

Biography of Robert Cushman

The following pages are taken from the book *Historical and Biographical Genealogy of the Cushmans: The Descendants of Robert Cushman*, by Henry Wyles Cushman, Little-Brown and Company, Boston, 1885. They give the complete background of Robert Cushman and his very heavy involvement with the Puritans and their trip aboard the *Mayflower* to settle in America.

Robert Cushman was a founding member of a Puritan Congregation in Scroiby, England that was originally headed by Rev. Richard Clifton around 1602, and was later headed by Rev. John Robinson. The group was subjected to significant persecution for following their religious practices, and they decided during 1607 and 1608 to move as a group to Holland, which had much more tolerant policies regarding religious freedom. The members of the church relocated to Holland in 1609 and settled first in Amsterdam. They again moved a year later to Leyden. More people continued to join them from England, and the Leyden Congregation grew to as many as 300 members.

In the years 1616 and 1617, the group started planning to relocate to America, since their adjustment to living in Holland as foreigners was proving to be difficult. To initiate the process of resettling in America, Robert Cushman and John Carver were sent to London as representatives for the Leyden Congregation. They began negotiations with The Virginia Company that had been established under royal sanction to deal with the development of territories in North America that included what was to become New England. The Virginia Company representatives were initially determined that the first development should take place near the James River in Virginia, and only weak promises of allowing religious freedom were being offered. The Leyden Congregation therefore rejected the resulting proposal that was presented to them when Cushman and Carter returned to Holland.

In 1619, Robert Cushman and William Brewster returned to London for another attempt to obtain acceptable terms for religious freedom in a resettlement of their group in America. In September of 1619, the Leyden Congregation was notified that a patent had been approved for an English citizen named John Wincob for the resettlement of a Puritan group in America, with some written assurance that they would not be punished for their religious practices in America as long as they otherwise behaved as good citizens. John Wincob intended to emigrate to America with the Puritan group, and the patent was presumably written in his name since Robert Cushman and William Brewster were no longer residents of England.

Robert Cushman and William Brewster then established an association in London to act as agents for the Leyden Congregation, arranged terms for resettlement in America and then returned to Holland. A further agreement was then reached with a Leyden merchant named Thomas Weston for financial support for shipping and transportation, and the group determined which members of their congregation would be the first to sail to America. The ship *Speedwell* was obtained for transportation to Southampton, England for its passengers. The Leyden group

was scheduled to meet another Puritan group from England there, which was to sail on the *Mayflower*. Both ships were then supposed to sail to America together for resettlement.

The *Speedwell* set sail from Holland on July 22, 1620, and successfully met the *Mayflower* in Southampton. Both ships first set sail for America on August 5, 1620 with a total of 120 passengers and other crewmembers. Robert Cushman and his family were included among those passengers. Unfortunately, significant problems with the *Speedwell* were encountered a few days into their journey, and both ships returned to the nearest port of Dartmouth, England for repairs to the *Speedwell* on August 13, 1620. The voyage started again on August 21, but after a few days travel, the captain of the *Speedwell* proclaimed that ship not to be seaworthy, and both ships returned to the nearest port of Plymouth, England. It was then determined that the *Speedwell* would be dismissed and that the *Mayflower* would proceed to America alone. As a result, all of the passengers from both ships could not make the voyage together. Robert Cushman and his family were among those passengers that were left behind in England when the *Mayflower* finally set sail for America on September 6, 1620 with 100 passengers aboard.

Richard Cushman and his family returned to London from Plymouth and began recruiting a second group of Puritans to emigrate from England to America. As a result of this effort, the ship *Fortune* landed at Cape Cod near Plymouth Colony on November 9, 1621, carrying 36 passengers including Richard Cushman and his son Thomas. Robert Cushman arrived to find that half of the *Mayflower* passengers had died during their first year at Plymouth Colony, and that there was dissatisfaction with their connection back to England. Richard Cushman returned to England on the *Fortune* in December 1621 to continue work as an agent for the Puritans in Plymouth Colony and to make arrangements for future groups of Puritan emigrants. It is not mentioned in this book that the *Fortune* was seized by a French warship at the end of its return trip to England after making a navigational error, and the cargo of furs and other valuables that were being sent back from Plymouth Colony was taken. The ship finally returned to London in February 1662 without its cargo.

Thomas Cushman remained in Plymouth Colony under the care of the family of William Bradford when his father returned to England. This is a very fortunate event, since Thomas Cushman later married in Plymouth Colony and was an ancestor of Abigail Hewes Maxham, as was Robert Cushman.

The fact that Abigail Maxham had the maiden family name Hewes, and that she was in the Cushman Family lineage was originally brought to my attention by Peter Smith and Gene Smith.

William V. Gehrlein
Lewes, Delaware
March 2015

HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL

GENEALOGY

OF THE

C U S H M A N S :

THE DESCENDANTS OF

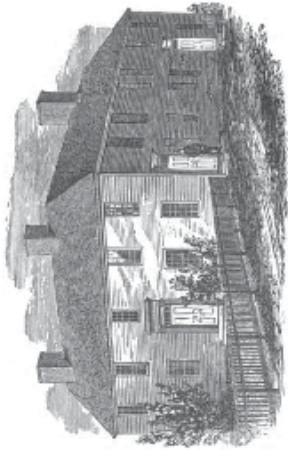
ROBERT CUSHMAN, THE PURITAN,

From the year 1617 to 1855.

In Memoriam Majorum.

BY HENRY WYLES CUSHMAN.

BOSTON:
LITTLE, BROWN, AND COMPANY.
1856.



The Old CUSHMAN HOUSE, Barnardston, Mass. Built in 1785.
The former residence of Dr. Polycarpus Cushman, and the birth place of Hon. Polycarpus L. Cushman and Hon. Henry W. Cushman. Now occupied by Severin and F. L. Cushman 2d. Five generations of Cushmans in successful have lived in this house.

CUSHMAN GENEALOGY.

1. ROBERT CUSHMAN, the ancestor of all the Cushmans in the United States, was born in England, probably, between the years 1580 and 1585.¹ In his religious opinions he was a Non-conformist or Puritan, and was one of that band of Pilgrims who left their native country for the sake of worshipping God according to the dictates of their own consciences.

In order to understand correctly the principles, character and acts of the men who made the first settlement in New England, at Plymouth, which subsequently have had such a predominating and controlling influence *in the civilization of the whole world*, it is necessary to glance at the political and theological position of England for one or two centuries previous to that event.

About the year 1534, the reformation of the Roman Catholic religion, by Calvin and Luther and their colleagues, having extensively prevailed in England, the Protestants gradually divided into two classes. One of these united with the English government, — contended for hereditary prerogative and monarchical rights; — claimed that the civil government, *per se*, was the head of the Church; that the Church, of right, owed obedience and subseriency to the crown; and thus Church and State were united, constituting the established Church of England, which has continued to this day.

