Report on SAS Study Day 25th September 2021
Southampton & Hampshire at the time of the Mayflower

The scheduled programme was altered due to Andy Russel being unable to attend.

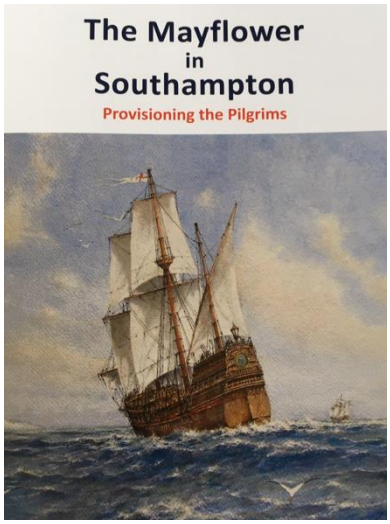
Southampton and the Story of the Mayflower by Godfrey Collyer

Godfrey began with a comprehensive history of the religious background of the Protestant Reformation: the church in the early 16th century was very corrupt, when 'Indulgences' were sold to the rich, promising forgiveness of their sins. In 1517 Martin Luther (1483 – 1546) nailed notices to Wittenberg church doors condemning this corruption. He was arrested and sent to trial, but before being sentenced, he was rescued and went into hiding. During this time, he translated the bible from Latin to enable the common people to read it. In England, Henry VIII was a devout Catholic but in 1530 he wished to annul his marriage and marry Anne Boleyn, when he proclaimed himself head of the Church of England, starting the English Reformation. In his heart Henry remained Catholic and church services retained many Catholic practices, while his son Edward VI was strongly Protestant, encouraged by his stepmother Catherine Parr (Henry's sixth wife). On Edward's death in 1553, Henry's catholic daughter Queen Mary I (Bloody Mary) came to the throne and reversed the Reformation, which was again overturned by Protestant Queen Elizabeth in 1560. Her successor James I was a staunch Protestant, coming to the throne in 1603 when he called a conference of church leaders to try to accommodate all religions. In 1611 the James I Bible was published in English, giving access to all who could read.

The Puritans were Protestants who wanted to remove the remnants of Catholicism from the English church. One group known as Separatists believed that according to the bible, priests were not necessary to follow their faith. They were persecuted for their views. An enclave of Separatists existed near Scrooby in Nottinghamshire, led by a printer, William Brewster, who advised that England was not safe, and the group could have more freedom to worship in Holland. After many difficulties, the group travelled to Amsterdam, but they were farmers and had to take unskilled jobs in the city, and after some problems with another group in that area, so they moved to Leiden, where they remained from 1608 to 1620. During 16th century religious wars between Holland and Spain, the Spanish held part of Belgium where the Protestant Walloons were victimised (some of them moved to Southampton where they adopted the French Church, St Julien Chapel for their worship). After the defeat of the Armada in 1588 a truce was agreed between Spain and Holland, but by 1620 this was breaking down, and the group of Separatists in Leiden decided to move to the new territories of America. Their decision was due in part to the fact that many of the original group were ageing, their children were moving away and many were attracted to take up missionary work, all of which depleted their group.

The Separatists approached the Merchant Adventurers of London to help them, which included Adventurers Edwin Sands, Thomas Weston, Robert Cushman, Edwin Southworth, with Separatists John Carver (who obtained supplies for the Mayflower) and Christopher Martin (who seems to have been disliked by everyone). This organisation encouraged

others to join with the Separatists as Settlers, one of whom was Stephen Hopkins from Southampton. Weston arranged with Christopher Jones, part-owner of the Mayflower, to transport the Separatists to America, while the group in Leiden purchased the Speedwell to join Mayflower and go on to America. Speedwell was refitted, and it was to remain in America to enable the group to navigate the coast and rivers. In July 1620, Mayflower left London and Speedwell sailed from Delfhaven to meet in Southampton, with four distinct groups of people on board; sailors, servants, settlers and Separatists. The two ships were to take on supplies at Southampton, which needed to be done quickly as it was dangerous for the Separatists in England. John Carver, John Howland, Christopher Martin and John Langmire were in Southampton buying supplies – they had £700 to buy goods, not only for the journey, but to enable the group to set up their base in America.



