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General Society of Mayflower Descendants

ORDER OF EXERCISES

Dedication

OF THE

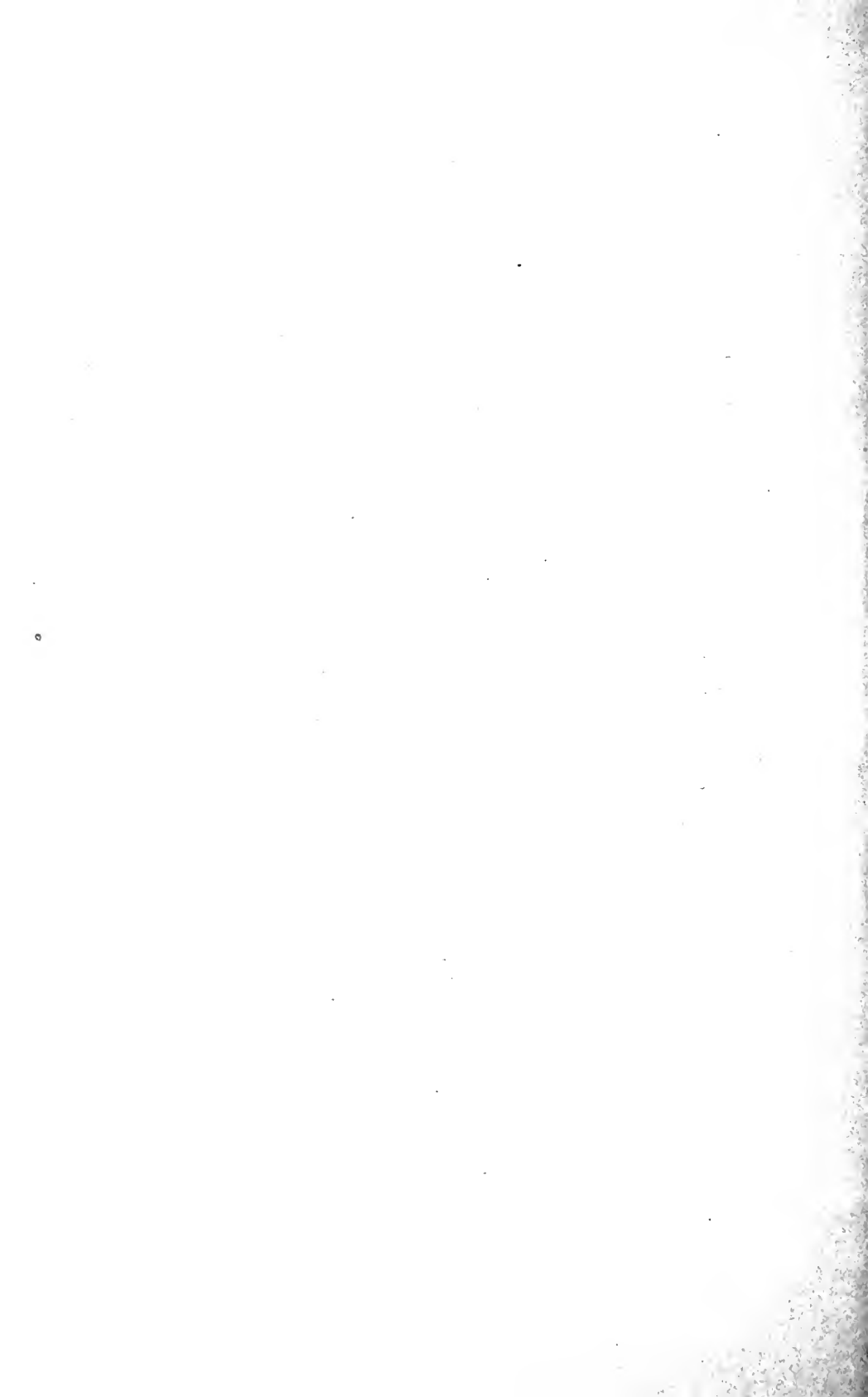
Cole's Hill Memorial

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1921

AT THE

FIRST CHURCH
PLYMOUTH, MASS.

Report of the
Committee on the Tercentenary Celebration
and Permanent Memorial



General Society of Mayflower Descendants
" "

1620 — 1920

ORDER OF EXERCISES

DEDICATION

OF THE

COLE'S HILL MEMORIAL

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1921

AT THE

FIRST CHURCH
PLYMOUTH, MASS.

PRESIDING:

Former Governor General HOWLAND DAVIS, Chairman of the
Committee on the Tercentenary Celebration
and Permanent Memorial

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GIFT



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COLE'S HILL MEMORIAL
ERECTED BY THE GENERAL SOCIETY OF MAYFLOWER DESCENDANTS

*INSCRIPTIONS ON MONUMENT

THIS MONUMENT MARKS THE FIRST BURYING GROUND
IN PLYMOUTH OF THE PASSENGERS OF THE MAYFLOWER

HERE, UNDER COVER OF DARKNESS, THE FAST DWINDLING COMPANY
LAID THEIR DEAD, LEVELING THE EARTH ABOVE THEM LEST THE
INDIANS SHOULD LEARN HOW MANY WERE THE GRAVES.

READER! HISTORY RECORDS NO NOBLER VENTURE FOR FAITH
AND FREEDOM THAN THAT OF THIS PILGRIM BAND. IN WEARINESS
AND PAINFULNESS, IN WATCHINGS OFTEN, IN HUNGER AND COLD
THEY LAID THE FOUNDATIONS OF A STATE WHEREIN EVERY MAN,
THROUGH COUNTLESS AGES, SHOULD HAVE LIBERTY TO WORSHIP
GOD IN HIS OWN WAY. MAY THEIR EXAMPLE INSPIRE THEE TO DO
THY PART IN PERPETUATING AND SPREADING THE LOFTY IDEALS
OF OUR REPUBLIC THROUGHOUT THE WORLD!

