by him and another clergyman of the state of the parishes in the south part of Yorkshire, and the character of their ministers. While in Nottinghamshire, we have every reason to think that he was the same zealous preacher, and that therefore his name may be added to Smith and Clifton, though he never like them went on to actual Separation.

Another of the Puritan ministers in the country around Scrooby was RICHARD BERNARD, best known as "Bernard of Batcombe," the author of numerous works in ecclesiastical controversy and in practical divinity. He was born as early as 1567, and in 1598 we find that he was living at Epworth, in the part of Lincolnshire called the Isle of Axholm. From thence, in 1601, he removed to Worksop, having been appointed the vicar, and there he remained in the exercise of a very zealous ministry till the year 1613, when he removed into Somersetshire. Bernard was eminently a Puritan, but he never went the length of Separation. He prepared others to do so, but

he did not take the step himself; on the contrary, when he saw the breach, which the insisting on the points wherein the Puritan differed from the other members of the Church of England, was opening, he set himself resolutely to oppose Separation, and published in 1605 his 'Dissuasive from the way of Separation,'* which Robinson, the pastor of Brewster's Church, when settled in Holland, answered at great length.

These then appear to have been the principal of the ministers who raised the Puritan spirit which prevailed throughout these regions in the closing years of the reign of Elizabeth and the opening years of the reign of James I; but it is, I conceive, to none of these so much as to WILLIAM BREWSTER, a layman living in the old manor of Scrooby, that we are to attribute the final measure, the actual separation from a church which allowed things by the Puritans deemed unscriptural, and the establishment on a lasting basis of that Separatist Church which in the end occasioned the settlement of New England.

And now it is time that he should be introduced more particularly to the reader.

It is possible that those who are previously unacquainted with this portion of history will expect to find some rough and uncouth person, ignorant of the world, disliking the church because the church disliked him, and seeking a distinction which did not naturally belong to him by the easy path of peculiarity in his religious profession and practice. Nothing,

* It is remarkable that the first known printed work of this Puritan divine is a translation of Terence in English prose, which he dedicates to the sons of Sir William Wray, a Lincolnshire knight, nephews of the Countess of Warwick and Lady Bowes, who were Bernard's friends and patrons in the early period of his life.

however, can be more unlike the true picture of this remarkable man, little remembered as he now is in the country which gave him birth, and little known as are the place of his long abode and the circumstances of his varied life. He was evidently a man, whom, for his birth, his social position, his education, his energy, his reflective cast of character, and his general virtues and attainments, no body of persons need to be ashamed to own that they have been actuated by influences springing from him.

In early life he was connected with events of great interest in the public history of Britain. Having studied in the University of Cambridge, he became one of the Under-Secretaries of State in the office of Secretary Davison, the first step to distinction in political life. There is a little uncertainty about the exact time of his birth, Bradford seems to place it in 1564; but Morton, writing on the authority of Bradford, represents him as being eighty-four at the time of his death, 1643, which would throw back the time of his birth to 1559, the first year of the reign of Elizabeth, and this is probably the true date. "Being first seasoned with the seeds of grace and virtue," these are the words of Governor Bradford, "he went to the court, and served that religious and godly gentleman Mr. Davison divers years, when he was Secretary of State; who found him so discrete and faithful that he trusted him above all others that were about him, and only employed him on all matters of greatest trust and secresy. He esteemed him rather as a son than a servant, and for his wisdom and godliness in private he would converse with him more like a friend and familiar than a master." Davison was eminently of the Puritan school, and to these conversations we may doubtless in part attribute the origin of some of the peculiari-

ties in Brewster's religious character, and the confirming and strengthening the importance which he gave to everything which belonged to religious profession and practice. When Davison went on a mission to the Low Countries in 1585, Brewster accompanied him; when he would become acquainted with the land which was afterwards to receive him as one of its inhabitants. He had a companion in Davison's office, who had also, it is probable, some influence in moulding his character at this early period of his life. This was George Cranmer, a name to be found in Wood, and probably other biographers, while that of Brewster is absent from all except the American writers and the few who in this country have copied from them. Cranmer was a great nephew of the archbishop of that name. He had been a pupil of Hooker, and assisted him when he was engaged in his great work on the 'Ecclesiastical Polity of England;' so that he also had imbibed a taste for ecclesiastical controversy, and probably no small amount of acquaintance with the points chiefly controverted in those times. It is remarkable that neither of these men, who were so near to Davison at the most critical period of his life, is so much as casually named in the octavo volume which professes to contain a critical history of the unfortunate secretary. The fall of Davison occurred in 1587. He was a man too honest, too unsuspicious, and perhaps too conscientious and religious, for the post he at that time held. The two under-secretaries fell with him. Both men in the prime of life, the courses which they took were different. Cranmer connected himself with public men, and still sought to push his fortunes in the world. Brewster withdrew himself from the world, and led thenceforth a retired, contemplative, and religious life. Cranmer's was a short career; Brewster's one unusually long.

Cranmer's end was by violence; Brewster died in peace. Cranmer would probably have been forgotten had not Wood given the short notice of him which we have in the Athenæ; Brewster has left an impression on human society which will never be effaced. It must not, however, be forgotten that Camden honours Cranmer with the character "vir eruditissimus." He was slain in 1600, in a fight near Carlingford, when he was acting as secretary to Lord Mountjoy. He had previously been in the service of Sir Henry Killigrew and Sir Edwin Sandys, attending the latter in his tour through Europe for the purpose of observing the state of religion, both in the reformed and unreformed countries.

Bradford mentions a circumstance honorable to Brewster, namely, that he did not desert his master at the time of his fall, but remained with him doing him all the good he could; and it was not till he saw the ruin of Davison complete, and his case quite hopeless, that he retired with what little fortune he had into the country. Bradford, on his principle of generalization—for there can have been no particular reason for his reserve—never mentions Scrooby or any other place by name, as the place to which Brewster retired; but it is manifest that it was to Scrooby he retired, where some part of his family had before resided. He there made, says Bradford, "the study and practice of religion his principal business and delight." But Bradford's words are so remarkable, and shew us so distinctly how Brewster was employed during this his long retirement in Nottinghamshire, that it is proper to quote them at large:—"Afterwards he went and lived in the country amongst his friends and the good gentlemen of those parts, especially the godly and religious. . . . He did much good in the country where he lived,

in promoting and furthering religion, and not only by his practice and example, and provoking and encouraging of others, but by procuring of good preachers to all places thereabouts, as in drawing on of others to assist and help forward in such a work, he himself most commonly deepest in the charge, and sometimes above his ability. And in this state he continued many years, doing the best good he could, and walking according to the light he saw, until the Lord revealed farther unto him. And in the end, by the tyranny of the bishops against godly preachers and people, in silencing the one and persecuting the other, he and many more of those times began to look further into particulars, and to see into the unlawfulness of their callings, and the burden of many anti-Christian corruptions, which both he and they endeavoured to cast off, as they also did." We see how it was. A statesman imbued early with strong religious feeling, and, when living in the world, living in the midst of religious influences, disgusted with the court and its chicanery, of which he had been a near witness to a most memorable instance, retires into the country, as under another system he would have retired into a convent, and there gives himself up wholly to religious meditation, religious exercises, and the promotion of a religious spirit among the people around him; but having an active and a cultivated mind, he is not the mere devotee, but an inquirer after divine truth, and one who makes conscience of divulging the truths in ecclesiastics or theology which were opened to his mind, or those opinions which he deemed to be the truth. These not coinciding with established principles and practices, he became an object of suspicion and dislike. The law was perhaps made to bear upon him: he stood upon what to him was a mightier law.

He found his own weakness as a member of political society in England, and he sought that freedom in a foreign land which he found not here. How great the difference in his history, if he had been recalled to public life, and had listened to the call! As he was the prime mover in all these events, the settlement of the New England continent might have been postponed for half a century.

We must endeavour to fix the dates of some of these events. The year 1587 or 1588 may with confidence be assumed as the time when he retired to Scrooby; but the time when he had reached the point at which nothing would satisfy him but withdrawing from the public communion, and forming a separate church in his own house, is not quite so easily determined. There appears to have been some mistake even from the time of Nathaniel Morton, who places in the margin of his uncle's manuscript the date 1602, as the year of the formation of the church. This is too early by four or five years, since it is not probable that such a church would be suffered to endure at all through five or six years; and Bradford himself fixes decisively what is a later date, namely, 1606 or 1607. "So after they had continued together *about a year*, and kept their meetings many sabbaths in one place or another, exercising the worship of God among themselves, notwithstanding all the diligence and malice of their adversaries, they seeing they could no longer remain in that condition, they resolved to get over into Holland if they could, which was in the year 1607 or 1608." The same thing is in effect repeated in the account of Brewster, who had "borne his part, in weal and woe, with his poor persecuted church about thirty-six years in England, Holland, and in this wilderness, and done the Lord and them faithful service in his place and

calling; and, notwithstanding the many troubles and sorrows he passed through, the Lord upheld him to a great age." He died in 1643, from which subtract thirty-six, and we are carried back to the year 1606 or 1607 for the date of the actual formation of the church.*

It is to be regretted that no church-book is in existence; for such a book would have fixed not only the year, but the precise day when this church union took place, the mutual pledges were given, and the officers appointed. In societies like this all these things were done in a solemn manner, and a punctual record was made of them, in which book subsequent events in the affairs of the church would be entered, especially the choice of new officers, the admission of new members, or the disownment of those who violated the sacred engagements into which they had entered. What a treasure for American history, what a relic for the museum at New Plymouth would this church-book be!

