



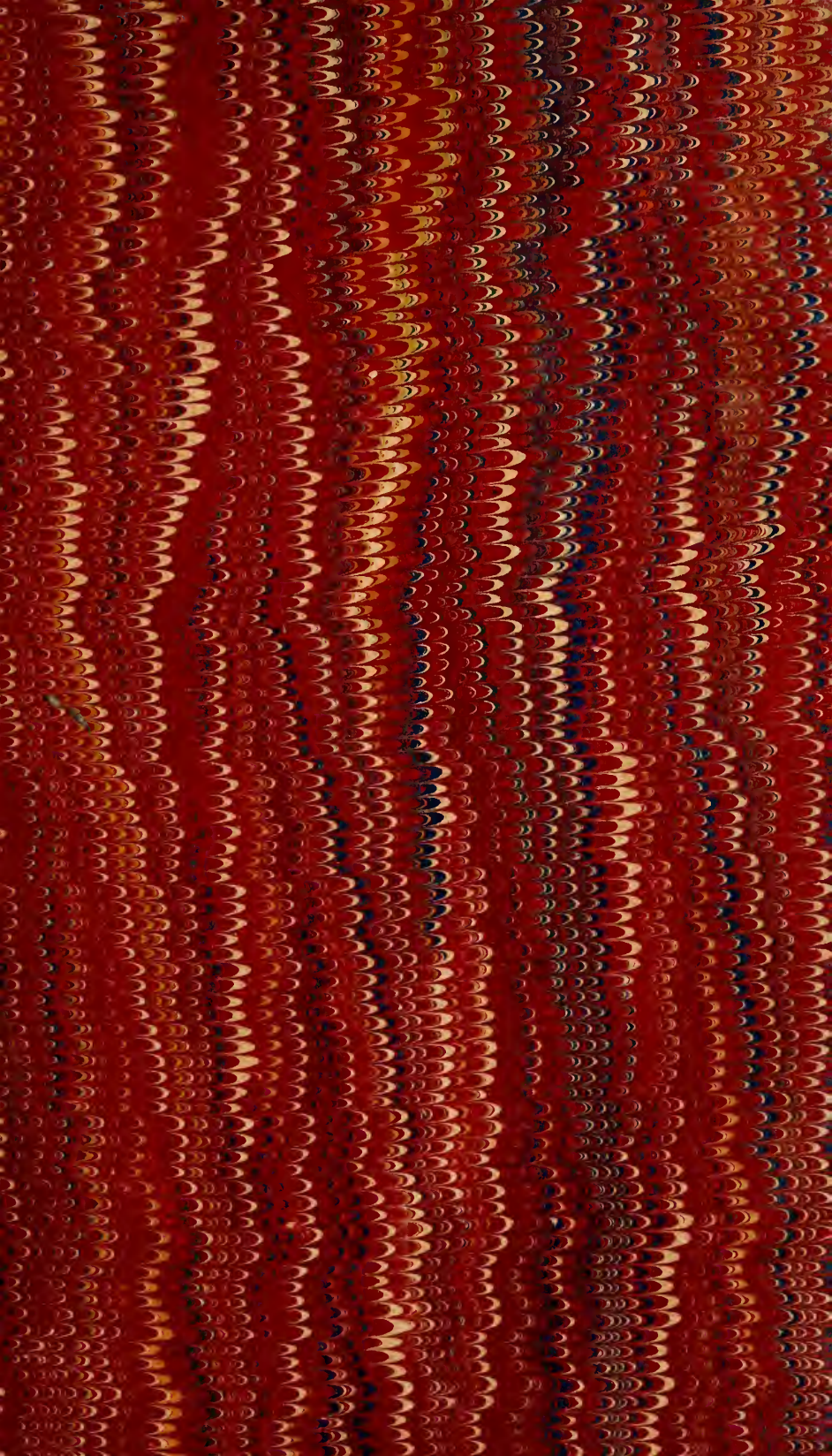
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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.



1855
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DISCOURSE

DELIVERED

IN PLYMOUTH AT THE CUSHMAN FESTIVAL,

AUGUST 15, 1855.

Plymouth's Rock:

"The rock whence we were hewn."

A

DISCOURSE

DELIVERED

IN PLYMOUTH AT THE CUSHMAN FESTIVAL,

August 15th, 1855,

ON

THE CCXXXVTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EMBARKATION
OF THE PILGRIMS FOR AMERICA.

BY

ROBERT W. CUSHMAN,

OF BOSTON.

BOSTON:

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1855.



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DISCOURSE.

FATHERS and mothers, brothers and sisters, kindred all, we bid you welcome *home!*

We have come to talk of the olden time. We have come to honor the dead ; and to bear away with us, if we may, some benefit from such filial homage for ourselves and for our children.

How unwonted our emotions : strangers looking upon each other for the first time, yet one family ! As we think of home and childhood, our memories fly over the broad continent ; to alight, some, among the wintry hills of New Hampshire, and others amid the savannahs of the sunny South ; some on the banks of the Kennebec, and others where the father of waters rolls the tribute of a thousand rivers to the sea.

Yet the time was when the blood which flows in our veins was centered in a single household near the spot where we are now gathered. And when the Sabbath called them from the domestic to the public altar, they worshiped where we stand.

It is fitting that, on the occasion which has brought us to visit the *old* family homestead and the old family tomb, we should gather where they gathered. It is

fitting that our first act in this re-union should be a solemn recognition of our fathers' God, and an acknowledgment of our obligation to Him for the blessings which we enjoy as the fruit of their piety and sacrifices.

And now that we have joined in worship, before we go up to press around the time-worn graves of our earliest dead, let us open the old Pilgrim Bible and seek, as they were wont to seek on all public occasions, a channel for our thoughts from the word of God. And, as we have come to talk of family affairs, the text that may, perhaps, most fitly guide us is that of the command in the *first* and *second* verses of the *fifty-first* chapter of *Isaiah*. "Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn, and to the hole of the pit whence ye are digged. Look unto Abraham, your father, and to Sarah that bear you: for I called him alone and blessed him and increased him."