OF THE ONE HUNDRED AND FOUR PASSENGERS THESE DIED IN PLYMOUTH DURING THE FIRST YEAR

John Allerton	Thomas English	Ellen More and	Edward Tilley and
Mary, First Wife of	Moses Fletcher	a Brother (children)	Ann His Wife
Isaac Allerton	Edward Fuller and	William Mullins	John Tilley and
Richard Britteridge	His Wife	Alice His Wife and	His Wife
Robert Carter	John Goodman	Joseph Their Son	Thomas Tinker
John Carver and	William Holbeck	Solomon Prower	His Wife and Son
Katharine His Wife	John Hooke	John Rigdale and	John Turner
James Chilton's Wife	John Langmore	Alice His Wife	and Two Sons
Richard Clarke	Edmund Margeson	Thomas Rogers	William White
John Crakston Sr.	Christopher Martin	Rose, First Wife of	Roger Wilder
Sarah, First Wife of	and His Wife	Myles Standish	Elizabeth, First Wife of
Francis Eaton	Degory Priest	Elias Story	Edward Winslow
	Thomas Williams		

*By Professor WILFRED H. MUNRO, of the Rhode Island Society

*INSCRIPTIONS ON MONUMENT

THE BONES OF THE PILGRIMS
FOUND AT VARIOUS TIMES IN
AND NEAR THIS INCLOSURE
AND PRESERVED FOR MANY
YEARS IN THE CANOPY OVER
THE ROCK WERE RETURNED AT
THE TIME OF THE TERCENTENARY
CELEBRATION AND ARE DEPOSITED
WITHIN THIS MONUMENT.

ERECTED BY THE GENERAL SOCIETY
OF MAYFLOWER DESCENDANTS
A. D. 1920

“ABOUTE A HUNDRED SOWLS
CAME OVER IN THIS FIRST
SHIP AND BEGAN THIS WORK
WHICH GOD OF HIS GOODNESS
HATH HITHERTO BLESSED: LET
HIS HOLY NAME HAVE YE PRAISE”

BRADFORD 1650

ORDER OF EXERCISES

Organ Selection—Fantasy in G minor *Bach*
MR. ALBERT W. SNOW

Prayer by Elder General

REV. JOHN COLEMAN ADAMS, D. D.

God of our fathers, whose arm failed them not, neither has failed their children, we gather here with grateful hearts that Thou hast been a sun and a shield to them and to us, through all the years that are past. We come in reverence and loyalty to this shrine of the spirit to reconsecrate ourselves to the things here begun and the ideals here set up. We thank Thee for our lineage and for our inheritance. We thank Thee for the names we bear, which our fathers established in honor for all time; for the laws and covenants and constitutions which they handed down to us; for as much of their spirit as still survives in us and in the land they helped to found; for their imperishable virtues, their indomitable faith, their unflinching courage, their patience, fortitude, and loyalty to conscience. We thank Thee for the witness they bore to the truth of God and to the duty of man. We thank Thee for their brave persistence, through frost and famine, through peril and pestilence, through loneliness and bereavement, in treading the way of the Fore-runner and making straight a highway for Thee in the wilderness of a new land. Help us, O God, renew their work in a day of trial and distress.

Help us to trust in Thy guidance and care; to give ourselves to Thy service, to the upbuilding of Thy Kingdom, to obedience to Thy law, to prayerful lives, to unselfish sacrifice, to fervent and sincere worship.

Save our land and all lands from the horror and the sacrilege of war. Promote the fellowship of the nations and the maintenance of universal peace. Make our land a leader in brotherhood and goodwill. And help us, who come here to consecrate a memorial to our fathers, to fashion one more enduring and worthy than this emblem of our reverence out of loyal, devout, self-sacrificing lives, entering into their rewards by sharing in their work.

So make us to be fellow-citizens with the saints and fellow workmen with Thee, in the spirit of the Master Soul, Jesus Christ, our Lord. *Amen.*

Former Governor General DAVIS.

Three years ago in this church the Eighth General Congress of the Society took the first step to formulate a plan for the preservation and marking of the Pilgrim Burying Ground on Cole's Hill. This work was eventually undertaken as the most appropriate permanent contribution by it to the Tercentenary Celebration of the Landing of the Pilgrims. It was unquestionably the one which would appeal most keenly to the sentiment and to the interest of all the descendants of the Pilgrims, one that is clear and definite in its purpose, and would stand apart by itself as a memorial by the Society of Mayflower Descendants.

The meeting here to-day is held to mark the successful completion of this work so undertaken, and in reverent memory of those of the passengers of the Mayflower who died during the fatal first winter, and whose names are now inscribed on the monument which stands on the spot where they were buried.

The exercises will now continue, and I shall call upon Deputy Governor General Asa P. French to make the first address. He needs no introduction to this audience I am very sure.

Address by Deputy Governor General

HON. ASA P. FRENCH.

Mr. Chairman, Descendants of the Pilgrims, Ladies and Gentlemen: It is uppermost in my thoughts that I must not encroach upon the time, nor invade the province, of the principal speaker of the day, my very dear friend and classmate, the Bishop of Maine.

The task which I have undertaken is merely to say a few words in behalf of the General Society of Mayflower Descendants which, owing to the regrettable and unavoidable absence of General Wood whose term of office as its Governor-General ended yesterday, I have the honor to represent.

These exercises, as you have been told, are held under the auspices of that Society for the purpose of dedicating the monument erected by its members on Cole's Hill as their contribution to the permanent memorials which have marked the advent of the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of their first ancestors in America.

Plymouth soil is dear, and will ever remain dear, to all true Americans; but to us, through the accident of birth, it is fertile with peculiarly tender associations. Here, men and women from whom we are sprung have lived, toiled, suffered and died, and many have been laid to rest within its borders or in its neighboring towns. To repeat what I said, a day or two ago, upon another occasion, we are attached to it by all that has gone before us and by all that shall come after us; by those who gave us life and those to whom we have transmitted it; by the past and by the future; by the immovability of graves and by the rocking of cradles.

And so, upon the approach of this anniversary, when the State and the Nation have vied with one another in honoring the Pilgrims; when countless multitudes have paid pious visit to the spots rendered sa-

cred by their lives and deeds, eager to testify their respect and gratitude, our anxious thought and desire has been to commemorate the event in a manner which, though in slight and inadequate measure, would serve as a token of our filial reverence and love.