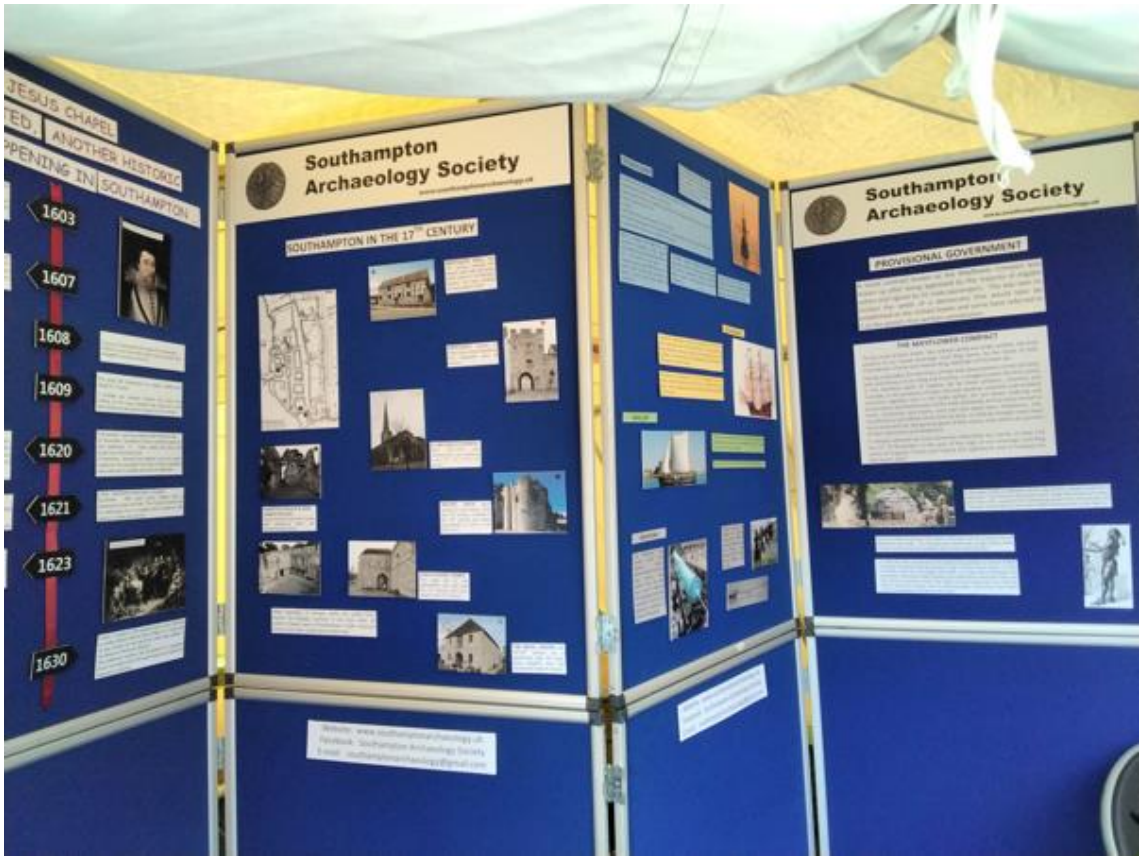
*Godfrey Collyer's book **The Mayflower in Southampton,** published by See Southampton, price £7.95 from www.seesouthampton.co.uk.*

Most provisions on board were stored in barrels and the group enlisted a cooper for the voyage: John Alden, son of a fletcher from Southampton. John was to make the journey and possibly return with the Mayflower, but he met and married the daughter of one of the families and decided to stay in America. His descendants include the poet Longfellow, Marilyn Munroe, Orson Welles, Dick Van Dyke and Jodie Foster, amongst many others. In Southampton, the two ships captains met and planned the journey. On the maps of the time made by Captain John Smith, most place names in America were derived from the native tongue but Charles I had given them English names. Their arrival in Southampton was the first time the settlers and Separatists met, and Martin would embark with them on the Mayflower and Carver on the Speedwell to oversee the passengers. John Robinson, pastor of the Leiden Separatists (who did not go with them) wrote a letter advising that they would need to be tolerant, which was read on the quayside before leaving. This was to become the basis for the Mayflower Compact.