On an ordinary occasion of religious instruction, a freer scope might be indulged on the subject matter of this text than time will permit on this. We may remark, however, that we are happily not in the condition of those to whom it was addressed. *They* were about to pass through the calamities which are involved in the loss of country and freedom. These, even they "who followed after righteousness" were to suffer, in the chastisement that was to be visited on the nation's sins. The providence of God is not so discriminating in national visitations as to rescue the innocent from the calamities of the guilty. If locust and canker-worm, if blasting and mildew cover a land, or earthquakes upheave and tornadoes sweep it; if pestilence thin its people, if famine waste its strength; or if despotism triumph and liberty fall, the righteous must suffer with the wicked. But then it is their privilege to recognize the Hand that holds the rod, and to hear a voice assuring them that they are not forgotten.

In the case of the righteous, to whom the prophet spoke, there was a special ground of hope. Sinful as their nation was,—“a people laden with iniquity,”—it had a destiny to fulfil which forbade its extinction. Chastised it must be, but not destroyed, for there was a blessing wrapped up in its nationality for the rest of mankind. When, therefore, the predicted calamity should overtake them, and they should be driven out from their own land into exile and bondage, and the dark cloud of judgment be shutting down on their future, the pious were directed to look to the past. They might thus re-assure their hopes by the circumstances of their nation's origin ; and by the promises made to their progenitor by ONE who “is not a man that He should lie, nor the son of man that He should repent.”

Although, happily, we have no such cause to look away from the future to the past as they had, such retrospection to-day may not be without its benefit, if not for strength to meet apprehended trials, yet for incitement to the more diligent discharge of awaiting duties.

The people whom the prophet was addressing had this advantage, as a nation, over us ; that they all knew who their ancestors were. Every individual family had a perfect and reliable record of its pedigree. An Israelite of a thousand years' descent could tell you his genealogy through all his fathers back to the beginning of his nation,—to the common progenitor of all its families. And wherever he met a fellow-countryman he felt that he was with his kindred. Whatever advantages might be derived from the contemplation of ancestral virtues and the ties of kindred, they had in their largest measure ; and how much they gloried in them is often seen in their history.

In this respect the American people form a perfect contrast to them ; and not only the American people at large, but even the descendants of the first settlers of New England. There is no people on earth, probably, who concern themselves so little about their ancestry as the people of this country ; or who, after the first degree, feel so little interest in consanguinity.

How often do you hear, in reply to the question ; Whether such a one is a relative, the negative given, because he is *only* a second cousin. If you ask a man who was his grandfather, he may be able to tell you. But if you ask where he came from, (that he *came from* somewhere is taken for granted,) it is more likely than not that you will be answered in some such dubious and traditionary form as the following :—“ I have heard my father say that his father came from the eastward ; or, ‘ from the old country ; ’ ” or, “ he was born somewhere in New England ; ” or some other answer equally instructive.

This ignorance is, of course, the result of indifference. And the indifference itself has probably been fostered by the contempt in which, as a people, we have been nursed, for hereditary distinctions ; and by the importance we attach, very justly, to individual character. It is also, without doubt, in some degree the result of that earnestness with which the attention of men in this country has ever been directed to the opening future. So earnest has been the spirit of anticipation, that one might suppose us to be born with the nature of partridges. We are so eager to be off in pursuit of our destiny, that we do not wait to drop our shells. Children *spring* into manhood ; and it is well with their fathers only because the land is wide ; otherwise they would be jostled off the stage by their filial rivals.

Let us rejoice that this indifference to the men and things of the past, in New England, is beginning to be corrected. No people under heaven have so great reason to value their descent as those whose ancestors abandoned the blessings of a civilized land, and encountered the hardships and perils of unfrequented seas, and the savage wilds of the new-found continent, for the benefit of coming generations. The names of such men should not be forgotten, nor remain unhonored.

If these remarks be just, of the early settlers and their descendants *generally*, how emphatically true are they of the little band of pioneers who, two hundred and thirty-five years ago this day, bade adieu to the England of the old world, to raise up another in the new; and with what reverence should their names and deeds and sufferings be cherished by those who inherit their blood.

Uneducated they may, most of them, have been; rustic, and *bigoted* if you will, with the sectarianism of the times; and intolerant, too, from the circumstances in which they had lived. Yet for all that, they were no common men; they were of a higher order than the titled; they were more even than nature's noblemen. They were men of whom the world was not then worthy; and if ever mortals deserved apotheosis, as heroes of the loftiest type, and seats as demigods among the stars, it was the men—aye, and the women too, of that pilgrim band; and shame to the degenerate son who could stoop and pry and peep among the ashes of their funeral pyres for proof that they were but men!

Cherishing these sentiments, it was with unwonted pleasure that the speaker saw the movement set on foot to honor the Pilgrim, whose memory is uppermost in all minds here to-day.

For the first half century after the settlement of this place, his name and services were cherished in the colony with the most ardent affection. But owing to the circumstance that he was not an actual settler, subsequent generations, confining their attention to those, whose "sepulchres were with them," in a great measure lost sight of him ; and the histories of the early settlement of this country, mostly contenting themselves with beginning at the commencement of the *settlement*, have taken but little notice of him, except to record his name as one of those who were employed in the negotiations which opened the way for the emigration.

It is to be regretted that the indifference to genealogy and to ancestry, of which we have spoken, so far influenced the first settlers themselves, that they neglected to preserve and transmit to us any memorials by which we might either ascertain their natal homes, or learn the conditions of life from which they came. Could they have foreseen the magnitude of that destiny, for their posterity and for mankind, the germs of which they were planting, they would probably have taken more care to preserve the means of gratifying our filial curiosity. As it is, we must be content, for the most part, with mere conjecture ; and we may as well indulge our fancy as task our research. If the question of origin might be settled by a *name*, the Winslows came from Bucks, and the Billingtons from Lancashire. If the Bradfords dispute whether they originated in the town (so called) in Yorkshire, or in that on the banks of the Avon, they may at least agree that they came from the banks of one of Britain's fordable rivers, and, perhaps, from some one of her Avons. The Eatons may possibly be assisted in determining the place of their ancestral home by the aid of

orthography ; though in those times, by the way, orthography was a very precarious test. There is an Eaton near Bedford, and an Eton near Windsor. By a similar license the Chiltons may hail from the chalk hills of Buckingham ; and so the Leisters may have been denizens of the city of stockings on the banks of the Soare. They who bear the name of English, if perplexed as to the whereabouts of their origin, may at least have the certainty that their progenitor, though he may have dwelt in Leyden, was not a Dutchman.