¹ We come to that conclusion from the fact that in 1621, he had a son, Thomas, 14 years of age. At that period, therefore, he must have been from 35 to 40 years of age. Says Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, published in 1767, "I think I may, with singular propriety, call their lives a *pilgrimage*. Most of them left England about the year 1609; — young men between 20 and 30 years of age."

On the other hand, another body of men, strong in intellect and of deep religious feeling, advocated the entire separation of Church and State. They had seen and felt the corruption and tyranny of Papacy, and they were deeply grieved to see the Church, which they had venerated and loved, taking any of the forms or symbols of "the old dragon of Rome."

Protestants in religion, they were also deeply tinctured with republican views of government; and thus, while opposing the established Church, they imbibed hatred to the crown which sustained that Church.

Such was the state of things generally during the reign of Elizabeth, one of the ablest and wisest of the English sovereigns. In the early part of the sixteenth century, the dread of a common enemy, the Papal Church, kept these two parties of Protestants from any open rupture. But during the latter part of that century, the breach between them was widened. There was no external force to keep them together. A separation — very natural and inevitable — was the consequence;¹ and persecution on the part of the civil government and the hierarchy confirmed them more fully in their opinions, and made them more determined in their acts. Says Macaulay, "It found them a *sect* — it made them a *faction*."

As the controversy increased, the persecutions became more violent. Stripes, fines, imprisonment, death even, were often suffered by these men for the faith that was in them. At first they were called *seceders*, *non-conformists*, *dissenters*, and afterwards *Brownists* and *Puritans*. And it is a singular and quite a suggestive fact that the name of Puritan, which in later periods became so popular and renowned, was first given them as a term of reproach and disrespect.²

¹ "The settlement of New England was a result of the Reformation: not of the contest between the new opinions and the authority of Rome, but of implacable differences between Protestant dissenters and the established Anglican Church."—*Beaumont's History of U. S.*

² "And to cast contempt the more on the sincere servants of God, they opprobriously and most injuriously gave unto and imposed upon them that name of *Puritans*."—*Bradford*.

³ "In the year 1554, their lunships began to show their authority, by urging the clergy of their several dioceses to subscribe the liturgy, ceremonies and discipline of the Church, when those that refused were first called *Puritans*, — a name of reproach, derived from the Cathari or Puritani of the third century after Christ. A Puritan was, therefore, a man of severe morals, a Calvinist in

Towards the close of the sixteenth and the early part of the seventeenth centuries, the persecution of those who dissented from the established Church of England was carried to the greatest extent. They were treated as *criminals*, and were subjected to all sorts of indignities and punishment. "I will have one doctrine and one discipline, one religion in substance and ceremony," said King James in 1604.¹

In order to show the manifest injustice of the course pursued by the English government and the Anglican Church towards the Puritans, we insert here a concise statement of the doctrines maintained and the principles held by these men. The Puritan doctrines were:

"1st, That private judgment ought to be formed upon examination, and that religion is a free and unforced thing.

2d, They hold and maintain the absolute perfection of the Holy Scriptures, both as to faith and worship.

3d, That every congregation or assembly of men, ordinarily joining together in the worship of God, is a true, visible worship of Christ.

4th, That all such churches are equal and independent."²

"But the severities against the Puritans, instead of reconciling them to the Church, drove them further from it; for men do not come to be beat from their principles by the artillery of canons, injunctions and penal laws, — nor can they be in love with a Church that uses such methods of conversion."

As a natural result, therefore, of the persecutions of the Crown, Church and Government of England, these men became more thoroughly convinced of the *errors* of the established Church and of the truth, soundness and importance of their own religious

doctrine, and a non-conformist to the doctrine and ceremonies of the Church, though they did not totally separate from it." — *Went's History of the Puritans*.

¹ The era of the English Puritans, properly begins in 1566, when Hooper for a time refused to be consecrated in the ecclesiastical habits. An old writer quoted by Prince, says, "They are called Puritans who would have the Church radically reformed: that is, purged from all those inventions which have been brought into it since the age of the Apostles, and reduced entirely to the scripture purity." — *Young's Christians*.

² "For some were taken and clapped up in prisons, others had their houses watched night and day, and hardly escaped their hands; and the most were fain to fly and leave their houses and habitations and the means of their livelihood." *Bradford in Young*.

³ *Nesle's History of the Puritans*.

views and worship. They were men such as have been found in all ages of the world, of radical minds and deep religious feelings, who place the will of God as *they understand it*, before every thing else in the world, and who will sacrifice office, property and the dearest relations of life, and will even suffer death in the most cruel forms, rather than disobey the "higher law" of conscience and of God. Such men are seldom found among courtiers, officers of government, or men of great wealth or power, but in the middling walks of life. The main body of them came from the small freeholders in the country and the shopkeepers and mechanics in the towns.¹

In the north of England, in the rural districts, and particularly in the counties of Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, men of such organizations were more generally found. A common sympathy made them acquaintances and associates, and suffering in a common cause, united their hearts and hands in a common organization for the purpose of religious worship. They manfully resolved, "whatever it should cost them, to enjoy liberty of conscience."

Two churches were therefore formed in the north-eastern part of England, composed of members, we may suppose, widely separated, uniting at some central point for religious worship, in such a manner as they thought was right. Of one of these churches, Mr. John Smith, "a man of able gifts, and a good preacher," became pastor. The members of this church emigrated to Holland; but "adopting some errors in the low countries," they finally disbanded and it became extinct.

Of the other church, the Rev. Richard Clifton, "a man of grave deportment and a successful preacher," had the pastoral care.

To this church belonged the Rev. John Robinson, afterwards its pastor, Elder Brewster, Gov. Carver, Gov. Bradford, Mr. Robert Cushman, Isaac Allerton and others, who made the first settlement at Plymouth. This church commenced holding its meetings at the house of Elder Brewster, in the town of Scrooby, about the year 1602; and as a consequence, the power of the hierarchy, that controlled the government, was brought more directly and severely upon them.

¹ Meade's History of England.

At this day of perfect religious freedom, it seems most astonishing that men should have been fined, imprisoned, whipped, almost starved, and even burned at the stake, *merely for their religious belief*, and that but a little more than two centuries ago. In truth it may be said of the church, as well as of civil governments, that

"Man's inhumanity to man
Makes countless thousands mourn."

The men who formed Mr. Robinson's church, were, many of them, persons of good education and of superior minds and judgments. It is a source of much regret that the early history of these men is, comparatively, unknown. Recent investigations have brought to light something in that particular; and it is most ardently hoped that further examinations will give us more knowledge of the origin of the men, who with great truth it may be said, were the *founders of our Republic*.

