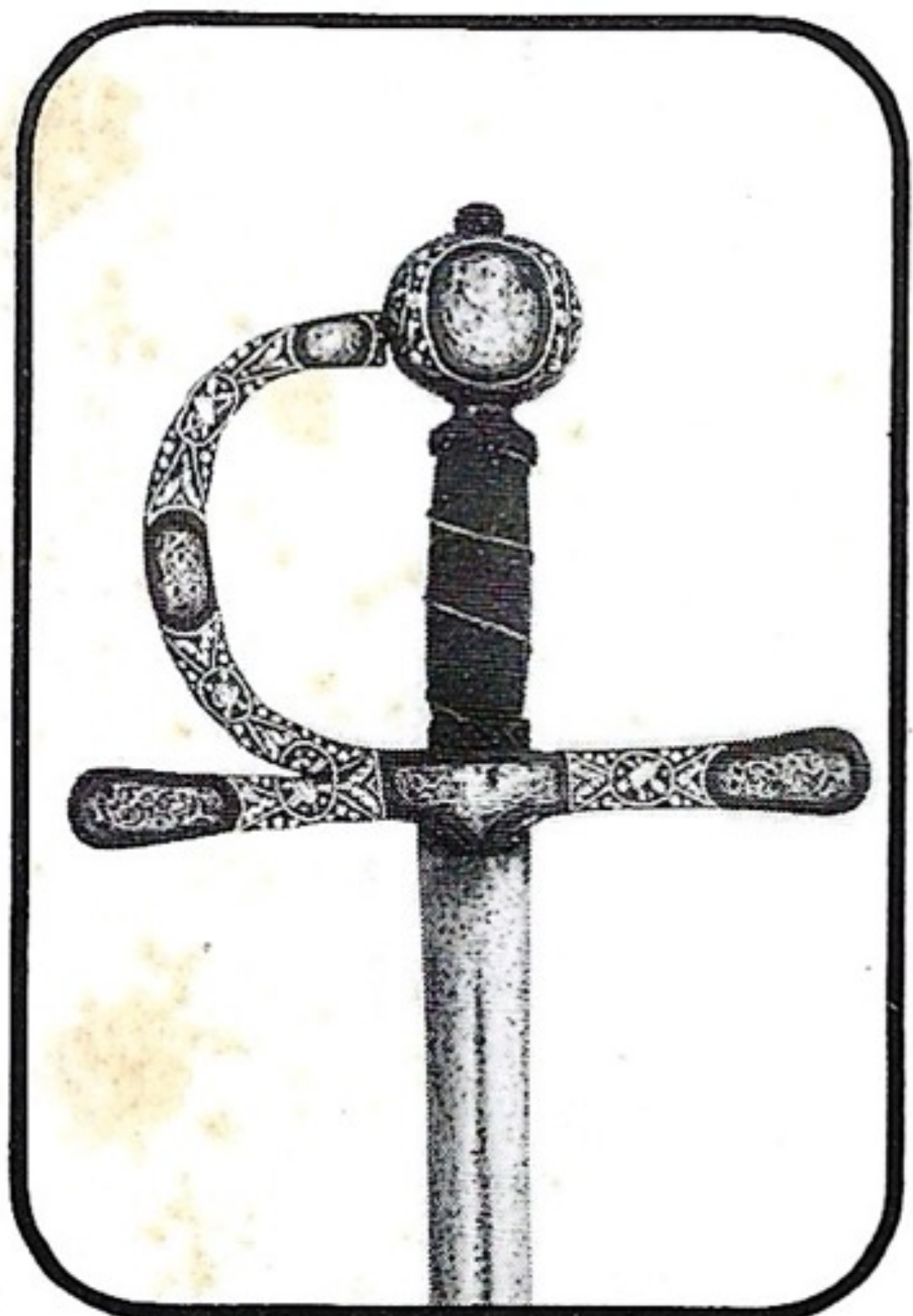


*The Canadian Journal*

# *Arms Collecting*



**Vol. 20, No. 2**



# A RARE ENGLISH SWORD FROM PLYMOUTH COLONY

by Anthony D. Darling

Plymouth, situated on Massachusetts Bay some 38 miles S.E. of Boston, was the second [1] permanent English settlement in North America. It was established in December, 1620 by a party of religious separatists and other individuals who were primarily "merchant-adventurers." The nucleus of this group of dissenters had come into being through meetings of Puritans, opposed to the episcopal jurisdiction and rites of the Church of England, at Scrooby, a village in Nottinghamshire. In 1608, the congregation emigrated to Amsterdam and in the following year moved to Leyden where the members established themselves as artisans and laborers. Life in Holland was not easy for them as many were excluded from the local guilds. The emigrants also found their children losing contact with English culture and feared the prospect of renewed warfare between The Netherlands and Spain. For these reasons the separatists considered migrating to America. In 1617, their ruling elder, William Brewster sent John Carver and Robert Cushman to England as agents to deal with the Virginia Company for the right to establish a colony within its borders. A patent was secured in 1619 but was never used. Early in the following year, Thomas Weston, representing a group of London merchants, offered the dissenters support and the use of a charter already obtained from the Company with the arrangement of a joint stock company for seven years. The congregation in Leyden voted favorably for the voyage across the Atlantic but less than half of the members decided to go. This party, 35 in number, returned to England in July. On September 16th, this group, together with 67 others including religious separatists and non-dissenters [2] from London and Southampton with Miles Standish as military leader, 102 souls, [3] set sail for the New World crowded aboard the *Mayflower*, a ship of 180 tons burden. In early November, the vessel arrived at the tip of Cape Cod and a 10-man exploring party was dispatched to find a safe harbor with land suitable for farming. After a five week search, this was located in a small bay due west; the *Mayflower* sailed for the site chosen for the new settlement which had been previously named Plymouth by Captain John Smith and the future King Charles I. The company of separatists and adventurers, together with 15 indentured servants and hired artisans, landed December 21, 1620.





1  
This fragment of an English sword, c. 1600, was excavated in 1898 on the property of the Edward Winslow house, Plymouth, Massachusetts. *General Society of Mayflower Descendants.* Photograph courtesy of Eugene A. Stratton.



During the first winter, about half of the settlers perished from scurvy or exposure. The arrival, later, of more colonists was a mixed blessing as it necessitated a cut in rations; several years were to pass before the threat of famine ceased. However, the increasing population encouraged the settlers to buy out the London investors in 1626. A treaty with Massasoit, chief of the Wampanoag Indians, in 1621 resulted in 50 years of peace with that tribe. During 1623, Miles Standish marched against other Indians in the northwest who were accused of plotting to destroy another English settlement at Wessagusset. Standish also leveled the trading post of the profligate Thomas Morton at Mount Wollaston in 1628. Except for a few minor operations, the military life of Plymouth Colony was for the most part limited to muster and drill until the outbreak of King Philip's War in 1675. Since its inception, Plymouth expanded slowly due to the lack of a money-making crop and infertile soil. Many of the colonists moved to more arable land to the north; settlements such as Duxbury and Scituate were founded. Other communities were established: Middleborough in the west, Dartmouth in the south, and to the southeast, Cape Cod. In 1692, Plymouth was united with the Massachusetts Bay Colony and Maine to form the royal colony of Massachusetts.

oooooooooooooooooooooooooooo

The subject of this paper is an English sword of c. 1600 with a rare hilt configuration, the first example of which can be associated with early colonization in the New World. The sword, now in the collections of the General Society of Mayflower Descendants, was excavated by workmen during 1898 [4] in a garden behind the Edward Winslow house, located on North Street in Plymouth, Massachusetts. Winslow, a Tory sympathizer who entertained British officers stationed in Boston prior to the War of the American Revolution, had built the house in 1754. Upon the outbreak of hostilities, he was forced to flee to Halifax, N.S. Heretofore, the sword had been considered the discarded property of one of these officers with manufacture probably occurring in the third quarter of the 18th century. This is not the case, however, when the hilt is compared with a small group of English swords dating from the early 17th century.