The particular office which Brewster held in this church was that of elder; and he continued to hold this office in England, Holland, and America, till his death, whence he is perpetually written or spoken of as "Elder Brewster." In the early years of their residence in America the church had neither teacher nor pastor, and Brewster performed the duties

* Prince, who is a critical and exact writer on these affairs, appears to have been aware of the difficulty attending the received chronology. He says, "Governor Bradford's history takes no notice of the year of this Federal Incorporation; but Mr. Secretary Morton, in his Memorial, places it in 1602; and I suppose he had his account either from some other writings of Governor Bradford or the journal of Governor Winslow, or from oral conference with them or other of the first planters, with some of whom he was contemporary, and from whence he tells us he received his intelligence."—*Chron. History*, p. 4.

pertaining to those offices. He was thus for some years the sole administrator of their spiritual affairs.

And now with respect to the Brewsters from our English sources of information. The loss of the parish register of Scrooby, and the absence of any wills of the family from the registers at York, leave us without the usual means of laying the first foundation of accurate knowledge respecting them; since the Brewsters—the Nottinghamshire Brewsters—made no entry of the members and alliances of the family in the heralds' books. What we actually know of the Brewsters of Scrooby, taking up the subject as the genealogist views it, is that in 1571 there was a William Brewster, one of three persons who were the only persons taxed to the subsidy in the township of Scrooby-cum-Ranskill. This William could not be "Elder Brewster," but might very well be his father. His assessment was on goods of the annual value of sixty shillings; William Dawson was assessed at the same time on twenty shillings land; and Thomas Wentworth on forty shillings land. These sums afford no intelligible criterion of the actual position of the persons assessed; but they shew something of the relative position. Wentworth describes himself in his will as an esquire, and was a younger son of the eminent family of Wentworth of Wentworth-Woodhouse, and yet his assessment is less than that on Brewster.

We next meet with a James Brewster, who was a clerk and master of the Hospital of Mary Magdalene, at Bawtry, on the nomination of Archbishop Sandys in 1584. This person is never mentioned by Bradford, though he must have been well acquainted with some remarkable circumstances concerning him; and we cannot doubt that he was a near relation of "Elder Brewster," probably his brother.

In an account of some affairs of the hospital at Bawtry, to which we shall have occasion to refer more particularly hereafter, a Mr. Welbeck is spoken of as father-in-law to James Brewster; and this seems to carry us to Suffolk, as the original seat of the Nottinghamshire Brewsters, the Welbecks being a family of that county, and there being Brewsters of Suffolk in about the same position as the Brewsters of Nottinghamshire. They were a visitation family, and their places of residence were Rushmore and Wrentham. They continued in the rank of gentry of that county to a very recent period, if they are not still existing. The arms they bore were a chevron ermine between three silver étoiles on a sable field,—stars breaking through the darkness of night. Neither the heralds nor the later collectors of Suffolk genealogies who have continued the Brewster pedigree have connected the Nottinghamshire Brewsters with them, so that it may be sufficient to give only a few leading facts concerning them during the time when James, the clergyman, and William, the under-secretary of state, were living. Robert, of Rushmore, married one of the coheirs of Christopher Edmonds, of Cressing Temple, in Essex, and had two sons, Henry and James. The latter died without issue; but Henry, who transferred his residence to Wrentham, had four daughters and two sons, Francis, who succeeded him at Wrentham, and Humphrey, who died at Hadley in 1614.* Francis married Elizabeth Snelling, a daughter of Robert Snelling, of Whatfield, near Ipswich (of which family of Snelling were the wives of Edmund Calamy

* The reader is referred to the Harl. MS. 1560, f. 286b, for a fuller account of these Brewsters; also to Jermyn's 'Collections for the Gentry of Suffolk,' among the MSS. in the Museum called "Additional," a recent and munificent donation of Mr. Hudson Gurney.

and Matthew Newcomen,* two of the most eminent Puritan divines of the reign of Charles the First, and both concerned in the *Smectymnuus*), and had Robert, of Wrentham, who was a member of Cromwell's Parliaments.

In the absence of any definite and positive information, it may be added that the settlement of Brewsters in these parts of the county of Nottingham, where they were certainly strangers before that time, may be connected with the settlement of one of the Welbecks, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, or Mary, in the parish of Sutton-upon-Lound, which adjoins the parish of Scrooby. This Welbeck, whose descent from Suffolk is shewn in the Harl. MS. 891, had large possessions in these parts of Nottinghamshire, as appears by the inquisition taken on his death, his chief house being at Sutton. He died on the 24th of December, 1556, leaving an infant daughter, who married in the great Yorkshire house of Savile.

But quitting conjecture and probability, which are to be valued chiefly as suggestive of lines of inquiry to those who

* This fact is derived from the Harl. MS. 6071, f. 491, a singular but neglected volume of English genealogy. It has no author's name, nor does the catalogue give us any information on that point, but it is clearly an autograph of Matthew Candler, a Puritan divine, of whom Dr. Calamy gives an account, in which he speaks of his fondness for curious historical inquiry. It was chiefly from information collected from this volume that I prepared the account of so many of the persons of the county of Suffolk who accompanied or soon followed Winthrop to Massachusetts Bay, which the Historical Society of Massachusetts have done me the honour to insert in their collections. The Suffolk emigration began in 1630, ten years after Brewster and his church had established themselves at New Plymouth. Freedom of thought and profession in religious affairs was the object aimed at in both emigrations. Newcomen became pastor of an English church at Leyden, which would probably comprehend those of Brewster's church, who preferred remaining in Holland to encountering the difficulties of a long sea voyage and a settlement in the wilderness.

have better opportunities of pursuing them, we proceed to certain facts in the life of James Brewster, who appears to have been scarcely a more dutiful son of the church than his namesake, and doubtless near relative, William Brewster. Beside the mastership of the hospital at Bawtry, of which we shall soon see he was deprived, he was vicar of Sutton-upon-Lound, and while so, in the beginning of the reign of James the First, he refused to pay his quota to the subsidy granted to the late queen by the clergy of the province of York in convocation. Whether this was done contumaciously does not certainly appear; but though cited in his own church to make the payment, which was only six shillings and eightpence, within forty days, at Tuxford, he neglected to do so, and was returned as a defaulter into the Exchequer. This fact is derived from the original return made by the collector.

This did not, however, prevent him from obtaining another living in the same neighbourhood, for on the 13th of March, 1604, he was instituted to the vicarage of Gringley-on-the-Hill, a well-known place on the high road between Bawtry and Gainsborough. This is the latest notice I have seen of James Brewster.

In his conduct as master of the hospital he shewed a spirit which it is impossible to defend on any other ground than that he conscientiously believed the hospital to be a superstitious foundation, and, though in Protestant hands, a means of fostering ancient and exploded opinions, and of keeping up the influence of the family of Morton, in which were several persons who were most zealous Romanists. A poor ground, however, this, as the following recital of occurrences will shew.

The Hospital of Saint Mary Magdalene stood close to the town of Bawtry. It was a foundation of very high antiquity,

but in the year 1390 it received so large a benefaction from Robert Morton, then the head of the family, that the Mortons were afterwards regarded as the founders, and the chapel was their family burial-place.

The circumstances of the benefaction were these: the canons of the house of St. Oswald, or Nostel, near Pontefract, had fallen into great pecuniary difficulties under Adam de Bilton, an improvident prior, and to relieve themselves they borrowed money on annuities. Morton advanced to them the large sum of £250, equal to the value of a flock of 3500 sheep, as by comparison with an inventory of nearly the same date. For this the canons were to pay eight marks per annum to the chaplain of the hospital and his successors, who were to celebrate in the chapel, and pray for the good estate of Robert Morton and Joan his wife, while they lived, and for their souls and the souls of his father and mother and all his relations and benefactors after their decease.

