




Canadian Society of Mayflower Descendants

A member society of the General Society of Mayflower Descendants

The Canadian Pilgrim

IN THIS ISSUE

	
Governor's Report	1
Nova Scotia Colony	2
AGM and Compact Luncheon	3
Treasurer's Position	3
General Board of Assistants (GBOA) Meeting	3
The Mayflower Compact by Rev. Becket Soule	5
Mayflower History	8



Governor's Report



I have been honoured to serve as your Governor since 2013. However, after serving for two terms, the time is right for me to retire to allow fresh leadership. I am very pleased that Deputy Governor Bill Curry will succeed me. Bill and his team in Nova Scotia have done an excellent job of creating a vibrant local society, and I have every confidence that the Society will continue to flourish under Bill's capable leadership.

I believe I have achieved all that I set out to do – including obtaining a grant of arms, flag, and badge for our Society; creating a social media presence on Facebook; revising and updating our bylaws; and overseeing the development of a new website and database. Of course, none of this could have happened without help from my very capable colleagues on the Board of Assistants. Special thanks to the late Donna Denison for helping us get started on our new website and database project, and for the tireless work of committee members Paul Roney, Database Administrator; Maureen McGee, Treasurer; Susan Roser, Member-at-Large; and Ian Cook, Member-at-Large for helping to get it launched. Thanks also to our Historian Team members past and present: Judi Archibald, Historian; Elaine Senack and John Noble, Co-Historians; as well as past Historians Susan Roser, Nathan Mean and Donna Denison. Thanks to Sandy Fairbanks and George Nye for assisting in the design of our new arms and to Sandy for his legal advice re: changes to our bylaws. Robert White has served as Editor of Canadian Pilgrim for many years, and, while he officially retired two years ago, he has done a stellar job of stepping into the breach when circumstances required. Many thanks also to Maureen McGee who has served as our Treasurer since 2013, and as Deputy Governor General to the Board of Assistants. Maureen's dedication and attention to detail in these very important jobs has been much appreciated.

I regret to inform the board that we have received two resignations this year: Judith MacKay-Kowalski, Corresponding Secretary and Anne Wright, Editor of Canadian Pilgrim. We thank them for their service.

The Letters Patent for the Society's arms, flag, and badge have been completed by the Canadian Heraldic Authority and we have received them along with the original artwork. I will get estimates to obtain lapel pins for sale to members; a replacement pull-up banner for meetings and genealogical events; and table flags and full-size



flags. There are many other uses including using the new designs on our website, Facebook page, letterhead – and perhaps even looking into ties, blazer crests, ladies' scarves, cuff links, etc. down the road. Many of these items will be offered for sale to members .

Respectfully submitted,

George G. McNeillie III UE

Governor



BOARD OF ASSISTANTS—1 January 2020



Governor Bill Curry - bill@billcurry.ca

Deputy Governor - The Rev. Becket Soule, O.P. - wbsoule1620@gmail.com

Historian - Judi Archibald - archibaldj@eastlink.ca

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Elder—The Rev. Becket Soule, O.P.

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Counsellor—D.A. 'Sandy' Fairbanks - dafairbanks01@gmail.com

Members-at-Large—Ian Cook, George McNeillie, Susan Roser, Robert White, Elaine Senack

Corresponding Secretary - vacant

Captain - vacant

Librarian - vacant

Editor - vacant

Highlights of the Nova Scotia Colony Conference and AGM held in Middleton, NS:

Seventy-three members attended the 2019 conference and AGM. Thanks to the organizing committee and all those who helped to make the meetings such a marvellous success. This year's conference featured two speakers on DNA and genetic testing and how that can help with ancestor searches, and also a wonderful talk on the New England Planters and their Mayflower connections as they then came to Nova Scotia in the 1760's.

The Bylaws of the NS Colony of Mayflower Descendants – the draft bylaws circulated at the last AGM were not 'up to scratch' and so Regent Bill Curry reported that it took until April of this year to get approval. This was a major effort but is now done, and the new bylaws are posted on the website. The NS Colony is now a recognized not for profit organization in the Province of Nova Scotia.

Website – Regent Bill Curry reported that the colony now has its own domain, and the change of server was effected mid-year. The website has been renewed and has a fresh look – why not check it out at:


<http://www.mayflowernovascotia.ca>

Reports of Executive Officers:

Treasurer Gary Archibald submitted his report. The report was accepted unanimously. **Historian Judi Archibald's** report was presented. The Colony thanked Judi for her hard work and dedication.

2020 Conference and AGM: The Regent reported that the next N.S. Mayflower Colony conference will be held in 2020 on 25 & 26 September in Yarmouth. Gary Archibald noted that arrangements are being made to bring an interpreter from Plimoth Plantation, Vicki Omen - this will mean an extra expense for 2020 which could be covered by raising the registration fee just for the year. The executive will be looking for theme suggestions for 2020. Anyone wishing to be involved in the planning should contact any member of the NS Colony Executive (see online for the information).

The Canadian Junior Mayflower Program:

Junior Program for CSMD – this was proposed at the last NS Colony AGM, and was approved by the CSMD. The NS Colony is managing this program and to date there are 12 junior members. Susan Roser acquired a USB stick which contains activities etc. done by other societies who have a junior program, and this will be very useful for the committee. Junior members get certificates and much fun information in a hope that this will kindle their interest in their Mayflower ancestry. 