The hilt, measuring 7.25 inches in length, is of the type classified by Norman as No. 7. [5] In its earliest form, this pattern was popular in Europe from about 1490 to the mid-16th century. The style then reappeared briefly early in the 17th century in England. [6] The Plymouth specimen's hilt is made up of a 2.5 inch spherical pommel with fixed tang-button [7] and a guard consisting of a knuckle bow and straight, flattened 8.25 inch-long quillons which flare gradually to their terminals. A tiny (.125 inch) cylindrical projection, [8] now missing, on the end of the knuckle bow would normally fit into a corresponding hole drilled into the pommel. [9] A defined quillon block is in evidence with .75 inch rudimentary langets on either side of the blade ricasso. Due to its heavily corroded condition, there is no evidence of decoration on the hilt, which, if it ever had any, probably would have been silver encrusting or gold damascening. [10] Only 3.5 inches of the single-edged blade remain; [11] This may have started life as a broadsword [12] blade and later one edge was ground off. The grip, originally wood, is missing, and one can only guess at the grip covering [12]

Unfortunately, this hilt form is not shown in contemporary English portraits.





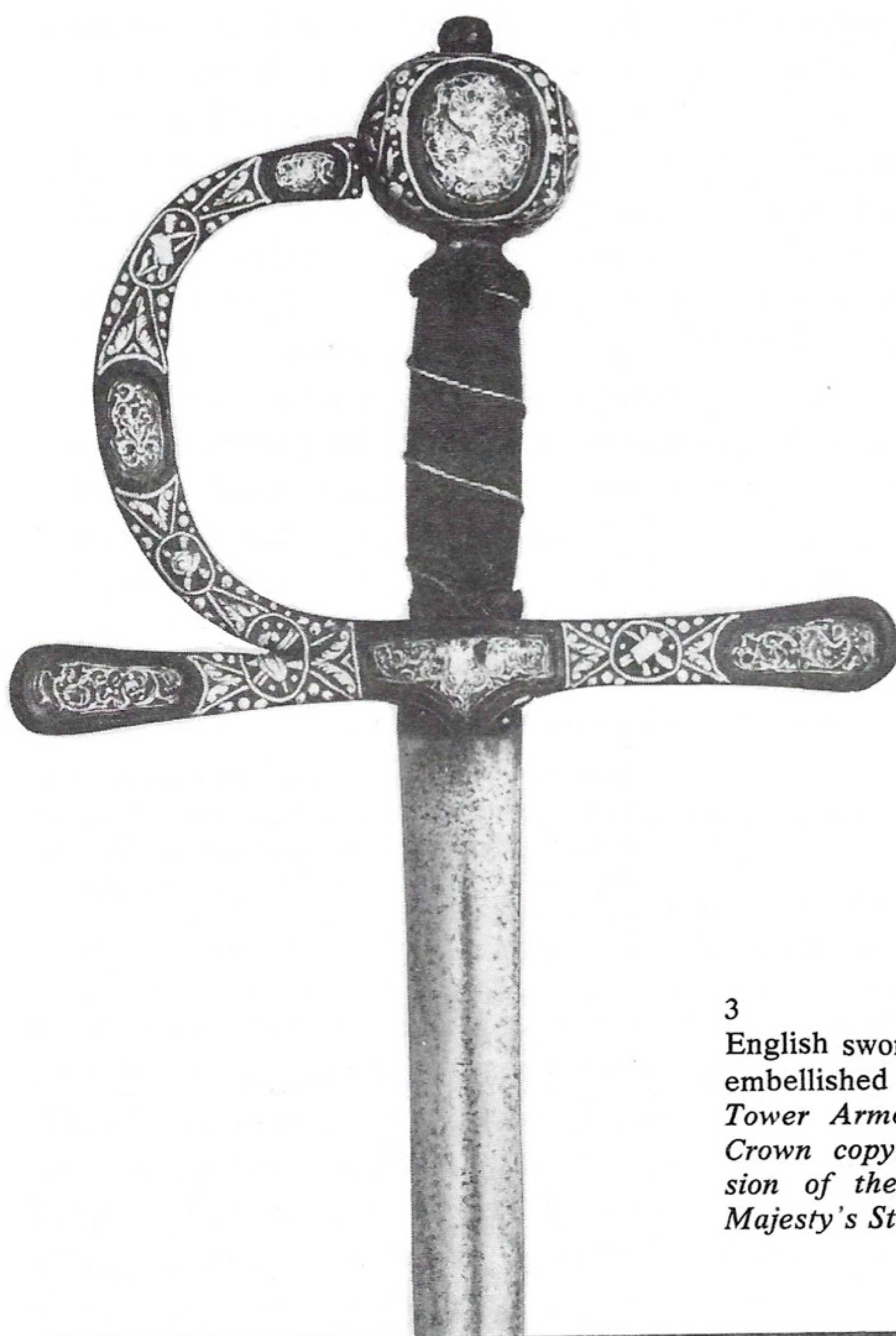
2  
Reverse of the English sword excavated in 1898 on the property of the Edward Winslow House, Plymouth, Massachusetts. *General Society of Mayflower Descendants. Photograph courtesy Eugene A. Stratton.*

The only painting [14] which may depict a similar guard (but with the area in front of the quillons obscured) appeared on the London art market in 1970. This hilt is on the figure of the grandson of Sir Edward Pytts of Kyre whose portrait is dated 1612.

Several existing specimens are available for study and comparison with the Plymouth hilt. One in H.M. Tower Armouries (No. IX 1354) has a silver encrusted hilt with embossed silver plaquettes inlaid in the guard and pommel. This decoration is similar to the well-known Canterbury bearing sword which is datable to 1608. [15] Another sword with hilt form like the Plymouth example, but with flattened circular quillon terminals and the same rendering at the mid-point of the knuckle bow, is in the collection of the late Howard M. Curtis. [16] The hilt is encrusted with silver piqué dots, scrolls, leaves, and small faces. Laking [17] illustrates a sword with a hilt much akin to the one in the Curtis collection; it is associated with a 17th century funerary achievement in Newbold-on-Avon Church, Warwickshire. The quillons terminate in small spheres; this detail, although slightly more ovate, is repeated on the knuckle bow. A fourth example, identical to the Plymouth hilt except for a faceted pommel and the addition of a side ring outside the hand, is described by Hayward [18] as having a hilt damascened with arabesques in gold. Hayward has dated this specimen, now in a private collection in Scotland, as late 16th/early 17th century.