If we are thrown upon conjecture as to their homes, we are not less so as to their *employments* and *professions*.

The Priests and the Clarks, though they may have claimed to be Puritans, must have belonged to the Establishment ; and however they may have preached and scolded about church-rates, the runaways were, without doubt, men of tithe and stipend.

The Carvers, the Turners, and the Tinkers need not be told that they have descended from mechanics.

The Gardiners may be assured that their progenitor was, at least to some small extent, a tiller of the ground ; and the Cooks, that the business of theirs was within doors.

If the Crackstons should be shy of this method of supplying the lack of history, from the idea of any thing penal, let them be reminded that macadamizing by convict labor is a recent invention. And the pride of the Fletchers may take refuge in an antiquity when arrow-making was not a puerile employment, as arrow-using was no " child's play." If the Goodmans can infer nothing positive either as to the origin or the station of their ancestor from his *name*, they will at least be satisfied as to his *character* ; while the Soules will be

sure that theirs was a man of spirit. As to the Cushmans : some suppose our name to be Hebrew, with an English termination. Others think it to be a corruption or a softening from Coachman. In favor of the latter derivation there is at least one instance of record. If that is to be considered authoritative, we shall be allowed to felicitate ourselves that our progenitor held a commanding position in his day ; that he was looked up to by men of all ranks ; and that he “drove his carriage and pair.”

In sober truth, however, if the Pilgrim's name was Coachman, he could not have been the original owner of it, and he could not have been very near to the ancestry whose employment had fixed it on them, as we shall see reason to believe in the sequel.

As to *locality* ; the only thing which the Speaker has been able to find on which to found any probable conjecture as to that of our own English home, is an allusion to an excursion which our ancestor took while engaged in the negotiations at London. It would be very natural, certainly, for a man, when preparing to bid a final adieu to his native land, to embrace such an opportunity of leisure as he must have had, pending the tardy progress of the object of his mission, to revisit the scenes of his childhood, if within his reach. If he was one of the original emigrants to Holland, he had now been many years beyond reach of those scenes. Mr. Robinson and his people left England in 1609. Eight years at least, therefore, had probably passed since he had had an opportunity of seeing them. And now, that he was in England once more, not to be hunted by the blood-hounds of religious persecution, as before his exile, but as the representative of a people, and engaged in

negotiations with the Government for the achievement of an object of high national and philanthropic interest, nothing could be more natural than such a visit.

The only record extant, however, of such visit, if it took place, is found in the allusion above referred to. That would place his family home in Kent or Sussex—in the extreme south of England. Mr. Robinson and his church, indeed, originated in the north. But this does not invalidate our conclusion; for Bradford, as quoted by Prince, says: “About this time, (December, 1610,) and the following years, many come to his church from *divers* parts of England.”

But if we are left to conjecture as to the place of his birth, we are in no uncertainty as to his social position and character. These will be apparent as we trace *the trusts committed to him, and the services he rendered* in the founding of Plymouth colony.

And, in forming our estimate of his character and standing before the world, we must take into consideration the circumstances of the people by whom he was employed, and the delicacy and difficulty of the mission which was intrusted. The Pilgrims were virtually an outlawed people. They were accounted rebels by the Government of their native land, and were refugees from their sovereign's displeasure. They were now entering on endeavors to obtain the favoring ear of that sovereign for a petition which was vital to all their hopes, for themselves and their posterity. And this was to be gained, if gained at all, not by confessions, recantations, and submission, but by frank avowal of non-conformity to his demands, and the demands of the church of which he claimed to be the Head. The very petition itself was an expression of preference for exile to a wilderness before

submission to those demands. They were to ask the favor of being let alone by Bishops' Courts and Star Chambers while worshipping God in another hemisphere.

They were to seek leave to find an asylum from their hatred, their prisons and their confiscations, among savages. They were to win the Government to their wishes by the hope they could awaken of new dominions for his Majesty in the wilds of America; and were to inspire him with confidence in their loyalty despite their insubordination in matters of religion; and with confidence in their capability despite their present humble condition, and their inexperience in matters of such arduous enterprise.

This was the errand for which they were to select their men.

But when this object should be gained, if gained it should be, there still remained all the business arrangements of location, and of title to territory, to be settled with a mercenary corporation, under whose patent they should make their home; and all the details of transportation, and the means of settlement, with wary merchants and money-lenders.

Whom, in such exigency, would they employ? whom but those most distinguished among them for intelligence, for prudence, for integrity, for acquaintance with the world and familiarity with the details of business; and whose social position and cultivation might best serve them for access to those in power?

For this delicate, and, to them, vitally important service, they selected "*Mr.*—The prefix was never used among the Pilgrims except as a title of honor—*Mr.* Robert Cushman and *Mr.* John Carver." In the words of their record, these men were appointed "to treat with

the Virginia Company ; *and see if the King would give them liberty of conscience there.*" In forwarding these objects, it appears they continued in London some three months or more ; when Mr. Cushman returned to Holland, and left Mr. Carver at London. It probably became necessary, in the progress of the negotiations, to communicate the state of things to the people at Leyden more freely and fully than could well be done by letters ; and that Mr. Cushman went over for that purpose. A high commendation was bestowed on them both by Sir Edward Sandys, a prominent member of the Virginia Company, and afterwards its Governor, for the manner in which they had managed the business committed to them. Three months after their appointment, and probably on the return of Mr. Carver to Leyden, Sir Edwin wrote thus concerning them : " Your agents have carried themselves with that discretion as is both to their own credit and theirs from whom they come ; and the seven articles subscribed with your names have given the gentlemen of the Council for Virginia that satisfaction which has carried them on to a resolution to forward your desire in the best sort that may be for your own and the public good." Mr. Carver, having received the more explicit written statement of the principles and aims of the Pilgrims, desired by the Company, returned to London in the month of December, accompanied by some individual of consideration among them, whose name is not given, but who is designated as " a gentleman of our Company."

The agents had managed their business so well, it appears, as to gain the good will of the king, and the promise of his protection in the enjoyment of their religion ; and so well as even to obtain the consent of the

bishops. So said Sir John Worstenholme, in the February following, when a statement was sent him, by Mr. Robinson, of the tenets and usages of the Leyden church, to be communicated to the king's Privy Council, with the view of removing ill impressions which their enemies had made on the Council.