To such an extent were the persecutions of the Puritans carried, increasing with every passing year, that during the years 1607 and 1608, they resolved "with joint consent, to remove to Holland, where they heard was freedom of religion for all men."

"Hard was their lot to leave their dwellings, their lands and relations, to go, they knew not where, to obtain a living, they knew not how." But though persecuted, they were not dismayed; though distressed, their courage did not forsake them. Resolved to go, they were not even allowed to depart in peace. The strong arm of the law bared every harbor and vessel against them. Yet with a perseverance that would overcome all obstacles, they finally succeeded, and left forever their native land, actuated by the highest of human motives, "the right to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences."

"1609. This spring more of Mr. Robinson's church, through great difficulties from the pursuers, got over to Holland, and afterwards the rest, with Mr. Robinson and Mr. Brewster, who are of the last, having tarried to help the weakest over before them."¹

They first settled at Amsterdam, but seeing the evils and contentions of Rev. Mr. Smith's church, after remaining there about

¹ Bradford, in Prince's New England Chronology.

a year, they removed to Leyden, and there made a permanent settlement. "There they grew in gifts and grace; they lived in peace and love and holiness. Numbers came to them from England; they had a great congregation, at one time numbering three hundred communicants."

"1610. This year comes out a justification of separation from the Church of England, by John Robinson, — 476 pages in quarto, — and about this time and the following year, many come to this Church at Leyden, from divers parts of England, so as they grew a great congregation."¹

Having remained at Leyden eight or nine years, they began to examine their situation and to think of emigrating to America. They foresaw the obvious fact, that in course of time they must become merged with the Dutch, by whom they were surrounded. With the most lofty notions of religious liberty, with a deep conviction of the value and importance of religion to the souls of men, and its influence in moulding the character as well as the institutions of the age, and with an anxious desire "to spread the Gospel among the Heathen," they began to think of emigrating in a body to this, then, uncultivated and uncivilized land. But how could it be done? was the great question.²

A company had been formed in England under the Royal sanction, called the Virginia Company, whose authority extended over a considerable portion of the North American Continent.

After a long consultation and much consideration, "after their humble prayers unto God for his direction and assistance," it was finally resolved to make an application to that Company at London for liberty to settle in the Company's territory in North America, and "to see if the King would give them liberty of conscience there." For that purpose Mr. Robert Cushman and Deacon John Carver,³ two of the most active, reliable and judicious members of their community, were selected to go to London in the year 1617 and open negotiations for that purpose.

¹ Prince.

² "After the Puritans at Leyden had resolved on their *secessus quo*, the next and not less difficult question was the *terminus ad quem*."

³ "Mr. Carver, one of the deacons, and Mr. Cushman, one of the members of the Church, were dispatched to England as agents of the exiled Company, to seek permission of the King to settle in some parts of Virginia."—*Admiral's Memoir of Rev. John Robinson*.

And this is the first mention that is made, in the history of that period, of MR. ROBERT CUSHMAN.¹ And it should here be noticed that Gov. Bradford, Morton's Memorial, and other contemporaneous writers, are all scrupulously particular in adding to his name the honorable prefix of "Mr.," an undoubted indication, at that time, of a conventional superiority and a comparatively high degree of education, talents, and of the Christian profession and virtues.

Messrs. Cushman and Carver went to England, probably in the spring or summer of 1617; but they soon found their mission a difficult one. The Virginia Company were willing and desirous to have them go to their colony on the James River in Virginia. They would grant them a patent to the soil, "with as ample privileges as they had granted or could grant to any." And some of the "chief of the Company" were of the opinion that the King would grant "their suit for liberty in religion."² The Virginia Company, thinking to make a profit by it, urged the King, through one of his principal Secretaries, (Sir Robert Naunton,) to grant their request. He would give them liberty to settle in America; for, in truth, he was anxious to get rid of them. But it was a *sine qua non* with the Puritans, to have freedom of religious worship, or not to move. Hence they contended stoutly for that point. "But it proved all in vain. He would connive at them and not molest them. But to allow or tolerate them by his public authority, under his seal, they found it would not be granted."³

After a long and tedious negotiation, Messrs. Cushman and Carver returned to their friends at Leyden, with the best terms

¹ It is deeply regretted that the early history of Robert Cushman and his colleagues, in the great work of establishing religious liberty and of founding a nation, is so little known. Not a single circumstance of himself or his family or ancestors, is known, up to the time when he and Gov. Carver were appointed on the mission to England, as above stated. The birth-place, genealogy, and early history of Gov. Bradford, having been recently brought to light, it is hoped that like success will crown the efforts that are now in progress to give the same information of ROBERT CUSHMAN.

² Sir Ferdinando Gorges, one of the leaders of the second or Plymouth Company, says, "It was necessary that means might be used to draw into those enterprises some of those families that had retired themselves into Holland for scruples of conscience, giving them such liberty and freedom as might stand to their Kingdoms." And that advice was harkened to, &c. — *Mass. Hist. Coll.* xxvi. 73.

³ Bradford's Journal.

they could make, and "to what issue things had come." But the result was entirely unsatisfactory. They had no confidence either in the honesty or the toleration of King James.

The Envoys of the Leyden Church probably returned in Nov. 1617, for they carried with them a letter from Sir Edwin Sandys, directed to Mr. John Robinson and Mr. William Brewster, dated Nov. 12, 1617, in which he says, — "After my hearty salutations, — The agents of your congregation, Robert Cushman and John Carver, have been in communication with divers select gentlemen of His Majesty's Council for Virginia; and by the writing of several articles, subscribed with your names, have given them that good degree of satisfaction which hath carried them on with a resolution to set forward your desire in the best sort that may be for your own and the public good; divers particulars whereof we leave to their faithful report, having carried themselves here with that good discretion, as is both to their own and their credit from whom they came. And whenever, being to treat for a multitude of people, they have requested further time to confer with them that are to be interested in this action about the several particulars which in the prosecution thereof will fall out considerable, it hath been very willingly assented to; and so they do now return unto you.¹ If, therefore, it may please God so to direct your desires, as that on your parts there fall out no just impediments, I trust by the same direction it shall likewise appear that on our parts all forwardness to set you forward shall be found in the best sort, which with reason may be expected. And so I betake you with this design, (which I hope verily is the work of God,) to the gracious protection and blessing of the Highest.

Your very loving friend,

London, Nov. 12, 1617.