It will be remembered that of the one hundred and three passengers of the Mayflower who saw Cape Cod, two, Oceanus Hopkins and Peregrine White were infants in arms. Four, including James Chilton, one of the signers of the Compact, and Dorothy, wife of Governor Bradford, died before the arrival at Plymouth. An inscrutable Providence ordained that this little band should be divided into two groups equal in number but unequal in fate; one destined to survive and prosper, and to see, in the alliance with the Massachusetts Colony, the dawn of a great Commonwealth founded by them,—how great, their wildest prophecies could have but feebly portrayed; the other, overwhelmed and debilitated by the privations and hardships of a two months' voyage in a crowded ship upon a tempestuous sea and beneath inclement skies, doomed barely to prolong their existence until they reached their journey's end, and to give up their lives upon the threshold of their supreme undertaking. Insufficiently supplied with remedies, and without effective medical care, there was little to combat the dread disease contracted on shipboard and aggravated by exposure to the rigors of an unaccustomed winter.

What must have been their doubts and fears, as they felt the shadows of death closing about them, for the fate of their surviving companions and the success of the enterprise for which they had sacrificed their lives!

How they were buried on Cole's Hill yonder in leveled and unmarked graves the location of which was revealed to posterity, more than a century later, only by the accident of a freshet which displaced parts of the hill and brought some of the bones to the

surface; how a highway was constructed through and over the hallowed spot, subsequently marked by a simple and inconspicuous tablet at the roadside,—are all matters within the knowledge of every student of Pilgrim history and need not be recited here in detail.

At one of the recent Congresses of this Society, the attention of the delegates having been called to this deplorable situation, unanimous action and prompt measures were taken to remedy it. A committee was appointed and a plan was outlined and ultimately carried into effect, to reclaim the spot from the highway and to place there a monument which should be in some degree appropriate to commemorate the appalling tragedy of that first winter and spring, and to record for posterity the names, so far as known, of these martyrs in the cause of liberty and humanity. Truly, the ashes of those who have died for the world's advancement are precious seeds!

It is that monument which, reared in loving gratitude, we dedicate today.

History records that no one was more active in ministering to the sick than Brewster, their ruling elder, and that it was he who conducted the simple and frequent services for the dead.

Mr. Choate in an oration delivered before the New England Society of New York in 1843, with that wealth of imagery and beauty of diction of which he was a consummate master, has drawn a picture of the melancholy scene and of Brewster's part in it which is so vivid and so beautiful that it cannot be surpassed, and should not be forgotten on this day of dedication, for which it seems almost to have been expressly written:

“In a late undesigned visit to Plymouth,” he said, “I sought the spot where their earliest dead were buried. It was a bank, you remember, somewhat elevated, below the town, and between it and the water, near and looking forth upon the waves, symbol of what life had been to them; . . . On that spot have laid to rest together, the earth carefully smoothed down, that the Indian might not count the number, the true, the pious, the beautiful, and the

brave, till the heavens be no more. There, certainly, was buried the first governor, 'with three volleys of shot fired over him;' and there was buried Rose, the wife of Miles Standish. . . .

I can seem to see, on a day quite towards the close of their first month of March, a diminished procession of the Pilgrims, following another dearly beloved and newly dead to that brink of graves; and pausing sadly there before they shall turn away to see that face no more. In full view from that spot is the Mayflower, still riding at her anchor, but to sail in a few days more for England, leaving them alone, the living and the dead, to the weal or woe of their new home. I cannot say what was the entire emotion of that moment and that scene, but the tones of the venerated elder's voice, as they gathered round him, were full of cheerful trust; and they went to hearts as noble as his own! 'This spot', he might say, 'this line of shore, yea, this whole land grows dearer, daily, were it only for the precious dust which we have committed to its bosom. I would sleep here, when my own hour comes, rather than elsewhere, with those who have shared with us in our exceeding labors, and whose burdens are now unloosed forever. I would be near them in the last day, and have a part in their resurrection. And now,' he proceeded, 'let us go from the side of the grave, to work with all our might what we have to do. It is in my mind that our night of sorrow is well-nigh ended, and that the joy of our morning is at hand. The breath of the pleasant south-west is here, and the singing of birds. The sore sickness is stayed, somewhat more than half our number remain, and among them some of our best and wisest, though others have fallen asleep. Matter of joy and thanksgiving to God it is, that among you all, the living and the dead, I know not one,—even when disease had touched him, and sharp grief had made his heart as a little child's—who desired, yea, who could have been entreated to go back to England by yonder ship. Plainly it is his will that we stand or fall here. If he prospers us, we shall found a church, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail; and a colony,—a nation,—by which all the nations shall be healed, and shall be saved. Millions shall spring from our loins, and trace back, with lineal love, their blood to ours. Centuries hereafter, in great cities, the capitals of mighty states, and from the tribes of a common and happy Israel, shall come together, the good, the distinguished, the wise, to remember our dark day of small things; yea, generations shall call us blessed.'

Without a sign, calmly, with triumph, they turned away from the grave. They sent the Mayflower away, and went back, those stern, strong men, to their imperial labors."

Could anything be more fitting than that a lineal descendant of the great elder, himself an eminent New England divine, should have been invited to deliver the principal address in 1921, in consecration of a monument to those who were committed to their graves by his ancestor in 1621, or could anything be more fortunate than that he has undertaken the task with the fullest realization of its significance?

And as we consecrate this monument, shall we not cry out, across the infinite gulf to those whose graves it marks:

O little band of brave and steadfast Christians, first of the English race to be committed to New England earth, we, your descendants and successors, the beneficiaries of those blessings which have sprung from your ashes as from precious seeds, stand here to-day, with inexpressible gratitude, reverence, and love for your memories, which we pledge ourselves shall be transmitted from generation to generation, even unto the end of time! [Applause.]

Organ Selection—Cantabile . . . *Cesar Franck*
Mr. ALBERT W. SNOW

CHAIRMAN DAVIS.—At the time of the celebration on the 21st of December of last year, under the auspices of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the Tercentenary Commission, one of the delightful events of that day was an original poem prepared by Dean LeBaron Russell Briggs. Dean Briggs has kindly consented to repeat the poem for us today. I know you will be especially grateful to him, as I am for his kindness to us to-day. I have therefore great pleasure in presenting to you Dean Briggs, a descendant of Governor Bradford.

