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### CAPE ANN FISHERMEN, THE PILGRIMS, AND ENGLAND IN 1623 LECTURE FINDING AID & TRANSCRIPT

<b>Speaker:</b>	Todd Gray
<b>Date:</b>	7/14/2011
<b>Runtime:</b>	1:15:24
<b>Camera Operator:</b>	Bob Quinn
<b>Identification:</b>	VL35; Video Lecture #35
<b>Citation:</b>	Gray, Todd. "Cape Ann Fishermen, The Pilgrims, and England in 1623." CAM Video Lecture Series, 7/14/2011. VL35, Cape Ann Museum Library & Archives, Gloucester, MA.
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<b>Language:</b>	English
<b>Finding Aid:</b>	Description: Karla Kaneb, 5/5/2020. Transcript: Paul Romary, 5/12/2020.

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#### Video Description

As the 400th anniversary of Gloucester nears, learn about the city's earliest settlers from a perspective on the other side of the Atlantic with this lecture by Dr. Todd Gray, a native of Gloucester who has lived in England and studied the history of its southwestern region for the past thirty years. Gray tells the story of how the fishermen of the Dorchester Company from Dartmouth, England,

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eventually made their way from Newfoundland to New England in search of cod and subsequently brought about the first attempt at forming a community in the area of Stage Fort Park. Gray presents the dynamics of religion and commerce in early 17th century England as factors that encouraged colonization in the New World yet also initially hindered settlement on Cape Ann. And as they say, the rest is history!

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### Subject list

John White	Dartmouth, England
Charles I	Plymouth, England
Fernando Gorges	Isles of Shoals
Squanto	Plymouth Colony
Puritans	Dorchester Company
Pilgrims	Stage Fort Park
Todd Gray	Atlantic cod

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### Transcript

Hello, Welcome everyone. I'm Ronda Faloon. I'm the director of the Museum. And tonight it is my pleasure to introduce Dr. Todd Gray. Dr. Gray will present 'Cape Ann Fisherman, the Pilgrims and England in 1623.' In spite of his accent, Dr. Grey was born here in Gloucester, Massachusetts, not Gloucester, England, but for the past 30 years he's been living in England where he is an honorary research fellow at the University of Exeter. He's written more than 40 books on English history, but his main expertise lies in the history of the southern, southwest part of England. And this is where Gloucester's original colonists originated. So I believe that after the presentation Dr. Gray will be available for questions and I hope you enjoy the discussion. Thank you.

John Gray 1:11

Now, is that about right? Well, first of all, thank you very much for the nice introduction and having me and for everyone turning out for the museum and supporting the museum. It's my favorite museum. And the reason is, when I was a boy, this was the museum I came to first and I have a very sharp memory of going upstairs and being shown an apple corer, which was in the front room. Being told 'you'll never guess what this is'. And of course you don't at the age of seven or eight I think when we were brought here. And years later I came back and I don't know

if it's the same tour guide, but they said, "you'll never guess what this is?" And I've been waiting 20 or 30 years to say what it was. And I have to admit I was very popular.

But it's such a wonderful building. And it's such a wonderful collection. And it's just nice to be able to give something back to, you know, a building and a collection, and a town, which you know, is where I'm from. And there's a special reason why for me this is a great joy in that the man who inspired me to become a historian is here and I haven't seen him since I was 10. Needless to say, he hasn't changed a bit, Mr. Harling is here. And it's just, it's just a thrill. Because it's the wonder and the joy of having a teacher who can inspire you, and who can bring out things in you that you never knew were there. And all these years later, I still remember the history that he taught me. And that was 40 years ago. So it's just so nice. Thank you very much for coming.

Now what I would like to do is talk you through Cape Ann from the other side of the Atlantic and from the documents which explain what happened here and why. And I've been in a fortunate position in that I tend to...(working the remote) There we go. And I want to connect two things which I think are in people's minds about what... That wasn't me.

3:47

I want to connect what we think of as sort of early, I think what people used to think of, my memories of Gloucester before I left, so, and boy does it change after a short few weeks, of what Gloucester was like before it was Gloucester. (It's always the technology that gets you, isn't it. There we go.) And I want to connect it with the England that they came from and trying to work our way through as to what was in their minds when they were first here. And this place is key. This is one of the reasons why Cape Ann was founded. This is Dartmouth, and this building was going up in 1623. Now, it's shifted a bit since then, but the thing to look at is up at the top. I have a little.. if you look up at the top, these are little shingles. And they're made of slate, locally quarried, and that is a version of New England clapboard. We don't have that type of wood you can use in England, and particularly in the southwest where it would rot out because it rains a lot.

But what we do have, we protect the houses with these shingles. So our stone shingle expertise was translated here into the clapboard buildings that New England's known for. But that's not the main thing else. We can keep going. There we go. This is Dartmouth. And Dartmouth was the lead fishing port in southern England in 1623. They had nothing else to do, they only had fishing and there were lots of reasons why they wanted to come here. But they did fishing like nobody else. And because they did, I would say, we have Gloucester in 1623. The thing that we haven't thought of, on this side, is the connection between the Pilgrims, and it's a very useful term to say Pilgrims because we know with Plymouth, that if we think of the Pilgrims, this is one of the last places they saw in England. And I think there's an interesting idea about how that worked its way into their plans. (Gosh, this isn't, there we go.)