Those enemies, however, were but too successful ; for, in May, Bradford says : “ Though the agents of Mr. Robinson's people find the *Virginia Company* very desirous of their going to their West India territory, (as their grant in North America was then called,) and willing to grant them a patent with as ample privileges as they could grant to any ; and some of the chiefs of the Company doubted not to obtain their suit of the *king* for liberty in religion, and to have it under the broad seal, as was desired ; yet they find it a harder piece of work than they expected. For though many means were used, and diverse of worth, with Sir Robert Nanton, chief Secretary of State, labored with the king to obtain it, and others wrought with the archbishop to give way thereto ; yet all in vain. They indeed prevail so far as that the king would connive at them, and not molest them provided they carry peaceably ; but to tolerate them by his public authority, under his seal, would not be granted. Upon which the agents,” says Bradford, “ return to Leyden.” Thus ended their first mission, in which they had been employed from August, 1617, to the following May.

But, although they failed of the object of their appointment, they had so conducted the negotiations confided to them as to retain the confidence of those in whose behalf they acted. The best evidence of this, in Mr. Cushman's case, is his re-appointment. The little com-

pany of exiles, notwithstanding the great discouragement they had met from the king, resolve, after the lapse of about a year, to cast themselves on the care of Providence, and emigrate on the best terms they might win from the civil and ecclesiastical powers. With this view they send Mr. Cushman again to London. But instead of Mr. Carver, they associate with him, this time, "Elder Brewster." On their arrival in London they found a new obstacle. The Virginia Company, on whose influence they had relied, and under whose patent they were hoping to settle, was rent with factions. "Sir T. Smith having desired," says Mr. Cushman, in a letter dated May 8th, 1619, "to be eased of his office of Treasurer and Governor of the Virginia Company, Sir Edwin Sandys was chosen; but Sir Thomas repenting, and opposing Sir Edwin, great disturbance and factions are raised in said Company, that no business could well go forward."

How long the agents were embarrassed and detained by these dissensions does not clearly appear; probably from April till near the close of the year.

It was while waiting in London for the Company to come to a temper for business, that Mr. Cushman ventured on an absence of fourteen days to go into Kent to visit his childhood's home and take leave of his friends, as we have supposed, in view of a final adieu to his native land.

"After long attendance," to use the words of Bradford, "having obtained the desired patent from the Virginia Company, Mr. Cushman returned to Holland." But after all the labor and the delay the Pilgrims had suffered, they were doomed yet to disappointment. The patent was taken out in the name of a gentleman who,

after it was obtained, relinquished the idea of embarking in the enterprise. The only thing now left them was to make the best terms they could *with such merchants* in London as could be induced, by their selling themselves to their mercenary interests, to furnish them with the means of transportation. In this last resort Mr. Cushman for the third time is called upon, and sent to London to make terms with the "Merchant Adventurers;" and effect the necessary preparations for their departure. Mr. Carver is this time associated with him, and sent to Southampton to attend to the outfit at that port.

The terms exacted, and to which the poor people at Leyden had been prepared by their sufferings and by hope long deferred to assent, were sufficiently severe. But the Adventurers, taking advantage of their necessities, altered them in two most important points after they had been fairly settled.

It is probable, after all the delays and discouragements they had suffered, that this last aggravation would have led to the abandonment of the idea of emigration altogether but for the influence of Mr. Cushman. He believed that the project of American colonization was a practicable one; and that his associates were the men to succeed. He had a faith that could pierce the cloud which enwrapped them; a faith which saw a new empire rising in the new hemisphere, where the oppressed people of God might be free to worship according to the dictates of their conscience; and he urged them to press forward to the work of laying the foundations of a *New England* more glorious than the *old*; where, peradventure, they might yet have

"A Church without a bishop, and a State without a king."

That we do not over-estimate his forecast of the issues of the enterprise to which he had given himself, is apparent from the language of encouragement which he held to his fellow pilgrims ; and from the efforts which he made to enlist the *people* of England in the work of colonization ; and especially from the defences of liberty which he secured in the charter that, in connection with Winslow, he obtained for the first settlement in Massachusetts Bay ; a charter which really contains the germs of our free institutions.

In that remarkable discourse,—the first that ever came from the press as a specimen of American preaching,—delivered by him to the Pilgrims near the spot where we are now assembled, on “ The Sin and Danger of Self-Love,” and in his preface to it, addressed “ To his loving Friends, the Adventurers for New England, together With all Well-Willers and Well-Wishers thereunto,” we have at once the most satisfactory evidence of his appreciation of the enterprise,—of its difficulties, its exigencies, and its issues,—and of his faith, his fortitude, and his philanthropy ; and of the moral power which his character and standing gave him with his cotemporaries.

In enforcing the precept of his text : “ Let no man seek his own, but every man another’s wealth,” after reminding his suffering brethren that “ the country was yet new, the land untilled, the cities not builded ;” and that they were “ compassed about with a helpless people,—the natives of the country,—who could not help them ;” and adverting to the dreadful mortality which had already, within the first year, swept one half their number to the grave, he asks : “ Is this a time for men to begin to seek themselves ? Paul saith that

men in 'the *last* days' shall be lovers of themselves ; but it is here yet but the first days, and, as it were, *the dawning of this new world!* It is now, therefore, no time for men to look to get riches, brave clothes, dainty fare ; but to look to present necessities. It is now no time to pamper the flesh, live at ease, snatch, catch, scrape, and pill and hoard up, but rather to open the doors, the chests and vessels ; and say : Brother, neighbor, friend, what want ye ? any thing that I have ? Make bold with it ; it is yours to command, to do you good, to comfort and cherish you ; and glad I am that I have it for you. Lay away, then, all thought of former things and forget them, and think upon the things that *are*. Look not gapingly one upon another, pleading your goodness, your birth, your life you lived ; your means you had, and might have had. Here you are by God's providence under difficulties ; be thankful to God it is no worse, and take in good part that which is, and lift not up yourselves because of former privileges. *When Job was brought to the dunghill he sat down upon it!* Consider, therefore, what you are now, and whose you are. Say not : I *could* have lived thus and thus ; but say : Thus and thus I *must* live ; for God and natural necessity require, if your difficulties be great you had need to cleave the faster together, and comfort and cheer up one another, laboring to make each other's burdens lighter. There is no grief so tedious as a churlish companion ; and nothing makes sorrows easy more than cheerful associates. Bear ye, therefore, one another's burthen, and be not a burthen one to another. Avoid all factions, frowardness, singularity, and withdrawals ; and cleave fast to the Lord, and to one another continually. So shall you be a notable pres-