Such a foundation was undoubtedly tainted with what in the days of the Reformation was accounted superstition. Yet it lived through the storm which, in the last year of Henry the Eighth and the first of Edward the Sixth, swept away so many foundations resembling it. The Archbishop of York had an interest in preserving it, as the nomination of the master was in him. It was also to some extent an eleemosynary foundation. It was allowed at least to continue with a service purged of all superstition, and to enjoy the estate which from ancient times had belonged to it, and the annuity which had been paid by the canons, and on the dissolution of their house, by the crown. Dr. William Clayborough and John Howseman were Protestant masters immediately before Brewster. At the time of his appointment in 1584, there were

one or two almspeople, whose dwellings, with a house for the master's residence, and a chapel, the ruins of which yet remain, constituted the whole of the establishment.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth commissions issued into every part of the kingdom to inquire concerning concealed lands, as lands were called which it was affirmed ought to have passed to the crown under the various acts for the suppression of religious foundations in the preceding reigns. To a body of these commissioners some persons, with the connivance and approbation of Brewster, presented the hospital and its possessions, and the commissioners forthwith reported it as a concealment: the foundation was overturned, and the whole property seized into the hands of the queen. There was thus an end to his duties, and Brewster left Bawtry, and went to reside at Chelmsford, in Essex.

But the hospital and its lands, which were certain closes near adjoining, were no sooner in the hands of the queen than they were granted out again as a private possession to Brewster and other persons, but as it seems with a beneficial interest to Brewster alone.

To all this the Archbishop, Sandys, who had appointed Brewster to the mastership, seems to have made no resistance. He died on the 8th of August, 1588, and was succeeded by Piers, a prelate of a different spirit. He determined to set aside if possible all these proceedings, and was supported in his determination by the commissioners for causes ecclesiastical, who at that time were beginning to act with vigour against every species of uncanonical irregularity.

His first step was to depose Brewster from the mastership, on the ground of his having suffered the overthrow of the hospital, and having removed himself a hundred miles or more

from the place where he was bound to reside. He next nominated a new master, John Cooper, M.A. We soon find the ecclesiastical commissioners addressing a warrant to the high sheriff of Nottinghamshire, to attach James Brewster, Thomas Short, Thomas Robinson, and others, for profaning and ruinating the house and chapel, and cause them to appear before the commission at York. This warrant bears date the 6th of March, 1590. We have but imperfect notices of what was done by the commissioners, but it is of the less importance, as the cause was soon removed into a higher court, and there, after long argument, decided.

In Easter term, 1591, a bill was filed in the Exchequer, the Archbishop of York against Robinson and others, in which is set forth the right of himself and his successors in the see to the patronage, the attempt of Brewster, pretending himself to be master, to overthrow and dissolve the foundation, and to take to himself, or to others for his use, the possessions belonging to it, and to free himself from attendance and residence, having, as the bill sets forth, "wickedly and ungodly combined and confederated himself to that end with one Thomas Robinson, John Noble, and Thomas Short, who had procured the hospital to be found as a concealment;" and further that Robinson, Noble, and Short had utterly profaned the said chapel, converted it into a stable, and carried away the ornaments. The prayer is that Brewster and the rest may be commanded to yield peaceable possession to the new master. The bill was settled by Sir John Savile, the very eminent lawyer. Lord Burghley was then Lord Treasurer, Fortescue Under-Treasurer, and Sir Roger Manwood Lord Chief Baron.

An order was made in favour of the new master, to which the defendant Robinson demurred, affirming that the hospital

was truly concealed land within the intent of the statute, improperly withholden from her majesty, till found out and recovered by the industry and at the charge of the defendants, and that her majesty had made a conveyance of it in fee-farm to the persons under whom he claimed; that it was really parcel of the dissolved monastery of Nostel, and that the service which had been lately performed in the chapel was perfectly useless, as there were three churches or chapels within a short distance, at which divine service was orderly said. He must have meant at Bawtry, Austerfield, and Scrooby, or possibly Harworth.

The question, which was not without its difficulties, was obstinately contested on both sides, and the suit protracted; but as we obtain no further light into the facts of the case, it is useless to enter into further details of the proceedings, except to say that, in the course of the suit, a commission issued for the examination of witnesses, whose depositions are now in the Exchequer; amongst whom were Anthony Morton, Esquire, then the head of the family, and aged forty-three; and John Mirfyn, the vicar of Harworth, aged threescore and fourteen, who both deposed to the utter profanation of the chapel, in which swine were kept.

Archbishop Piers died pending the suit, September 28, 1594. It was revived by Matthew Hutton, his successor; and to bring this long story to a conclusion, a final judgment was pronounced in the court at Westminster, in Hilary Term, 1596, establishing the right of the new master, and annulling all the proceedings of Brewster and his friends.*

* Much concerning these proceedings may be read in Hearne's Appendix to the 'Chronicle of Peter Langtoft,' printed from a MS. in the Harleian Library, No. 7385. The MS. is the work of Slack, a later master of the

All this, we must remember, took place in the immediate neighbourhood of William Brewster, to whom we must now return; and the presumption perhaps is, that he took a favorable view of the claim of his namesake, and those who were associated with him. It is right, however, to say that his name does not appear in any of the papers in the suit now existing; but were not the depositions of the defendants' witnesses lost, we should probably have found evidence given by him. If he took a strong view of the defendants' right, and it must be admitted that the case was one which presented legal difficulties, though I cannot think the conduct of Brewster admits of justification, this triumph of episcopal authority, and the great expenses to which the defendants must have been subjected, would tend to quicken him in his advance on the road on which he was going. Yet, on any view of it, if any wrong at all were done, it was the act, not of an ecclesiastical court, but of a court composed entirely of laymen, some of whom were of especial fame for virtue and wisdom.

It will now have become apparent that there was a connexion of long standing between the Brewsters and the family of Sandys, which may account for the zeal which Sir Edwin Sandys shewed in the cause, when Brewster applied to him for assistance in 1617, when Sandys was treasurer, or at least an influential member of the Virginia Company. It was then chiefly by Sir Edwin Sandys' influence at court that the difficulties were overcome; and the church then at Leyden obtained the king's permission to remove to New England,

hospital, but his copies of documents are not always correct or intelligible. I have gone to the originals, and have also used evidence not consulted by him.

and live there as subjects to his majesty, but with the full permission to enjoy all possible religious freedom.* This early connexion of Brewster with the family of Sandys shews us the fitness of the selection of him by the church to negotiate the business in London, if we may not even go so far as to presume that Brewster saw in the influence which Sir Edwin Sandys possessed in the affairs of the Virginia Company, that a favorable moment had arrived for gaining the permission which it was known the court was too unwilling to grant.

Sir Edwin Sandys himself was a person who had entered deeply into the consideration of the state of religious affairs in Europe, and of the various sects into which Protestant Europe was divided, and the possibility of discovering some basis on which they might be united and even reincorporated in the ancient church. There is a liberality of sentiment in some passages in his 'Europæ Speculum,' written by him at Paris in 1599, which are scarcely less liberal than were the sentiments of Brewster himself. This book ought to form a part of every American library, and be carefully perused by those who shall attempt to give a complete and philosophical history of this great transaction. My business rather is to

* It seems as if the king personally disliked the notion of having these his newly-acquired possessions peopled by the more zealous professors of religion. For when a seal of the Virginia Company was presented to him for his approval, and he found the device on one side was St. George slaying the dragon, with the motto *Fas alium superare draconem*, meaning the unbelief of the natives, the king commanded that the motto should be omitted. This anecdote is preserved by Weever in one of his MS. volumes in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, No. 128. The motto on the other side, *En dat Virginia quintam*, allusive to the four crowns, was in the taste of the times, when to a shield exhibiting three helmets was the motto *Quarta Salutis* annexed.

intimate its relation to this point of history.* I would add, also, that even the archbishop was not averse to that farther reformation in some points which Brewster and his friends aimed at; not indeed to the extent of destroying a national union in religious affairs, and abolishing the order to which he himself belonged, but he who could write as he does in his last will, could give no countenance to the principle of finality in the affairs of religion: "Concerning rites and ceremonies . . . . so have I ever been, and presently am persuaded, that some of them be not so expedient for the church now; but in the church reformed, and in all the time of the gospel wherein the seed of the Scripture hath so long been sown, they may better be disused by little and little than more and more urged. Howbeit, I do easily acknowledge our ecclesiastical polity, in some points, may be bettered; so I do utterly mislike, even in my conscience, all such rude and indigested platforms, as have been more lately and boldly, than either learnedly or wisely, preferred, tending not to the reformation, but to the destruction of the Church of England."† This was at least making way for that most

* Sir Edwin Sandys was a person of a deeply religious turn of mind, and at the same time what in these days would be called a *Liberal*, both in theology and political science. In the next generation his family were among the sternest opponents of the measures of the king. How heartily he entered into the design appears from a letter to Robinson and Brewster, dated November 13, 1617, printed in Hubbard's History: "And so I betake you, with the design which I hope verily is the work of God, to the gracious protection and blessing of the Holy Ghost."