So when we look at all these various images we have, these 19th century images of what did it look like when the Pilgrims arrived, they had just left, and the type of people they are, matches very much with the type of place Dartmouth was at that time. And they of course went from two places. The last of all, both of them accidental, was the place on the other side, called Plymouth, which again was very much their kind of people. The Pilgrims saw, we have this in an account, the people that were in Plymouth were very much like them. Now, they are not people who want religious freedom. They want religious freedom for themselves and they want to impose that on everybody else. So this whole idea of America is born from this grandiose idea of religious freedom. It's, we want to restrict people to how we see it, but it's very much an English way of thinking. It isn't restricted to the Pilgrims. What we're doing is deciding the best way to worship and then have all of society follow that. And remember, of course, in England, we do not allow Catholics to worship as Catholics for more than 100 years, more than 150 years after the Pilgrims. It's not until the 1790s that you can openly pray as Catholic in England again. So, you know, it's a long-standing sense of freedom, but only along certain lines.

18:22

Now, I know there were certain, I was trying to work out the audience, and I'm told there was certain, you know, some people know an awful lot and some people haven't been that interested. And what I'm basically going to be talking about tonight is this part of England down here. That's the Southwest. London, of course, is on the right hand side. The markets that New England fish was going to was all along the French, the Spanish, the Portuguese all the way to Italy, and as far as Greece That's as far as the fish that was leaving here in 1623 was going to go, a long way. Now, the area of England that we're talking about is the Southwest down here. London's up this side. The Dorchester company is based all around here. So your people who came here are based just on this side, and these people in the southwest of England had an advantage over anybody else, because they were on the part that was closest to the New World.

Now the Dorchester company is based in Dorset and East Devon, these areas. Where the Pilgrims came in, a little place, that's Dartmouth and over here is Plymouth and all these coastlines are heavily involved with fishing. And the thing that we have to accept, first of all, is long before the Pilgrims, we had English fishermen in these shores for generations before and that the Pilgrims are interlopers, the new boys. Now, you ask yourself, why would you come all the way to New England for fish? Did they not have any fish in England at the time? Well, they did. Two main types of fishing in the southwest of England.

On the south coast, we have pilchards, on the north coast, there are herring, herring's a cold water fish, pilchards are a warm water fish and the Gulf Stream comes up and it hits the southwest and warm waters coming up from Spain and France, and it hits this coastline there. And the little pilchard is actually what you would know as a sardine. It's a tiny little sardine, lives off of Portugal and France and Spain. As it swims its way across to England, as it swims across, it eats. By the time it gets to England, it's a fat little fish with a great big belly, like a cod liver. You squeeze out the belly, the liver of the pilchard and you get enough oil, and like cod, we want

the oil as much as we want the fish because you use that oil. Everybody here has had cod liver oil, you know how tasty it is. And you know it's a little treat. Well, you use it for making soap and it's in cloth and it's for cooking, and it's for lighting lanterns, so you use it all the time.

Well, that is one thing that pilchards are good for, as with cod, which is why they had had it with the pilchards, and they realized they could get it with cod, so cod was more attractive. In the southwest, this is a map of the same date as the Dorchester company, this is early 1600s. And what you see there are two nets being driven by a seine net, by a seine boat, s-e-i-n-e . Now you know a seine boat better for the “greasy pole”, but those boats, what you do is, as the fish come into the shore, I can't do this without moving. Sorry, I'm going to move a bit now, this is terrible for camera, but I move. What you do as the pilchards come into the shore and you send out a little boat to the seine boat and you work your way around like that and you trap them in a big net. And you take another seine boat, you go in and get even closer. And you work your way so that we get closer and tighter and tighter and tighter so that there's hardly any water and it's all fish. Well, we do this in England, or we did. We don't do it as much anymore because they've been fished out. But this is what we were doing all the way through the 1600s. But it wasn't enough.

13:13

As plentiful as the fish is, we have a tremendous need for fish for two reasons. One is we've got Catholic fish days. One out of every three days you can't eat meat, right? You have to eat fish or you eat something else. And the same thing on the continent. And the other thing, is once every 10 years, the harvest fails. And usually it's more. Well if you don't have bread or beans, people are literally starving to death in England in 1623. There's no potatoes, you don't know what a potato is yet. We don't know what a tomato is, we don't what rice is or pasta. So all we have are beans or bread. But if you have fish, and it's dried and it's salted, you don't starve. So there's always a market for fish. And the English burn out the Portuguese and Spanish fishing fleets so they can't fish. So the English supply the Spanish and the Portuguese with fish. So, in the southwest of England, we're looking for more sources of fish. And what they tend to do is fishing on a scale no one else does in any other part of Britain. So where do we go? Well, we go out from places like this. This is a little place called Newton Ferris and it shouldn't be the sort of thing people in Gloucester know, because we've got one account book, which explains to us in a very funny way, how they did this. And this is a little book for the church wardens in England, all the way through, of course, up to 1650s, is one religion, always one religion, one place everybody has to go to on a Sunday. By law, if you don't go you're fined, no matter how you feel about it. Every Easter, the men leaving to go overseas have a special Mass. And we know this only because the little book talks about buying bread and wine. They buy 20 loaves of bread, and a few gallons of wine, which of course is for the Mass for turning the bread into the body and the wine into the blood of Christ.