Wanted – Editor for the Canadian Pilgrim

This is a great position for someone newly retired who enjoys Mayflower history and research. The newsletter is published twice a year, fall and spring. Mail out is arranged by the CSMD and all that is required from the editor is a PDF file. Some familiarity with either Adobe InDesign or Microsoft Publisher would be an asset. However, Publisher is a very user friendly application and easily learned. If you are interested contact Bill Curry at bill@billcurry.ca. 



Annual General Meeting and Compact Luncheon— Canadian Society of Mayflower Descendants—19 October 2019



Back Row (L-R) - Rick Spies; Doug Grant; Roger Lace; Pat Lace; Glen Gook; Cyndee Case; Nathan Mean; Nancy Conn; Rev. Becket Soule; Dr. George Nye; Donald Foster; Gary Bennett; Bill Goss; Doug Bryce; Paul Roney; Ian Cook; Joanne Roney; Joan Peters; Betsy Chubb; Pamela Foster; Julie MacDonald Front Row (L-R) - Bettina Cook; Anne Wright; Thelma Goss; Ann Campbell; Elaine Nye; Connie Bryce; Marion Tait; George McNeillie



(L-R) - Bettina Cook; Board member Ian Cook; former Editor Anne Wright; Cyndee Case



(L-R) - Dr. George Nye, Surgeon; Rick Spies; former Board member Gary Bennett



Canadian Society of Mayflower Descendants

Treasurer Position

Three Year Term Commencing 2020

The term of our current Treasurer, Maureen McGee, expires at the end of 2019 and she wishes to focus her attention in other areas. We are currently searching for a replacement which we wish to elect at our annual meeting on October 19, 2019.

The applicant must be a member of the Canadian Society of Mayflower Descendants and, ideally, should be a CPA or a student working towards that designation.

The Treasurer is a volunteer member of the Board of Assistants of the Canadian Society and is expected to attend meetings of the board which are usually held twice a year by conference call with the Annual Meeting being held in person, usually in Toronto.

The treasurer takes charge of the funds belonging to the society and is responsible for keeping the books, charging, collecting and receiving all fees and dues and other monies payable to the society and making disbursements authorized by the board. The treasurer presents financial statements for the previous fiscal year at each annual meeting and makes these available to the membership. In addition, the treasurer provides financial information to the board on a regular basis and prepares and files the annual T-1 Tax return. 🚢



General Board of Assistants (GBOA) Meeting

Denver, Colorado

September 5 -8, 2019

by Maureen McGee

The GBOA meeting took place at the Grand Hyatt in downtown Denver,

Colorado. This was the fourth such meeting I have attended. In 2016, I went to Indianapolis, IN in 2017 I went to Plymouth, MA and in 2018 I went to St. Charles, IL. These meetings are always interesting, and it is especially rewarding to reconnect with people I met in previous years. Family members, guests, and friends are welcome to attend but only elected representatives or those acting for them can vote at the meetings. There are many tours and other activities included in the event.

This year, I was elected Deputy Governor General (DGG) and Glenn Cook was elected Assistant General (AG). These are elected positions of the General Society of Mayflower Descendants (GSMD) rather than the Member Society and are for a term of three years. The duty of the DGG and AG is to represent the Canadian Society of Mayflower Descendants (CSMD) at GBOA meetings and at Congress and to report back to the CSMD. If you have any questions for Glenn or me regarding the GSMD or the GBOA meetings, please feel free to contact either of us.

Besides Glenn Cook and me, the other members of the CSMD who attended this meeting were Susan Roser whose term as Assistant Governor General (AGG) of the GSMD is expiring next year and the Revd. Dr. Becket Soule who is also a member of the North Carolina Society.

One of the major issues discussed at the GBOA this year was the problems caused by the fact that the by-laws can only be changed every three years at Congress. Congress is the GBOA meeting held in Plymouth every three years. The next one is in 2020. Although issues are discussed at the other GBOA meetings, the changes can only be made at Congress. This has caused problems as costs have been increasing and fees can be increased only every three years. Expect huge increases to our annual assessment and for the fees charged for new member approval. Also expect changes will be made to allow for by-law changes to be made annually.

One of the highlights of the meeting for me was seeing a miniature replica of the life sized Bradford statue which will be placed in the Garden of the Mayflower House in Plymouth in 2020 and having my photo taken with the sculptor, Dee Clements. I feel a personal connection to this because at the meeting in 2016 the committee that was charged with the responsibility to come up with proposals for a 2020 commemorative statue presented three proposals which were not well received. At the conclusion of the conference, Former Governor General (FGG) Lea Filson, gave a quote from William Bradford which caused me and others to suggest that the quote be used as an inspiration for the statue. The result is a statue of William Bradford in a seated position with an eternal flame. The quote was, "Thus out of small beginnings greater things have been produced by His hand that made all things of nothing, and gives being to all things that are; and, as one small candle may light a thousand, so the light here kindled hath shone unto many, yea in some sort to our whole nation."

I hope to meet more Canadian members, their friends, and their families at GBOA meetings in the future. 🚢

Maureen McGee, DGG



The Mayflower Compact – Speech Delivered at the Compact Luncheon on 19 October 2019

By The Revd. Dr. W. Becket Soule, O.P.