The guards of the Plymouth sword and the above bear a relationship to those of a group of English swords that gained some limited popularity during the early years of the 17th century. This pattern, nearly a half-century out-of-date, consists solely of straight quillons ending either in ball-shaped terminals or flattened and slightly flared as those of the Plymouth hilt's cross-guard. [19] As a rule these hilts are richly decorated with either silver encrusting or inlaid with silver medallions; gold damascening is often in evidence. Hayward [20] has recorded several of these





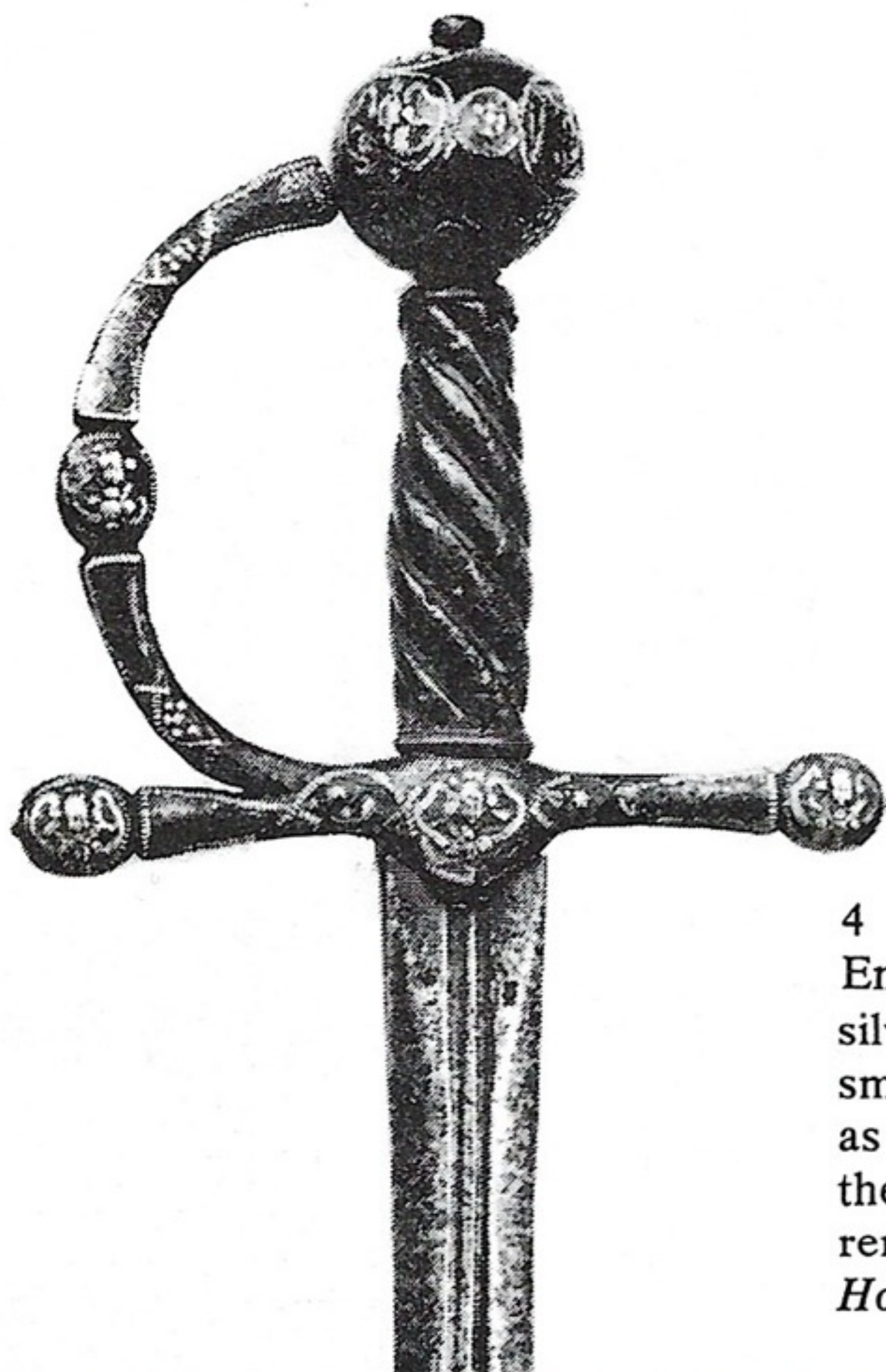
3

English sword, early 17th century, the hilt embellished with silver encrusting. *H.M. Tower Armouries, Class IX-1354. British Crown copyright-reproduced with permission of the Controller of Her Britannic Majesty's Stationery Office.*

swords worn in portraits of recipients of the Order of the Garter early in the 17th century. Blair [21] has suggested the fashion of a simple cross-guard occurred as a result of a large number of Knights of the Bath created by James I at his coronation in 1603; it was usual for a sword of antique type to be used in the Bath ceremony. The finest of this group was made for Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales, and bears his crest [22] This sword can be dated prior to his death in 1612. At least one undecorated example of this type is known. It is shown in the portrait of the 1st Earl of Downe in the robes of the Order of the Bath, c. 1605. [23] The example illustrated in this paper, from the Tøjhusmuseet, has a cross-guard about identical to that of the Plymouth sword's hilt.

At Pilgrim Hall in Plymouth, there are four examples of swords attributed to ownership by three original settlers and a fourth who emigrated two years later. The most well-known is Miles Standish's rapier of the pattern identified by Norman as Type No. 88. [24] The guard consists of a perforated saucer-shaped counter-guard set below quillons with terminals scrolled towards the blade and a knuckle bow affixed to the pommel by means of a screw. Additional branches linking the knuckle bow to the quillons and counter-guard are in evidence. Hilts of this type date circa





4

English sword, c. 1600, the hilt encrusted with silver in the form of piqué dots, scrolls, leaves, and small faces. The guard is of the same configuration as the preceding specimens with the exception of the flattened circular quillon terminals; the same rendering appears on the knuckle bow. *The late Howard M. Curtis collection.*

1635-1640, suggesting that Standish acquired the sword after his move to Duxbury in 1631.

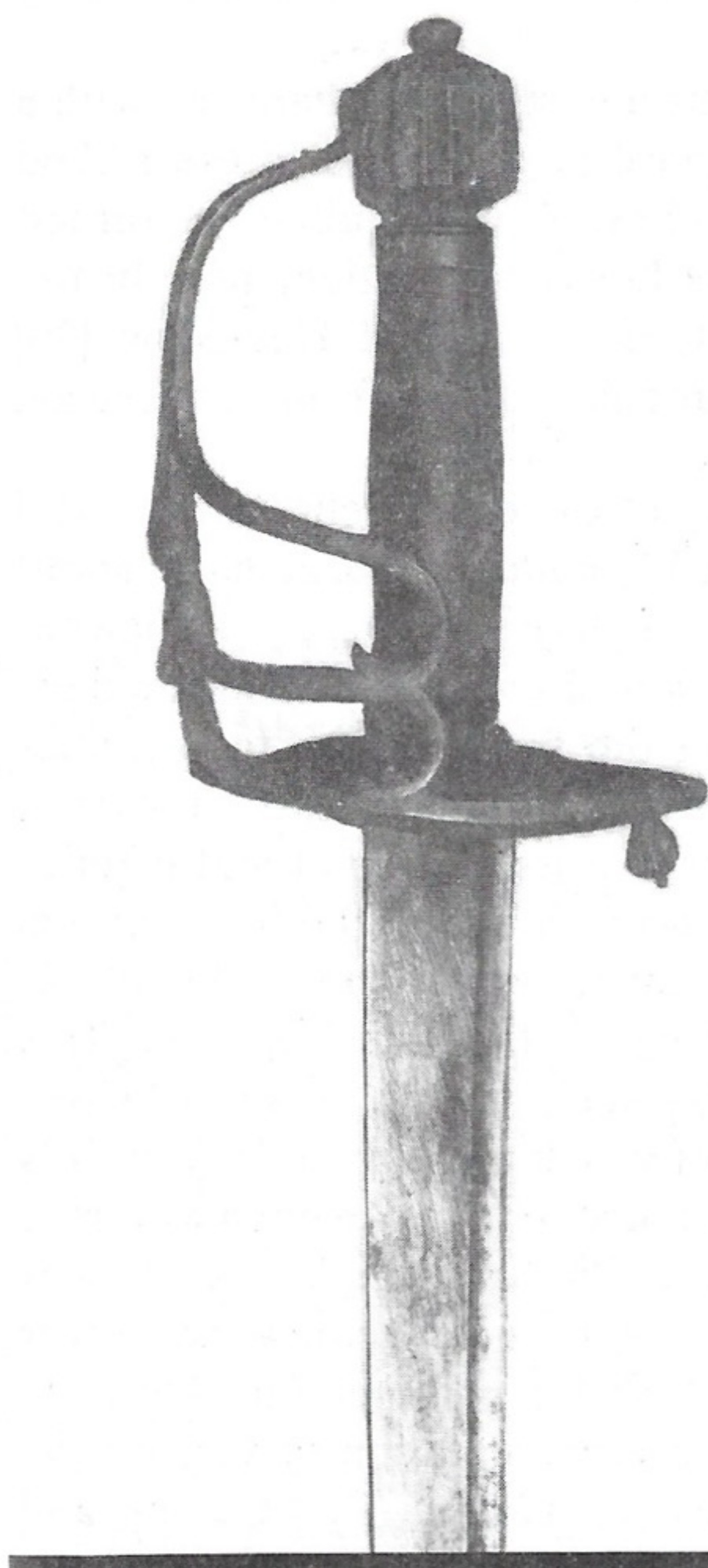
Elder Brewster's (d. 1644) sword is a short cutting sword or "hanger" with a slightly curved blade. The shell-shaped counterguard is connected to the ribbed pommel by a knuckle bow having scrolled branches. A rear quillon is turned towards the point of the blade. A sword with this hilt configuration, now in the London Museum, [25] has a 26.75 inch straight, double-edged Hounslow [26] marked blade dated 1636. Brewster's hanger probably dates from the second quarter of the 17th century.