Well, in that, we see every year from the 1580s these men going off to all the places that they fish, and every year it's someplace different and one of them is to here. But they don't say it's here. They don't say it's New England because they call it Virginia. Because the whole of the

seaboard from Canada down to Florida, at this time is called Virginia. We don't know what it's called, it's just that's what it is, Virginia. They have no idea how big it is. And when you have a grant of land, the Dorchester grant ran of course from here all the way across to the Pacific. Not bad for a few hundred pounds. Well, that is one of the places they go, go from. And this is the sort of cottage that they live out in the countryside. Made of what's called 'cob' and the closest thing, I think, is 'adobe' that Americans have. It's not brick, but it's a mixture of soil and straw and animal droppings. Put it that way, mixed up together, dried out in the sun. And they can be four or five feet thick. And then the top is thatch. Posher buildings will be made of stone and then they'll have the shingles. Well, that's what the buildings look like.

17:20

But this is where they're going. Now, we of course are way down here but the arc of fishing for most places, stretches all the way across the North Atlantic. So down to little New England, way down in, New England always seems quite big, but we're way down there. Where they go fishing is all along here in the 1620s but they've been doing it for a long time before. Now. What I was able to do as I work through the records in a way that nobody else has been interested in doing and a pattern started to show itself. When those men from Newton Ferris were going off, I was able to tie it in with other records and they were going into the east. They were going up here into what's called the North Sea off of Sweden, and Norway for fish from the 1300s. In boats, which were half the size of this room, the length of this room, tiny little boats, they were going up off of Ireland. And then from the 1400s, they were going up to Iceland. And then from the 1490s, they were going to Newfoundland. And then at least from 1597, they were coming here.

They had this huge market for fish. And no matter how much fish they caught, there was always more demand. So if the fishing failed one time they went somewhere else. So the men from these little places here, may go to the North Sea one year, up to Iceland, another back to the North Sea the next year, maybe Newfoundland, maybe New England, wherever the boats were going. Tiny little villages in the 1500s, we're sending all together 20,000 men into the sea. Now, that's a huge industry. I mean, today it would be huge. But when you think that how small the villages are, that becomes all the more interesting. Well, what we also have is the stunning news, in the 1490s that Newfoundland is better than anywhere else. Well, they hadn't known Newfoundland was there. 1490s they began to realize it's there. By 1510, 1520 they're going in big numbers. They've never seen codfish this big. They go, come back every year. Nobody stays there until the late 1600s. It's only migration. Nobody thinks of staying because they don't think Europeans can live in that sort of climate. There are Native Americans who are there. They also go and come back from the mainland though some live there. The Europeans leave their little boats behind, the seine boats and the other little small skiffs. And then the Native Americans who've never seen iron before, pull out all the nails because it's useful for all sorts of things. The Europeans come back and then the boats are just a matter of wood, thinking that they've been vandalized, but they haven't been. It's just terribly useful to have iron when you've never had it before.

Well, this is interesting to us because that's a fishing stage. And this is a drawing at the time in the 1620s. This is where the boats come in and then there's a flake and there's a stage. You can see it right up here, a stage. Well, if you go to Newfoundland, that's a stage that they no longer use. And you think of Stage Fort Park, this is what was covered on Stage Fort Park. We don't use that anymore, but they still do it Newfoundland. Well, how many people have gone to Stage Fort Park and not thought about it? Well, you don't, but that's what it looked like. We also don't appreciate what it's all about. If anybody's had dried salted cod, and you can still get it on the continent, I mean, here people you know, it's different because you can have fresh fish. But it was kept for up to two years. Getting tastier with every year that goes by. The continent still wants it, the man on the boat whose job it was to split it called a splitter had the most interesting job, the most lucrative job because he would take these codfish, cut them in half, you remove the liver that's then treated off. It has to be done so that the codfish isn't too thick, because it would rot, or too thin, because the salt would burn it out and you couldn't eat it.

22:56

Well, the switch, of course, if you've ever been to Jamaica, the national dish, is salt cod. It's salt cod from Newfoundland. It's salt cod from Newfoundland, which was sold in the 1700s by New England fishermen, not Newfoundland ones. The fish that the Europeans wouldn't eat was brought down for the slaves to eat in the West Indies, in the Caribbean's. Here we are 400 years later, and they embrace it as the national dish. So you go to Jamaica, and it's salt cod, it is one of the only places you can still find dried salt cod. Well, it's all because of the trade from here.

This is the document which starts to tell us things we haven't known. It's a very uninteresting-looking document and I don't expect you to read it, but this sets out in 1624, why Dartmouth wants this colony to stop and they make a very clear point, the first time in English history we have anyone saying do not colonize. And that's written down here. The interesting bit for us immediately is this line up at the top. And if the other one here works, there we go. What, this says if you got close enough, "a ship of Dartmouth made a voyage on the coast of New England" -- because it's been called New England since 1614, 1616 -- "in anno 1597."

24:42

Now that document tells us something we didn't know before. We thought that they were here from 1605, 1606, fishing in a commercial sense, not discovery, but fishing. This pushes it back. And it's an interesting time when they do push it back. The rest of the text is all about Dartmouth should continue to send its men to fish in New England and come back again. Because the last thing you want is the colony which is being set up at the moment of men who stay. If you have men that stay in New England and fish, their loyalty will be to New England. It won't be to England anymore because their loyalty is to their home. And as soon as you have colonists living permanently with a new home, they'll want to be independent.