† See the substance of this affecting and striking composition (as are so many of the exordiums of the wills of those times, especially of the ecclesiastics) in 'A Supplement to the Four Volumes of the Peerage of England,' by Arthur Collins, Esq., 8vo, 1750, vol. ii, p. 582. Collins is a writer to whom, as an original authority in a wide field of English biography, justice is seldom done by those who use his writings.

important principle of Brewster's church, which is taken from the celebrated farewell address of their pastor Robinson: "I beseech you remember it is an article of your church-covenant, that you be ready to receive whatever truth may be made known to you from the written word of God."

Robinson asserts the principle of free inquiry in even stronger terms than these: "The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw: whatever part of His will our good God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it; and the Calvinists you see stick fast where they were left by that great man of God, who yet saw not all things. This is a misery much to be lamented; for though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God, but were they now living, would be as willing to embrace further light as that which they first received." And, no doubt, he knew enough of the church, of which he had been the pastor about thirteen years, to know that the sentiment would be responded to by perhaps every mind amongst them. Nor would the danger and the difficulties which surround the principle be at that time perceived by them; the extent to which it must ultimately carry people, the strange and mischievous opinions which must be allowed to shew themselves under it, and the difficulties in a practical application of it in its full extent to societies formed for the maintenance of Christian influences on the hearts and conduct of those who compose them. This Robinson was a most important person in all the proceedings which are the subject of this tract, and it is now the time to introduce him more formally upon the scene in which he acted so prominent a part.

I have a little, and but a little, to add to what is known concerning him.

JOHN ROBINSON was one of the Puritan divines of the time, who, like Brewster and Clifton, took so strong a view of the constitution of the Church of England, its polity, and its ceremonies, that he deemed it his duty to separate himself from its communion, and to make an open protest against it. When, therefore, Brewster's people wanted a minister to become either their pastor or their teacher (for it is not known which office was held by Robinson, and which by Clifton, while the church was still in England, though it may be deemed the more probable supposition that the office of teacher was that at first held by Robinson), Robinson was such a minister as they wanted. Recent writers state that Brewster and he were contemporaries at Cambridge, and that there began the acquaintance which laid the foundation of their connexion with the same church.* There is no doubt that Robinson did study at Cambridge, and that he was a regularly ordained minister of the Church of England. The place of his birth and earlier education, his family connexions, and indeed everything respecting him previously to his going to the university, are, however, unknown; and with a name of such universal occurrence, it seems almost improper to hint, however distantly, at the possibility of his being in some way connected with the Thomas Robinson who was concerned with James Brewster in the affair of the Bawtry hospital. We are told that he was beneficed in Norfolk, somewhere near Yarmouth. This is much too vague to satisfy even the most moderate curiosity respecting such a man; and I think it is in my power to shew something more precise

* Mr. Young states that he was born in 1576, entered Emanuel College in 1592, took the degree of M. A. in 1600, and B. D. in 1607. So that he was much younger than Brewster, and not likely to have been contemporary with him at the university.

respecting him. On looking over the list of incumbents given in Blomefield's 'History of the County of Norfolk,' I meet with only one clergyman of the name of Robinson in the parts of the county which can be called the country about Yarmouth, at the time when John Robinson must have been settled there. Blomefield, or perhaps Parkin, who completed the work, knew or cared so little about him, that the name stands thus, "—— Robinson." The preferment this minister had was a vicarage or a perpetual curacy at Mundham, about fourteen miles distance from Yarmouth, and about the same distance from Norwich. And that this —— Robinson is the John Robinson who was for so many years the affectionate and beloved minister of the church of Separatists, the founders of New England, seems to be placed almost beyond doubt, by the fact that Mundham was an impropriation of the Hospital of St. Giles at Norwich, and its curate appointed by the corporation of Norwich, when compared with the following passage in Dr. Hall's 'Apology against Brownists,' which is cited by Mr. Young: "Neither doubt we to say, that the mastership of the hospital at Norwich, or a lease from that city (sued for with repulse), might have procured that this separation from the communion, government, and worship of the Church of England should not have been made by John Robinson." I do not stay to inquire whether the insinuation in the passage cited is borne out by evidence, or is supported by what we know of the general character of Robinson. It seems to me as if it were one of those ungenerous expressions into which controversialists in those days, and sometimes even in these, are apt to be betrayed; and I shall cite by and by two or three testimonies from men who knew him, which give a very different impression of him. Here the passage is cited to shew that the —— Robinson of Blomefield's

'History' is the John Robinson of whom so much is said by all who write or speak of the first American emigration. I wish it could be added that we found some account of what Robinson did for the people of Mundham; but the information which the History affords us is of the poorest description. He was there in the year 1600, and also in 1603, when he returned that there were 144 communicants in his parish;* and this is all.

It would seem, however, that he was for some time residing in the city of Norwich, by the following passage in Ainsworth's 'Answer to Crashaw,' cited by Mr. Hanbury:† "Witness the late practice in Norwich, where certain citizens were excommunicated for resorting unto and praying with Mr. Robinson, a man worthily reverenced of all the city for the grace of God in him, as yourself also, I suppose, will acknowledge." He had probably, at the time to which this refers, given up Mundham, and might be intent on gathering a Separatist church from among the citizens of Norwich.

That he left the county of Norfolk in some state of disgust depends not entirely we see on the statement of Dr. Joseph Hall. We infer it from the above passage in Ainsworth's tract, and it is affirmed at a somewhat later period by Ephraim Pagitt, who speaks of "one Master Robinson who, leaving Norwich malcontent, became a rigid Brownist."‡

Dates are wanting throughout, and we must not go to Bradford for dates; but we may refer to his writings for a most hearty testimony of affection and respect. Winslow, another member of the church, who, being a native of

* History of Norfolk, vol. v, p. 1155.

† Historical Memorials relating to the Independents. By Benjamin Hanbury, 8vo, 1839, vol. i, p. 185.

‡ Heresiography, 4to, 1655, p. 73.

Droitwich, in Worcestershire, joined it while it sojourned at Leyden, and accompanied it to New England, writes with more discrimination: "'Tis true, I confess, he was more rigid in his course and way at first than towards his latter end; for his study was peace and union as far as might agree with faith and a good conscience; and for schisms and divisions there was nothing in the world more hateful to him. But for the government of the Church of England, as it was in the episcopal way, the Liturgy, and stinted prayers of the church thereby, yea the constitution thereof as national, so consequently the corrupt communion of the unworthy and the worthy receivers of the Lord's Supper, these things were never approved of by him, but witnessed against to his death, and are by the church over which he was to this day." One testimony more is taken from the writings of an opponent, Baillie, who calls him "the most learned, polished, and modest spirit that ever that sect enjoyed."

But though dates are wanting, since we find him in 1603 at Mundham, and after this for some time at Norwich, we may assign with much probability the commencement of his connexion with Brewster's people to the year 1606 or 1607. Perhaps, even, it was the prospect of securing the services of so zealous, able, and beloved a minister that determined Brewster to collect his people in regular church order, according to the proper model of an Independent or Separatist church, with its proper officers, pastor, teacher, elder, and deacons.

Of the persons who composed Brewster's church without holding any office in it, he of whom we have the most certain knowledge, and who afterwards became the most noted, was WILLIAM BRADFORD, to whose writings we have so often had occasion to refer, who was in the May-Flower, the ship which

conveyed Brewster, and who was for many years successively elected to be governor of the colony. His name is subscribed to the memorable covenant into which the emigrants entered before leaving the ship, and he was one of the two who undertook to explore the country to ascertain the most convenient place at which to fix their habitations. He was not actually the first person whom the colonists chose for their governor. This honour belongs to another of the party who has not been traced to any English residence, John Carver; but he died in a few months, when Bradford was chosen his successor.

It is chiefly to Dr. Cotton Mather that we are indebted for the knowledge we possess of the early life of Bradford. He seems to have derived his information from some writing of Bradford's now lost. I have already observed on the misprint of *An*sterfield for *Au*sterfield. Dr. Mather says that he was 69 years of age at his death on May 9, 1657, according to which he was born in 1588. We find, however, from the church register of Austerfield, that he was baptized in March, 1589:

1589, March —*, baptized William, the son of William Bradfourth.

It appears from this that he was not more than eighteen or nineteen when he had united himself with Brewster's people, and accompanied them, as we know he did, to Holland.

Dr. Mather further informs us that he was born to some estate; that his parents died when he was young, and that he was brought up by his grandfather and uncles. These state-

* This defect in the register occasions some uncertainty respecting the year of his birth, which may have been, according to our present mode of reckoning, in 1589 or 1590, according as the day of the baptism was early or late in the month of March.

ments receive ample support from testamentary and fiscal documents, and from the register, which has been well preserved, of the baptisms, marriages, and burials at the little chapel at Austerfield, which is a member of the parish of Blythe.