The remaining swords, formerly the property of Governor John Carver who died in 1621 and John Thompson, who settled in Plymouth in 1622, have about identical hilt patterns. This configuration has a large pommel, somewhat fig-shaped, with fixed tang-button and base. The guard consists of long quillons vertically counter-curved and a knuckle bow from the front quillon to the mid-section of the pommel. The tip of the knuckle bow fits into a hole in the pommel. Branches emanate from each side of the knuckle bow at its mid-point and meet at the rear quillon. Side guards, in the form of two concentric rings (the inner ring is solid thus forming a shell), are attached to these branches and to the quillon block. A short branch connects the outer concentric ring to the knuckle bow. This somewhat complicated arrangement forms a semi-basket hilt. Both hilts were silver encrusted, not of the finest workmanship, traces of which remain on Thompson's sword. A similar hilt, [27] in the late Eric Valentine collection, has an open oval ring in place of the shell guard and fewer connecting bars. The tip of the knuckle bow is screwed to the pommel. The hilt is damascened with gold scrollwork. Silver encrusting, in the form of emperors' heads, embellish the pommel, knuckle bow, and quillon terminals. Valentine has compared the ornamentation to that on the above-mentioned cross-hilted sword of the Prince of Wales. The Carver and Thompson swords have straight blades, the former double-edged. These swords,