1623, it's 150 years early, but what they're doing is warning of revolution. Farsighted, and nobody listens, absolutely nobody listens. Well, that text is key to what we're interested in

because what we're having by 1623 is that period from 1597 up to the beginnings of Cape Ann and Gloucester, is we have English fishermen discovering a new fishery here. It isn't like Newfoundland. Newfoundland is the summer. New England is the spring and the autumn. So you can send your boats at a different time down here. So it could be commercially advantageous, that before the boats come back from Newfoundland, and go off to Spain and sell their fish, one can already leave from New England three or four months early, and get a better price. So they start to send them down and we have records of up to 60 boats before 1623 every year, somewhere in northern New England, from Cape Ann up through Maine every year, and they're going to places like this. This is Monhegan. You know, now a smart place, if you read I think, if you read the New Yorker. I think if you read the New Yorker, you're more likely to be able to go there than anybody else. I think it's a prerequisite now.

27:12

Or you go to the Isles of Shoals. Now, the islands are important because for one thing there are no bears, there are no wolves. And you're less likely to be attacked by Native Americans. The climate is sunnier, so your fish will dry quicker. And it's easier to get from the island to the fishing than it is from the mainland. Now, the Isles of Shoals become interesting to us, partly because of the names and also that funny division, you know, half of them in Maine, half of them in New Hampshire, it's partly what it is all because of, of the fishing, the fishing. One man owned everything to the north of these islands, and one man owned everything to the south coming down towards Gloucester so they divide in half, that's why Maine is the shape it is. And that's why New Hampshire is the shape it is. Because they were given a land grant and each man wanted a bit of these islands to fish in. So they said, All right, you have this bit and everything's to the north, and you have this bit and everything to the south. So that's why the islands a bit of this and a bit of that.

Well, it starts off with Sir Walter Raleigh. He's the one that's given the grant. He is given by Queen Elizabeth the rights to everything from Florida, all the way in the north to the Arctic. And then all the way to the Pacific till you come to China. It's too big for them. They don't know what to do with it. Walter Raleigh dies. He's already inherited it, he's inherited it from his brother, his half brother, the Gilberts, and then there's a bit of confusion. Another man steps in and he gets North Virginia. Somebody else gets South Virginia. North Virginia is a man who has an improbable name of Fernando Gorges. And he's English. Now, Fernando Gorges owns this coastline up here in the end. He's an older man. He's in his 70s at this point, he's been doing this for 20 odd years, not very well. He's on his third wealthy wife. And in the end, it's too much for him. And he doesn't do what he wants to do. He's caught up in politics, because we're suddenly having another force, not about fishing, but about religion coming in. And of course, this is the bit we know about the Pilgrims.

Well, New England is named in the mid 16-teens. And as you know, a well known story, there's the new Prince, Prince Charles, is given a map, they're trying to find investors to come up and put that money in New England instead of Virginia. And they come up with the name of New England as an advertising gimmick. You know, how do you get people to go there? Well, let's



call it the New England. There's old England and the New England. They don't call it New England. It's The New England. So what do we do, we give it as today we give it to, you know, we give it to William and Kate today. But Prince Charles is a very popular young prince. We give him a map that's all unnamed places. And he picks out all these places connected with his mother and his father and his brother and sister and himself. Right. So Cape Ann, of course, is named after his mother, Anne of Denmark. He named Charles Town after himself in the Charles River. He names Cape Cod, Cape James, after his father; doesn't work because it's already called Cape Cod. His sister's Cape Elizabeth. He goes along the coastline, and then he fills in all the other places with anything in England he can think of. It doesn't matter, it has no connection with anything. It's a win. But you need an important person to do it. So we do it with Prince Charles. Well, you know, it would have been just the same as if you know, Kate and William had come along, the press would have been all over them, and they would have said 'isn't this marvelous', lots of media attention, same sort of thing.

31:35

Well, what we have, by this time, is a very funny period, before Cape Ann. We have (walking toward screen 'I've got a bad knee now.') In 1608 we've had a colony on the Kennebec, called the 'Sagadahoc' colony. Really terrible, terrible timing. They go there over winter when there's a terrible, terrible winter. Lots die, and the colonists return. Then we have the map being named New England. And then we have the Pilgrims coming in 1620. This is the immediate period just before Cape Ann and the Dorchester company. 1608 is the key one. No one has been wanting to invest in New England, because the colonists come back from 1608 and they say it's so cold, Europeans cannot live in such weather. Only savages, not white people.

And it kills investment. Nobody comes over. Nobody wants to invest. Instead, the money goes south to Virginia. Well, how do we end up with 1623 and the Dorchester company? It's because of religion. Now we've had several different things happening and our point before about Dartmouth, which is here. (Am I in the right place?) Dartmouth is here and Plymouth is down there. Well, they arrive, the Pilgrims arrive in Dartmouth and in it we can start to see why things are going the way they are. Dartmouth is a Puritan town. Alright. Very much interested, in a very low church. We have a struggle in England between what England and the English called high and low church, going towards a fundamentalist Christianity, Protestantism rather, or towards the Catholics. And we've gone of course, 1540 we've been Protestant, 1550 the new queen comes in. She turns us back to the Catholics. She dies. Elizabeth comes on the throne, puts us back towards Protestantism. Swings and roundabouts, keeps going backwards and forwards. 1620s come along, and we have a new king who's married a French Catholic queen. He is suspected of being Catholic. It looks to the Puritans like they're losing out. In 1597, even before they think they're terribly losing, nothing like they are with the Pilgrims.

1597, one document which may be connected to that trip to New England we have some [?], some Puritans already trying to settle on this side of the Atlantic. They go a little bit to the north in Canada. We could have had a Plymouth Puritan colony before the Pilgrims, but they're not allowed to. We also have the Catholics trying to come here cause they're trying to escape.