From these evidences the following genealogical account of the family is compiled.

A William Bradford was living at Austerfield in or about 1575, when he and John Hanson were the only persons in that township who were assessed to the subsidy. Bradford was taxed on twenty shillings land, and Hanson on sixty shillings goods, annual value. These seem to have been the two grandfathers of the future governor. "William Bradfourth, the eldest," was buried January 10, 1595-6, when his grandson was about six years old.

Three Bradfords appear in the next generation, named William, Thomas, and Robert, of whom only the baptism of Robert is found in the register:

> 1561, June 25, baptized Robert, son of William Bradfourth;

but there can be no doubt that they were three brothers, the father and uncles of William, the other two being probably born before the commencement of the register. They all married and had issue. William married on June 28, 1584, Alice Hanson, who may fairly be assumed to be the daughter of John Hanson, who shared with the elder Bradford the honour of being the only subsidy-men in the township. William, the governor, was the youngest of the three children of this marriage (all that are presented to us by the register); the other two were daughters, named Margaret and Alice. Margaret was born in 1585, and lived but a few days. Alice was baptized in 1587, which is all the information we have concerning her. William, the father of these children, was

buried on July 15, 1591, when his son William was about two years old.

Thomas, one of the uncles to whom devolved the care of the infant, appears in the register only as having a daughter named Margaret, baptized on March 9, 1577-8.

Robert, the other uncle, is the only Bradford who is assessed at Austerfield to the subsidy in 1598: the other subsidy-men being John Maudson, Robert Martley, and Robert Bridges. On January 31, 1585, he married Alice Waingate, as the name appears in the copies of the register which have been sent me. He had Alice, who died an infant, and five other children, William, Robert, Mary, Elizabeth, and Margaret, baptized between 1587 and 1600. William died young, and was buried April 30, 1593. The other four were living when the father made his will, April 15, 1609. It was made in his last illness, as we find he was buried at Austerfield on the 23d of that month.

This will is the best document we possess from which to form an idea of the status of the Bradfords at Austerfield, at the time when one of them took the important step which has made him and his family just objects of historical curiosity. He describes himself "Robert Bradfurth, of Austerfield, yeoman," and we may observe that Bradfurth, or Bradfourth, is the more usual orthography of the name in the church register, so uncertain and variable was the orthography of all proper names at that period; also, that "yeoman" implies a condition of life a little better than that which would be now indicated by the word. The yeomanry of England in the reign of Elizabeth formed the class next to the acknowledged gentry, the men who used coat-armour of right. They were people who lived for the most part on lands of their own.

The testator sets out with declarations of his Christian faith expressed in terms of energy, a little above the ordinary tone of such exordiums, and his first bequest is of 10*s*. to the chapel of Austerfield. To a servant named Grace Wade he gives the free use of a dwelling-house; he names another servant, and his brother and sister Hill. These were James Hill and Elizabeth Bradford his wife, who were married January 20, 1595; the baptism of Elizabeth, daughter of the first William, appears also in the register, July 16, 1570. Another small legacy is given to Thomas Silvester, clerk. To his son Robert he gives his best iron-bound wain; the cupboard in the house, that is, a room of the dwelling-house, so called according to the custom of the country, answering to what is now called the parlour; one long table, with a frame and one long form, with his best yoke of oxen; also "the counter wherein the evidences are." He leaves him also a corslet, with all the furniture thereto belonging. Having made these specific bequests, he directs that the residue of his property shall be divided equally among his four children, Robert, Mary, Elizabeth, and Margaret, whom he makes executors. They were all then under age, and he gives the tuition of them, till they are of age or married, to three of his friends: my good neighbour Mr. Richardson, of Bawtry, is to have the care of Robert and Margaret; William Downes, of Scrooby, of his daughter Elizabeth; and Mr. Silvester, of Alkley, of his daughter Mary. In a later part of his will he directs that his son Robert shall have the reversion of two leases; the one of all the king's lands he has in Austerfield, the other of the closes which he has of Mr. Morton in Martin lordship. Austerfield as well as Bawtry was in those days a royal manor, having been acquired by the crown by forfeitures or marriages from the illustrious and

well-known line of Nevil and Despenser, and the Bradfords were, we see, farmers of the demesne.

The Mr. Richardson, of Bawtry, to whose care he commits two of the children was, next to the Mortons, the principal person at Bawtry. He was afterwards allied to them; both he and Robert Morton, the head of the family, marrying in the family of Lindley of Skegby, one of the visitation families of Nottinghamshire.* Of Downes I know nothing, except that he was a subsidy-man at Scrooby. Silvester was a divine living at Alkley, which lies eastward from Austerfield at no great distance. It appears by his will, which was made in 1615, that he was possessed of a fair estate, and also, what is more to our purpose, of a library of English and Latin books, at a time when, in country places in England, books were exceedingly few. We may notice as a trait of the times, that he gives to the poor scholars of the grammar-school at Rossington his Cooper's Dictionary, to be chained to a stall in the church, and used by them as long as it will last! This collection of books, in the hands of a friend of the family living near them, may have been a treasure of instruction to

* He had a son, "Mr. Lindley Richardson," who is named, in connexion with "Mr. Henry Hill," in the will of Thomas Ledgard, a merchant of Bawtry, who was noted for his skill in the science of navigation, as appears by a biographical epitaph, which was once to be found in the chapel of Bawtry:

"He that could travel through globe and sphere,
And teach an expert pilot how to steer
By card and compass, made by his own hand,
To guide his journeys over sea and land:
Now in this strait room Thomas Ledgard lies, &c."

This Mr. Henry Hill was probably a son of James, and if so, cousin-german to Governor Bradford.

the Governor in his youth. One thing is clear, that the Bradfords of Austerfield, during the eighteen years that he who was afterwards the Governor of New Plymouth was living with them, associated with the best of the very slender population by whom they were surrounded.

In the next generation they declined. While William was working his way to the consequence which he ultimately attained, his cousin-german Robert remained at Austerfield, where he married and had issue. Before 1628 he had sold his lands there to Mr. William Vesey, a gentleman of Brampton, in the parish of Treeton, who in that year made his will, in which he speaks of "lands at Austerfield, which I bought of Robert Bradford." In 1630, one Robert Wright, a draper of Doncaster, leaves to him his gray suit of apparel, and to Richard Bradford, his son, one fustian doublet and one pair of hose: bequests which sufficiently indicate the obscurity and poverty into which they had fallen.

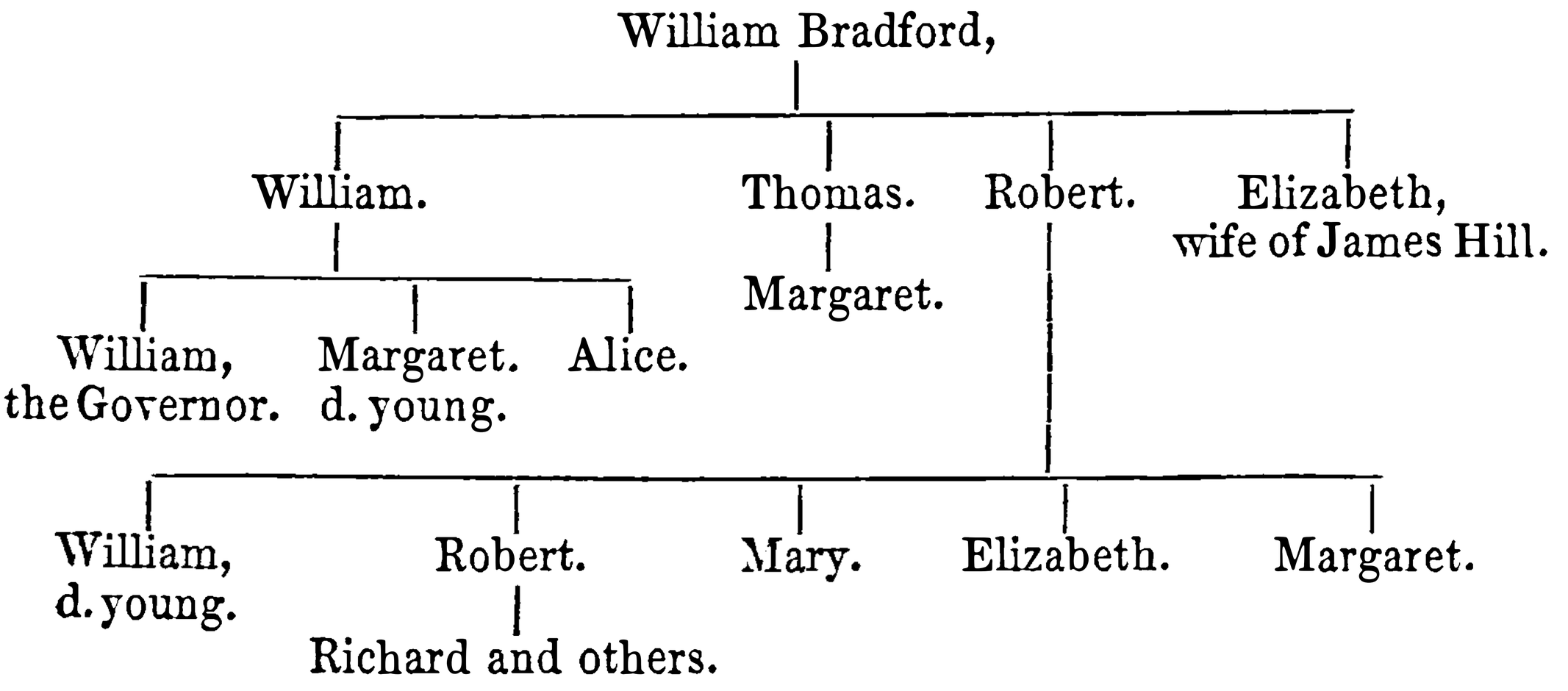
William Bradford, the person who alone gives a consequence to the Bradfords of Austerfield, inherited a portion of the lands of the family, for Dr. Mather informs us that he sold his lands when he was of full age and was living in Holland. As to the moral and religious state of the village in which he was born, it is a very unfavorable report indeed which Dr. Mather gives. He describes it as a very ignorant, profane place, not a Bible to be seen there, and with a minister at the chapel inattentive and careless. I can neither confirm nor refute this representation, which is made, it may be observed, by one whose standard of religious duty was high. But the will of which we have had an abstract is not without traces both of piety and charity. The clergyman alluded to must have been Henry Fletcher, who was minister of Austerfield in