EDWIN SANDYS."²

After a full, deliberate and prayerful consideration of the terms offered by the Virginia Company and the King, the Ley-

¹ From the expression "they do now return unto you," it is evident the Agents must have returned to Leyden soon after this letter was written, of which they were, undoubtedly, the bearers, — that is, between Nov. 12, the date of the letter, and Dec. 15, the date of Robinson's and Brewster's answer to it. — *Young's Chronicle*.

² Sir Edwin Sandys was one of the principal members of the Virginia Company. He was a member of Parliament, and was ever a sincere, devoted and active friend of Mr. Robinson's Church. He died in 1629.

den Church sent again the same agents, Messrs. Cushman and Carver, to urge upon the King the great point with them,

"Freedom to worship God."

This fact is evident from the reply of Messrs. Robinson and Brewster to the forgoing letter of Sir Edwin Sandys.

Their answer was as follows :

"Right Worshipful, — Our humble duties remembered, in our own, our messengers and our churches' name, with all thankful acknowledgment of your singular love, expressing itself, as otherwise, so more especially in your great care and earnest endeavor of our good in the weighty business about Virginia, which the less able we are to requite, we shall think ourselves the more bound to commend in our prayers unto God for recompense. We have, with the best speed and consideration which that we could, set down our requests in writing, subscribed, as you willed, with the hands of the greatest part of our congregation, and have sent the same unto the council, by an agent, a deacon of our church, John Carver, unto whom we have also requested a gentleman of our company to adjoin himself; to the care and discretion of which two we do refer the prosecuting of the business. Now we persuade ourselves, right worshipful, that we need not to provoke your godly and loving mind to any further or more tender care of us, since you have pleased so far to interest us in yourself, that, under God, above all persons and things in the world, we rely upon you, expecting the care of your love, the counsel of your wisdom and the help and countenance of your authority."

This interesting letter, the largest part of which we omit, was dated "Leyden, the 15th of December, 1617," and was, undoubtedly, carried to England by Messrs. Cushman and Carver.¹

But they had no better success than before. For, says Gov. Bradford's Journal, "The Virginia Council was now so disturbed by factions and quarrels amongst themselves, as no business could well go forward."

¹ There is a general impression that Cushman and Carver went to England but once in the early part of his negotiation. But from an examination of Gov. Bradford's Journal and the correspondence between Robinson and Brewster and Sir Edwin Sandys and others in England, it is evident that the agents, Messrs. Cushman and Carver, went over to England from Holland on that mission, first, in the summer of 1617, and afterwards the bearer of Robinson's and Brewster's letter, which we have given above, in Dec. 1617. Says Gov. Bradford's Journal, "These things being long in agitation, and messengers passing to and again about them, after all their hopes they were long delayed by many obstacles that fell in the way. For at the return of these messengers into England, they found things far otherwise than they expected."

But these men were not to be dismayed with disappointments or discouraged by the want of present success. For, says Bradford's and Brewster's letter, "We verily believe, and trust the Lord is with us, unto whom and whose service we have given ourselves in many trials, and that he will graciously prosper our endeavors according to the simplicity of our hearts therein. * * And it is not with us as with other men, whom small things can discourage, or small discontentments cause to wish themselves home again."

Persevering in this matter, therefore, the Leyden Church, after a considerable delay, appointed two other agents to go to England and urge their requests. Those agents were Robert Cushman and William Brewster.¹ They probably went over in the early part of 1619, and pursued the great object of their desires with a zeal, perseverance and ability worthy of the cause.

To accomplish an object to the Puritans so important, to carry on a negotiation with a weak, dishonest and pusillanimous administration, and to procure a grant of what was then so universally denied by nearly all governments, was indeed a great task, and required a skill at diplomacy which but few men possessed.

Yet notwithstanding "the great discouragements the agents met with, from the King and Bishop's refusing to allow them liberty of conscience," they persevered. "Trusting in God and in themselves," they were not dismayed.

On the 8th of May, 1619, Robert Cushman wrote the following letter to Rev. Mr. Robinson and the Leyden Church:

To his Loving Friends.

I had thought long since to have writ unto you; but could not effect that which I aimed at, neither can yet see things as I wished. Yet, notwithstanding, I doubt not but Mr. Brewster hath written to Mr. Robinson; but I think myself bound also to do something, lest I be thought to neglect you.

The main hindrance of our proceedings in the Virginia business is the dissensions and factions, as they term it, amongst the Council and Company of Virginia, which are such as that ever since we came up no business could by them be despatched. The

¹ William Brewster, see William Bradford, as Judge Davis in his edition of Morton's Memorial has it, as will fully appear by a subsequent letter of Robert Cushman.

occasion of this trouble amongst them is, that a while since Sir Thomas Smith, repining at his many offices and troubles, wished the Company of Virginia to ease him of his office in being treasurer and governor of the Virginia Company. Whereupon the Company took occasion to dismiss him, and chose Sir Edwin Sandys treasurer and governor of the Company, he having sixty voices, Sir John Wolstenholme sixteen voices, and alderman Johnson twenty-four. But Sir Thomas Smith, when he saw some part of his honor lost, was very angry, and raised a faction to cavil and contend about the election, and sought to tax Sir Edwin with many things that might both disgrace him and also put him by his office of governor. In which contentions they yet stick, and are not fit nor ready to intermeddle in any business; and what issue things will come to, I know not, nor are we yet certain. It is most like Sir Edwin will carry it away; and if he do, things will go well in Virginia; if otherwise, they will go ill enough always. We hope in two or three Court days things will settle. Mean space I think to go down into Kent, and come up again about fourteen days or three weeks hence; except either by these aforesaid contentions, or by the ill tidings from Virginia, we be wholly discouraged; of which tidings as followeth.

Capt. Argall is come home this week. He, upon notice of the intent of the Council, came away before Sir George Yeardley came there, and so there is no small dissension. But his tidings is ill, although his person be welcome. He saith Mr. Blackwell's ship came not there until March; but going towards winter they had still northwest winds, which carried them to the southward beyond their course; and the master of the ship and some six of the mariners dying, it seemed they could not find the Bay, till after long seeking and beating about. Mr. Blackwell is dead, and Mr. Maggner, the captain. Yea, there are dead, he saith, a hundred and thirty persons, one and other, in the ship. It is said there was in all a hundred and eighty persons in the ship, so as they were packed together like herrings. They had amongst them a flux, and also want of fresh water; so as it is here rather wondered that so many are alive, than that so many are dead. The merchants here say it was Mr. Blackwell's fault to pack so many in the ship; yea, and there was great murmuring and repining amongst them, and upbraiding of Mr. Blackwell for his dealing and disposing of them, when they saw how he had disposed of them, and how he insulted over them. Yea, the streets at Gravesend rang of their extreme quarrelling, crying out one of another, "Thou hast brought me to this. I may thank thee for this." Heavy news it is, and I would be glad to hear how far it will discourage. I see none here discouraged much, but

rather desire to learn to beware by other men's harms, and to amend that wherein they have failed; as we desire to serve one another in love, so take heed of being enthralled by other imperious persons, especially if they be discerned to have an eye to themselves. It doth often trouble me to think that in this business we are to learn, and none to teach. But better so than to depend upon such teachers as Mr. Blackwell was. Such a stratagem he made for Mr. Johnson and his people at Kmden; much was their subversion. But though he then cleanly yet dishonestly plucked his neck out of the collar, yet at last his foot is caught.