Both sides are thinking, we're going to be persecuted, let's go abroad. But Queen Elizabeth, and then King James both say the same thing. We don't want troublemakers away. We want them under our noses, we can keep an eye on them. Well, the Pilgrims go off to Holland, and escape. But the King and the Queen in the 1500s and 1600s, they both, both successors, both think to themselves, don't let any of them go and form a colony. Well, this, unfortunately doesn't quite work out. In Dartmouth, the Pilgrims go to this church. This is the main church. What do they see, well it was a very big church, it was just being rebuilt. It has a screen. Devon is one of the only places that keeps the screen. Under Catholic practice, traditional Catholic practice, you have a screen to separate the congregation for Mass and the priest stays on the other side. If you've ever been to a Greek Orthodox church or Russian Orthodox church, they still have these screens, and you have little peepholes that you can see through. Well, these are the remnants of it.

Most of England gets rid of these in the Reformation when England turns from being Protestant, from Catholic to Protestant. But then the Pilgrims go here and they see this. Well, what are they also seeing? If you look a bit closer on the bottom, what we had in the kingdom, under Catholic England, was the bottom bits, we have pictures of saints. But what we've done when the Pilgrims arrive, we've painted them over. But recently, what we've done, they've revealed what was under some of them and what they are, and this is dating back to the 1400s. That's a bit of the face. If you can make out, this is the mouth, there's the eye, this is the top of the head, and this is a saint. We get rid of these as Protestants because they think people are going to pray to them. And we don't want that. Before they paint them over, they gouge out the face. This is a halfway house and they decided that's not quite good enough, we'll paint them over completely. Well, the Pilgrims arrive in Dartmouth, these are our kind of people. This is exactly what they think, aren't they nice you know, getting rid of those Catholics. Well, they go to Plymouth, is even more so.

37:41

So go one more. So we're faced with, this is Charles the First, comes onto the throne in the 1620s. And it looks like England is really going to go back to the Catholics. Those who are wanting to be more extreme Protestants are even keener to go. Then one of the lead men in the southwest of England is based in Dorchester called John White, and he thinks, if we can't get people to invest in New England, why don't we use fishing? Why don't we use the money from fishing and religion, put it together. We want people to go there and pray in the right way. We know we can make money from fishing, nobody's going to invest, we'll combine the two, we'll put God and cod together. And the whole thing of 'In Cod We Trust'. So he's got a new idea. Why don't we find a nice place for this to happen. And they decided on Cape Ann

Well, the thing which we haven't really thought about, and it's speculation is did any Native Americans help out in this plan? 1597 in Dartmouth in the parish death records there's the death of Adrian the Indian. 1597. Nobody picked up on it before, nobody had looked at it, I looked down and I thought, Adrian the Indian. Now we know there are other ones to serve. Fernando Gorges sent ships to New England to capture Indians and bring them back to Devon

as trophies. We have John the Indian, we've any number of Indians, there are at least 20 and they're curiosities. 1597, John the Indian, very interesting. East Buckley church where Walter Raleigh's from, has this bench end at the end of the seat in the church is this figure which they say is a Native American. If you've seen Blazing Saddles, it looks more like Mel Brooks as a Native American than anybody else. That's meant to be the headdress. This is meant to be a Native American nose.

40:16

Now, there are a number of these. I have my doubts about them. But we do know Native Americans are walking the streets at this time. What's more interesting is Squanto. In 1614, was kidnapped from New England. Then he was sold in Spain as a slave. He manages to work his way up to London, comes down to Plymouth, meets Fernando Gorges, who sends him to New England. Then he goes back to England. Then he goes back again to New England, and jumps ship. A few months before the Pilgrims land at Plymouth, he has a Devon accent. He must do, because he's learned English in Devon. The last place they've come from is Devon. Out of the woods shows up Squanto with a Devon accent. Say where have you just come from? Plymouth. So have!! So, is it a coincidence? Probably. But even so they both came from the same place and they both talked to the same person when they left England.

So is it by coincidence that the Pilgrims end up in New England? People have always said it is but it's odd that the place they go to is on the edge of the fishing. And then of course, they can't feed themselves. Where do they go? They go up here and ask for fish. The only way they survive is by the fish that's being done by West country fishermen from England. They give them the fish and then as soon as that happens, the Pilgrims try to force out all the English fishermen from coming here, but that's, you'd expect that.

Well, Beauport happens just before, there are loads of Native Americans. But by the time that the colony comes in 1623, most of them have died. Some disease ravages the whole coastline, whatever it is. Native Americans in England don't last long; eventually they catch something that's in the culture, something new. Well, that's the map of Beauport and this is, this must be Stage Fort Park here. Yeah, I would, I have always assumed, (Well, I don't know what that means. There, okay)

42:55

Okay, so Stage Fort Park is where we know that that is happening, who are the people that are behind here, well who are, what do the colonists look like? We've got pictures of two of them. And these are the people who invested to make it possible. (We got and that's what we know already, there we go.) We know what they look like, the investors, because they were wealthy men who were investing in good Godly pursuits This is a little church called Politan in East Devon, very smart church, very nice church now, former Catholic Church, of course, went Protestant then Catholic and Protestant again. Inside the church is the Saxon stone, which they found when there was a fire just a few years ago, they hadn't realized it was Saxon. It's actually over 1000 years old. I thought it was earlier.