1591, when he married Elizabeth Elvick. He had a large family of children, who were all baptized at Austerfield, so that he appears to have been constantly resident. In his will, dated May 26, 1624, he desires to be buried in the churchyard or chapel of Austerfield, near his wife and children.

We may, however, conclude that Bradford did not owe to him anything of that deeply contemplative and religious tone of mind which was manifested even as early as his twelfth year. He was brought up at Austerfield among his relations, "in the innocent trade of husbandry," but he was soon remarked, says Dr. Mather, for his thoughtful and serious deportment. He came under the influence of Clifton, the Puritan minister; he became a zealous follower of him: he went with him as he went. He became a Separatist, and opposing himself entirely to the wishes of his family, and daring the derision which would be showered upon him by the clowns of Austerfield, young as he was, he united himself to the Scrooby church, and became a very active and useful person in the difficult operations which were soon to be performed.

To complete the private and domestic history of this remarkable man, it has been discovered by the American writers on his history, that he married one Dorothy May, who accompanied him to New England, one of the memorable hundred and one who were in the May-Flower. She reached the shores of New England, but never set foot upon them, a boat upsetting when they were off the coast, and she was drowned. May is no Bassetlaw name, so that we are not warranted in claiming her as another member of the Scrooby church; and she was probably a daughter of a Mrs. May, a member of Johnson's Brownist church at Amsterdam, who is

spoken of, not very respectfully, by Pagitt, in his 'Heresiography,' p. 62. Two years after her death Bradford married Mrs. Alice Southworth, a widow, of whom afterwards.



GEORGE MORTON.—Another alleged fact in the family history of the Bradfords is, that a sister of the Governor, named Sarah, married George Morton, and was the mother of Nathaniel Morton, who was long secretary to the colony, and the author of 'New England's Memorial,' printed in 1667. Now it is certain that Nathaniel Morton does in that work call Governor Bradford his uncle; but it is also certain that we have no trace of any sister of the Governor named Sarah; nor is the marriage of a Morton to any of the Bradfords to be found in the church register of Austerfield. Nor is this the only difficulty which presents itself when we compare the histories and traditions of America with the evidence of record in this country. This George Morton is said to have been an inhabitant of the same village with Bradford, that he came to Plymouth with his family of four children in July 1623, and there in less than a year died.* Certain it is that there were

* New England's Memorial, edited by Judge Davis. 8vo, Boston, 1826. Prefatory matter.

many Mortons living at Austerfield in the time of the Bradfords, a family of small consideration; also, that there was amongst them a George Morton, baptized February 12, 1598, the son of Thomas Morton of that village. This is the only George; but so far from going to New England in 1623, we find him living at Austerfield, or, at least, a George Morton, where he has children baptized in 1624, and onward to 1631.

I fear that it is vain to hope to identify the George Morton, father of Nathaniel, by means of English evidence; and yet, when we read the terms in which Governor Bradford records his death, "a gracious servant of God, an unfeigned lover and promoter of the common good and growth of this plantation, and faithful in whatever public employment he was intrusted with," it is impossible not to wish that we could sūpport by our own evidences the traditions of New England, that he, as well as Brewster and Bradford, sprung from the little circle of country around Bawtry,—the cradle of the Anglo-Americans. He, also, whoever he may have been, occupies a conspicuous place in the early history of this emigration, as the English correspondent of the first settlers, the person to whom Bradford and Winslow transmitted their 'Relation of the Proceedings during the first year of the Settlement,' and who superintended the publication of it at London in 1622; for few will hesitate to accept Mr. Young's conjecture as the truth, that the "G. Mourt," which is the name subscribed to the preface to that publication, is really intended for this George Morton, the father of Nathaniel. "Mourt" is certainly no English name, and may well be supposed to be Morton or Mourton, curtailed by design or accident. It is manifest also that the writer of that preface intended himself "to put his shoulder to this hopeful business," that is, to

transfer himself to America, and take his share in the hardships to which the first colonists were subjected, as we know that Morton in the next year did.

It may be here mentioned, that there was another Morton of the name of George living at the time, not, indeed, in the village of Austerfield, but in the neighbouring town of Bawtry, and in a different rank of life from the George of Austerfield. On this George something of mystery hangs. He was the eldest son and heir apparent of the Anthony Morton of Bawtry, Esquire, who was one of the witnesses in the hospital suit, and died long before his father, having married Catherine Boun, half-sister of Gilbert Boun, serjeant-at-law, whose daughter was the wife of Thoroton, the historian of Nottinghamshire in 1673. Thoroton does not give the account we should have expected from him of the Mortons, who were one of the most ancient of the Nottinghamshire families, and who may be classed even among the historical families of the kingdom, on account of the important part which they acted in all the Roman Catholic movements against Queen Elizabeth. His deficiencies are not supplied by the visitation of Yorkshire in 1612, or of Nottinghamshire in 1614, for they were of both counties; so that we have no certain account of George Morton, and know not even the time of his death. We know, however, that the family was fast losing its lands and its consequence in his time; that Anthony begun the ruin of the family, which Robert, another son, completed; and that George left Catherine his wife surviving, who, at her death, was buried in the chapel of the hospital.

And while upon the Mortons, in the connexion of the name with the affairs of the first colonists, it may be added that there was a Thomas Morton, who joined the colony in 1625,

of whom Bradford says that "he had been a kind of pettifogger at Furnival's Inn."* He was a very troublesome person, and very injurious also, selling powder and fire-arms to the natives, and was sent home in disgrace. I know no reason to suppose that he was of the Austerfield Mortons, except that we have the baptism of a Thomas, brother of the George before mentioned, on March 1, 1589-90, who seems to be the same person who married in November 1611. The Thomas who occasioned so much trouble to Bradford and his friends, appears to have been a person of a very different character from the other early settlers; indeed, to have been one of those known at the time by the appellation "Inns-of-Court Gentlemen." Perhaps Bradford was mistaken when he says he was of Furnival's Inn; for in the title of his 'New English Canaan,' which he printed at Amsterdam, 4to, 1637, after his return from America, he describes himself of Clifford's Inn.† In the Sloane MS. 1792, at the Museum, are doggerel "Verses, by Captain Thomas Morton, from Breda," written in November 1624, relating to Ferdinando Cary: this is probably the same person. Copies of them may also be seen in the Harl. MS. 367, and in No. 36 of the Ashmolean Manuscripts. It would seem, therefore, that he was in the Low Countries before he went to New England.

But though we have thus occasion to speak so much of the people of Austerfield, which is a Yorkshire village, yet looking to the distribution and character of the population in the vicinage of Scrooby, and to the positions of Smith, Clifton, and Toller, the great Puritan preachers, who were all in North

* Prince, pp. 152, 177.

† Lowndes's 'Bibliographer's Manual,' vol. iii, p. 1303, where it is said that there are verses in it by Ben Jonson.