1620—1920

A POEM

By LEBARON RUSSELL BRIGGS
Professor in Harvard University

Before him rolls the dark, relentless ocean;
Behind him stretch the cold and barren sands;
Wrapt in the mantle of his deep devotion,
The Pilgrim kneels, and clasps his lifted hands:

“God of our fathers, who has safely brought us
Through seas and sorrows, famine, fire, and sword;
Who, in Thy mercies manifold hast taught us
To trust in Thee, our leader and our Lord;

“God, who has sent Thy truth to shine before us,
 A fiery pillar, beacoming on the sea;
 God, who hast spread Thy wings of mercy o’er us;
 God, who hast set our children’s children free,

“Freedom Thy new-born nation here shall cherish;
 Grant us Thy covenant, unchanging, sure:
 Earth shall decay; the firmament shall perish;
 Freedom and Truth, immortal shall endure.”

Face to the Indian arrows,
 Face to the Prussian guns,
 From then till now the Pilgrim’s vow
 Has held the Pilgrim’s sons.

He braved the red man’s ambush;
 He loosed the black man’s chain;
 His spirit broke King George’s yoke
 And the battleships of Spain.

He crossed the seething ocean;
 He dared the death-strewn track;
 He charged in the hell of Saint Mihiel
 And hurled the tyrant back.

For the voice of the lonely Pilgrim
 Who knelt upon the strand
 A people hears three hundred years
 In the conscience of the land.

Daughter of Truth and mother of Courage,
 Conscience, all hail!
 Heart of New England, strength of the Pilgrim,
 Thou shalt prevail.
 Look how the empires rise and fall!
 Athens robed in her learning and beauty,
 Rome in her royal lust of power—
 Each has flourished her little hour,
 Risen and fallen and ceased to be.
 What of her by the western sea,
 Born and bred as the child of Duty,
 Sternest of them all?
 She it is, and she alone
 Who built on faith as her corner stone;
 Of all the nations none but she
 Knew that the truth shall make us free.

Daughter of Courage, mother of Heroes,
 Freedom divine,
 Light of New England, star of the Pilgrim,
 Still shalt thou shine.

Yet even as we in our pride rejoice,
 Hark to the prophet's warning voice:
 "The Pilgrim's thrift is vanished,
 And the Pilgrim's faith is dead,
 And the Pilgrim's God is banished,
 And Mammon reigns in his stead;
 And work is damned as an evil,
 And men and women cry,
 In their restless haste, 'Let us spend and waste,
 And live; for tomorrow we die.'

"And law is trampled under;
 And the nations stand aghast,
 As they hear the distant thunder
 Of the storm that marches fast;
 And we,—whose ocean borders
 Shut off the sound and the sight,—
 We will wait for marching orders;
 The world has seen us fight;
 We have earned our days of revel;
 'On with the dance! we cry.
 'It is pain to think; we will eat and drink,
 And live—for tomorrow we die.

" "We have laughed in the eyes of danger;
 We have given our bravest and best;
 We have succored the starving stranger;
 Others shall heed the rest.'
 And the revel never ceases;
 And the nations hold their breath;
 And our laughter peals, and the mad world reels
 To a carnival of death.

"Slaves of sloth and the senses,
 Clippers of Freedom's wings,
 Come back to the Pilgrim's army
 And fight for the King of Kings;
 Come back to the Pilgrim's conscience;
 Be born in the nation's birth;
 And strive again as simple men
 For the freedom of the earth.

“Freedom a free-born nation still shall cherish;
 Be this our covenant, unchanging, sure:
 Earth shall decay; the firmament shall perish;
 Freedom and Truth immortal shall endure.”

Land of our fathers, when the tempest rages,
 When the wide earth is racked with war and crime,
 Founded forever on the Rock of Ages,
 Beaten in vain by surging seas of time,

Even as the shallop on the breakers riding,
 Even as the Pilgrim kneeling on the shore,
 Firm in thy faith and fortitude abiding,
 Hold thou thy children free for ever more.

And when we sail as Pilgrim's sons and daughters
 The spirit's Mayflower into seas unknown,
 Driving across the waste of wintry waters
 The voyage every soul shall make alone,

The Pilgrim's faith, the Pilgrim's courage grant us;
 Still shines the truth that for the Pilgrim shone.
 We are his seed; nor life nor death shall daunt us.
 The port is Freedom! Pilgrim heart, sail on!

[Applause.]

Address by

Rt. Rev. BENJAMIN BREWSTER, Bishop of Maine.

I. The monument we dedicate to-day commemorates one of those stories of sacrifice which mean to human society not loss but gain.

As we honor those few hundred Greeks under Leonidas, giving up their lives in the Pass at Thermopylae, if they might at least delay the advance of the mighty Persian host; as we glory in those Belgians of our own day who counted not their lives dear, in blocking the way of the overpowering violators of their little nation's neutrality;—So we do well to place this memorial here, for those “Mayflower” Pilgrims who, in that first winter faced their “rendezvous with death.”

Though we may know well the facts, yet the vivid story of William Bradford so graphically pictures the situation, that we may listen to his record once more:

“That which was most sadd and lamentable was that in two or three months’ time halfe of their company dyed, espetially in January, and February, being the depth of winter, and wanting houses and other comforts; being infected with the scurvie and other diseases, when this long voyage and their inacomodate condition had brought upon them; so as ther dyed sometimes two three of a day, in the foresaid time; that of one hundred and odd persons, scarce fifty remained. And of these in the time of most distress, ther was but six or seven sound persons, who to their great commendations, be it spoken, spared no pains, night nor day, but with abundance of toyle and hazard of their owne health, fetched them woode, made them fires, drest them meat, made their beads, washed their lothsome cloaths, cloathed and uncloathed them.”¹

When Bradford wrote this, there was no reason to draw a veil over the fact that half of the passengers who had landed from the “Mayflower” laid down their lives so soon as martyrs in this high adventure. But in the earliest Journal, written in 1621, and published in England the following year (usually called “Mourt’s Relations”) a stern reticence is maintained, probably to avoid discouragement among the supporters of the enterprise in the homeland.² Yet even here a suggestion of the sore trials is given (though with no hint of unmanly complaining) when, in the entry of this Journal for December 28th, mention is made of the limited number of houses which the settlers undertook to build, and the contracted area of the allotments:

“We thought this preparation was large enough at the first, for houses and gardens, to impale them round, considering the weakness of our people, many of them growing ill with colds, for our former Discoveries in the frost and storms, and the wading at Cape Cod, had brought much weakness amongst us, which increased so every day more and more, and after was the cause of many of their deaths.”³

¹Wm. Bradford: “History of Plymouth Plantation.” p. 108.