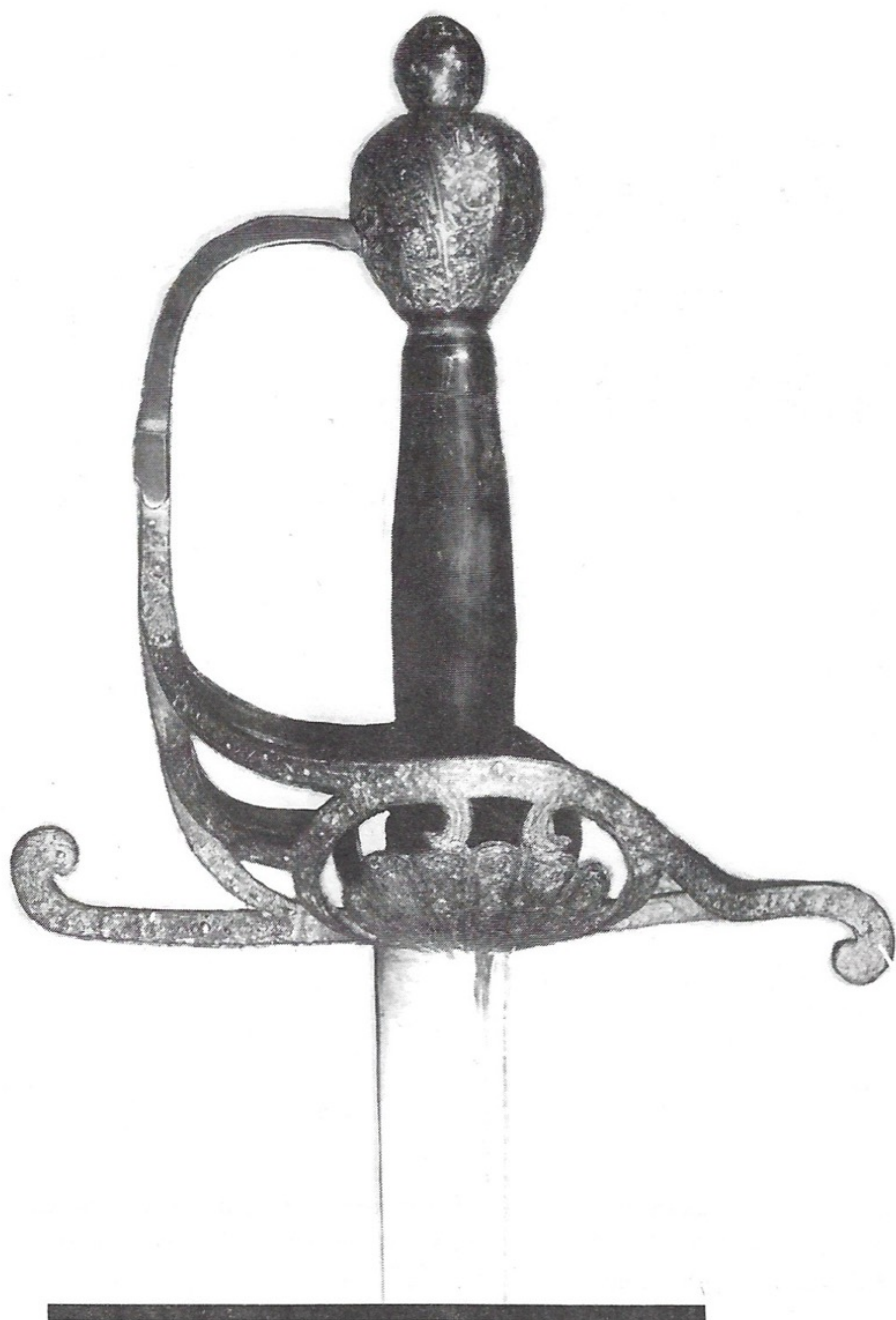


5, 6, 7, 8

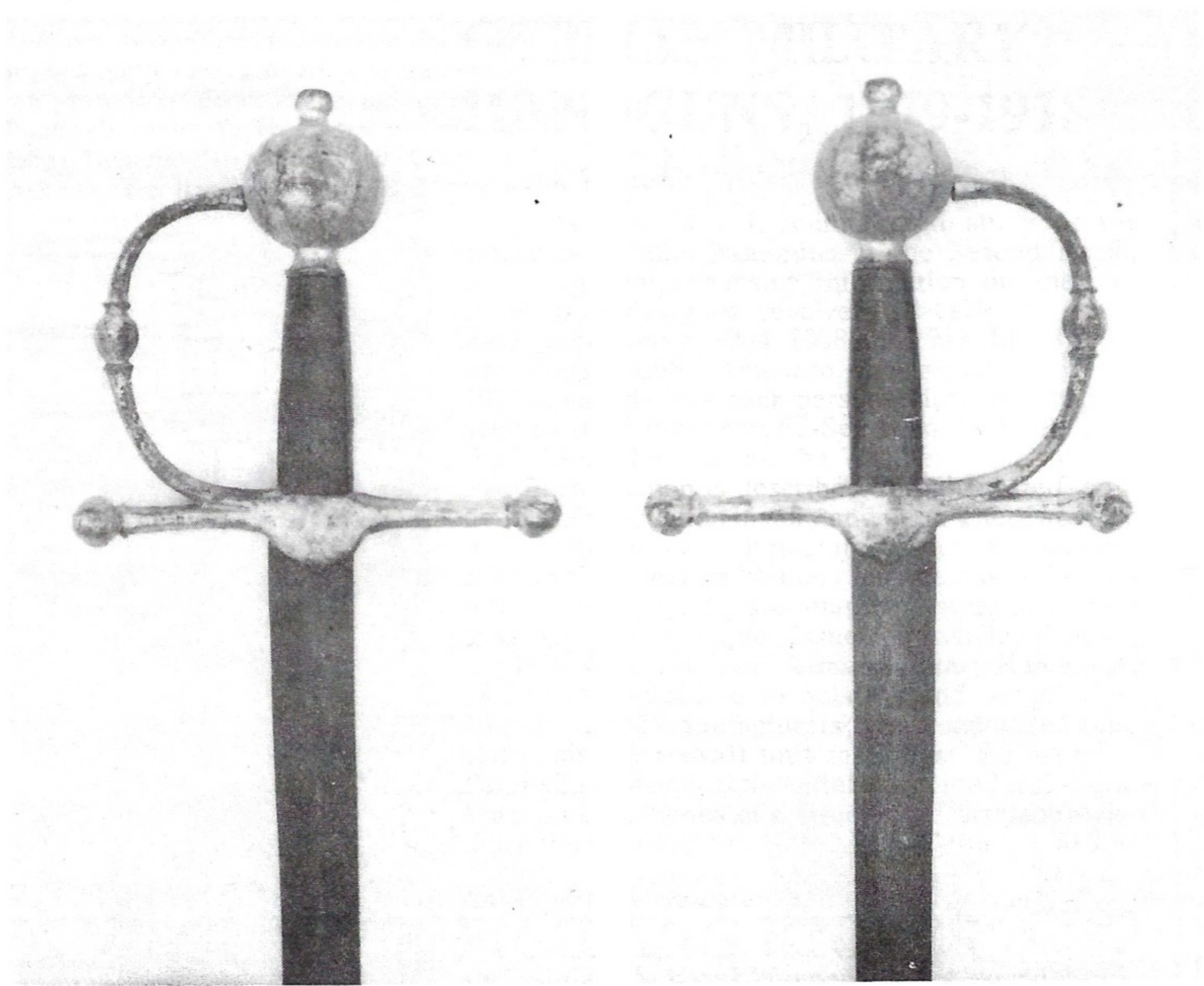
Four swords attributed to ownership by three original settlers and a fourth who emigrated two years later. From left to right, Miles Standish's rapier, Elder Brewster's sword, John Thompson's sword and Governor George Carver's sword. *Pilgrim Hall.*











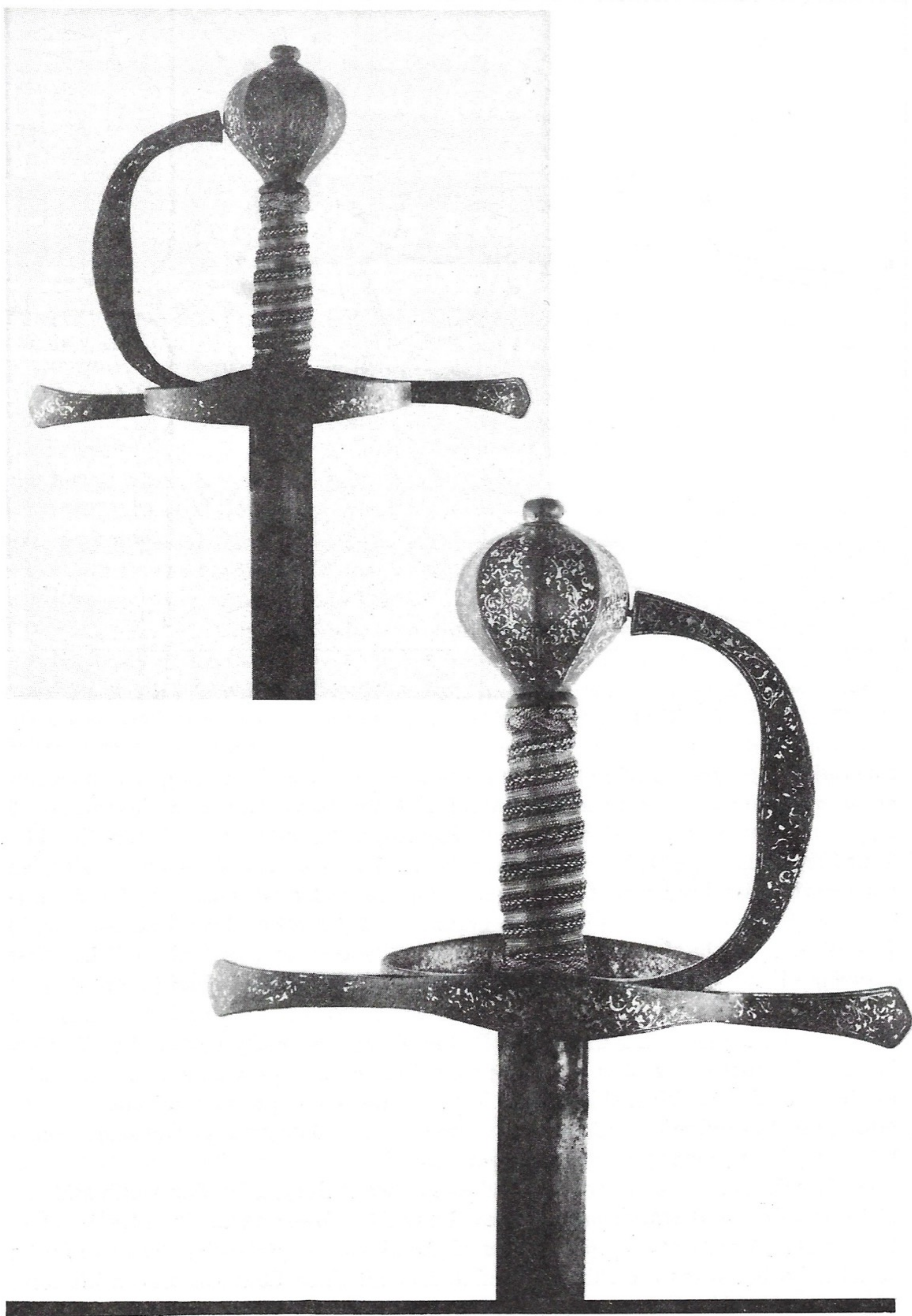
9, 10

English sword of the early 17th century with undecorated hilt, the quillons terminating in small spheres. This detail, although more ovate, is repeated on the knuckle bow. *Newbold-on-Avon Church, Warwickshire. Photograph courtesy of Claude Blair.*

the two at Pilgrim Hall and the one in the Valentine collection, can reasonably be dated to the early 17th century. They are of a slightly later (perhaps 10-15 years) configuration than the specimen excavated behind the Winslow house, which, in the author's opinion, is the earliest sword associated with Plymouth colony.