But what we have is this, which is in a chapel belonging to a wealthy man who had basically paid for a good part of the church and that monument (oops, I didn't do that.) That's him and his wife set up in this monument, they're back to back, it's as if they, you know, had had enough of talking to each other during their marriage. They've sat 400 years, looking the other way. That's him and that's her. One's looking east, and one's looking west. Yeah, well he, John Paul that's him down there, resting on his arm, he is one of the ones that makes the Dorchester company possible. Yeah. And that's him there. So if you want to imagine what the people looked like who started Gloucester off, that's him. John Paul. The other one is a man called Walrond, and he's in a church just to the north called Payhembury. And his monument. Oh, that's him there, it's had a lot of wear and tear. He doesn't look that blemished, just that the paint has chipped, but, you know, he's 400 years old. So, you know? I think we, we won't look so good.

45:25

Now, there are two candidates for Mr. Walrond. We don't know which one he is. He could be this one, which I think is a bit of a dandy, but I suspect it's the other one. This is a man who thinks, you know, what the Pilgrims are doing is a good thing. They're hard, you know, it's, it's about no singing, no dancing, no plays. No. No, it's not, it's not a comforting religion. It's religion built on hardness of life, and knowing this is the best thing for everybody else as well. What we wanted to do here was the same thing that happened in Plymouth but Plymouth had financial investors. We didn't have it here. So what we did was think, if we got the men who are coming over to fish, and then instead of all those men going back home, a portion of whom can stay. So after three years, the boats yielded up 60 men, and they were living in Gloucester, what becomes Gloucester, but the money wasn't there. You know, those who were devout, and here because of God didn't know about fishing. And the fishermen realized why should we fish here when we can earn better money somewhere else? Why am I earning less money for them when I could be earning more money in Maine or Newfoundland or Ireland, so the whole thing collapses and goes off to Salem.

You know, we all know what happens in Salem, not long afterwards, you know, it's that kind of thinking. It's it's a coldness, I think. It isn't about fishermen. The story which is told in New England, sorry, in Maine, about the fishermen in the 1650s is the minister goes up on a Sunday morning to preach to the men, and they all leave the church, saying we haven't come here to pray, we've come here to fish because the whole point of them leaving their homes and coming this side was to earn a living and to go back to their wives and their children. And this is why Gloucester fails, because there isn't enough to live here with yet, because it's too hard to do a colony. It's like us sending men to the moon, we can do it, but it costs so much money. Why? Just for the sake of it, no, we'll do other things with our money. That's the same thing with England and coming to Gloucester, it was better to go to places where you could plant more crops, or go to the south and make money from tobacco, or go north, and earn money with the better fishing in Maine than it was to be here.

So this is why we fail. But what's more interesting to me is we know more about why they came here in the beginning. And this is the face of Gloucester in 1623. And history isn't always what we want it to be but it's always much more interesting if we look at the facts, instead of the myths. We may be three years later than the Pilgrims, but actually Gloucester's lineage as a fishing port goes back at least to 1597, and this is one of the things we should be considering. Because in only another 10 years we'll be celebrating the 400th anniversary of what is quite an astounding thing to have achieved. Thank you very much.

A little more cheerful. Are there any questions?

Audience Member 49:48

Yeah, what was so much better in Salem than Gloucester

Todd Gray

Better land for farming. I think that's the basic thing. As much as people may love Gloucester it was not very good for crops. And that's, that's the main thing. And you need that sustenance to keep you going. We're importing so much of the food. There's a very good book, which was published 127 years ago, called the Trelawny papers, and for a little island off of Portland, it shows a few years after Gloucester failed what it took to start up a colony there. And that was fishing, and what we called it, they don't say it about Gloucester, but it's a fishing plantation. That's the term. They called it a fishing plantation, just as you have a cotton plantation or a sugar plantation, we're a fishing plantation. And that's what Gloucester is. It's just that you need to do the farming as much as you need to do the fishing because they can't live on fish on its own.

Audience Member 51:05

I'm rather confused, in the early 1600s you're saying that the fishermen from Plymouth and Dartmouth came to [?] New England. They would have to have supplies once they got here. I mean, and their boats were that sturdy to cross the Atlantic center, I'm not quite sure, I'm going to do it then go back to England.

Todd Gray

Yeah, you bring all your supplies with you. You have to bring in, you know, your beer. They don't drink water. They drink beer. It's very weak beer. We do that because the water is not, you know, thought to be safe. And then you have your flour, your peas, your hard biscuit. And we have lists of the things that they brought and there's actually an estimate for 1610 of what it takes for a fishing voyage in the way of provisions. It's a big job, but it's really profitable. You make a lot of money on this. The southwest, it's the second biggest industry, in the southwest of England, fishing.

Audience Member 52:25

In the 16th century in southwest England, was the fishing industry subject to as much hardship and tragedy as experience later here in Gloucester?

We have very, very few records of shipwreck or of drownings. So we don't know that side. It has the full encouragement of government. You know, they do, the government does whatever they can for fishing, because, only because there isn't, the English don't have a Navy. What the English have at the time is they take a merchant ship and use it until, you know they don't need that ship and it gets deployed against the Spanish or the French and the crew are generally from fishing boats. So the government does as much as they can to promote the fishing so it has the fishing men to use when they need it. But as far as hardship, we know next to nothing. We can only guess how many men drowned. When you think most of the boats crossing the Atlantic were much smaller than this. And for the men you know, they leave in March crossing the North Atlantic. You know, not knowing what the storms are going to be like, what the weather is, the icebergs. So you know, it's grim, it is grim and the other thing is in England at the time, if a family was too poor, to look after its children, the children were taken away. And they were put into employment. For young boys, for the coastal parishes, the preferred thing was to send them off fishing. They then had a job, didn't cost the local taxpayers anything to look after 'em. If they drowned, you didn't have to worry about if they came back, they were earning a living. And we can only guess how many of them drowned or, you know, these boys are six or seven. You know, life is tough. You know.