Here are no letters come. The ship Captain Argall came in is yet in the west parts. All that we hear is but his report. It seemeth he came away secretly. The ship that Mr. Blackwell went in will be here shortly. It is as Mr. Robinson once said; he thought we should hear no good of them.

Mr. Brewster is not well at this time. Whether he will go back to you or go into the north, I yet know not. For myself, I hope to see an end of this business ere I come, though I am sorry to be thus from you. If things had gone roundly forward, I should have been with you within this fourteen days. I pray God direct us, and give us that spirit which is fitting such a business.

Thus having summarily pointed at things which Mr. Brewster, I think, hath more largely writ of to Mr. Robinson, I leave you to the Lord's protection.

Yours, in all readiness, &c.

ROBERT CUSHMAN.

London, May the 8th, 1619.

On the 4th of September, 1619, a Mr. "Sabin Starsmore," a Puritan, writing from prison, to Dea. Carver, dated "From my chamber in Wood-street counter,"¹ says respecting his imprisonment, "Somewhat I have written to Mr. Cushman, how the matter still continues," &c.

After great procrastination and long and tedious negotiation, the prospects of the Leyden Church brighten, and success seems to crown the labors and the trials of their agents. A patent is finally obtained, under the grant seal of the Virginia Company, and "connived at" by the King and his ministers, by which they were allowed to settle in America. And although religious liberty, in terms, was not granted them, yet if they behaved

¹ One of the prisons in London.

themselves quietly and were faithful subjects of his majesty, King James I. they were not to be molested, although their creed and form of worship were essentially unsound and heretical.

The patent was not taken out in the names of any of Mr. Robinson's Church — probably on account of their living out of the realm — but in the name of John Wincoob,¹ a religious gentleman (belonging to the Countess of Lincoln,) who intended to emigrate with the Puritans.

"But Providence so ordered it," as Gov. Bradford's Journal says, "He never went, and the patent,² in his name, was never used, although it had cost them so much labor and charge."

But a determination to emigrate had so completely filled the minds of the Leyden Puritans that they were not to be daunted by misfortunes or rebuffs. They felt that their cause was *right*, and that God would finally, in his own good time, aid and prosper them.

"Up in each guided breast
There sprang a rooted and mysterious strength,—
A loikness,—to face a world in arms,—
To strip the pomp from sceptres,—and to lay
Upon the sacred altar the warm blood
Of akin affections, where they rise between
The soul and God."

The Pilgrims, by Mrs. Sigourney.

Thus situated, they looked for other ways to accomplish their objects. The project of settling in the New World began to be somewhat popular; it gains friends and friendly opinions. "Mr. Thomas Weston, merchant, of London, and other friends and merchants make proposals for their transmigration, and they were requested to prepare to go."³

On the receipt of these things by one of the messengers, they had a solemn meeting and a day of humiliation to seek the Lord for his direction. Their pastor, Rev. Mr. Robinson, took for his text, 1st Samuel, 23: 3 and 4. "And David's men said unto him, See, we be afraid here in Judah. How much more if wo

¹ Nothing is known of John Wincoob, except that he was a *pronge* of the Countess of Lincoln, and was probably her Seward, or private Secretary, as we now say.

² Nothing further is known of this patent. Hubbard's History says, "Where it is, or how it came to be lost, is not known to any that belong to the Colony." It was probably dated the latter part of the year 1619.

³ Prince's Chronology.

came to Kish, against the host of the Philistines. Then David asked counsel of the Lord again." From that text he taught many things very aptly and befitting to their present occasion and condition, to strengthen them against their fears, and encourage them in their resolution."¹

Having determined to emigrate to America, the question arose, who should go first; for so large a number could not all go at once. Winslow's Brief Narrative says, "The youngest and strongest part to go, — and they that want should offer themselves freely."²

As the largest number could not go, it was arranged that their Pastor, Rev. Mr. Robinson, should remain, and their Ruling Elder, William Brewster, should go; and that those who go first were to constitute an absolute Church of themselves. "The Church at Plymouth thus became the First Independent or Congregational Church in America."³

The great object that was ever uppermost in the minds of the Puritans, undoubtedly was, "freedom of religious belief and worship." Yet their secular wants in their new home, as well as means for the purpose of getting there, must be provided for. To accomplish the latter, a kind of joint stock company was formed, composed of those who were to emigrate, on the one hand, and those who were to furnish the capital, on the other. The latter were called "The Merchant Adventurers," of whom little is known. Capt. John Smith, writing in 1624, says, "The adventurers who raised the stock to begin and supply this plantation, were about 70, — some gentlemen, some merchants, some handicraftsmen; some adventuring great sums, some small, as their estate and affections served."⁴

"These dwell mostly about London. They are not a corporation, but knit together by a voluntary combination, in a society without constraint or penalty, aiming to do good and plant religion."⁵

"The conditions on which those of Leyden engaged with the merchants, the adventurers, were hard enough at the first, for the poor people who were to adventure their persons as well as their

¹ Bradford's Journal.
² Young's Chronicles.

³ Smith's Hist. Virginia.

estates. Yet were their agents forced to change two of them, although it was very unsatisfactory and distasteful to them. The altering of these two conditions was very afflicting to them who were concerned in the voyage. But Mr. Cushman, their principal agent, answered their complaints peremptorily, that unless they had so ordered the conditions, the whole design would have fallen to the ground.¹ The Puritans submitted, therefore, from necessity; but the sequel of the transaction shows that while the adventurers made but little profit from the investment, "yet those that adventured their lives in carrying on the business of the plantation, were much the greatest sufferers."

The contract between the adventurers and those who were to emigrate, is contained in ten articles of agreement. They provide generally, that "their joint stock and partnership shall continue for seven years; that every person that goeth, over sixteen years of age, shall be rated at £10, and that £10 shall be accounted a single share. At the end of seven years the entire property of the Association is to be equally divided among the adventurers."²

Hard as were these terms, they were the best that could be obtained; and it is fortunate for the cause of civil and religious liberty in after ages, that they knew little how hard they would prove to those who consented to accept them.