On the channel crossing from Delfshaven Speedwell was found to be leaking, and had to be repaired in Southampton. It is thought that during the refit, the ship was "over-masted", which put pressure on the ship's structure. The work took two weeks to complete and the group had to sell off most of their butter and oil to pay their debts, leaving them short of stores. It had been agreed that to pay the Merchant Adventurers back for their outlay of money, the settlers would work one day a week on building their houses, four days working for the Merchant Adventurers (trapping for furs and fishing) with one day to rest, so after seven years the houses and land would be theirs. But they needed more money and a new contract was proposed by the MA excluding the houses and land, which the group would not sign. Weston withdrew the money and the contract was eventually agreed, but the ships stayed in Southampton altogether two and a half weeks (luckily not reported to the Government). The printer William Brewster who had been in hiding joined them just as they left port.

The two ships sailed in August, but Speedwell still leaked and they put into Dartmouth for further repairs. Setting out again, they sailed some 300 miles into the Atlantic but had to turn back to Plymouth for more repairs. It was decided that that Speedwell was not seaworthy, so a group of 102 passengers left on the Mayflower alone; the remaining Speedwell passengers returned to London, some to make the journey on another ship later. On board the Mayflower were 74 males and 28 females; 37 of these were from Leiden, 18 were servants and there were 31 children. The group made land in Cape Cod after 66 days at sea on 19th November 1620, weathering heavy storms on the way. They later left Cape Cod and travelled across the bay to the area of Plimouth where they made their settlement. They had to stay on board while building the first houses and during this heavy winter, Carver and Martin and their families both died, together with many others. Before leaving the ship in January 1621 the Mayflower Compact was drawn up and signed by all male members of the group. One of the Scrooby Separatists, William Bradford became Governor of the American settlement named Plimouth Plantation, and he wrote about the Mayflower story in 1589-90 in a book called "*Of Plimouth Plantation*". Another settler Edward Winslowe from Droitwich 1595 also wrote two books about the settlement.

William Bradford's book disappeared during the American War of Independence (1776 -9), but in the late 19th century it was found in London at Fulham Library which belonged to the Bishop of London. In May 1897 the book was handed to the American Ambassador who came to Southampton to join the SS Paris, and returned the book to the American people.
Godfrey Collyer is a founder member and guide with See Southampton Guides.



Display by Mandy Kesby on ***Southampton & Hampshire at the time of the Mayflower.*** *1: Timeline; 2: Southampton in the 17th century; 3: The ships and ordnance; 4: Provisional Government (the Mayflower Compact). Photo – M Kesby*

Ships & Shipping by Tobias Riley

At the time of the Mayflower, most ships had either three or four masts and it is thought that the Mayflower had three masts with square rigging, designed to carry goods around the coasts of Europe. These vessels were often around 48 feet wide, but Mayflower was perhaps only half that. Most medieval ships had rounded hulls but by the 17th century they had become streamlined, allowing larger vessels to be built which gave better stability, especially for Atlantic journeys. This made them more difficult to manoeuvre, although English ships were generally more stable and manoeuvrable than French or Spanish vessels of the time. The vessels were usually twice as long as they were wide, clinker built and held together by caulking without nails. Oak timber would be used for beams with planks of pine, and any weight or infrastructure would be at the stern.

Southampton's Port Books record large numbers of ships and cargoes, with ships trading wine from Spain, France and the Canary Islands, and from England exporting wool and cloth mainly to France. The Mayflower was trading around Europe before undertaking its historic voyage, transporting wine, hemp, vinegar, hats, herring, shovels, muskets, butter and other commodities, and also taking passengers who paid with goods or cash.

In Tudor House are many graffiti drawings of ships from the early 17th century, with rigging and square sails, gun ports and some with crew members dressed in armour and holding spears. Sketches show two-masted ships, others with three or four masts, some with Union flags, possibly English men-of-war and later than 1606. They were clearly drawn by someone with good knowledge of ships in 16/17th centuries, possibly a sailor. Graffiti was very common and fairly acceptable in this era and helped to pass the time! It is also helpful in gaining an insight into many different historical facts and thoughts. In 20th century two reconstructions of Mayflower were built and sailed over the Atlantic in attempts to recreate the voyage in 'authentic' conditions, with the crew in 17th century costume.