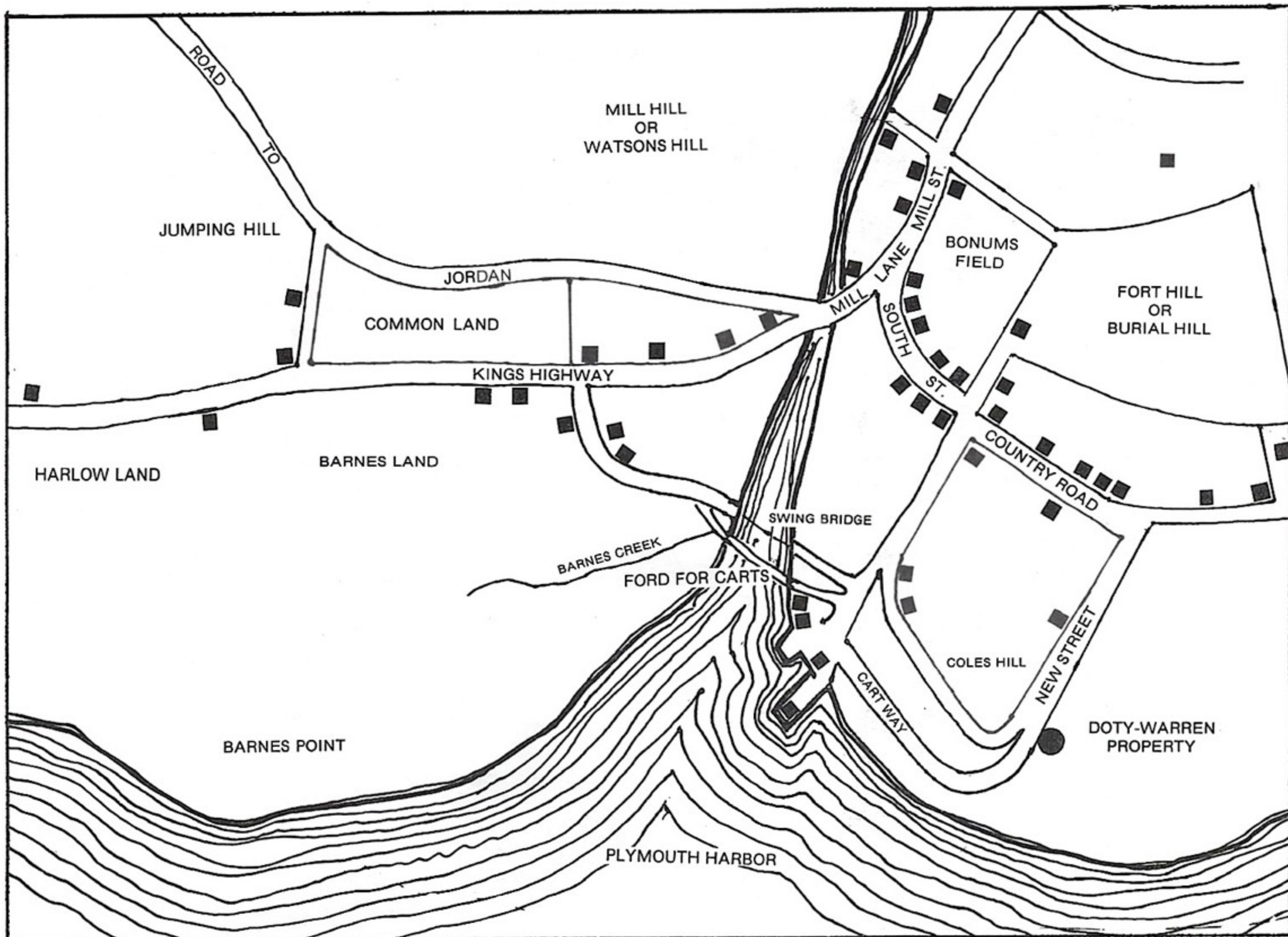
There are other sword hilts and fragments of guards excavated from early settlements along the James River in Virginia. Rapier guards, often called "swept hilts" in modern times by antiquarians, have been found at Jamestown, [28] its early outpost Kecoughtan, [29] and Martin's Hundred, now the site of Carter's Grove Plantation. As hilts of this type were made and used all over Europe, [30] it is virtually impossible to determine whether these guards were fabricated in England or on the Continent. For identification purposes, we are on firmer ground with a number of basket-hilted swords, the guards of which have been excavated at Jamestown, [31] Martin's Hundred, and at Mathew's Manor down the James River. [32] English-made, these are primarily constructed of thin bars and two small junction plates to form a "basket," with two looped bars making up a fore-guard. Peterson [33] illustrates two examples of this type from Jamestown which could date prior to the English Civil War (1642-1647); an example is shown in a drill manual of 1638. [34] A heavily coral-encrusted hilt of this type was recently dis-





11, 12  
English sword, late 16th or early 17th century, the hilt damascened with gold arabesques. The pommel is faceted and there is a side ring on the cross guard outside the hand. *Private collection. Photograph courtesy Dr. John F. Hayward.*





13

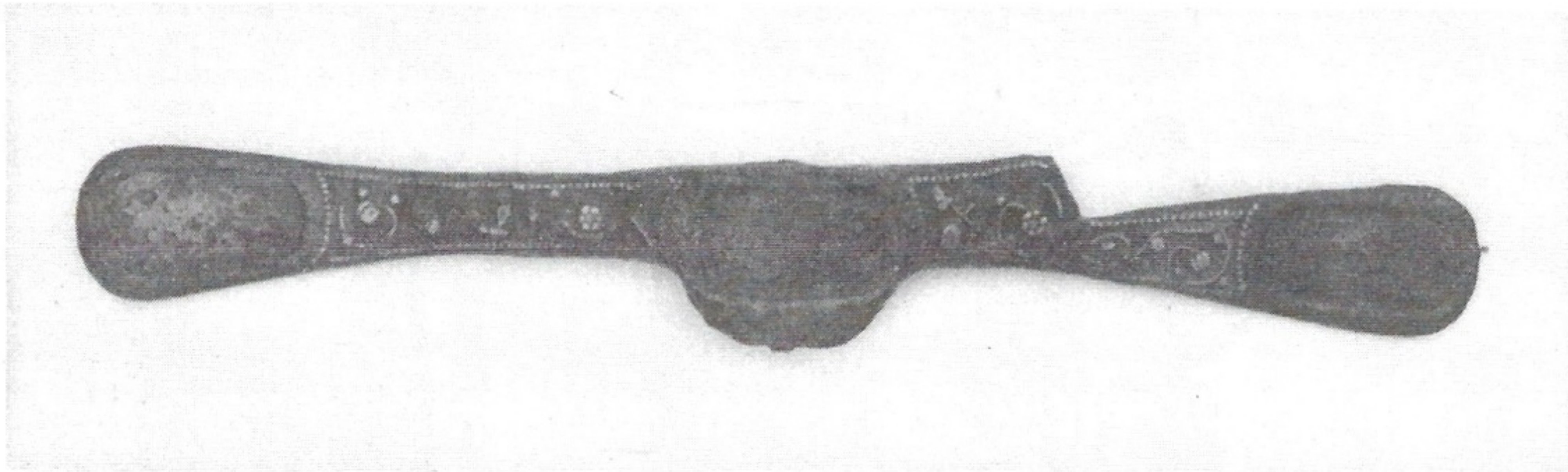
Map of Plymouth as it was c. 1701 after *Ancient Landmarks of Plymouth* by W. T. Davis, Boston, 1899. The Doty-Warren property is located at the south-east end of what was then called New Street.

covered at the wreck (1609) of the *Sea Venture* off Bermuda, thus giving us a *terminus a quo* at least as early as that date. [35] A somewhat more complicated guard also from Jamestown, which is probably English, has been tentatively identified by Blair [36] as dating c. 1570 on account of its similarity to that shown in an English portrait (Edward Lyttleton of Longford, Shropshire) of 1568. One guard at Jamestown can be definitely identified as Scottish, third quarter of the 17th century. [37] This is an example of the "West Highland," "beak-nose," or "ribbon" hilt first shown in Michael Wright's portrait of an unidentified Highland chief (c. 1670). [38]

The four swords at Pilgrim Hall have attributions to historic individuals who are associated with the founding of Plymouth and its early years; the Winslow House relic does not, and any attempt to assign an early provenance to it must be totally speculative. With this *caveat* in mind one must proceed cautiously in an attempt to determine who might have owned the sword originally. The search must begin with the property where the sword was found.