We have given a more particular account of the preliminary contract and arrangements of the Puritans, because the subject of this article — Robert Cushman — was the principal agent and manager in that affair. And from what he *did* we may form a tolerably accurate opinion of his abilities and character, and his standing with his associates.

The agents of the Leyden Company, Messrs. Cushman and Brewster, having formed the Association or Joint Stock Company in England, which was to furnish the money, went back to Ley-

¹ Bradford's Journal.

² The two conditions, the alteration of which was so "afflictive" to those who were to form the settlement, related to a division of their houses, improved lands and gardens; and 2d, that the planters should have two days in the week for their own private employment. These two provisions were in the original agreement, but were stricken out, as Robert Cushman told them, from absolute necessity. We can easily see that it must have been a severe trial to submit to such hard terms. But necessity they said, having no law, they were constrained to be silent.

den with the articles of agreement, ten in number, Mr. Weston,¹ a wealthy merchant of Leyden with them, "and the people agree with him on articles, both for shipping and money, to assist in their transportation."

The preliminaries being then all arranged, and the persons selected who were to commence this hazardous and uncertain enterprise, "they send Mr. Carver and Mr. Cushman to England to receive the money and provide for the voyags: Mr. Cushman at London, Mr. Carver at Southampton. Those who are to go first, prepare with speed, sell their estates, put their money in the common stock, to be disposed of by their managers for making general provisions. There was also one Mr. Martin² chosen in England to join unto Mr. Carver and Cushman. He came from Billerica, in Essex, from which county came several others, as also from London and other places to go with them."³

But in this great and difficult work, like most others, delays and disappointments often occurred; they are among the incidents of humanity, designed, undoubtedly, for our benefit; and the Pilgrims could not expect to be exempt from the ordinary laws of our creation. But to them, doubtless, it was as troublesome as to those who live 230 years later.

"June 4, 1620. Mr. Robinson writes to Mr. Carver, and complains of Mr. Weston's neglect in getting shipping in England; for want of which they are in a piteous case at Leyden. And Samuel Fuller, Edward Winslow, William Bradford and Isaac Allerton write from Leyden to Mr. Carver and Cushman, June 10, that the coming of Mr. Nash and their pilot is a great encouragement to them."

The shipping that Mr. Robinson so much desired, was undoubtedly a vessel to carry the emigrants from Leyden to Southampton. The "Speedwell" was finally obtained in Holland for that purpose. She was commanded by an English captain by

¹ Thomas Weston, one of the most active of the Merchant Adventurers. He advanced £500 to promote the interest of Plymouth Colony; but afterwards became inimical to his former friends.

² Christopher Martin, who with his wife and two children, came over in the Mayflower. His name stands the ninth in the subscription to the compact signed at Cape Cod, Nov. 11, 1620, O. S., and he died Jan. 3, 1621. — *Voyage - Chronicles*.

³ Bradford's Journal.

the name of Reynolds, and it was their design to keep her in their new settlement for the purpose of trade and commerce.

June 10, 1620. Mr. Cushman, in a letter from London to Mr. Carver at Southampton,¹ says that Mr. Crahe, a minister, had promised to go, but is much oppressed, and is like to fail; and in a letter to the people at Leyden, that he had hired another pilot, one Mr. Clark,² who went last year to Virginia; that he is getting a ship; hopes he shall make all ready at London in fourteen days, and would have Mr. Reynolds tarry in Holland and bring the ship thence to Southampton.³

But the time for their departure was at hand. "After much travail and turmoils and debates which they went through, things were gotten ready for their departure from Leyden." The little ship, the *Speedwell*, had been purchased, and was lying at Delft Haven, a commodious port on the Maas, twenty-four miles south of Leyden, all ready to transport those who were to go from the Leyden Church to meet others and a larger ship at Southampton.

The *Speedwell* was a ship of only sixty (or as Smith & Purchase say, of seventy) tons burthen,—smaller than the average size of the fishing smacks that go to the Grand Bank for cod-fish,—too small, it would seem, to cross an almost unknown ocean.—Yet it was of the ordinary size of vessels of that day for such purposes.

In the meantime, Cushman had been actively engaged in the part assigned to him. He had hired at London a larger vessel, the *Mayflower*,⁴ "of burden about nine score," and had sent her round to Southampton, there to meet his comrades from Holland.

The *Speedwell* being ready, they had a day of solemn humiliation, their pastor taking for his text, *Exra*, 8th chap. 21st verse:

¹ It is a singular fact that the truth of history is fulfilled in the great painting of the Embarkation of the Pilgrims at Delft Haven in Holland, now in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington, by Wier, where Mr. Carver is represented as one of the foremost and most conspicuous characters in the painting; when in fact he was at that time at Southampton, actively engaged in making arrangements for their final departure. See Bradford's *Journal*.

² Clark was master's mate on board of the *Mayflower*. Clark's Island, in Plymouth Harbor, was named after him.

³ Bradford in France.

⁴ The *Mayflower* has become a ship of world-wide renown. Besides carrying the Pilgrims safely to their destination, she was one of the five vessels, which in 1623, conveyed Higginson's Company to Salem, and also one of the fleet which in 1630 brought over Gov. Winthrop and his Colony to Massachusetts Bay.—*Savage's Winthrop*.

"And there, at the river, by Ahava, I proclaimed a fast, that we might humble ourselves before our God and seek of him a right way for us, and for our children, and for all our substantives." Upon which he spent a good part of the day very profitably and suitably to their present occasion. The rest of the time was spent in pouring out prayers to the Lord with great fervency, mixed with an abundance of tears.

The Rev. Mr. Robinson's farewell discourse, a portion of which is included in "Winslow's Brief Narrative," contains sentiments far in advance of the age in which he lived, and which show him to have been a man of an enlarged, noble and truly Christian mind. As the ages advance, and men approximate nearer to a practice of the pure principles of Christ, such views as Mr. Robinson expressed to his little band of Puritan hearers, will be more and more appreciated, and will render his name "a burning and a shining light" among the distinguished divines of the Christian Church. We give a single extract from that remarkable discourse:

"We are now, ere long to part asunder, and the Lord knoweth whether ever I shall live to see your faces again. But whether the Lord hath appointed it or not, I charge you before God and his blessed Angels to follow me no farther than I follow Christ; and if God should reveal anything to you, by any other instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am very confident the Lord hath more truth and light yet to break forth out of his holy word."

Blessed words! prophetic language! progressive thoughts! most Christian precepts! soon may the day arrive when such sentiments shall universally prevail. Then the millenium will be near at hand.

"Such noble words and faith sublime,
Are themes that through all coming time
Should our admiring plaudits raise,
And be embalmed in grateful praise."
RUSSELL.