ident* to these poor heathens whose eyes are upon you, and who very brutishly do daily eat and consume one another through their emulations and contentions. Be you, therefore, ashamed of it, and win them to peace both with yourselves and one another by your peaceable examples. So also shall you be an encouragement to many of your Christian friends in your native country, to come to you when they hear of your peace and love and kindness that is amongst you. But above all it shall go well with your souls when that God of peace and unity shall come to visit you with death, as he hath done many of your associates,—you, being found of Him not in murmurings, discontent and jars, but in brotherly love and peace, may be translated from this wandering wilderness unto that joyful and heavenly Canaan.”

From these tones of authority and love—of mingling thunder and music—with which the discourse closes, we turn to its preface, written, it would appear, after his return to England. It was addressed to the English public in reference to the enterprise, and to the company of “Adventurers” by whose pecuniary aid the work had been begun:—

“It pertaineth not to my purpose,” said he, in addressing the former, “to speak any thing either in praise or dispraise of the country; so it is by God’s providence that a few of us are there planted to our content, and have, with great Charge and difficulty, attained quiet and competent dwellings there. Thus much I will say for the satisfaction of such as have any thought of going hither to inhabit: that, for men who look after great riches, ease, pleasures, dainties and jollity in this world,

* Guardian power.

I would not advise them to come there, for, *as yet*, the country will afford no such matters. But if there be any who are content to lay out their Estates, spend their time, labors and endeavors *for the benefit of them that shall come after, and in desire to further the gospel among these poor Heathens*, quietly contenting themselves with such hardships and difficulties as by God's providence shall fall upon them, being young and in their strength, such men I would advise and encourage to go, *for their ends cannot fail them.*"

He then turns to those who had embarked their property in the undertaking, and who were revolving the question of continued support. And with a tact which, for its knowledge of human nature and its display of Christian spirit, reminds one of Paul winning his way to the hearts of Festus and Agrippa, (Acts 26 : 26 et seq.,) he proceeds : " And you, my loving Friends, the Adventurers to this Plantation ; as your care has been, first to settle religion here, before either profit or popularity, so I pray you go on to do it much more ; and be careful to send godly men though they (should) want some of that worldly policy which this world hath in her own generation. I rejoice greatly in your free and ready minds, to your powers, yea, and beyond your powers, to further this work ; that you thus honor God with your riches ; and I trust you shall be repaid again, double and treble, in *this* world : yea, and the *memory* of this action shall *never die*. Be not, therefore, discouraged ; for no labor is lost, nor money spent which is bestowed for God. Your ends were good, your success is good : and your profit is coming even in this life ; and in the life to come much more. " And what shall I say now ? A word to men of understanding sufficeth.

Pardon, I pray you, my boldness ; read over the ensuing treatise, and judge wisely of the poor weakling. And the Lord, the God of sea and land stretch out his arm of protection over you and us, and over all our lawful and good enterprises either (in) this or any other way.”

The poor weakling, as he calls the discourse in which he had sought to reconcile the colonists to the conditions to which they had been obliged to submit in their engagement with the Adventurers, and to cheer them onward amid their discouragements, is, without doubt, one of the ablest discussions of the subject to be found from any pen. But partly because his modesty led him to fear it might be judged too rude and unlearned for that “curious age,” and partly because he would have nothing esteemed by names, he gave it to the world anonymously, and merely as from one of the members of the colony. “If any good or profit arise to thee, (addressing his reader,) in the receiving of it give God the praise ; and esteem me as a son of Adam subject to all such frailties as other men :” “*I seek no name.*”

Such, my kindred, was the character, and such were the services of the “Pilgrim” who was our common father. His life was spent, even to its close, in the cause of American colonization ; and especially in the service of the colony here planted, to which he had given his earliest labors. And if any thing were wanting to complete the demonstration of his absorbing interest in it, and his unfaltering confidence in its success despite the appalling discouragements which attended its beginning, it would be supplied in the fact that after his survey of the actual condition of things here, and on his return to England, as required, to make report to the

“Adventurers,” he left behind him his only son—his “*Isaac*”—then of the tender age of fourteen years, in the guardianship of the colony, as a pledge of his confidence in its eventual prosperity, and as a hostage of his own return to share with his brethren the difficulties with which it was struggling.

His expectation, however, was not realized. He died at the post of sentry, watching over its interests near the seats of power, and found his grave in the land of his birth. The news of his death reached this place by the same conveyance that brought the tidings of the decease of the loved and venerated pastor, Robinson; and they seem to have been equally mourned.

“Instead of the fathers shall be the children.” The son whom he left behind him became his representative among the Pilgrims, and inherited, through a long life, the affection they had bestowed on his father.

His name was Thomas. He married Mary, the daughter of Isaac Allerton, one of the most influential and honored of the Pilgrims. She herself was one of the emigrants of the May-Flower.

Thomas Cushman and Mary Allerton, then, so far as actual residence in this country is concerned, are the “Abraham” and the “Sarah” of our race. Their lives, from their youth, were passed amid the scenes on which we look to-day; and their mortal relics slumber, side by side, on yonder hill.

During the long period of nearly forty-three years, he held the honorable post of ELDER in this church, with the enviable reputation of a “precious servant of God.”

All that is known of *her* sustains the tradition that she was worthy of being the wife of such a man, and the mother of our “Israel.” Four sons and four daughters

inherited the treasure—the best they had to leave—of their pious example.* The sons all lived to become the heads of families. Their names were, Thomas, Isaac, Elkanah, and Eleazer. From these have sprung twenty-four Cushmans in the *fourth* generation ; ninety-eight in the *fifth* ; two hundred and eighty-six in the *sixth* ; seven hundred and fifty-eight in the *seventh* ; one thousand three hundred and eighty-four in the *eighth*, most of whom are now living ; seven hundred and fifty-seven in the *ninth*, which is doing well its part in fulfilling the primitive command ; and the probation of nineteen of the *tenth* generation had begun when the book of our census was closed.