²See the remarks of Geo. B. Cheever, D. D. in Chapter XV of his “Historical and Local Illustrations,” published in connection with the reprinting of “The Journal of the Pilgrims at Plymouth.” (2d Ed. p. 260.)

³Journal (Cheever’s reprint.) p. 50.

One of the last of the victims of this devastating sickness was their first Governor, John Carver. Of his burial alone is particular mention made in the early chronicle, with the note that "Some vollies of shotte" were fired "by all that bore arms." But among the families of the most conspicuous leaders a heavy toll was taken. Even before the landing at Plymouth, while William Bradford was away exploring with a squad of picked men, his wife was drowned. And in the great sickness, the register kept by this careful chronicler early notes the deaths of Edward Winslow's wife, and of Isaac Allerton's wife. The entry in this register for January 29th, 1621,—*"Rose, the wife of Captain Standish"*—suggests to the imagination a parting, touched with memories of youthful love and pledged loyalty, such as make brave men still more brave.

We judge of the quality of these men and women by the dauntless demeanour of the survivors. What farewell words of comfort were breathed by these pilgrims to the life beyond we know not. For the records of that time of trial find no place for such things. But, that they departed not as defeated souls, but rather, "greeting the unseen with a cheer," we may believe not only from the general consideration of their faith, but from the brave spirit of those they left behind.

Undemonstrative indeed was this steady courage, affording room for precaution against unknown dangers, evinced in the tradition that lived among their descendants, that the graves on Cole's hill, after the great mortality in the first stage of the settlement, were levelled and sown over by the settlers to conceal the extent of their loss from the natives, "lest the Indians, counting the number of the dead, should know the weakness of the living."¹

¹Thatcher: "History of Plymouth," p. 28.
Cheever, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

But their determination held them on this forbidding shore, of which Captain John Smith had declared that he was not so simple as to suppose that any motive other than riches would "ever erect there a commonwealth or draw company from their ease and humors at home to stay in New England."²

The early spring of 1621, when the fury of the epidemic was not yet spent, saw "The Mayflower" with its crew sail back to old England. But not one of the Pilgrims turned back. Nay even, as a recent writer has observed, "In March, in spite of the terrors which encompassed them, in spite of the graves of the dead which far outnumbered the homes of the living, Winslow could yet note that 'the birds sang in the woods most pleasantly.'"³

Truly these forefathers of ours "lived dangerously," in a very real and definite sense, quite beyond the spiritual horizon of the modern philosopher who coined the phrase!

In concrete experience, they could live up to that proud claim in the letter from Holland, three years before, written to London by two of their leaders: "It is not with us as with other men, whom small things can discourage, or small discontentments cause to wish themselves home again."⁴

Whatever may have been the limitations of their theology, in their attitude towards the hard things that a soldier of Christ must learn to face with bravery, they have bequeathed to us a rich heritage, whereof we should strive to be worthy.

II. This occasion, however, invites a consideration of their adventure in its relation to the broad currents of thought which affect powerfully the course of history.

²Fiske, "Beginnings of New Eng.," p. 79.

³J. Truslow Adams, in "The founding of New England," p. 100.

⁴Letter from John Robinson and William Brewster, in Bradford's History, p. 55.

That group of "Mayflower" Pilgrims belonged to the general movement which we call Puritanism, yet with a difference. The great revolution, known as the Protestant Reformation, was determined by intellectual, political and economic conditions, as well as by the revolt of great religious leaders against the ecclesiastical institutions of the earlier age. Such things as the revival of classical learning, the discovery of new lands, and the rise of nationalism contributed their influence in varying measure, in different countries.

In England, the new national consciousness strongly reacted upon the spirit of *individualism* which stands out as the distinctive feature of the Reformation era. A congenial soil, indeed, had been prepared there for the growth of individualism by the hard-won achievements of civil liberty and the experience of local self-government. A ready response was given, among our sturdy forefathers in the sea-girt isle, to the doctrines of Luther and Calvin stressing the responsibility of the individual soul, and English Puritanism, in one aspect of it, stands as the embodiment of this principle of individualism.

But the newly awakened nationalism coinciding with the reigns of the Tudors, and fostered by the dominating personalities of that dynasty, made for the entrenchment of the Church as an institution, at once protected and exploited by the *royal authority*. We see this in the official statement of William Cecil, the first Lord Burghley, on the expelling of certain Puritan clergy from their livings:

"For the religion which they profess, I reverence them and their calling; but for their unconformity, I acknowledge myself no way warranted to deal for them, because the course they take is no way safe in such a monarchy as this; where Mis Majesty aimeth at no other end than where there is but one true faith and doctrine preached, there to establish one form, so as a perpetual peace may be settled in the Church of God."¹

¹S. R. Gardiner, "History of England," I, p. 200.

The historian, Gardiner's, comment on the above is suggestive:

"The view thus taken was that of the man of business in all ages and in all parts of the world. To such natures the strength which freedom gives is entirely inconceivable."²

The problem for those whose hearts and consciences were especially responsive to the more individualistic manifestations of Protestantism was, how to be loyal as Englishmen to the nation of which they were justly proud, and yet not to surrender that "patriotism of the soul" (to borrow the phrase of James Russell Lowell in connection with a situation not dissimilar) by which they felt themselves "citizens of an invisible and holier fatherland" with a supreme "duty and privilege as liegemen of truth."³ This, I think, is the key to the religious controversies in England, especially throughout the reigns of Elizabeth and of James First. The difficulty was on the *institutional* side, as the statement just quoted from Lord Burghley shows. Law and Order had to be upheld. Men had yet to learn that diverse systems of ecclesiastical government, and varying forms of public worship could be tolerated in an orderly state. That way, they thought then, lay anarchy. The great mass of the Puritanical party were as firm supporters of the Church establishment as the most ardent lovers of the forms and settled institutions that emphasized the dignity and the reverence of outward worship. As Dr Leonard Bacon has written:

"The Puritan was a Nationalist, believing that a Christian nation is a Christian Church."