But the sad hour which was to separate these long tried and true friends, was at hand. "Farewell is a sad word, but it must be said," was the remark of the eloquent Kossuth. To them it

was desolate indeed; for it had but a slight hope of any future re-union.

"They little thought how pure a light
With years, should gather round that day;
How love should keep their memories bright,
How wide a realm their sons should sway."
BRADFORD.

On leaving Leyden, where they had resided, they were accompanied to Delft Haven by their friends "to see them shipped and to take leave of them. So they left that goodly and pleasant city, which had been their resting place for near twelve years. But they knew they were PILGRIMS,¹ and looked not much on those things, but lifted up their eyes to Heaven, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits."

It is probable that nearly the whole company accompanied those who were to depart, as far as Delft Haven, twenty-four miles, and there took a final farewell. "The night before they went was spent with little sleep," says Bradford, "but with friendly entertainment and Christian discourse and other real expressions of true Christian love."

The next day, 22d July, 1620, O. S., everything being ready and the wind fair, they went on board, "when doleful was the sight of that sad and mournful parting." Hoisting sail, and with a prosperous wind, they soon arrived at Southampton,² where they found the larger ship, the Mayflower, lying ready with all the rest of their company."

Mr. Cushman and Mr. Jones,³ the mate of the Mayflower, with others who were to accompany them from England, had been waiting at Southampton for them seven days.⁴

"After a joyful welcome and mutual congratulations, with other friendly entertainments, they fell to parley about their proceedings. Seven hundred pounds sterling are laid out at Southampton, and they carry about seventeen hundred pounds venture with

¹ The term *Pilgrims*, belongs exclusively to the Plymouth Colonists. — Young.

² Southampton is a seaport town in the south-westerly part of England, about seventy-three miles from London by land, and about two hundred miles by water, and it is about three hundred miles from Delft Haven in Holland. It was the rendezvous of seven of Winthrop's fleet, in 1630, and is now the stopping place of the mail steamers from Bremen to the United States.

³ Jones' River, in Kingston, Mass., hereafter spoken of in this work, was called after the mate of the Mayflower.

⁴ Bradford in Prince.

them; and Mr. Weston comes hither from London to see them dispatched."

At length the hour of their departure draws nigh. The whole company were called together, and a farewell letter from their late Pastor, Rev. Mr. Robinson, is read to them. It contained the most affectionate and godly counsel, couched in language singularly appropriate and proper; — and, says Bradford, "it had good acceptation with all and after-fruit with many."

"Then they ordered and distributed their company for either ship, and chose a Governor and two or three Assistants for each ship, to order the people by the way and see to the disposing of the provisions."

Every thing being in readiness, on Saturday the 5th day of August, O. S., 1620, the two vessels, the *Mayflower* and the *Speedwell*, set sail, having on board 120 persons besides the officers and sailors. Robert Cushman and his family were among that number. How many his family consisted of at that time we have no knowledge. In the spring of 1621, when he went over to Plymouth, we have reason to suppose he had no wife and but one son, — a boy then fourteen years of age.

"But alas," says Bradford, "the best enterprises oftentimes meet with many discouragements. They had been at sea but a short time before Capt. Reynolds, the master of the *Speedwell*, complained that he found his vessel so leaky that he durst not go further to sea. Both vessels, therefore, put back, and on the 13th of August went into Dartmouth,¹ one of the nearest English ports.

After remaining there eight days and thoroughly repairing the lesser ship, she was judged sufficient for the voyage by the workmen that mended her, and both vessels again unfurled their sails and proceeded on their voyage on Monday the 21st of August.

But difficulties are yet in their way. The Puritans are not to be exempt from the ordinary laws of humanity. They are to be made strong and powerful by trials, disappointments, vicissitudes. They had not sailed more than two or three days, a distance of some three hundred miles, when Capt. Reynolds again became

¹ Dartmouth is a small port in the south-western part of England, on the British Channel.

alarmed, and pronounced his ship unseaworthy and in danger. Thereupon both ships bore up again and went into Plymouth.¹

Bradford says it was afterwards ascertained that it was not so much the leaky and unsound condition of the Speedwell, that caused her master to report her unsafe, as it was his treachery and cowardice; for on searching her again "no great matter appeared."

These things thus falling out, it was finally resolved by the whole to dismiss the lesser ship (the Speedwell) and part of the company with her, and that the other part of the company should proceed in the bigger ship, (the Mayflower).

And here a difficult task arose, to determine who should go and who should remain; for a part must be left behind, as the Mayflower could not carry the whole. Prince says, "they agree to dismiss her (the Speedwell) and those who were willing to return to London,—though this was very grievous and discouraging; Mr. Cushman and family returning with them."

The probabilities are, that in determining who should go, the strong, resolute and healthy were selected; and the others of an opposite health and temperament remained. Robert Cushman, having been one of the chief managers of the enterprise, was undoubtedly selected to return to London with those who were in the Speedwell, for the purpose of taking care of them and of facilitating their trans-shipment at a future time. His deep interest in the plan of emigration, his zeal and self-sacrificing spirit, and his strong attachment to the Puritan cause, all show, most conclusively, that it was not from any wavering mind or pusillanimous spirit, or from any discouragement whatever, that caused him to return; but, on the other hand, the success and best interests of his associates required it. Those who went back, undoubtedly needed a leader and head. For such a station he was admirably qualified. However "grievous and discouraging" it was to him, as Bradford remarks, *duty* was his ruling principle. If he could do more good and prosper the enterprise by remaining in England for the present, managing the affairs of the Company there, and providing for those who could

¹ Plymouth is a small town on the British Channel, not far from Land's End, the south-westerly point of England, about 215 miles by land from London.

not go in the Speedwell, — he was ready to do it. A review of his life, so far as we have any knowledge of it, satisfactorily shows us that such was the temper, spirit and action of the man.

Some historical writers have committed an error in imputing unworthy motives and feelings to those who returned to London in the Speedwell, which Dr. Young, in his valuable work, — "Chronicles of the Pilgrims," — has very fully refuted. As Robert Cushman was one of that number, we quote Dr. Young's remarks *in extenso*.

Neal, in his History of New England, says: "Mr. Cushman and his family and some others that were more *fearful*, went ashore and did not proceed on the voyage." Baylies, in his History of Plymouth, also says, "about twenty of the passengers were *discouraged* and would not re-embark." There is no ground for such an imputation on the courage or perseverance of any of the emigrants; and it is a matter of regret that Mr. Bancroft (in his History of the United States) should have lent to it the sanction of his authority. He says, "the *timid* and the *hesitating* were all freely allowed to abandon the expedition. Having thus *winnowed* their numbers of the *cowardly* and the *disaffected*," &c. Yet Robert Cushman, one of the most energetic and resolute of the Pilgrims, "who was as their right hand," as Gov. Bradford said, and who came over in the next ship, the Fortune, in Nov. 1621, was among those thus "winnowed." The dismissal of a part was a matter of necessity, as the Mayflower could not carry the whole. Bradford, as quoted by Prince, says, "they *agree* to dismiss her (the Speedwell) and those who were *willing* to return to London, though this was very *grievous* and *discouraging*." And he further says, "it was resolved by the *whole* to dismiss the lesser ship and part of the company with her." "It was the captain and crew of the Speedwell, not his passengers, that were unwilling to go." — Young's Chronicles.