Leaving each of you to trace your several pedigrees in the volume which has been prepared, your Speaker will simply say that he himself belongs to the eighth generation : being the son of Job, who was the son of Robert, who was the son of Robert, who was the son of Robert, who was the son of Thomas, who was the son of Thomas, who was the son of the Pilgrim.

Thus, Fathers and Brethren, have we “looked to the rock whence we were hewn.” And who of us is not proud of the quarry ? What better marble did Paros or Pentelicus ever yield ? We have “looked to the hole of the pit whence we were digged.” Who of us would exchange his origin from that humble pilgrim for one of noble or of royal blood ? We have “looked to Abraham our father ;” and we have seen *our* patriarch, when he was “called to go out into a place that he should after receive for an inheritance, *obeying by faith*, and going

* Of the daughters, all lived to marry but one. Sarah married John Hawks of Lynn ; Lydia married William Harlow, Jr. ; Mary married a Hutchinson, of Lynn. Fear (“Ffeare”) died young.

out not knowing whither he went.” We have seen him, in that faith, offering up his Isaac, and “dying, *not* having received the promises.” “But, *having seen them afar off, he was* PERSUADED *of them, and* EMBRACED *them ;* and confessed that he was a stranger and a pilgrim on the earth.”

And, verily, we have seen that God *blessed* and *increased* him. How greatly He has increased him, the glad multitudes, who to-day throug the spot where, two hundred and thirty-four years since, stood *the tabernacle in which he sojourned in the land of promise as a strange country,* may partly show ; and the many thousands written in *this “book of the Chronicles”* will more amply declare.

But to what purpose have we taken this retrospect ?

It is an impressive thought that though the fathers die, and the connexion of intercourse is severed, yet the connexion of *influence remains ;* so that they may be said to live and move and have their being among their descendants. And though the living may not reciprocate that influence to affect their well-being in the spirit land, yet they may go back and gather life and strength from the dust of what they were. So pervading and strong is the pressure of the past on the present—the dead on the living—that if we were to be deprived of what they have ministered and do minister, we should have but little left of character or power. The trees that lift their glories to the summer sky are nursed by what is given from the earth ; the roots that give us *our* verdure spread beneath the sod.

The correctness of this observation is seen in science, and art ; in religion, and manners ; and even in the very judgment and conscience, in which truth and reason

might be supposed to be sufficient to the existing generation without so much reference to what *has* been : and the New England character is at once a proof and illustration of it. Our pilgrim ancestors were, in a high degree, a homogeneous people ; blending, no doubt, the traits of the general English character, and the element of a common faith, with provincial peculiarities and with their own individualities : so that they might be said to have had their type somewhat after the uniformity that marked the dress of the time.

The generation that succeeded them grew up in their likeness. And so, each succeeding one taking, now and then, some modification from some new incident element introduced from abroad or rising in its midst, has inherited and transmitted the elements of the original character ; and thus the old Puritan is still seen blushing through the features that mark the eighth generation of his posterity.

And what is true of the Puritanic descent, as a whole, must be often forcibly so with regard to particular pedigrees. As the peculiarity of using the left hand instead of the right, by one of the tribes of Israel, was the inheritance of a usage originally marking one family ; as particular forms of speech become, by family imitation, the dialect of particular localities which are socially isolated ; so are moral habitudes reproduced, and moral estimates flow down from common parental sources, and mingle in all the waters of the augmenting and widening streams of succeeding generations.

One of the topics of enquiry most interesting to us, therefore, would be to ascertain how far the traits of character which gave individuality to our common ancestor have marked those who have inherited his blood.

We have not time here to pursue the enquiry. The means for such an investigation, both among the dead and the living, will be furnished to a gratifying extent, we are happy to say, in the Historical Genealogy. If we do not mistake, the features we have noticed in what has come to us from the old Pilgrim's pen, will be recognized in the productions of living representatives; while it will be seen that his social and moral traits have been almost universally the traits of his posterity.

We have had occasion to remark upon his unobtrusiveness. Though he was a leader among his people, it was not of his seeking; he rather shrank from the public eye than courted it. In an "action," the memory of which he believed would never die, he "sought no name." "If any profit shall arise to thee, *give God the praise.*"

Whether his posterity have been more fortunate than himself in reference to the occupancy of leading positions may admit of debate; but certainly they have never been distinguished as *office-seekers*. Who ever heard of a Cushman that was a demagogue? So far from it, I doubt if ever one was found with brass enough for an auctioneer.

Whatever may be true of the generation now on the stage, those who have gone before us were certainly an unobtrusive, sober-minded people, who were more anxious to deserve the suffrage of their contemporaries than to possess it; and were content to obtain, by their industry, the share they sought of this world's good things, rather than by office, place, and power. The great body of them, for successive generations, were tillers of the soil: the son going out, after the example of the father, to take new land and subdue it. The song of the plowman mingled with the sound of the axe ringing out from

primeval forests. Their evening hymn went up from homes amid solitudes; and when the story, often rehearsed, of the sufferings and the virtues of their fathers had been repeated to their children, and all commended to the care of Heaven, they sought, contented and thankful, the weary husbandman's early repose.

“Far from the madd'ning crowd's ignoble strife,
Their sober wishes never learned to stray;
Along the cool, sequestered vale of life
They held the noiseless tenor of their way.”

But the wilderness and the solitary place were glad for them; and the desert rejoiced and blossomed as the rose. If the name has not been distinguished by the workings of ambition, it is much to us that it has never been made infamous by crime; if it has been seldom emblazoned on those heights reserved for political aspirants to reach, it is matter for congratulation that it has been sought for, throughout its generations, in vain among the records of the fallen. A solitary instance only, I believe, has been found in which, for some minor offence, it has been connected with the violation of the laws. And surely, my kindred, it is better for us than honors or estates, that they have left us an unsullied name.

But they have left us more: there is value in their example. Their industry, their frugality, their contentment, their piety, were virtues we cannot too often contemplate; too much admire; or, too earnestly emulate. Though their lives, then, may have been “unknown to fame,” still let their memories be cherished by us for the benefit of their ancestral example. By others let them be forgot.