William Bradford gave the compact a preeminent place in *Mourt's Relation*, which he coauthored with Edward Winslow, as well as in his longer history, *Of Plymouth Plantation*. In both works, Bradford depicts the Pilgrims' "combination" as an effort to overcome dissent, a characterization only barely in accord with the proclamation of civil liberties that later generations claim the compact to be. Recognizing that their wayward voyage had driven them outside the territory covered in patent from the crown, the Separatist leaders grew frightened that some passengers, restless "Strangers," who were not traveling to the New World for religious reasons, would insist upon complete freedom when they stepped ashore. *Mourt's Relation*, a collection of Bradford's and Winslow's journal fragments published in London in 1622, declares the "association and agreement" attempted to squelch "faction" and to ensure "unity and concord" so that the plantation might survive.¹

Twenty-four years later, when he was ready to begin the second volume of his history, Bradford chose to turn back to the Strangers' "discontented and mutinous speeches" to account for the "first foundation" of the Pilgrims' "government."² By now, the problem of discontent among the Strangers aboard the Mayflower had been superseded by dispersion of the Saints into the outlying regions of New England. Bradford sought to restore the unity of his church by encouraging the Pilgrims to rally behind their original covenant. The first volume of his history, produced quickly to reaffirm the Separatists' mission, in the midst of the great Puritan immigration of 1630, triumphantly recalls the Pilgrims' exodus from England, by way of Holland, to the New World; the second volume, however, is much darker, and is an increasingly despairing account of a church that, like

"an ancient mother" had "grown old and forsaken of its children." As the prelude, then, to the second volume, the Mayflower Compact stands less as an ideological monument than as a plaintive reminder to a community gone awry. Its apparent ineffectuality, then, would seem to disqualify the compact as a candidate for a place in the American story. For Bradford, more than a plan for government, the Compact was a pledge to maintain unity, and to resist the temptations of the frontier.

Of the compact, which was "drawn up on the ship and signed upon landing,"³ Hannah Arendt writes:

*"The really astounding fact in the whole story [of the Mayflower Compact] is that [the Pilgrims'] obvious fear of one another was accompanied by the no less obvious confidence that they had in their own power, granted and confirmed by no one and yet unsupported by any means of violence, to combine themselves together into a 'civil Body Politick' which, held together solely by the strength of mutual promise 'in the Presence of God and one another,' supposedly was powerful enough to 'enact, constitute, and frame' all necessary laws and institutions of government."*⁴

For Arendt, the most striking thing about the story of the Mayflower Compact is the fact that from out of nowhere ("granted and confirmed by no one") these people were able to make themselves into a meaningful political community. This was accomplished by an act of mutual promising and recognition.

Crucially, however, in discussing this act of self-constitution, Arendt is overlooking the key influence of something that she includes in her citations from the Mayflower Compact itself, namely, the "Presence of God." Here, however, the Presence of God - arguably another term for the Holy Spirit - is given pride of place over the merely associative basis for political solidarity (because, after all, the full phrase is "in the Presence of God and one of another"). The Presence of God and of each other -- the "Presence of God" is not seen as a threat to, but as the foundation of, the community.

Most modern writers ignore the theological dimension of Puritan thought altogether. Even the recognition of them as "Puritans" is itself a kind of nod to the religious basis for this community. If there was any theoretical influence that contributed to the compacts and agreements in early American history, it was, of course, the Puritans' reliance on the Old Testament, and especially their rediscovery of the concept of the covenant of Israel, which indeed became for them an instrument to explain almost every relation of man to man and man to God. For the Biblical covenant as the Puritans understood it was a *compact* between God and Israel by virtue of which God gave the law and Israel voluntarily consented to keep it, and while this covenant implied government by consent, it implied by no means a political body in which rulers and ruled would be equal, that is, where actually the whole principle of rulership no longer applied. Not only the Calvinists of Geneva but also the Puritans of England (and then the Pilgrims of New England)



explicitly connected their own communities and sense of mutual obligation that they held to the compact God made with the ancient Israelites

The word “civil” is used in contrast to two other words in the language of the seventeenth century: on the one hand it is contrasted with “military,” and on the other hand with “ecclesiastical.” But *civil* was clearly *religious*, and many civil actions, such as marriage, were understood to be sacred.

The Pilgrims based their theory of church and state in part on the writings and policy of John Calvin. The church and the state are separate legal entities, Calvin argued. Each must play a distinct role in enforcing godly government and discipline in the community, and in fostering the uses of God’s law.

The Genevan Consistory was a unique institution, first created by Calvin in his Ecclesiastical Ordinances of 1541. It was a hybrid of church–state authority, comprising two-dozen men who sat on two benches. On one bench sat all the ordained pastors of the city, headed by Calvin as their moderator. On the other sat twelve elected lay commissioners drawn from the city government. Initially, Calvin conceived of the Consistory’s jurisdiction in rather modest terms, simply as a way of purging the church of manifest sin and sinners and of policing the purity of the Eucharist.⁵ By the end of his life, however, he had given it far more sweeping jurisdiction.