Audience Member 54:43

The first Gloucester colony fails. Why was it restarted and had the economics changed for fishing?

Todd Gray

It's out of my period when it starts up again. I'm interested up to 1630, after that I stopped. For this I'm basically 1540 to about 1650. For Newfoundland I've tried to be a bit later, but it changes very quickly. All of New England is overrun by Puritans. And that man, Sir Fernando Gorges, he, at one point on everything roughly from Washington north, and then in order to make money, they start cutting out bits. Well, after a while, he was left with just Maine and everything to the rest of it went to other people and he's the one that gets part of the Isles of Shoals. After a while, they're filling in bit by bit by bit, and that's when Gloucester becomes Gloucester.

Audience Member 55:50

How much fish could one of these boats carry back? It must have been enough to be economically feasible.

Todd Gray

Yeah, society is so much poorer. That, you, I think people today have an expectation of wealth. In the early 1600s, it's about getting by and earning a bit of money. And ordinary men didn't earn a lot. It was the people that the boats crews – we're going to sound terribly socialist here - - but it was shared out. And a third went to the crew for the profit. A third of the profit went to the men who owned the boat, and a third went to the people who put the money up to buy the

provisions. Right, and an ordinary man earned 20 pounds a year, well 20 pounds a year now was roughly about \$30. And it wasn't a lot of money, then either, you know. You stuffed the boat as much with fish as you can possibly get but it was economic to do so. That's the main thing. And because in 1586-87, the English burn out the Portuguese and Spanish fleet, the market for fish is even higher on the continent after that. So you know, prices go up.

Audience Member 57:27

What are the conditions for transporting these salted and dried fish, how do you keep them dry, keep them from rotting.

Todd Gray 57:46

People then are just as organized as people are now and they're just as competitive and just as careful to do their jobs as we are and although we tend to think people of the past are somehow more primitive or you know, they have the same everything we have, in trying to earn a living. And they did it. How, it seems extraordinary. [They didn't have plastic bags.] But if you've ever had salted, if you know, you can hit it doesn't break very easily. And you know, this stuff is stacked up. You have from the 1630s a new thing which the Dutch bring in called a "buy" boat. And it's not men waiting to the end of the season to ship off their goods on their boat. You have boats come over, just pick up the fish and get to the market on the continent before anybody else. And it's a new thing, which increases profit. It's all about market share. I mean, you know, it's all the same as today, increasing your profit margins and finding new commodities and you know, all that.

Audience Member 59:08

I'm curious about the Puritans in that part of England. Is there a continuing tradition of that group similar to what we have here? There are so many...

Todd Gray

No, this is the funny thing. We have in the southwest of England a greater prominence of the 18th century into the early 20th century of a different type. They leave the Church of England and they set up the Methodists, Plymouth Brethren and gosh, what's the third group, I want to say Jehovah's Witness, it's one other. And a lot of the people that would have been Puritan-minded set up groups that were even more, so. And actually, the Church of England, in our part of England goes high. We end up being more Catholic than most of the rest of the country. I think it's because we've been watered down. I mean it's still an argument, the English go on and on, you know, one church is high, one church is low that, you know, this one's got all the saints and that one doesn't allow any in, you know, and it's the same argument from the 1540s.

Audience Member 1:00:30

Were there any women in the first Gloucester colony?

Todd Gray

I don't think so. There is in, they decide there have to have been in the Richmond Island off of Portland, and it's a woman and her maid servant, and the woman is the wife of the manager, called "Verily the Drunkenest Whore in all of Plymouth". One lawsuit. And the other one is a woman who runs away. And she's a young girl and she's with 60 rough fishermen cooking, and just a terrible life. And she ends up marrying, I think it's a blind fishermen. She .., it's miserable. But I don't think there are women here at first. And that's the key. But one of the things which happens in the 18th century is they warn, You know, saying what we need to do is, whenever there are fishermen, make sure their wives stay at home.

(Tape break.) Nevertheless, yeah, I have a website, but it's all, it's all. It's all in English history. I've never written up, this is the first time I've been back for seven years, seven, eight years. So I don't see this side. Sorry.

Audience Member 1:02:00

Hey, I'm trying to understand this fishing itself. This inshore fishing, like that picture. It's not the way we think about the fishing.

Todd Gray

At first it's some in here, you go out in a little dory boat and it's hook and line, jigging, You get two or three men in a boat fill it up with fish and you come back again. And they often lived on the boat itself with a little cap, you know. Later on, we go off to the Grand Banks. That's a different thing altogether. And we do this in Newfoundland and we do this down here. I was in Newfoundland, oh, seven or eight, no, ten years ago, and I was at one of these stations. And, you know, if anybody's been to Newfoundland, it's like Gloucester, but stranger. You know, I think it's, it's like Gloucester was. But when I was standing there and I was with one of the, you know, the key archaeologists and we were talking about the fish station, and I looked down and I was with a whole group of archaeology students, and I was standing on some pottery. And I'd spent the day with them. I mean, I'm no archaeologist, and I, you know, and I look at it, it's a hole in the ground and I can't understand anything about what you know, they're looking at.