17th century ship graffito in Tudor House Museum, Southampton.
Drawing by Southampton Archaeology Unit.

Tobias Riley is an environmental archaeologist who works for Southampton Archaeology Unit.

Clothing at the Time of the Mayflower Pilgrims by Mary Harris

Mary was dressed in 17th century costume: a splendid red woollen outfit of divided skirt and long-sleeved fitted bodice, with apron, collar and coif made of linen. She explained that at this time, except for the Queen and Royal Court, clothes were generally in the same style across the social scale, although the wealthy had better quality materials, improved dyes and well-tailored garments. Men always wore a hat and women a coif to cover their hair.

Any clothing worn next to the skin was made of linen as it was easier to wash, while the outer garments were woollen. At that time material was woven in narrow bolts of fabric, and garments were therefore made up from triangles or rectangles. Woollen garments would be shaped and made up by a tailor, which was expensive but would last a lifetime if well cared for, and could be passed to others after your death. Young girls would learn to sew using linen. Underwear was minimal: women wore a linen shift and no pants, and men wore a long shirt which tucked between the legs in place of pants. Women's overgarments were a bodice and skirt, and for men, doublet, breeches and jacket. Clothes for women would be fastened by lacing or hooks and eyes, whereas men had buttons. Both wore knitted hose (stockings) with latchet shoes, men's brightly coloured but women's usually undyed as they were not seen. In the later 17th century, split skirts would be worn with an underskirt, making it easier to draw up the skirt out of the dirt.

Wealthier women wore straight boned corsets and women would often sit on stools, so a boned corset helped to support their backs. A busk was sometimes worn, made from wood, but this could easily break when a female was working. Women wore a coif, some of which covered their necks and men might wear a kerchief around their necks so their skin did not touch the woollen garments. More elaborate versions of similar clothing were probably kept for holidays and Sunday best. Men wore steeple-crowned hats made from beaver fur, sent back from America to be made up and then re-exported to the Colony (since these animals had become extinct in England). For work, an apron would be worn over everyday clothes, made of cloth or leather, the latter especially for trades such as blacksmiths. Children's clothes were similar to adults', but boys would wear gowns while very young.

The Mayflower passengers came from all over England and most of them were farmers, with some land owners. In Leiden they had to take unskilled work within the town so they would not have had training to undertake the task of making clothing when they arrived in America. It was therefore necessary for them to take a supply with them, and many of those who died on America left wills including items such as shoes and boots. It is not thought they took looms or spinning equipment with them on their journey and they would not have been self-sufficient for some years. Spinning was generally undertaken by women and weaving by men; and most materials were woven in 30-yard lengths and then dyed. After weaving, the nap was raised by brushing the material with teasels and trimming the nap. 17th century dyers normally used three dye colours: madder roots for red; weld flowers for yellow; woad for blue (with woad, the material at first appears yellow but on exposure to air, it turns blue). Allum was added to the dye to set the colour.

The American Colonists are nearly always depicted wearing black, which was a difficult colour to obtain. Even mixing the dyes would not result in black unless dyed many times, which was costly and weakened the material, so it faded and would not last long. Later in the 17th century, cochineal arrived from South America for use as a red dye, and people would have been quite colourfully dressed in this era. The will of William Brewster, one of the Colonists who died in 1644, mentions clothing of many bright colours.

A woman called Mary Ring had sailed in 1620 on the Speedwell and when that voyage was curtailed she returned to London. She went out to America in 1630 and an inventory of her effects included a supply of clothing and cloth. When writing back to England, the Colonists advised any future settlers to take a good supply of clothes, cloth and bedding.

Roger and Mary Harris dressed in mid-17th century style (outer garments spun, woven, dyed and sewn by Mary). Photo – Mandy Kesby

Later emigrants to Massachusetts Bay Colony are known to have used 'Monmouth caps' (knitted and felted waterproof hats something like 'beanies', popular in the 14th – 16th centuries). Also mentioned are Irish stockings, used until Henry VIII's time, which were harder wearing in the foot than the English type and made from cloth. A waterlogged burial (known as Gunnister Man) from late 17th/early 18th century has been excavated in Shetland with remnants of clothing, where the feet of knitted hose had been replaced with cloth.