The reputation and character of Robert Cushman is thus fully vindicated and placed in its true light.

Having thus determined who should go in the Mayflower, "another sad parting took place. The Speedwell goes back to London and the Mayflower proceeds on her voyage."

On Wednesday the 6th of September, O. S., 1620, "their

troubles being blown over, and now all being compact in one ship, they put to sea again with a prosperous wind.¹

The subject of this article having returned to London, we now leave this little Pilgrim band of one hundred¹ persons (twenty having returned in the *Speedwell*) and the ship in which they had taken passage and which in after years became so famous, to meet them again, in fifteen months, at their new home at Plymouth, in New England.

For some months we hear nothing of Mr. Cushman, either from Bradford's *Journal* or by contemporaneous correspondence. He was, we may reasonably suppose, actively engaged, as he was wont to be, in having the care of his Pilgrim associates and in promoting the interests of the Puritan cause. But early in the year 1621 the subject of emigration to America received considerable public attention. The hope of great profits from the fur trade and the fisheries excited the ambition of some, while a desire to extend the benefits of Christianity and civilization among the aborigines of North America, induced others to turn their attention westward, across the Atlantic, and to encourage emigration to that unknown land. Mr. Cushman being the devoted friend and agent of the Pilgrims who had gone before him to their new residences, and being desirous to persuade others to "go and do likewise," wrote and published in England an article on the subject of settling in America, which is here given entire in order to show the state of the issue before the public of England, as well as something of his ability and industry.

REASONS AND CONSIDERATIONS TOUCHING THE LAWFULNESS
OF REMOVING OUT OF ENGLAND INTO THE
PARTS OF AMERICA.

Forasmuch as many exceptions are daily made against the going into and inhabiting of foreign desert places, to the hindrances of plantations abroad, and the increase of distractions at home; it is not amiss that some which have been ear-witnesses of the exceptions made, and are either agents or abettors of such

¹ Not 101, as is generally said. One hundred sailed, one died on the passage, and one child was born;—so that exactly one hundred arrived at Cape Cod. This is conclusively shown by referring to the list of those who signed the compact at Cape Cod, and the number of persons in the family of each, taken from Gov. Bradford's manuscript. See Dr. N. B. Shurtleff's *Historical Tracts*, "The Passengers of the *Mayflower*."

shall come, they may come forth as good and fruitful servants, and freely be received, and enter into the joy of their Master.

R. C.

On the 6th day of May, 1621, the good ship, the *Mayflower*, arrived home at England, from her voyage to America, and brought the first intelligence from Bradford, Brewster, Allerton and their associates to their Puritan friends in England, and to the "Merchant Adventurers" who had furnished the vessel and outfit for the voyage.

The first success of the settlement at "New Plymouth, in New England," having thus been satisfactorily ascertained, Robert Cushman made early arrangements to transport himself and family, and others who had been left behind, the year before, to the New World.

The *Fortune*, a small vessel of fifty-five tons burthen, — less in size than our small fishing vessels which go to the Grand Banks for cod-fish, was chartered for a voyage to New England. She sailed from London early in July, but owing to bad weather she could not clear the British Channel till the end of August. She carried out thirty-six passengers, including Robert Cushman and his son Thomas.¹

On Friday the 9th day of November, O. S., 1621, the *Fortune* arrived off Cape Cod, some eight or ten leagues from Plymouth. Some friendly Indians, discerning the vessel coming up Plymouth Bay, communicated the intelligence to the Colony, who supposed "it to be a Frenchman, — for we expected not a friend so soon. The Governor, thereupon, commanded a great piece to be shot off to call home such as were abroad at work. Whereupon every man, yes, boy, that could handle a gun, were ready with full resolution, that if she were an enemy we would stand by our just defence, not fearing them. But God provided better for us than we expected."²

¹ Plymouth in England was the last place left by the Pilgrims. They therefore called their new settlement the same name; or for many years "New Plymouth," in order to distinguish it from Plymouth in England.

² Fortunately, an accurate list of the adult passengers of the "*Fortune*" has been preserved. See Young's *Chronicles*; Farmer's *Genealogical Register*, &c.

³ The *Fortune* had a long passage of over ten weeks after she left the British Channel.

"These (the passengers in the Fortune) came all in health, not any being sick by the way, otherwise than by sea-sickness, and so continue to this time, by the blessing of God."

"Good-wife Foord was delivered of a son the first night she landed, and both of them are very well."¹

The meeting of Robert Cushman and his thirty-five associates, with those from whom they had separated fifteen months before, must have been one of great joy, mingled with much that was painful and sad. At their last parting at Plymouth in old England, the one hundred who sailed in the Mayflower were in good health; now one half of that number had been laid in the grave. Such scenes must have been a very severe trial of their faith, their patience, and their unflinching trust in God.

But the little vessel, the Fortune, must soon return. Before Mr. Cushman left London, he probably had made an arrangement to return with her and report to the Adventurers the condition and prospects of the Colony; and it was undoubtedly the wish of Gov. Bradford to have him do so and to continue the Agent of the Pilgrims. It would seem, from the fact that he brought his only son (probably all his family) with him, and from his subsequent correspondence, that he designed to settle permanently in this country as soon as the interests of the colony would allow it.

During his stay at "New Plymouth," he had observed some uneasiness of feeling;—some dissatisfaction with the arrangements made in England for their transportation and support;—some abatement of that "noble flow of public spirit which was necessary for their preservation and safety." Although not a clergyman, or even a "Teaching Elder," he prepared and delivered, on Wednesday the 12th day of December, the day before he sailed for England, a sermon suitable to the occasion. This sermon, together with its prefatory dedication, "To his loving friends, the Adventurers for New England," has become quite noted, from its ability and from the fact that it was *the first sermon delivered in New England, that was printed.*² It was

¹ Bradford's Journal.

² In a note, Mr. Young remarks, "In the course of Robert Cushman's short stay of a month at Plymouth, he delivered a discourse to the Colonists, which was printed at London in 1622, but without his name. In a tract printed at London in 1644, entitled "A Brief Narrative of some Church Courses in New England," I find the following allusion to this discourse: "There is a book