The first known owner of the land was Edward Doty, a London youth and one of the original settlers. He came aboard the *Mayflower* as the bond servant of Stephen Hopkins. Doty was a member of the exploring party dispatched to find a suitable harbor when the ship dropped anchor off Cape Cod. He served his term of indenture and in the early records of the colony he is described as a "freeman," "yeoman," and "planter." Doty probably acquired the lot about the time the street (North Street) was laid out in the early 1630's. After his death in 1655, [39] title passed to his son, Samuel, who in turn conveyed the property to his niece, Sarah, and her husband, James Warren, in 1703. The Warrens sold the tract in 1710 to a





14

Silver embellished cross guard of an early 17th century English sword, the quillon block and terminals originally inlaid with plaquettes (now missing). This may also have had a side ring. *Dan Phillips collection. Photograph courtesy of Claude Blair.*

Charles Little of Marshfield, thus ending the Doty-Warren association with the property. Eventually, ownership passed to the Tory, Edward Winslow, who built the house which is still in existence today.

What use did Edward Doty and his immediate descendants make of the land? We do know that the location was extremely desirable in the 17th century. In Plymouth by the early 1630's, many original lot owners were living on larger and more prosperous farms outside the town. In 1633, the town government ordered them to live on their house lots or turn them over to new settlers who were desperate for living quarters. It would appear therefore that Doty used the property for residential purposes soon after acquiring it. The first indication of a dwelling is shown on a map of Plymouth executed c. 1701, two years before Sarah and James Warren received title to the property. Sarah's uncle, Samuel Doty, had moved to Piscataway, N.J. as early as 1678 and so the Warrens, as tenants, may have lived on the premises prior to 1703.

Warren's grandfather, Richard, was also one of the original settlers. Little is known of Richard Warren prior to the *Mayflower* voyage. He was probably born c. 1580 [40] and was obviously a man of some rank as Governor William Bradford accorded him the prefix "Mr.", [41] a term used then to distinguish an individual on account of birth or achievement. Warren may have been one of the five assistant governors elected in 1624 as he was noted as being a "usefull instrumente." [42] After his death in 1628, his widow Elizabeth's land dealings show that he was among the wealthier of the original colonists. Another indication of Warren's rank is that Elizabeth was not obliged to remarry as was the case with other widows during the early days of the colony, and over the years she was customarily accorded the distinctive title of "Mrs" when most women were called "goodwife." Warren came originally from London and was a merchant of that city. [43] Like Doty, he was a member of the exploring party when the *Mayflower* arrived off Cape Cod. [44] From this we may assume that Warren set out on the journey across the Atlantic armed with at least a sword and perhaps a firearm. His will, unfortunately, has not been discovered.

Richard Warren's elder son, Nathaniel, was born at Plymouth in 1624 or 1625, only about three years before his father's demise. Nathaniel's death occurred in 1667 in the same town and his inventory records "Item 1 muskett and two swords" with a value of one pound for the lot. One sword might have been inherited from his father.



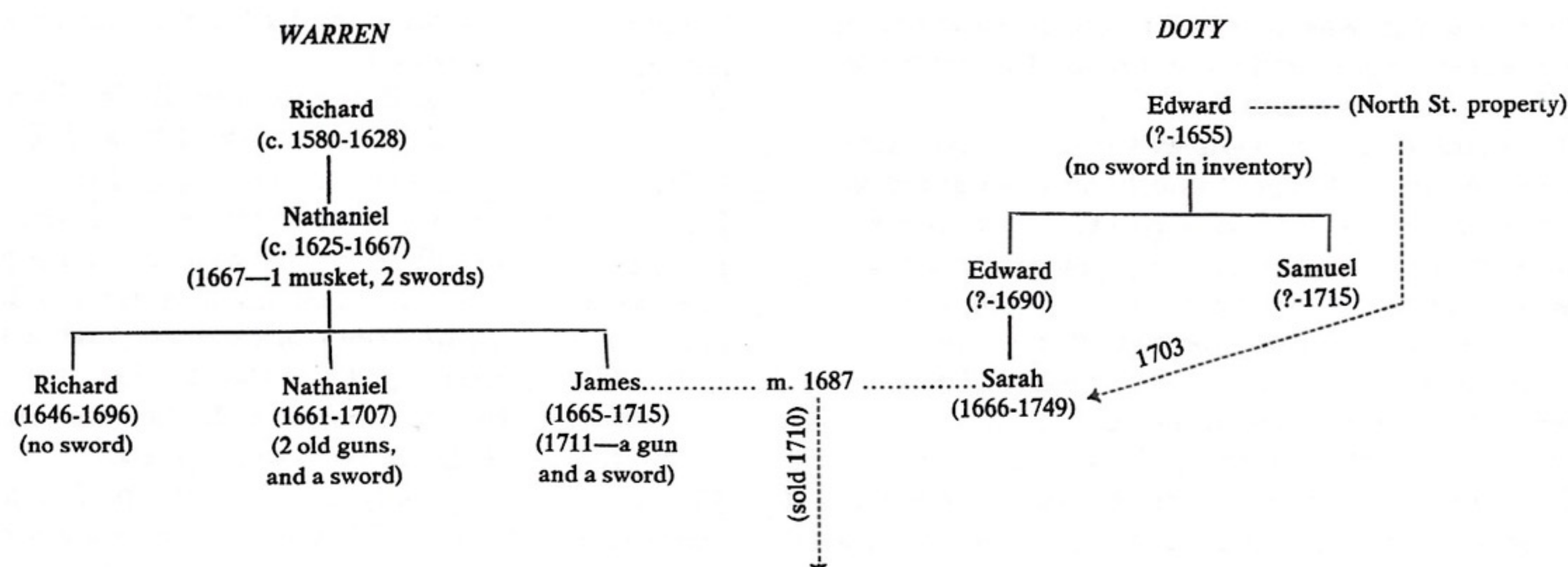


15

Cross-hilted sword, English, early 17th century, the hilt encrusted with silver. *Tøjhusmuseet, Copenhagen. Catalog C.60/1942. Photograph courtesy Dr. Arne Hoff.*

Nathaniel fathered five sons including the above-mentioned James Warren, born 1665 and in 1687 to marry into the Doty family, thus sharing title to the lot where the sword, the subject of this paper, was excavated. Nathaniel's first born, Richard (1646-1696), had a very small inventory at his death and no mention of a sword. The second son (1661-1707), named after his father, had an extensive inventory which listed "2 old guns, Sword." Two other sons of the senior Nathaniel Warren, John and Jabez, apparently died intestate as neither wills nor inventories have been located. A year after disposing of the Doty property, James Warren made his will, dated 28 January, 1711/12, leaving his only son "My Gun sword all my clothes."