The matters and cases which come most commonly before the consistories are cases of idolatry and other kinds of superstition, disrespect towards God, heresy, defiance of father and mother, or of the magistrate, sedition, mutiny, assault, adultery, fornication, larceny, avarice, abduction, rape, fraud, perjury, false witness, tavern-going, gambling, disorderly feasting, gambling, and other scandalous vices: and because the magistrate usually does not favour such gatherings, the consistory will use the ordinary reprimands, namely, brotherly admonition, as sharp and as vehement as the case demands, suspension from the Lord’s Supper, deprivation of the Lord’s Supper for a stated period of time; and persistent offenders will be publicly named, so that people will know who they are. ⁶

The Consistory worked hand-in-hand with the Genevan city council and served, effectively, as a grand jury, mediation centre, and preliminary hearings court that created a factual record. In most cases that did not involve serious crimes, the Consistory would first call parties to their higher spiritual duties, backing its recommendations with (threats of) spiritual discipline in hopes that the parties would repent, reconcile, and return to the spiritual fold. If such counsel failed, the parties were referred to the Council to compel them, using civil and criminal sanctions, to honour their basic civil duties. ⁷

Outside of the hybrid structure of the Consistory, however, Calvin insisted on a basic separation of church and state. “There is a great difference and unlikeness between the ecclesiastical and civil power” of the church and state, said Calvin. “A distinction should always be observed between these two clearly distinct areas of responsibility, the civil and the ecclesiastical.” ⁸

Calvin’s principle of separation of church and state bore little resemblance, however, to later American understandings of “a high and impregnable” wall between church and state, as the United States Supreme Court put it in 1947, let alone the modern French understanding of *laïcité*. Calvin ultimately did not contemplate a secular society with a plurality of absolutely separated religious and political officials within it. Nor did he contemplate a neutral state that shows no preference among competing concepts of the spiritual and moral good. For Calvin, each community, like Geneva, was to be a unitary Christian society, a miniature *corpus Christianum* under God’s sovereignty and law. Within this unitary society, the church and the state had to stand as coordinate powers. Both were ordained by God to help achieve a godly order and discipline in the community. These institutions and officials, said Calvin, “are not contraries, like water and fire, but things conjoined.” “The spiritual polity, though distinct from the civil polity, does not hinder or threaten it but rather greatly helps and furthers it.” In turn, “the civil body politic has as its appointed end ... to cherish and protect the outward worship of God, to defend sound doctrine of piety and the position of the church ... and a public manifestation of religion.” ⁹

To achieve this ideal of a godly republic, or miniature *corpus Christianum*, within each city, Calvin and his colleagues depended on sweeping new laws that embodied the new Protestant theology. New family laws, for example, rejected traditional teachings of the marital sacrament and clerical celibacy and encouraged clergy and laity alike to marry. Treating marriage as a community covenant that should be freely available to all, these new family laws sharply reduced the impediments to marry but insisted on mutual, parental, and communal consent to the marriage and public liturgical celebration. And they placed a new premium on sexual morality, with church and state cooperating closely in policing and punishing fornication of all sorts. New Calvinist social welfare laws rejected the spiritual value of mendicant poverty and monastic living, as well as the centrality of the church and its institutions in tending to the poor and needy. Instead, these laws instituted local, lay-run welfare systems administered by the local magistrate. ¹⁰

The Pilgrims played a much smaller role in colonial development than the Puritans who settled in Massachusetts Bay a decade later, but their practices are important to this history because they show that the Pilgrims brought non-Anglican marriage practices with them. On 12 May 1621, the first colonial marriage in New England united Edward Winslow, who had lost his wife during that difficult first winter, and widow Susannah White, who had similarly lost her husband. ¹¹ Bradford’s account underscores the importance of marriage and family to the colony,¹² and confirms that the Pilgrims believed that marriage should be a civil matter:


“According to the laudable custom of the Low Countries, in which they had lived, [it] was thought most requisite [for the marriage] to be performed by the magistrate, as being a civil thing [and] most consonant to the Scriptures (Ruth iv) and nowhere found in the Gospel to be laid on the ministers as a part of their office. “This decree or law about marriage was published by the States of the Low Countries Anno 1590. That those of any religion (after lawful and open publication) coming before the magistrates in the Town, or State house, were to be orderly (by them) married one to another.” –Petit’s History, fol. 1029.”¹³



Bradford's account was not finished until 1646, when he added that civil marriage "hath continued amongst not only them, but hath been followed by all the famous churches of Christ in these parts to this time." **14.** Holland, the source of the Pilgrim's knowledge of civil marriage, had been heavily influenced by Luther as early as 1519, although in the 1550s, a form of Calvinism overtook Lutheranism as the dominant sect in the region. **15.**

Consistories, like the one in Geneva, had also been established in most Dutch towns to supervise the lives of residents. **16.** The colonists' embrace of civil marriage did not sit well with leaders of the Anglican Church. In 1635, Edward Winslow, the groom in that first colonial marriage in New England, returned to England to pay off debts the colony owed to its financial backers and to petition the Lord Commissioners for the Plantations to assist the colonists in resisting French and Dutch claims. **17.** Charles I, who became king in 1625, had established the commission in 1634 to oversee the colonies, and installed as its head William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was the scourge of most Puritans because of his efforts to purge Puritan ministers from the Church of England. **18.** Laud questioned Winslow, an act Bradford characterized as designed to "disturb the peace of the [colony's] churches." **19.** When asked about marriage, Winslow acknowledged that because he was a magistrate in Plymouth Colony, he had "married some." He defended his actions by arguing that "marriage was a civil thing and he found nowhere in the Word of God that it was tied to ministry." **20.** Winslow also offered a second, more practical, reason for their recognition of civil marriage: the colonists "were necessitated so to do, having for a long time together at first no minister." **21.** Neither justification satisfied Laud, however, who arranged for Winslow to spend seventeen weeks in Fleet prison. **22.**