But the world must not forget the Pilgrim. We lift our voice against such wrong; and we have come here

to-day to protest against the injustice of history, and to do what we can to repair it. We protest against the ingratitude which has left his name to die out of the land ; and we have come to do what we may, with filial love and patriotic gratitude, to give him that position, in the eye of coming generations, which his virtues and his services deserve.

As we have before said, the histories,—especially the later histories of our country,—have hardly given a place for the solitary inscription of his name. It stands, indeed, in some of them as having been borne by one of the men employed in the initial movements of the church at Leyden towards a settlement in America ; and that is all :—unless we except the implication in some of them that *timidity* rather than necessity withheld him from the number who were passengers in the *May-Flower* !

But verily there is some palliation for this curt dismissal by the historian after the oblivion in which our patriotism has left him. We sometimes speak of the “ caprices of fortune ;” and may we not speak of the caprices of *fame* ? For caprice it has been, or accident rather than design.

But how strange,—how passing strange that the man who was the chief instrument in the first settlement of New England, as is clear from his having been the uniformly appointed agent of the Pilgrims whoever else was associated with him ;—the man whom, at his death, Governor Bradford acknowledged to have been the colony’s “ *right hand* ;”—the man who first vindicated the enterprise to the world through the Press, and made the first public appeal that was made to the Protestant Christians of England in behalf of the religious interests of the Aborigines of America ;—the man who, to save the

colony from the perils to which he saw it exposed, wrote and delivered,—though neither Minister nor Elder,—the first sermon ever published from a New England man, and the first ever written on New England soil ;—the man whose devotion to the safety and comfort of the first company of emigrants led him to forego a passage for himself and his family in the vessel which he had himself provided,—the *May-Flower*,—and take his own passage in the rickety *Speedwell* ; and after her third failure, to disembark to look after and share the fate of those who must be left behind ; and who, after he had reached the colony consented to spend year after year, not only separate from his brethren, but separate from his only child that he might be their “right hand” with the Adventurers, and watch over their interests near a jealous and intolerant throne,—how, strange, I say, that such a man should have been so little honored, and now so little known among the people who have enjoyed the fruits of his sacrifices and toils ! While Carver and Brewster, successively his associates in negotiation ;—while Bradford, and Winslow, and Standish, and Hopkins, and I know not how many others of his fellow-laborers have been remembered and honored in the names of towns and counties ;—while the pilot, even, the benefit of whose skill he surrendered for the safety of others, has been immortalized in the name of yonder island ;—while even the very loafer, Billington, who “slipped in” among the Pilgrims at Southampton and “was of no benefit to the colony,” has been saved from merited oblivion by yonder “Sea ;”—while History and Poetry, and Sculpture and Painting have been vying with each other in homage to “the fathers of the nation ;” and while hardly a fourth rate politician has risen to bluster about “liberty” and

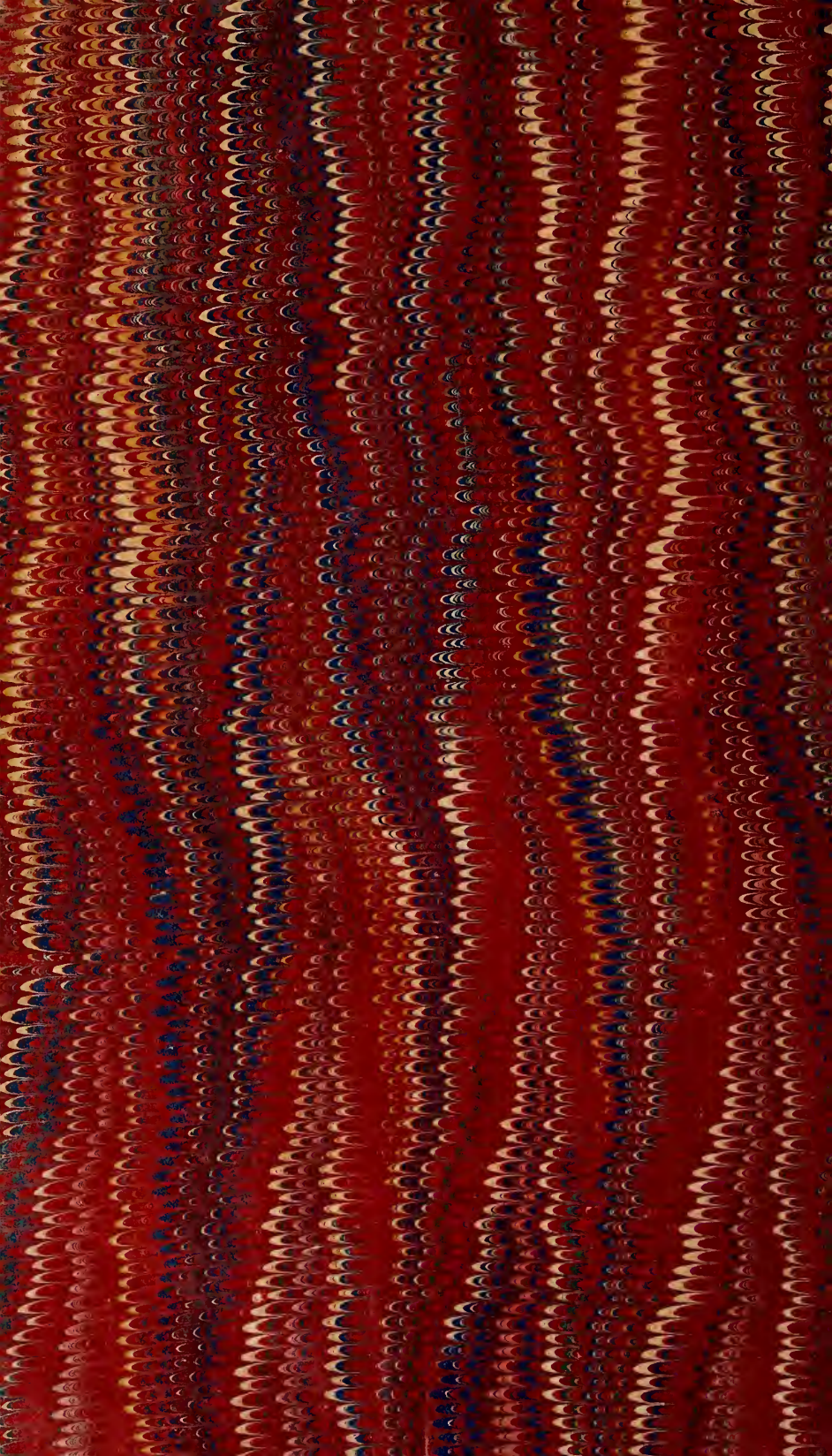
the “glory of America,” whose name has not been perpetuated as the appellation of some portion of its territory,—*that name*, to which New England and the country owe more, if we speak of generative influence, than to almost any other on the page of her history or the map of her soil, is, to this day, unborne by any county, or town, or island, or mountain, or river, or rill in America! The only monument yet found, from ocean to ocean of her wide domain, is in the hearts of his children.