It was seen afterwards, in the parliamentary triumph in the Civil Wars, what rigorous use the Puritans could make of the power of repression when it was in their hands.

²Ibid, p. 201.

³I borrow the phrases of James Russell Lowell in reference to a situation not dissimilar, confronting the New England descendants of these Puritans ("Bigelow Papers").

Men had strong convictions in those days. And, while one may lament the tragedy which arrayed the quest for personal rights so often against much that was hallowed and beautiful and true, and while we rightly blame the principle of Church establishment as contributing to this unhappy strife, it is hardly profitable to condemn the intolerance of that time. It is better to inquire whether intolerance in other spheres has taken the place today of intolerance in religion. And it is but fair to take account of that devotion to principle, not confined to one party in the contest, which in the end worked out the measure of liberty and toleration which we now enjoy.

III. But it is time to consider particularly that special offshoot of the great Puritan movement to which the travellers in "The Mayflower" belonged,—that rather obscure eddy, as it were, in the main current of the movement, which ultimately influenced so profoundly the stream of progress. It is necessary to make plain distinctions here.

While the great body of the Puritan party believed in the establishment of Religion by the authority of the State, there were a few early witnesses for a different conception, some of whom sealed their devotion to the doctrine of Separatism or Independance on the gallows. Separatist congregations arose from time to time, often going to anarchical extremes,—as always will happen under a policy of indiscriminate repression.¹

The accession of James I in 1603 and his disappointing attitude provoked the rising spirit of liberty among men of more sober mind and more stable character. His familiarity with the Presbyterian polity in Scotland, it was hoped by the Puritans, would make him ready to receive their complaints against the bishops. But that familiarity seemed to work the other way, and cause him to welcome and cultivate episcopal sub-

¹See J. Truslow Adams, "Founding of New England" pp.67-68.

serviency. Though at first giving hopes of some measure of tolerance, he snubbed the Puritan divines with the famous dictum (so fraught with evil for the Church as well as the State): "No bishop no king;"² and dismissed them with the truculent threat, "I will *make* them conform or I will harry them out of the land."

The rise of the Separatist congregation of Scrooby, which was the nucleus of the ultimate "Mayflower" company, dates from 1606, hardly two years after the Hampton Court Conference, at which the impolitic king so defiantly proclaimed his absolutist theory of rule, and cemented the ill-omened alliance between autocracy in the state and episcopacy in the Church. It is reasonable to assume a connection of cause and effect here.

William Brewster, the tenant of Scrooby Manor, doubtless had imbibed Puritan principles through his connection with the Elizabethan statesman, William Davison,—though even so, his early sojourn in the Netherlands as a member of Davison's embassy had probably tempered the hardness of Puritan doctrine. But, holding as he did since 1587 the important appointment of "Post," or master of the court mails and government messages,¹ he would have been constantly under observation, and any unlawful religious meetings in his house would have been known. It is only after the Hampton Court Conference that we begin to hear of these meetings at Scrooby Manor, and in 1607, Brewster ceased to hold office.

For upwards of two years, however, the illegal religious assemblages gathered for their simple worship on Sunday afternoons at Scrooby Manor, imbibing the teaching and the spirit of a remarkable man, Rev. John Robinson.

²Frere, "Hist of Eng. Church in Reigns of Elizabeth and James I," p. 297.

¹Morton Dexter, "The England and Holland of the Pilgrims," pp. 237; 320.

IV. It was to Robinson, in the providence of God, that this Scrooby group owed much of its distinctive quality. His was no stationary mind. At this period, no doubt, the negative principle of independence was emphasized by him and his flock. They followed the logic of their individualistic creed to its conclusion. To their thinking, the Mother Church had become corrupted by worldly influences and human inventions. In this respect they held common ground with the other stout Calvinists known as Puritans. But in their endeavors to realize their ideal of a Church they were more single-minded than the bulk of the Puritan party. Convinced by hard experience that the ruling powers of the Church were bound to repress that "liberty of prophesying" to which they believed the Spirit of God was leading them, they resolutely—even if, as we may believe, reluctantly—sacrificed the lesser loyalty to authority to the higher loyalty to the Spirit, and separated from that Church, which they had come to think was hopelessly fettered by its connection with the State. This step of Separatism was repugnant, as has been said, to the Puritan party no less than to Anglicans in full sympathy with the ritual of the Prayer Book and the rule of Bishops. Compelled to choose between imprisonment and exile, they became Pilgrims, and the land of William the Silent gave them sanctuary.

Not the first group of Separatists to take refuge in Holland were these Pilgrims from Scrooby. More than one congregation had already settled in Amsterdam, the port of their initial sojourn. And here soon comes to light the quality which distinguished the followers of John Robinson from the other Separatists. For in Amsterdam there had already developed those objectionable tendencies which are the dangers of such a position—a narrow censoriousness, uncharitableness, petty divisions, what we today would call "crankiness"—in short the perils of individualism without the per-

spective which the sense of wide corporate fellowship gives. This atmosphere of fractional strife was uncongenial to Robinson and his flock, and therefore, after due negotiation with the truly liberal-minded burghers of Leyden,¹ that hospitable city became their abiding place for eleven years; and the university there, already famous though still young, welcomed Robinson, a Cambridge graduate, to its membership.²

Thrice a week, as Bradford tells us, this man of light and leading taught these simple but thoughtful English exiles in the old Dutch town. We have not his sermons. But from other writings of his we may infer the sort of teaching on which the future "Mayflower" voyagers were nourished. It was an era of religious controversy, and Robinson himself had positive convictions. But here is a characteristic passage from one of his essays:

"Disputations in religion are sometimes necessary, but always dangerous; drawing the best spirits into the head from the heart, and leaving it either empty of all, or too full of fleshly zeal and passion if extraordinary care be not taken still to supply and fill it anew with pious affections towards God and loving towards men."³

Again, we find him arguing for civil tolerance of alleged religious errors: "considering that neither God is pleased with unwilling worshippers, nor Christian Societies bettered, nor the persons themselves either . . . and being at first constrained to practice against conscience (many) lose all conscience after-

¹See "Leyden Documents Relating to the Pilgrim Fathers," pub. by Netherlands-American Institute, 1920, with preface by Dr. J. R. Harris, and Dr. I. J. Plooi.