16

Genealogy of the Warren and Doty families. Ownership of the property where the sword was excavated is indicated by a dashed line.

The number of references to “swords” in the Warren family inventories raises several tantalizing questions which can never be answered. As stated previously, attributing ownership of the sword to Richard Warren would be highly speculative, and to do so would be on the strength of inferential reasoning. Regardless, the sword, now little more than a fragment, remains a compelling enigma associated with the early years of Plymouth Colony.

I wish to thank the following for their assistance in the preparation of this paper: Claude Blair, Keeper of the Department of Metalwork, Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Anne Borden Harding, former Historian General, The General Society of Mayflower Descendants, Plymouth; Dr. John F. Hayward, Sotheby's Works of Art Department, London; Dr. Arne Hoff, Director (ret.), Tøjhusmuseet, Copenhagen; I. Noël Hume, Director, Department of Archaeology, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; Kay S. Nielsen, Curator, Tøjhusmuseet, Copenhagen; A V B Norman, Master of the Armouries, H.M. Tower of London; and Laurence R. Pizer, Director, The Pilgrim Society, Plymouth.

A special note of appreciation to Eugene A. Stratton, Historian General of The General Society of Mayflower Descendants who photographed the Plymouth sword, examined all of the existing wills and inventories of the Warren and Doty families, and read the MS, offering several helpful suggestions and corrections which have been incorporated into the text.—A.D.D.

## FOOTNOTES

1. The first was Jamestown, settled in 1607.
2. It has become customary to refer to all the participants of the voyage as “Pilgrims.” They apparently were not known as such until after Nathaniel Morton published his *New England Memoriall* in 1669.
3. Three died before reaching Plymouth, one was born at sea, and another was born in Provincetown Harbor.
4. The house was purchased in 1898 by Charles L. Willoughby of Chicago. Extensive changes were made including moving the house back 30 feet and raising it five feet on a new foundation.

The old kitchen was removed and put in the garden where for many years it was used as a tea house for Mrs. Willoughby to entertain her guests. The General Society of Mayflower Descendants acquired the property in 1941 and has maintained it as a museum open to the public during the summer months.

5. AVB Norman, *The Rapier and Small Sword, 1460-1820*, London, 1980, p. 70.

6. *Ibid.*

7. The tang of the blade passed through the grip and pommel and then its tip was peened over the tang-button to keep the sword components together. Many hilts had a separate tang-



button which was screwed to the threaded tang tip extending outside the top of the pommel.

8. See figures 6 and 7.

9. Later this extension was made thicker (the pommel hole enlarged) and bent at an angle so when the blade tang was peened over, the extension was driven into the pommel for a more secure grip. About the same time, or slightly later, an alternative method of attaching the knuckle bow to the pommel by means of a screw originated. See Norman, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

10. Briefly, damascening is accomplished by first heating the metal to be decorated and engraving or "hatching" a design into it with a very sharp pointed instrument. Then gold or silver is hammered into the cut design. Encrusting is much the same except that the metal used for the decoration is left standing proud and then engraved or chiselled. For a detailed study of these methods of decoration on sword hilts see Norman, *Ibid.*, pp. 358-362.

11. The blade was probably straight.

12. Meaning double-edged.

13. The grip may have been covered with a thin strand of wire (brass, copper, or silver), alternating strands of wire of different thicknesses, or perhaps wrapped with leather or fish-skin (usually shark or dog-fish).

14. The author wishes to thank AVB Norman for bringing this to his attention.

15. Illustrated in Claude Blair, *European and American Arms, c. 1100-1850*, N.Y., 1962, fig. 73 and John F. Hayward, "English Swords 1600-1650," *Arms and Armor Annual*, Northfield, Ill., 1973, p. 152.

16. Illustrated in Howard M. Curtis, "A Brief History of the European Sword, Part IV," *Arms Gazette*, Aug. 1976, North Hollywood, p. 49.

17. Sir Guy Laking, *A Record of European Armour and Arms Through Seven Centuries*, Vol. V, London, 1922, p. 257.

18. Hayward, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

19. See *ibid.*, figs. 7-12 and Blair, *European and American Arms*, figs. 79, 80.

20. Hayward, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

21. In an article contained in a *Festschrift* prepared for Hugo Schneider of the Swiss National Museum. The author wishes to thank Claude Blair for bringing this to his attention.

22. This sword is described in detail in Sir James Mann, *Wallace Collection Catalogues: European Arms and Armour*, Vol. II, London, 1962, pp. 263-4, plate 113.

23. Norman, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 162-3.

25. Illustrated in M.R. Holmes, *Arms and Armour in Tudor and Stuart London*, London, 1970, fig. 23D.

26. The Hounslow sword blade factory, located a few miles from London and therefore outside the jurisdiction of the London Cutlers' Company, is discussed in *ibid.*, pp. 33-37 and Hayward, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-161. The factory had its beginnings in 1629 when two German smiths were

brought over from Solingen by Sir William Heydon and King Charles I.

27. This sword is illustrated in Blair, *European and American Arms*, fig. 128 and Eric Valentine, *Rapiers*, London, 1968, fig. 13.

28. By the National Park Service. One complete rapier, classified by Norman, *op. cit.*, p. 124, as a Type 52, is illustrated in Harold L. Peterson, *Arms and Armor in Colonial America, 1526-1783*. Harrisburg, Pa. 1956, pl. 82.

29. Now in the Smithsonian Institution and illustrated as pl. 83 in Peterson, *op. cit.*

30. Classified by Norman, *op. cit.*, p. 231 as Inner Guard Type 30. Now in the possession of the Department of Archaeology, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. The author wishes to thank the Foundation's director, I. Noël Hume, for bringing this to his attention.

31. One complete sword is illustrated in Peterson, *op. cit.*, pl. 92.

32. Other excavated guards are in the possession of the Virginia Landmarks Commission and the Department of Anthropology, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg.

33. Peterson, *op. cit.*, pl. 93, lower-left and upper-right.

34. *Directions for Musters*, Thomas Buck and Roger Daniel printers, Cambridge, 1638. Reproduced in Maurice J.D. Cockle, *A Bibliography of Military Books up to 1642*, London, 1900 and 1957, pl. IX.

35. The author is most grateful to I. Noël Hume who identified this specimen and supplied drawings of it.

36. Claude Blair, "The Early Basket-Hilt in Britain," *Scottish Weapons and Fortifications 1100-1800*, Edinburgh, 1981, fig. 120. Also illustrated in Peterson, *op. cit.*, pl. 93, lower-right.

37. Illustrated in Peterson, *op. cit.*, pl. 93, upper-left.

38. Examples are shown in Anthony D. Darling, "The Earliest Scottish Basket-Hilted Swords," *Man at Arms*, volume one, number four (July/August, 1979), Providence, R.I., figs. 5-7; George C. Neumann, *Swords and Blades of the American Revolution*, Harrisburg, Pa., 1973, No. 232.s; and John Wallace, *Scottish Swords and Dirks*, London, 1970, No. 20.

39. Doty's will and inventory do not mention a sword.

40. Warren's widow died in 1673 and was described in the records as being above 90 years in age. Assuming Warren had married a woman around his own age, "c. 1580" has been used as the date of his birth.

41. Pronounced "Master."

42. George F. Willison, *The Pilgrim Reader*, Garden City, N.Y., 1953, p. 248n.

43. Hubert Kinney Shaw, Compiler, *Families of the Pilgrims: Richard Warren* (rev. by Eugene A. Stratton), Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants, Boston, 1955, p. 3.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 4.