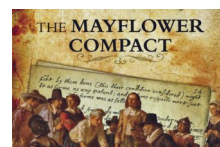
Law and government in the Plymouth colony, unlike most colonial law, derived from Reformation sources rather than from English law. Sectarian disputes between the Puritans and Anglicans were a major factor in the decision to leave England, as well as in their adoption of civil, or community, rather than ecclesiastical control of marriage. To have permitted ministers to perform marriages in the new world would have risked giving too much control to Anglicans. It was safer to leave marriage to magistrates who would ensure that Puritan values and Scripture shaped families in the colony. Community control of marriage also appealed to the new middle class that was beginning to dominate in England in the period surrounding their Civil War, although it was rejected in England after the Restoration.

Civil control of marriage was adopted by colonies outside of New England as well, not because of sectarian disputes, but because the Church of England was never able to establish ecclesiastical courts that could oversee marriage as they did in England. This complex mix of sectarian differences and the absence of ecclesiastical courts explains the paradox that the United States, despite the religious zeal of so many of the original colonists, nonetheless was a pioneer in adopting civil marriage and divorce. 

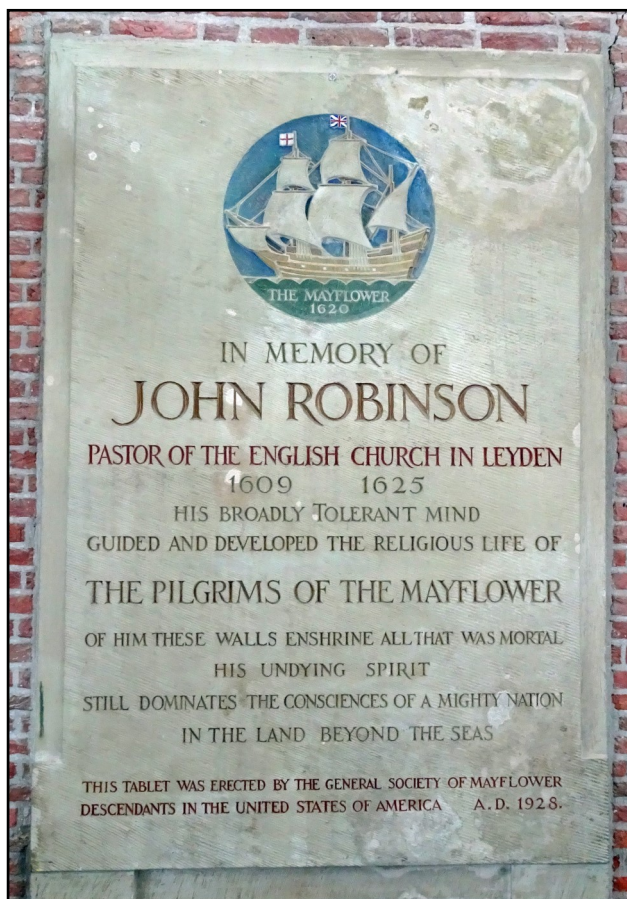
Endnotes:

1. William Bradford and Edward Winslow, *Mourt's Relation: A Journal of the Pilgrims of Plymouth* (1622), ed. Jordan D. Fiore (Plymouth: Plymouth Rock Foundation, 1985), p. 13.
2. William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647*, ed. Samuel Eliot Morison (1952; reprinted, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), pp. 75, 334.
3. Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution* (New York: Penguin Books, 1963), p. 167.
4. Ibid.
5. CO 10/1:15-30.
6. Emile Rivoire and Victor van Berchem, eds., *Les sources du droit du canton de Genève*, 4 vols. (Aarau: H. R. Sauerländer, 1927-35) [hereafter SD], vol. 3, no. 992.
7. Samples in John Witte, Jr. and Robert M. Kingdon, *Sex, Marriage, and Family in John Calvin's Geneva*, 2 vols. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005, 2019) [hereafter SMF 1 and 2]; analysis in Bohatec, *Calvin und Recht*, 94-131; Josef Bohatec, *Calvins Lehre von Staat und Kirche* (Breslau: M. & H. Marcus, 1937).
8. *Institutes* (1559), 3.19.15; 4.11.3-16; 4.20.1-4; CO 10/1, 15-30, 215-17, 223-24.
9. *Serm.*, 1 Sam. 11: 6-10; *Institutes* (1559), 4.11.1; 4.20.2-3.
10. SMF 2; Jeannine E. Olson, *Calvin and Social Welfare* (London: Associated University Presses, 1988).

11. Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, 86-87.
12. Family in the colony was the "central agency of economic production and exchange [with] its various members . . . inextricably united in the work for providing for their fundamental material wants." John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (1970), p. 183.
13. Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, 86-87.
14. Ibid.
15. Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806* (1995), p. 79.
16. Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p. 368.
17. Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, 272-273.
18. Bernard Bailyn, *The Barbarous Years: The Peopling of British North America* (2012), p. 382 ("What stirred the Puritan community most deeply was Laud's sweeping 'visitation' of suspect dioceses to flush out even the mildest signs of nonconformity.").
19. Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, pp. 273-274.
20. Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, p. 274.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.



Mayflower History



The Pilgrims Before Plymouth

A tour of the Dutch city of Leiden yields new insights into a chapter of the Thanksgiving story not taught in schools

Twenty-five miles from Amsterdam, the city of Leiden—known today for its canals and windmills, its popular farmers' market and prestigious university—was in the early 17th century a bustling, economic hub in a Dutch republic beginning to exert its influence around the world. Famous for its large textile industry and its religious tolerance, Leiden welcomed workers and refugees. It is where a band of English Calvinists fled when persecuted in their homeland. In 1609, after a brief stay in Amsterdam, about 100 of them settled in Leiden. A decade or so later, as Leiden's political and economic climate changed, the refugees moved again. They boarded a ship called the Mayflower, sailed across the Atlantic and in 1620, put down roots in what is now Plymouth, Massachusetts. Today we call them the Pilgrims.

We know that story. But we don't know much about the Pilgrims' Leiden years. Historian Jeremy Dupertuis Bangs, an American expatriate who went to Leiden as a graduate student in the 1970s, has devoted his life's work to piecing together the details of this important chapter in the history of the Pilgrims—and thus, in our history as well.

When he began working as a curator in Leiden's municipal archives, Bangs admits he thought there was little left to learn about the Pilgrims. "I had believed the prevailing views that they were rigid

fanatics," Bangs says. But as he followed the paper trail in the city's records and other sources, a different picture emerged. "They were much more tolerant than people think, particularly for their time," he says. "They did not require people in the Plymouth Colony to follow Calvinist beliefs. This led to a conscious construction of a society with separation of church and state." Bangs, whose extensive research has made him one of the pre-eminent authorities on the Pilgrims, cites a 1645 proposal by the Plymouth Colony leaders that Jews, Catholics, Unitarians and many other sects be accepted in the Plymouth Colony.

As the author of a comprehensive 800-page history, *Strangers and Pilgrims, Travellers and Sojourners: Leiden and the Foundations of Plymouth Plantation*, Bangs knows as well as anyone can from the perspective of five centuries, the early American colonists who had lived in Leiden: their marriages and families, their occupations, their legal squabbles and even in some cases, their attitudes.

We begin at the Leiden American Pilgrim Museum on tiny Beschuitsteeg (Biscuit) Alley in the city center. Established in 1997, the museum is located in a 14th-century building—one of the oldest datable houses in Leiden, built in 1367-70. Museum founder Bangs greets us: Although a native of Oregon, he has lived in Leiden for over 30 years, and with a wardrobe change into early 17th-century robes, he could easily be envisioned as a prosperous burgher in a portrait by





Editor, Robert White at the Leiden Museum ,September 2019

Rembrandt (himself a Leiden native).


While no Pilgrims lived in this house, William Brewster, one of the more prominent members of the church, is believed to have visited here in the early 1600s. In addition to period furniture, the museum's collection includes beautiful Delft tiles along the baseboard, and objects from daily life, some of which belonged to the Pilgrims. Bangs shows us what he wryly calls "the historian's favorite tool"—a nit-pick, or lice comb, from the 1500s. Also in the collection are pipes, including one made by a Pilgrim for smoking tobacco, which was becoming all the rage in Northern Europe, and perhaps most surprising, a number of toys. The existence of these items—which include a silver toy soldier, jacks made from bones, and miniature pewter and pottery dishes—leads historians to conclude that Pilgrim children were encouraged to play, a view at odds with the stern, don't-spare-the-rod parenting style commonly ascribed to the Pilgrims. Bangs paraphrases the Pilgrim intellectual and spiritual leader John Robinson on this point: "He said in essence, 'Don't let your children grow up too soon.'"

The Pilgrims' life in Leiden was principally one of long, hard labor, much of it at the looms, where they wove various fabrics—linen, fustian, serge, wool cloth—that made the city rich. William Bradford, a weaver like many of his fellow Pilgrims, was a member of the cloth guild that met in the Lodewijkskerk, a 16th-century church with a decorative tower. The chapel served as a guildhall in the early 17th century. "That's where Bradford and other weavers had to bring their products for guild inspection before anything could be sold," Bangs says. Once in the New World, Bradford put

aside his loom and proved to be a most capable leader. He became the governor of the Plymouth Colony, a post he would hold for more than 30 years, and wrote *Of Plymouth Plantation*, still considered the most complete history of the Pilgrims.

St. Peter's Church (Pieterskerk)

This Gothic church, with its awe-inspiring, vaulted ceiling, is located in the middle of what would have been called the Pilgrims' neighborhood. A number of the English lived in the area, most significantly, John Robinson. He, along with many other Pilgrim men, women and children, are now buried in the Pieterskerk. For these individuals, who never made it to the New World, Leiden was the last stop on their pilgrimage. A monument to them in the church quotes Pilgrim Robert Cushman's Bible-inspired comment:

"We are all, in all places, strangers and pilgrims." 