Nottinghamshire or Lincolnshire, it is to be expected that Brewster's chief friends and associates are rather to be sought to the south than north of the Idle. In the slender population of the village of Scrooby itself, I find only two names of persons who were members of his church, RICHARD JACKSON and ROBERT ROCHESTER, who, with Brewster, were fined by the ecclesiastical commissioners in 1608, as will afterwards be more particularly shewn. Nothing more has been recovered respecting them.

To these names, as members of the Separatist body in Bassetlaw, may be added that of FRANCIS JESSOP, a younger son of a family of good reputation and fortune, who possessed lands at Hayton and Tilne, in the neighbourhood of Scrooby, before they acquired larger possessions in Yorkshire and Derbyshire by marriage with one of the coheirs of Swyft, from which family Lord Carlingford descended. They were, in fact, a wealthy and considerable family, being at last ennobled by the title of Baron Darcy of Navan. They were also a family much devoted to religious studies, and, in the general, ranking themselves with the more moderate Puritans.

But I must not fall into the same mistake with the Governor, and deal in generalities only. The Francis Jessop, who is to be claimed as a Separatist of Nottinghamshire, was the third son of Richard Jessop and Ann Swyft, and was left very young by his father, who died in 1580. The Bassetlaw property was left to him and another brother named Richard, while the eldest son took the lands which had been inherited from the Swyfts. The father directs in his will, that the children shall be brought up in learning; and it may be added, as illustrating the domestic antiquities of the English nation, that he directs the surplus of the rents of the lands given to

them, to be placed in a box with three locks, to be kept for their use. We have seen that Richard was the friend of Clifton and Toller, and the confidence he placed in them; and we have now to add, that this Francis Jessop sold his lands at Tilne, and he next appears at Amsterdam fighting by the side of his former Nottinghamshire neighbour, Richard Clifton, in his sharp controversy with Smith on the baptismal question. His tract is entitled, 'A Discovery of the Errors of the English Anabaptists.'* We next meet with him as a member of the church of Separatists while it was at Leyden, with Robinson for its pastor; and the hearty regard and friendship which he felt for Brewster, and his solicitude for the welfare of the New England branch of this church, is evidenced by a letter written in 1625, from a part of the church still remaining at Leyden to their brethren at New Plymouth, announcing the death of John Robinson. To this letter the first name subscribed is Francis Jessop. The other names are Thomas Nash, Thomas Blossom, Roger White, and Richard Maisterson.† They were members of the church, who were intending to join their brethren in New England, but did not see the way. They stood "on tip-toe," but we have no reason to believe that Jessop, who was then sixty years of age, ever took that step.

On evidence less decisive, yet still sufficient to establish a probability of the highest order, we may place some members of the Bassetlaw family of SOUTHWORTH among those who

* I cannot find it in any of the catalogues of the greater libraries of England, and owe my knowledge of it entirely to Crosby, 'History of the Baptists,' vol. i, p. 92.

† It is printed in the 'First Series of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society,' vol. iii, p. 44.

composed Brewster's church at Scrooby, and shared in its fortunes afterwards. There was a family of this rare name living at Clarborough, in the centre of the disaffected preachers at Gainsborough, Babworth, and Scrooby. They were a visitation family, but, as if despising honours of the kind, or perchance the head of the family at the time not wishing to recognize his schismatical relatives, he was content to record only the line of the eldest sons of the family. Aymond Southworth lived at Wellam in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and had Richard, father of Robert, father of Edward, the head of the family in 1614.* But we learn from Thoroton that, in 1612, there was a Thomas Southworth who had lands at Clarborough, and a William Southworth, a free-holder of Hayton, where one of the Jessops had lived.

Without being able to determine who of these Southworths it was that was the husband of Mrs. Alice Southworth, whom Governor Bradford took to his second wife, and whose two children, Constant and Thomas, were brought up by the Governor, and became important persons in the colony, as their descendants were afterwards, it will hardly be doubted that the Southworths of America spring from these Basset-law Southworths, and that the first Separatist ancestor is to be found in a member of Brewster's church before it left England; especially when we recall the tradition of New England, that there had been an acquaintanceship and attachment between Bradford and Mrs. Alice before Bradford left England. The parents of the lady are said to have opposed their union on the ground of inequality of position, and she married Southworth; Bradford heard in America that she was become a widow; he renewed his proposal by letter;

* See copy of the Visitation Book, Harl. MS. 1555, f. 100 b.

she accepted the proposal, crossed the ocean, and they were married.

Judge Davis was informed by a certain Mrs. White, an old lady whose mind was richly stored with anecdotes of the *first comers*, that Mrs. Alice Southworth's original name was Rayner, and that she was sister to JOHN RAYNER, who was for some time settled as a minister in England, but becoming a Puritan and Separatist, he joined the colony at New Plymouth, and was their pastor from 1636 to 1654, while both Bradford and Brewster were living. And this takes us again to Nottinghamshire, and the parts of Bassetlaw, where lived at East Drayton a family of Rayner, who were admitted to have a right to coat-armour, and who had considerable possessions there. They did not appear in the visitation of 1614, but are found in that of 1664. They were as sparing of their information as their neighbours the Southworths had been, the then head of the family, a John Rayner, informing the heralds that his father was named John, and his grandfather Nicholas—names only, without the slightest designation. The probability is great, that to this family belonged John the Separatist clergyman, and Alice, the second wife of Governor Bradford. The Rayners seem to have continued at East Drayton, in good repute, till about the close of the century, having married daughters of Sir Thomas Hewet of Shireoaks, and Sir William Hickman of Gainsborough.

No doubt a more intimate acquaintance with the gentilitial antiquities of Bassetlaw, especially that part of it which lies between Scrooby and Gainsborough, might add a few other names to the Separatist church; but here for the present I pause.

It must not, moreover, be understood that all the persons

who were in the May-Flower had been members of the church while it was in England; many of them must have joined it during its residence at Amsterdam and Leyden, as we know authentically that Winslow did, and also Captain Miles Standish, two others of the party. There was indeed, during the whole of the twelve years that the church was in Holland, a constant stream of disaffected persons from England setting towards that country, where the principle of toleration was recognized, and religious peculiarities of opinion and practice might be indulged in peace.

It must have been in the autumn or early winter of 1607 that the church at Scrooby began to put in execution the intention, which must have been forming months before, of leaving their native country, and settling in a land of which they knew little more than that there they should find the toleration denied them at home. Bradford says much, in his general way of writing, of the oppression to which they were subjected, both ministers and people; and there cannot be a doubt that attempts would be made to put down the church, and those attempts, whatever they were, would be construed into acts of ecclesiastical oppression by those who deemed the maintenance of such a church an act of religious duty. That it produced a controversy in those parts of the kingdom is evident by the treatise of Bernard of Worksop, to which we have before referred, and controversy, as it was in those days conducted, was likely to set neighbour against neighbour, and to roughen the whole surface of society. Much of what Bradford speaks may have been but this kind of collision, or at most acts of the neighbouring justices of the peace in enforcing what was then the law. As to the interference of ecclesiastical authority, I have met with only one document

which relates to this church. It shews that Brewster and two of his friends were cited to appear before the commissioners in ecclesiastical causes in the province of York, and were fined for non-appearance: "Richard Jackson, William Brewster, and Robert Rochester, of Scrooby, in the county of Nottingham, Brownists or Separatists, for a fine or amercement of £20 a piece, set and imposed upon every of them by Robert Abbot and Robert Snowden, doctors of divinity, and Matthew Dodsworth, bachelor of law,* commissioners for causes ecclesiastical within the province of York, for not appearing before them upon lawful summons, at the collegiate church of Southwell, the 22d day of April, anno Domini 1608—£60." The fines had not been paid on the 13th of November following, when the three were returned as defaulters in the certificate of Tobias Archbishop of York to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, to the intent that process should issue against them. It is the one single Puritan case in a copious return of persons on whom fines had been imposed, most of whom were Roman Catholics. The return is among the Exchequer records; but I am unable to say what would be the result of a minute search in the records of the see of York.

Bradford speaks of the excitement of the neighbourhood when they saw so many persons of all ranks and conditions parting with their possessions, and going simultaneously to another country, of whose very language they were ignorant.

* Dr. Robert Abbot was afterwards Bishop of Salisbury; Dr. Robert Snowden, a Nottinghamshireman, and a prebendary in the church of Southwell, was afterwards Bishop of Carlisle. Dodsworth was the father of Roger Dodsworth, the great charter-antiquary and principal collector of the materials for the 'Monasticon.'

Some carried with them portions of their household goods; and it is mentioned that some of them carried with them looms which they had used at home. They were not, however, allowed to go without some opposition. The principal party of them, in which were Brewster and Bradford, intended to embark at Boston, and they made a secret bargain with a Dutch captain of a vessel to receive them on board in that port as privately as might be. The captain acted perfidiously. He gave secret information to the magistrates of Boston, and when they were embarked, and as they thought just upon the point of sailing, they were surprised by finding officers of the port come on board, who removed them from the vessel and carried them to prison in the town, not without circumstances of contumely. Some were sent back to their homes, others, among whom appears to have been Brewster, were kept for many months in confinement at Boston. Again and again must we lament the want of particularity in Bradford's narrative, from which only our information of this affair is derived.