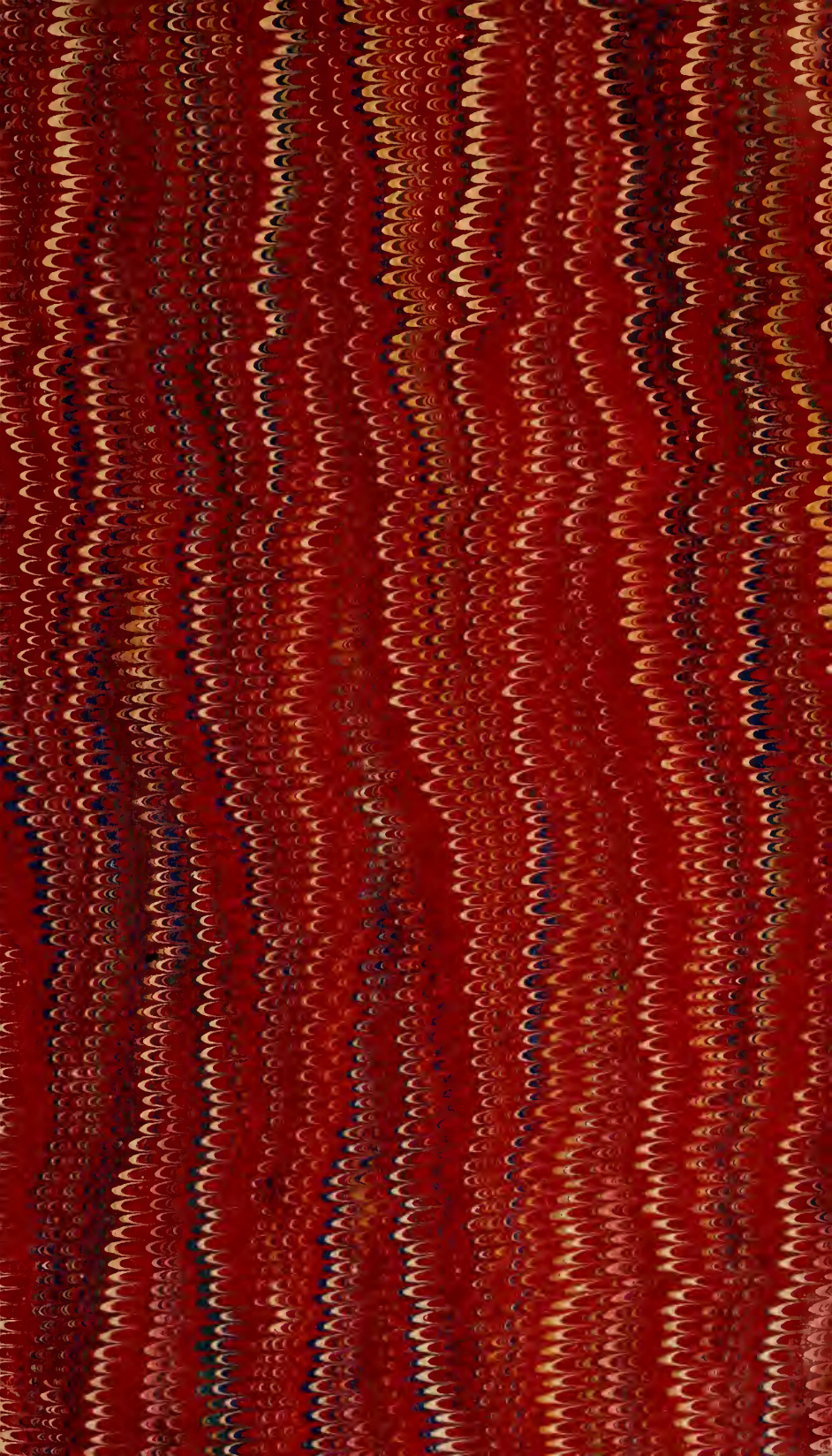
And shall it be so forever? Forbid it, gratitude; forbid it, patriotism; forbid it, Heaven! Forbid it, ye who now bear that name; forbid it ye, of whatever name, whose hearts now throb with the Pilgrim’s blood; forbid it, ye living; forbid it, ye unborn! We disinter from the dust of ages a name that was not born to perish: protect it, ye living, from its past unmerited doom. Raise high on yonder hill, where the ashes of his family rest,—his own ye may not reach,—the monumental stone that shall speak his worth to coming times, and show that *ye* were not ungrateful.

And you, Posterity, we commit the vestal charge of his fame to you! We go—we go, to rest with the fathers. And when the places that now know us shall know us no more, ye shall realize “the benefits of them that shall come after,” in the faith of which the Pilgrim died.

The time shall come, *it shall come*,—though centuries intervene, though nations perish to prepare its way,—when Truth shall vanquish error; when Justice shall preside at seats of power; when Ambition shall ask for her laurels at the hand of Virtue. And then shall Fame, having learned new lessons on greatness and glory, re-arrange the ornaments of her temple, and set men of beneficence above men of blood: “The names of the wicked shall rot, but

the memory of the just shall be blessed." Then shall be second deaths on earth : then shall be resurrections ! Then the *Right Hand* of Plymouth's Pilgrims shall be seen again among the living. Their leader shall resume his place on the deck of the May-Flower ; and, as she floats along the stream of ages, generation shall vie with generation in grateful acknowledgment of his services and homage to his worth : the memory of *his* actions shall never die ; and the name of the man who sought no name shall be immortal.





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