<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/travel/the-pilgrims-before-plymouth-111851259/>



REASONS TO EMIGRATE

For a small minority like the Pilgrims it was difficult to maintain their own language, religion and habits. There were several marriages with Walloons, who had similar religious viewpoints. After many of the Pilgrims left for America it proved impossible to remain a clearly defined community. After their own preacher Robinson died, the people left behind in Leiden joined Dutch churches and, after 1630, the English reformed church. Finally the group merged into the Leiden population.

CIVIL MARRIAGE, INHERITED FROM LEIDEN!

Civil marriage is a Dutch invention. Normally, only a marriage performed by the state church was legal. Because the Republic had such a large Roman Catholic minority it was impossible to deny marriage to almost half the population. The justices could marry those who did not belong to the state church. Their own church could bless the marriage afterwards. Only the civil marriage was legally binding. The Pilgrims brought this invention with them to America.

Leiden
American
Pilgrim
Museum
Foundation
Jeremy Bangs, Director



Mayflower Cooking

Iowa Hawkeye, Fall 2019

When the Pilgrims left England for Holland in 1608, they were eager for changes that would allow them to worship in the manner that they had practiced for fifty years. When they arrived in Holland, they were able to worship in the open, but they had to adjust to other changes. Housing and work was scarce and the language was very different. The English immigrant children had to work to help support their families. Some of the children worked as fullers for wool weavers. The fuller would press the wool into tubs of stale urine with their feet so that the fibers would be cleaned of oil and debris from the freshly sheared fleece. This method also enabled dyes to set into the woven fibers. Some children were fortunate enough to have jobs making ribbons, lace or working at bakeries to make pancakes called *pannekoeken*. Dutch homes did not have ovens, so bread-baking was done by bakeries in town. Homes had fireplaces which gave warmth, light and a place for cooking hodgepodge, *hutspot* in Dutch, using inexpensive cuts of meats for soups and stews. The young girls most likely shared their newly-acquired baking talents and would treat the family to sugary *pannekoeken* made over the fire. In his book, *Strangers and Pilgrims, Travellers and Sojourners*, Jeremy Bangs describes how a thick wool cloth would hang along the mantel. This cloth may have been used to direct the smoke from the fireplace away from the room and up the chimney. The fireplace was certainly the heart of the home and most likely how the familiar term, *hearth* and *home* originated. After living in Holland for about ten years, our Pilgrim ancestors, also known as English Separatists, now wanted to leave the Dutch lifestyle in Holland for a life in America.

Passengers on the *Mayflower* were not allowed to cook. The open fire in the 50-year old wooden ship made cooking dangerous, meals had to be cooked by the ship's cook for the ship's crew. Since most of the 66- days on the Atlantic were terribly rough, most passengers lost their appetites anyway (and more). The Pilgrims and strangers fed their families the foods that they had packed for the voyage. They dined on moldy cheeses, salty meats, dried fish and ship's biscuits. Hundreds of biscuits were baked, stacked and packed before they sailed. These simple, dry biscuits only consisted of flour and water. If you have sampled a ship's biscuit, you realized why the *Mayflower* passengers ate them willingly. They are hard, yet somehow tasty!

In December of 1620, the Pilgrims declared Plymouth as their permanent colony and began building structures for their families, beginning with four walls and a roof, but by the end of the year, houses were becoming homes. The

very first structures in Plymouth Colony had only a fire pit inside with an opening for the smoke to hopefully escape. When fireplaces were added, they were constructed large enough to nearly make up an entire wall. Cooking was one of the most important functions of the home. Sometimes large sections of trees were dragged into the home to fuel the fire because once the fire was lit, the family needed it to stay lit. Cooking was a day-long activity and the coals kept them warm throughout the night.

Initially, a green tree limb was used as a lug pole and was supported well above the fire for heavy metal pots to hang. One of the pots was always filled with hot water and another with soups or stews. A single hanging pot might have been strictly used for puddings.

Pilgrim cooks referred to foods eaten with a spoon as spoon meats. In England, some spoon meats had been made with flour in a cloth bag and the name for it was hasty pudding. Since no wheat was grown in Plymouth, the cooks made a pudding with corn flour because the Wampanoag had taught them to successfully grow corn. Hasty pudding made with cornmeal was re-named Indian Pudding and it is still enjoyed today. Families brought heavy cooking pots from England and Holland. A bake kettle was made by placing hot coals from the fire under the kettle and on its lid, allowing the experienced cook to simmer the food slowly or quickly, depending on the amount of coals used.

Since the Pilgrims and English colonists had very little experience at hunting, trapping or fishing, they were very frustrated to see so many animals roaming the woods and swimming in the stream. Until they learned techniques of trapping fish and wild game from the Wampanoag, the colonists traded fresh meats for knives, beads or blankets. Without meat, the English were forced to eat vegetarian with a diet of herbs (salads) and roots (carrots and potatoes). To make the vegetable stews tasty, they would add spices such as pepper, ginger and cinnamon and then color this hodgepodge with juice from beets or flower petals. The ship's biscuits, which had sustained the colonists on the *Mayflower*, would be crumbled into soups or stews to thicken the sauces of the spoon meats.