Not consecutively upon this, but correlatively, as it seems, is another fact, shewing the difficulties which they met with in their emigration. The party to whom this story belongs had agreed with the master of another Dutch vessel, then lying in the port of Hull, to take them on board at an unfrequented place on the northern coast of Lincolnshire. This man deceived them; for, having taken about half of them on board, on some real or pretended alarm, he sailed away, leaving the rest, who were chiefly women and children, on the shore in the deepest affliction. Let it be added, to the honour of England, that the colonists cannot lay the evil conduct of these two mariners at our doors.

It would, of course, with impediments such as these, be some time before the emigration could be fully effected. Some

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it seems were disheartened, and remained in England; but the greater part persevered in the design, and met together at Amsterdam.

There they resumed their church meetings, walking together in great peace and unity among themselves, while the other English Separatists in that city were torn by dissensions. In about a year they removed to Leyden, where they were from 1609 to 1620, when the first portion of the church transferred themselves to New England, and whither they were soon followed by many others of their brethren.

They are agreeable facts which the American writers have brought to light, or have further illustrated, respecting the pursuits of Bradford and Brewster during their sojourn in Holland. Bradford became engaged in the manufacture of silk, but Brewster chose a more intellectual employment. "He fell," says Bradford, "into a way, by reason he had the Latin tongue, to teach many students who had a desire to learn the English tongue, to teach them English; and by his method they quickly attained it with great facility; for he drew rules to learn it after the Latin manner; and many gentlemen, both Danes and Germans, resorted to him, some of them being great men's sons. He also had means to set up printing by help of some friends, and so had employment enough, and by means of many books which would not be allowed to be printed in England, they might have had more than they could do." Mr. Young speaks of a book of Cartwright's which came from Brewster's press. Brewster's private fortune, Bradford intimates, was exhausted.

Leyden, for several reasons which are given by Bradford, was found not to be a suitable abode for them. They wished also to live as Englishmen, under English rule, while still clinging to their principle of self-government in affairs of

religion, and to that which they regarded as a sacred duty, the comprehension within that freedom of inquiry which is applied to all other subjects, of matters touching religious belief and profession. Their minds were for a long time divided between Guiana and New England. They at length fixed upon New England, and mainly by the assistance of Sir Edwin Sandys, the Treasurer, and afterwards Governor, of the Virginia Company, every obstacle was overcome. They embarked in the May-Flower, at Southampton, on the 5th of August, 1620.

This tract cannot be better brought to a close than by quoting from Prince the following manly passage in a letter of thanks which Robinson and Brewster, the pastor and elder of the church, addressed jointly to Sir Edwin Sandys: "We verily believe and trust that the Lord is with us; to whom and whose service we have given ourselves in many trials; and that he will graciously prosper our endeavours according to the simplicity of our hearts. We are well weaned from the delicate milk of our mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land. The people are, for the body of them, industrious and frugal, we think we may safely say, as any company of people in the world. We are knit together as a body in a most strict and sacred bond and covenant of the Lord, of the violation whereof we make great conscience, and by virtue whereof we hold ourselves strictly tied to all care of each other's good and of the whole. And lastly, it is not with us as with other men, whom small things can discourage, or small discontentments cause to wish ourselves at home again." This was the proper spirit in which to begin a colony in the wilds, and they seem to have acted up to it.

APPENDIX.

I.—ON ENGLISH VESSELS CALLED BY THE NAME OF MAY-FLOWER.

II.—ENTRIES IN THE PARISH REGISTER OF AUSTERFIELD OF THE FAMILY OF BRADFORD.

APPENDIX.

I.—THE MAY-FLOWER.

It appears from Mr. Sherley's letter to Governor Bradford (Prince, p. 187) that the May-Flower, in which the original company of emigrants to Plymouth sailed from England, was still employed in passing between the two countries in 1629. A company of Mr. Robinson's church, who had remained in Holland till that year, were about to pass in it to America. And in the same author (p. 210) we find that the vessel arrived in the harbour of Charlestown on July 1, 1630.

Twenty years after, in the great suit Vassal and others *v.* Jacket, George Dethick, of Poplar, gentleman, aged 24, deposed that he well knew the ships the May-Flower, the Peter, and the Benjamin, of which Samuel Vassall, Richard Grandley and Company, were the true and lawful owners, and that they fitted them out on a trading voyage to Guinea, and thence to certain places in the West Indies, and so to return to London. William Jacket was captain and commander, and Dethick himself sailed in the May-Flower as one of the master's mates, June 16, 1647. On the arrival of the ship at Guinea, they trucked divers goods for Negroes, elephants' teeth, gold, and provisions for the Negroes. They got 450 Negroes and more, with which he sailed in the May-Flower to Barbadoes, arriving there at the beginning of March 1647 (1647-8), Mr. Dethick being then purser. After staying about twelve days at Barbadoes, they proceeded to Cuminagota, which is under the

dominion of the King of Spain, where they arrived about the 26th of March, 1648. Then follows a long story of mismanagement on the part of Captain Jacket, to the serious injury of Vassal and his partners: also of cruelty to the boatswain committed by him on board the May-Flower. We may hope that this was not the *genuine* May-Flower, and it may assist in determining whether it were or no, if I add that this May-Flower, of London, was of 350 tons burthen, and at the beginning of 1647 belonged to Samuel Vassal only.

In 1587, there was a May-Flower, of London, of which William Morecok was master, and a May-Flower, of Dover, of which John Tooke was master; and there appears to be a third vessel so called, the May-Flower of London, having for its master, Richard Ireland.

In 1633, there was a May-Flower, of Dover, Walter Finnis master, in which two sons of the Earl of Berkshire crossed to Calais.

A May-Flower left the port of London in 1592.

In a brief in a Florentine cause in the Court of Admiralty (Lansd. MS. 160, art. 12), the subject is the ship the May-Flower, of 300 tons, belonging to John Elredy and Richard Hall, of London, merchants, which arrived at Leghorn in 1605, and was there repaired by the merchants, at the charge of 3200 ducats; when it was ready to return to England, it was stayed by the officers of the then Duke of Florence, and compelled to unlade her merchandise, saving some lignum vitæ, left in her for ballast.

II.—BRADFORDS IN THE PARISH-REGISTER OF AUSTERFIELD.

Transmitted by the Rev. Mr. ALDRED, Curate of Austerfield.

BAPTISMS.

1561.	June 25.	Robert, son of William.
1570.	July 16.	Elizabeth, daughter of William.
1577.	March 9.	Margaret, daughter of Thomas.
1585.	March 8.	Margaret, daughter of William.
1587.	Sept. 22.	William, son of Robert.
—	Oct. 30.	Alice, daughter of William.
1589.	March —	WILLIAM, SON OF WILLIAM.
1591.	May 14.	Robert, son of Robert.
1593.	Feb. 2.	Mary, daughter of Robert.
1597.	May 15.	Elizabeth, daughter of Robert.
1600.	June 8.	Margaret, daughter of Robert.
1613.	Feb. 3.	Richard, son of Robert.
1617.	April 11.	Judith, daughter of Robert.
1618.	Feb. —	. . . . daughter of Robert.
1621.	Aug. —	Elizabeth, daughter of Robert.
1623.	Feb. —	. . . . daughter of Robert.
1626.	May 20.	Mary, daughter of Robert.
1629.	Oct. 8.	Margaret, daughter of Robert.
1631.	July 14.	Elizabeth, daughter of Robert.

MARRIAGES.

1584.	June 28.	William B. and Alice Hanson.
1585.	Jan. 31.	Robert B. and Alice Waingate.
1593.	Oct. 23.	Robert Brigge and Alice B.
1595.	Jan. 20.	James Hill and Elizabeth B.
1615.	—	Robert B. and Elizabeth . . . .

BURIALS.

1585.	March 9.	Margaret, daughter of William.
1591.	July 15.	William.
1593.	April 30.	William, son of Robert.
1595.	Jan. 10.	William, the eldest.
—	March 18.	A child of Robert.
1597.	May 14.	A child of Robert.
1600.	July 13.	Alice, daughter of Robert.
1607.	Jan. 30.	Alice.
1609.	April 23.	Robert.
1614.	March 6.	. . . wife of Robert.
1625.	May 22.	Jane, daughter of Robert.
—	Sept. 20.	Mary, daughter of Robert.
1626.	Aug. 20.	Thomas, son of Robert.
1629.	Oct. 20.	Margaret, daughter of Robert.
1631.	July 6.	Elizabeth, daughter of Robert.

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