Pottery and Kilns by Roger Harris

Roger was dressed as a 17th century artisan from top to toe: steeple-crowned hat, round spectacles, linen shirt with jerkin, breeches, hose, stout shoes and leather purse. He pointed out that surprisingly no pots are listed among the settlers' provisions, although strong stoneware jugs were produced in Leiden, and cooking and storage pots made locally in Devon and Hampshire: but no evidence of these was found during excavations. Two early inventories of 1621 mentioned an earthenware pot, and another of 1640 a stone jug. The early settlers came upon nearby villages which native people had abandoned, and they used stores of corn left behind by the former inhabitants along with their storage pots, made with rounded bottoms, and some footed pots.

Excavation of the early Plimouth settlement in America has revealed remnants of buildings with walls of split timbers and thatched roofs: there was no clay nearby so they were unable to use traditional English methods of building (timber frame with wattle and daub walls and brick-built chimney). All pottery vessels would have been imported before clay supplies

were located about 15-20 years after their arrival at Marshfield, some distance away. Later in the century they were able to make bricks for building, and to produce pottery locally. Initially a cartwheel would have been used as a rudimentary potter's wheel, being mounted on a frame with a fly wheel using a pole to spin it, and later improvising a kick wheel. The potter's seat used would have been raked at an angle to enable him to perch on it. At Little Woodham 17th century village in Gosport, they have improvised this model of a potters' wheel which works well, although Roger found the heel of his right boot quickly became worn down in using the kick wheel, so he needed to protect it with hobnails.

In America an experimental kiln was built for the reconstruction of Plimouth Plantation and Roger contacted one of the archaeologists, who kindly sent him the notes and drawings, which enabled the Little Woodham Village group to build a similar kiln. Another model was a well-preserved kiln excavated at Barnstable where the kiln had a double fire box, with a brick floor. Clay for the kiln built at Little Woodham was supplied by Michelmersh Brick Company, New Forest. Their first firing experiment was with 'slip-trailed wares', using a cow horn to apply the slip and making galley pots and tankards - however, it took a year to make enough pots to fill the kiln! The temperatures reached 1000° inside and 700° outside, with flames issuing from the top: they found dry bracken useful for increasing the temperature, while green vegetation would douse it. There were several problems in managing a 17th century kiln, but the first pots were fairly successful and they hope future firings will work even better, so they can be more adventurous in the type of pots produced.

Roger Harris prepares clay for making pots at Little Woodham 17th century village. Photo – Little Woodham

Mary and Roger Harris are part of Gosport Living History Society re-enactment group @ Little Woodham 17th century village based at Rowner, Gosport, Hants (www.littlewoodham.org.uk).

Protestant Dissenters in 17th Century Hampshire by Dr Rosalind Johnson

The Elizabethan Settlement 1559 was introduced early in the reign of Elizabeth I, as a 'middle way' between Protestant reform and Catholic ceremony, but it made church attendance on Sunday compulsory, and not everyone was happy. Catholics did not wish to

attend services in the Church of England; the Puritans sought further reforms to eliminate 'popish' practices such as confession and the worship of images; while Separatists wanted freedom to worship outside the church (eventually they left England for Leiden in Holland).

In 1603 surveys of Religion in Winchester and Southampton presented contrasting statistics: Winchester – 1947 adult males, of whom 66 were Catholic and 26 'non-communicants'; Southampton – 2138 adult males, with no Catholics and no 'non-communicants'.
There appeared to be more unanimous acceptance of the Protestantism in Southampton, where St Julien's Chapel was adopted in 1567 by members of the French Reformed Church who had emigrated from France and the Low Countries, and perhaps had some influence on Southampton Protestants. The congregation declined in numbers in 17th century (only fifteen members attended in 1665) while others chose the local parish church; it was reported there was little contact between the Chapel clergy and local C of E clergy, and few local people joined the French Church, though this revived with arrival of Huguenots. The spread of Puritanism in Southampton can be seen by the parish of St Lawrence purchasing an hour glass in 1606 (for timing sermons?); but on the other hands in 1609/10 Catholic preachers from Ireland were invited, and reports of illicit RC books being smuggled into the port hidden in bales of goods, or brought by RC priests.
The Bible was first published in English under Henry VIII in 1539, while in 1568 the Bishop's Bible appeared, both widely used in churches. Between 1557 and 1560 the Geneva Bible was published in English and was widely bought as it was affordable. It was popular among Dissenters as discussion points were printed in the margins which to encourage debate among the congregation. The Authorised King James Bible was published in 1611, endorsed by King James I, who disliked the Geneva Bible which was banned in England (it was later reprinted in 1644 but after this was made illegal copies were "back dated" to the 1500s).