Having survived a severe drought and near starvation the first year, the Pilgrims and English settlers slowly began to thrive and the population was growing with each ship that brought family members and newcomers from England. Thanks to the Wampanoag, they were getting better at fishing and hunting. They even learned to enjoy the commonplace lobster, eel, fowl and venison. Wild animals were a source of food to feed a crowd. The gridiron was used to quickly grill portions of meat while a spit was used for larger sections of meat. A spit was



fashioned from a green wooden stick or a metal rod. Some cooks devised a pulley and rope to turn the spit. The cook would turn the meat several times which would tighten the rope. When released, the meat would rotate, cooking all of its sides. Other times, responsible children who took turns at spit duty to assure that the meat did not burn.

When cattle were brought to Plymouth from England, milk was initially accepted as a use for butter or to make cakes and puddings but not for drinking! For the most part, beer was the beverage preferred by the family, including the children.

Since there were no shops in Plymouth as there had been in England and Holland, they had to grow and prepare their own vegetables. Vegetable seeds were brought on the *Mayflower* and by settlers or later ships. The Wampanoag taught the colonists to plant their bean and squash seeds at the base of the corn. As the corn stalks grew, the beans climbed and wound around the stalks while the squash provided a ground cover of shade that helped the soil retain moisture. This was a very clever thing the Wampanoag taught the English colonists and is referred to as the "Three Sisters Method" of gardening. We have since discovered that beans add nitrogen to the soil, a nutrient which the corn depletes as it grows, making this a very beneficial combination of crops.

Hunting and fishing certainly created challenges in preparing the catch of the day. While the female Plymouth colonists were planting and weeding their gardens, they were thinking about food. They were sharing ideas and even recipes for the fresh meats while selecting herbs for flavoring the soup meats simmering in their fireplaces.

The cooks of today wander through stores, pondering what to select for dinner and how to prepare it. They also share recipes and even select herbs to flavor soups that will be simmering over the fire on the tops of modern cooktops. However, if today's cook cannot think of a proper meal for the night, thoughts turn to a nearby drive through for a fast food meal to unwrap and serve. The Pilgrims' only fast foods would have been berries, nuts, vegetables ... or ship's biscuits. 🚢

Who are the Wampanoag?

by Nancy Eldredge, Nauset Wampanoag and Penobscot

The Wampanoag are one of many Nations of people all over North America who were here long before any Europeans arrived, and have survived until today. Many people use the word "Indian" to describe us, but



Statue of Massasoit Photo by Robert White—17 April 2006

we prefer to be called Native People.

Our name, Wampanoag, means People of the First Light. In the 1600s, we had as many as 40,000 people in the 67 villages that made up the Wampanoag Nation. These villages covered the territory along the east coast as far as Wessagusset (today called Weymouth), all of what is now Cape Cod and the islands of Nantucket and Noepe (now called Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard), and southeast as far as Pokanocket (now Bristol and Warren, Rhode Island). We have been living on this part of Turtle Island for over fifteen thousand years.

The Wampanoag, like many other Native People, often refer to the earth as Turtle Island.

Today, about 4,000-5,000 Wampanoag live in New England. There are three primary groups – Mashpee, Aquinnah, and Manomet – with several other groups forming again as well. Recently, we also found some of our relations in the Caribbean islands. These people are descendants of Native Wampanoag People who were sent into slavery after a war between the Wampanoag and English. We, as the People, still continue our way of





***Massasoit—Great Sachem of the Wampanoag
Protector and Preserver of the Pilgrims 1621***

life through our oral traditions (the telling of our family and Nation's history), ceremonies, the Wampanoag language, song and dance, social gatherings, hunting and fishing.

The Wampanoag Homeland provided bountiful food for fulfillment of all our needs. It was up to the People to keep the balance and Wampanoag clambake respect for all living beings and to receive all the gifts from The Creator. We were seasonal people living in the forest and valleys during winter. During the summer, spring, and fall, we moved to the rivers, ponds, and ocean to plant crops, fish and gather foods from the forests.

Because of many changes in North America, we as the

Wampanoag cannot live as our ancestors did. We adapt but still continue to live in the way of the People of the First Light.

Oppression and Resistance

Excerpt from a letter to the Governor about the overseers, June 11, 1752

"We poor Indians in Mashpee, in Barnstable county, we truly are much troubled by these English neighbors of ours being on this land of ours, and in our marsh and trees. Against our will these Englishmen take away from us what was our land. They parcel it out to each other, and the marsh along with it against our will. And as for our streams, they do not allow us peacefully to be when we peacefully go fishing. They beat us greatly, and they have houses on our land against our will."

"The land of my fathers was gone; and their characters were not known as human beings but as beasts of prey. We were represented as having no souls to save, or to lose, but as partridges upon the mountains. All these degrading titles were heaped upon us. Thus, you see, we had to bear all this tide of degradation."

-- William Apess


Pequot (1798--1839)

(So loved that he was officially adopted by the Wampanoag)

"It was a legislative act that kept the Mashpee Indians from learning to read and write. An Act of 1789, Sec 5, the Regulations of the Plantation. Prohibiting instruction of a Mashpee in reading and writing under the pain of death. My grandmother, she did know how to read and write but there were so many that didn't because it wasn't allowed. After a while they did vote for a certain amount of money to go to schools in Mashpee, in later years."

-- Mable L. Avant

Mashpee Wampanoag

(1892 --1964) 

<http://www.manyhoops.com/introduction.html>



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