²See art. by F. J. Powicke, "John Robinson and Pilgrim Movement," in *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, July, 1920, pp. 269-280, a valuable correction to R. G. Usher.

³F. J. Powicke, "J. Robinson & Beginnings of the Pilgrim Movement," in *Harv. Theol. Rev.* for July, 1920, p. 270.

wards. Bags and vessels overstrained break, and will never after hold anything.”¹

Now it is the simple truth, that in the temper of the Plymouth Colony—by contrast particularly with the strong neighboring colony of Massachusetts Bay—we see plainly the fruit of this “Christian Wisdom” of their pastor whom they had left behind. This distinction has not always been recognized, and historical justice demands that we recognize it. And, though certain investigators have questioned the genuineness of the famous “Farewell Address” which Edward Winslow records, comparison with John Robinson’s unquestioned writings, that reveal the forward movement of his mind, ever aspiring to regions of freedom and light, confirms belief in Winslow’s fidelity to the spirit of his parting injunctions. “He charged us”—so runs the summary of the noble address—“before God and his blessed angels, to follow him no further than he followed Christ; and if God should reveal anything to us by any other Instrument of his, to be as ready to receive it, as ever we were to receive any truth by his Ministry. For he was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to break forth out of his Holy Word.”²

The Pilgrims, then, were dedicated by their wise and godly teacher to the principle of progress in thought, held true by loyalty to Christ. And we honor them for their general fidelity to that principle. They had moved, in sympathy with the spirit of their open-minded pastor, from a position of negative revolt, to a positive stage, not of course tolerant of all religious vagaries, but giving room for a generous measure of inclusiveness.¹

¹Powicke, *op. cit.* “Harv. Theol. Rev.,” p. 286.

²Wm. W. Fenn, “John Robinson’s Farewell Address,” in *Harv. Theol. Rev.*, July, 1920. p. 236.

¹Cf. Powicke, *op. cit.* “Harv. Theol. Rev.,” p. 280-1. Note also, an article in same no. of the “Review” by W. W. Fenn, on

V. Moreover, no less noteworthy than this quality of forward-looking idealism, was the political sagacity of the Plymouth leaders. Witness the well-known "Compact" in the cabin of "The Mayflower," when confronted with the impending dangers of lawlessness on the part of certain fellow-adventurers who had joined them in England before their embarkation on their west-bound journey.²

Surely no unpractical, wild-eyed fanatics were these Pilgrim Fathers. Deeper than their Puritan eccentricity was their English sanity. They came of a stock imbued with principles of law-abidingness, trained for social action. Though first of all citizens of a heavenly country, they never forgot that they were Englishmen; and to this was due their refusal of their Dutch hosts' invitation to plant a colony in the island of Zealand, or even to join with the settlers at New Amsterdam. They would remain English. And so New England was born of this marriage of spiritual devotion with racial loyalty.

The President of the United States, in the striking address given in this place this summer, suggestively pointed out how the ideals of English self government, which found expression in this Plymouth Settlement, are "the basis of *social* conduct, of *community* relations, throughout the world." Indeed we touch but one element in the character and power of these Pilgrim Fathers, when we speak, of their *individualism*. That was the more superficial element, forced into temporary prominence by the political and religious ferment of their age. More fundamental was their innate social consciousness. And here, once more, John Robinson's wise interpretation of life is manifest, in a letter to the voyagers which Bradford has preserved:

"John Robinson's Farewell Address," wherein Prof. Fenn ascribes great influence in developing the Catholic spirit of the Pilgrims to Wm. Brewster, p. 250-1.

²Bradford "Hist. of Plymouth," p. 106.

“A fourth thing there is carefully to be provided for, to witte, that with your commone employments you joyne commone affections truly bent upon the generall good, avoyding as a deadly plague of your both commone and spetiall comfort all retirednes of mind for proper advantage, and all singularly affected any manner of way; let every man repress in him selfe and the whol body in each person, as so many rebels against the commone good, all private respects of mens selves, not sorting with the generall convenience.”¹

To such principles, applicable alike in religion and in the body politic,—yes, and in the relations of nations to one another,—our Pilgrim fathers gave their adherence. In such a spirit, rising far above a merely negative conception of liberty, those whom we commemorate today, yeilded up their lives on this shore. To that spirit of fine idealism, looking beyond self-centered satisfaction, and tempered too with sane practicality, may we be faithful, as we strive towards the consummation (devoutly to be wished) of genuine freedom, and peace among men!

For, though the 16th century emphasis upon individualism was no doubt a necessary phase in the evolution of society, and though we derive from it valuable elements, not lightly to be abandoned, individualism is by no means the last word in human progress.

It is the value of *interdependence*, not mere independence, that our age is bringing home to us,—the truth that we are members one of another—the call to fellowship, and the sharing in a common life. In this our day, let us heed the divine voice, as our forefathers listened, and, at cost of exile, suffering and sacrifice of life itself faithfully, humbly, yet dauntlessly obeyed.

Organ Selection—Andante Religioso *Horatio W. Parker*
Mr. ALBERT W. SNOW

CHAIRMAN DAVIS. I will now ask our new Elder General to pronounce the benediction.

¹Bradford, “Hist. of Plymouth Plantation”pp. 85-86.

REV. HARRY ST. CLAIR HATHAWAY, D. D.

Elder General-Elect

While we ask God's divine blessing upon our memorial and upon this gathering, let us be mindful of those whom we memorialize.

Almighty and everliving God, we yield unto Thee most high praise and hearty thanks, for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all thy saints, who have been the choice vessels of thy grace, and the lights of the world in their several generations; most humbly beseeching thee to give us grace so to follow the example of their stedfastness in thy faith, and obedience to thy holy commandments, that at the day of the general Resurrection, we, with all those who are of the mystical body of thy Son, may be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyful voice: Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.

Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. *Amen.*

Unto God's gracious Mercy we commit ourselves. May the Lord bless us and keep us. May the Lord make his face to shine upon us, and be gracious to us. May the Lord lift up his countenance upon us, and give us peace, both now and forevermore, *Amen.*

Following the exercises at the First Church, the delegates and friends in attendance were marshaled under Acting General Murray and his aides, and marched to the Permanent Memorial on Cole's Hill, where the proceedings were resumed, as follows:

CHAIRMAN HOWLAND DAVIS: Ladies and gentlemen, and friends, it is now my duty as Chairman of the Committee entrusted with the work already accomplished here, to announce that we have completed our labors and having so completed our labors, it is

our duty and our pleasure to hand over to the representative of the Society, Deputy Governor and Acting Governor General French, the memorial which has been prepared and carried out by this Society. Mr. French, we turn over the monument to you.