In 1618 church records in Hampshire record infringements of working on a Sunday:
1. Selling meat in Winchester.
2. Working on the Sabbath in Preston Candover.
3. Barbers working in Southampton.
4. Mowing in Broughton on a Sunday; haymaking at Holdenhurst.
5. 3 Hampshire men bowling in the churchyard.
6. A woman from Fawley "with a man" in the churchyard.
7. Sherborne St John had a drunken man "spewing" in church.
8. Ringwood had people out of church during service.

It was expected that after childbirth, a woman should undertake a service of "churching". St Michael's Church in Michelmersh records women being fined for not attending.

Early in the 17th century religion in Hampshire seems to have conformed with government regulations, but by 1642 dissatisfaction with the Church of England increased: the Book of Common Prayer is criticised as 'popish'; and few Hampshire parishes had a 'godly' preacher.

Dr Rosalind Johnson is a visiting research professor at the University of Winchester and gained her PhD for research on Protestant Dissenters in Hampshire 1640 to 1740.

Members of the audience during a coffee break: note the display panels in the background. *Photo – Matt Garner*

Southampton's Mayflower Memorial by Jo Bailey

A programme of conservation and refurbishment for the Mayflower Memorial was planned to take place before the 400th anniversary, and Jo was able to undertake research into the memorial using on-line and local archives records.

The story of the Mayflower became of more interest to the town in the mid 19th century: Southampton's role in the Mayflower story had previously been little mentioned, but at this time Atlantic shipping lines were beginning to use the port. In 1909 the idea of a memorial was proposed and supported by the mayor (Mr Oakley) and the Council. This was just two years after the Americans had built a very large memorial in Cape Cod. Over 4,000 letters were written and national British newspapers featured it, but there was some opposition in Southampton despite letters from a local antiquarian. The same year a competition was launched for the design of a memorial which was won by the town architect R M Lucas who suggested it be built into the town walls. However, the cost was very high and fundraising disappointing so the design did not go ahead. The architect designed a more modest and realistic design at a cost of £600 which was decided upon, and in 1912 the foundation stone was laid - on the 292nd anniversary of the Mayflower sailing. This was completed and officially unveiled in time for the 293rd anniversary in 1913, when the Prime Minister attended. The monument base was brick built, with Portland stone columns with a finer stone used for the pillars at the top, and it is still the only memorial to the voyage in this country. It was unveiled by the American Ambassador using a burning torch of liberty.

At the 300th anniversary in 1920 a very large commemoration was held. The Mayor Sydney Kimber arranged a masquerade to be performed (called *John Alden's Choice*). Seven stone

plaques were installed on the monument's base, and since then, six more bronze plaques have been added.

The Mayflower Memorial, December 2021. Photo – S Hanna

For the 400th anniversary in 2020 the memorial was to undergo conservation and repairs, and it was found that the pillars at the top were badly split due to corrosion of the metal reinforcement rods, and the stone capitals and panels eroded. Stonemasons from Chichester re-carved the details but unfortunately work stopped for several weeks due to Covid measures, although they were able to recommence in June 2020. On the mosaic dome missing tesserae were also replaced and the Mayflower model was removed. It was found to be damaged and badly corroded, and made with quite crude workmanship, but as it is at high level this was not a problem. It was originally made by Lankester & Sons Ltd (a local firm) in July 1930. Southampton City Council commissioned new plaques for the memorial, to commemorate groups of refugees who have come into Southampton since that time, as well as a memorial for the Wampanoag people of Patuxet (renamed Plimouth Colony by the Mayflower passengers). Two new history information panels have been installed nearby. The work was completed in time for the anniversary on 15th August 2020, Covid restrictions meant that only a small-scale commemoration was staged.

Jo Bailey studied Archaeology at the University of Southampton and she became the Monuments and Memorials Officer for Southampton City Council in March 2020.