Acting Governor General FRENCH

Mr. President [addressing President Arthur Lord, of the Pilgrim Society], in the name and behalf of the General Society of Mayflower Descendants, and in response to the generous and gracious offer of the Pilgrim Society, I now confide to that kindred organization, through you as its head, the pious and perpetual care of this monument, erected by the General Society to commemorate those of the Mayflower passengers who died earliest in Plymouth.

Hon. ARTHUR LORD, President of the Pilgrim Society.

Mr. Governor General, in this grateful task of commemoration, the Commonwealth has joined with your Society, has turned aside the highway which for so many years passed over the line of graves, has enclosed and protected the original burial place of those of the Pilgrim company who died the first winter, and now all that is mortal which remains of those who were buried here has been placed beneath this stone, never again to be disturbed.

In behalf of the Pilgrim Society and in compliance with your request, I accept the important trust and high responsibility which you have imposed. There is no spot, Sir, where the associations are more tender and inspiring and persuasive than this on which we stand today. Fitley there crowns it this beautiful sarcophagus, a memorial at once simple and appropriate, reverential and dignified, and here, Sir, may it stand forever.

“So let it live unfading,
 The memory of the dead,
 Long as the pale anemone
 Springs where their tears were shed,
 Or raining in the summer’s wind,
 In flakes of burning red,
 The wild rose sprinkles with its leaves
 The turf where once they bled!”

CHAIRMAN DAVIS: This wreath has been placed on the monument by the General Society. An opportunity will now be given by the Captain General for the delegates and members to step up and deposit their individual flower on the monument as we resume the march.

As the delegates and members marched past, each deposited a flower on the Memorial, after which the procession moved to the Plymouth Tavern, where a lunch was served.

COMMITTEE ON THE TERCENTENARY
 CELEBRATION
 AND PERMANENT MEMORIAL

Former Governor General HOWLAND DAVIS, New York,
Chairman

Deputy Governor General ASA P. FRENCH, Massa-
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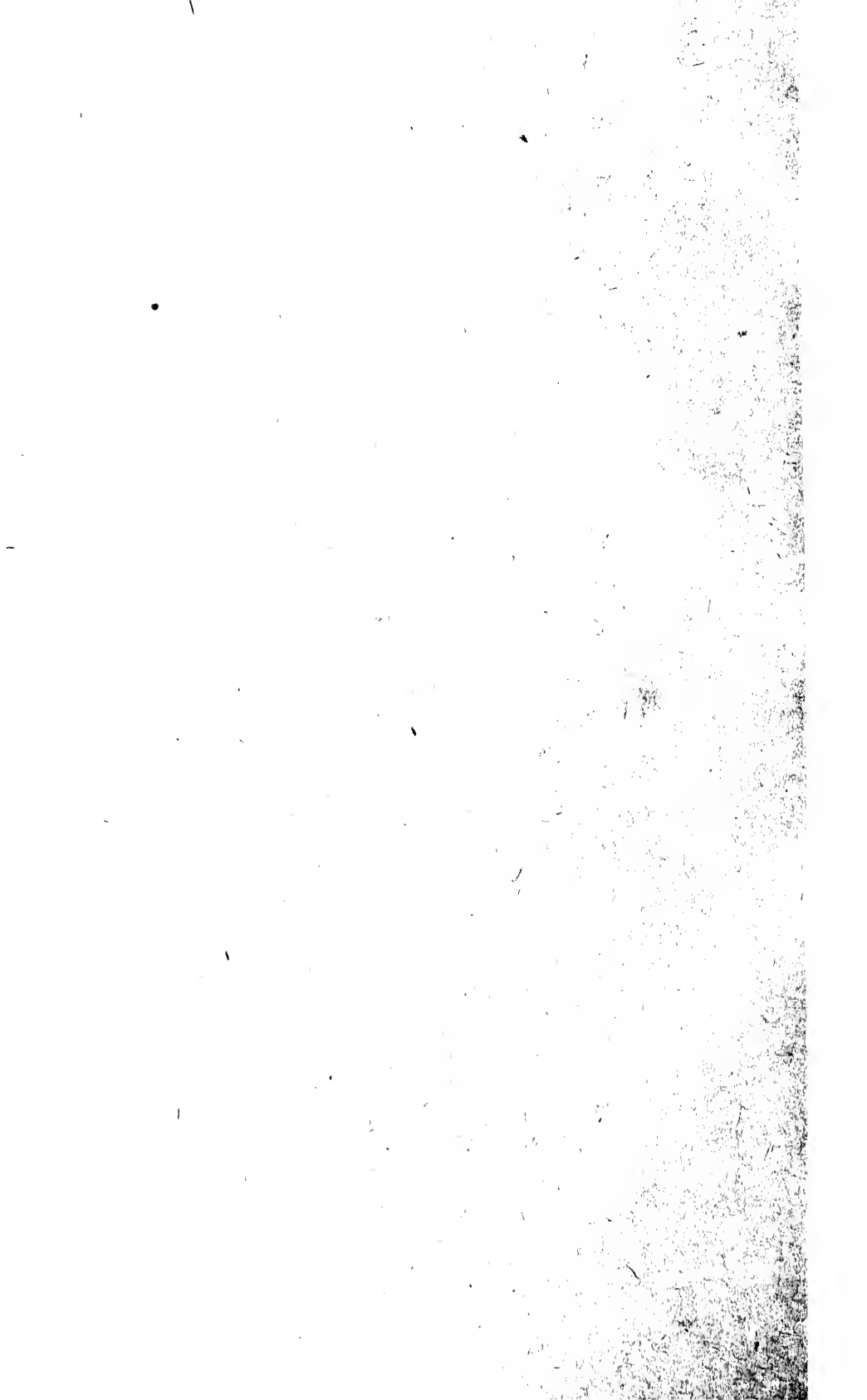
Secretary General ADDISON P. MUNROE, Rhode Island
 Former Governor General THOMAS S. HOPKINS, Dis-
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 Kansas









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