And I picked up some pottery, and I said, Oh, look, you know, I've been hearing people dating this, and I said, Oh, Canada, May 1952. And it was Portuguese 1550 and all and they laughed because they, they knew obviously I was having a joke because I knew what it really was. And all around me, was the pottery that the fishermen had purchased in Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal. Brought back and broken and it showed settlement from the early 1500s all the way through the 1700s in this little bit. And they had, they hadn't considered it. And it had washed down the hillside. It was a major dig in the end for them. But it's just, you know, it's evident of people knowing, places all across the Atlantic that you would never think of, you know, Gloucester fishermen were the same way. You know, I mean, so many people I know have family that were Newfoundland, Nova Scotia. You know, that's how Gloucester's all built. It's built of all those connections and fishermen in Gloucester in the 1700s would have known Italy but would never have gone to a place like Pittsfield, you know, I mean, you'd never go to Springfield or the other side of Boston. Why go there, but they, you know, Italy you know, not



go to New York. But you know, Greece. And those connections in the past are very real because that's where you make your money.

Audience Member and Todd Gray 1:05:10

So, I believe that three of the investors in the Dorchester company were women. (Oh, yes.) And wealthy women, I don't recall their names. (Yeah, one of them actually came over, settled in Taunton, somewhere like that.) You mentioned that 60 men came over, was that with the first group or the second? (That's by the end of the first three years.) And when John White got Conant to bring a small contingent to Salem, how many was in that group?

Todd Gray

I'm not sure. But the book which is the best for this, which is close to 70 years old, was written by a rather fierce formidable woman who's American, called Frances Rose-Troop. And she did a biography of John White. And it's, it's very good. It's on Gloucester, early Gloucester. What she didn't do was go through the documents that I've been lucky enough to see. But even so she's good on the colonists. And that's the first place to look at. And it's something like, John White, Patriarch.

Audience Member 1:06:29

Was it possible that the Indians and [?] were Weymouth's captures?

Todd Gray

Could be. Loads of people were bringing them back. There, there's one on the north coast in a little place called Biddeford, which next door was Appledore, which is the name, of course, given to one of the islands in the Isles of Shoals, and he's called Raleigh. And there are loads of these Indians, but the only way we really know about them is their burials. They come for a short while and then they succumb. And of course Pocahontas was another one that comes through. There is a painting in a house in Sussex, called oh, gosh. Mrs. Swampscott? And she's called a Native American, an Indian woman. Now historians have argued as to whether it is or it isn't, what it's supposed to be, but she has a face which suggests she's not English. And that is meant to be Elizabethan, which would be early. A few years before, and this is well documented, a little city, a little port just to the north of, of the southwest. They went and got some Inuit, they might have called them Eskimos, Eskimoos, and they came back and they died, and they cut them all up to see how human they were. Oh look, they's got a liver just like us, oh look, they've got a heart just like us. And they went through all the body parts, because they just didn't know. You know, this is the first time the Europeans are going out and seeing the world. And maybe people would have been different. So they cut them up and decided no, they're exactly like we are.

Audience Member 1:08:45

Where did the name "Gloucester" come from. Did Prince Charles name it?

Todd Gray

No, I don't know where it comes from. Most of the names for Prince Charles disappear. You know that a new settlement comes along. And they, they change them. The ones that are fixed, of course, are Cape Elizabeth, Charles River, Charles Town, there's about eight that I think that he identifies. But you know, it's good that they did disappear because there was no real purpose to those names, but I'm not sure about Gloucester. I can't find, there's a lot of places like that in New England, you can't quite see what the connection is. I mean, Gloucester doesn't have any obvious associations with Gloucester, England. And it's always disappointing if you go there, to think, I mean, it's only really famous now because Hogwarts is Gloucester Cathedral, you know. So you get lots of American visitors there, it used to be just people from Gloucester going to see Gloucester Cathedral, but now they go to see where Hogwarts was filmed. Oh, this is where Hermione was.

Audience Member 1:10:15

(Where did you find this document?)

Todd Gray

In the debtor's record office in Exeter. Not for this, not for this history. And most of what describes what happens with the fishing is a tax, we have a tithe, and from the 1200s, you contributed it towards the Church of England. And it had to be a portion of what you were earning and the fishermen argued as to whether they should pay it or not. Everybody has always argued, I mean, every generation has always thought their taxes are unfair and somebody is paying too little and they're being too much. It's human history, you know, go back to the Romans and people are arguing the same thing. And the fishermen argue that in these documents, which nobody had looked at, talk about fishing in a way that's opened up what I've been able to do with this. They're a mess.

They, they were housed in the cathedral in Exeter, and we were bombed by the Germans in 1942. And the records just went flying up into the air box after box, after box. And they're all, they've never been able to put back in the same order. Nobody knows what order they are. So I spent three years going through them. And there are over 20,000 pieces of paper. And the writing is similar to that. But it's the mixture of Latin and the handwriting which makes it a slow process. But in that they talk about where they go fishing. And that gives us an idea about early New England that nobody else has been able to do because of that. And again, it's because of this very, very bossy little woman, came in while the bombs were falling, and made a group of men carefully put all of the papers together into one safe place. I mean bombs were falling everywhere, you know, the city was burning down, a third of the city went in one night, and this tiny little woman of five foot had 20 firemen doing what she wanted because she, you know you know the type. She told them off and they did as they were supposed to, three hours later they were finished. And if it wasn't for that, we wouldn't know so much. So you know, hurray for bossy little formidable women.

Unknown Speaker 1:12:53

Who got you interested in this. (Mr. Hawley.) In this particular

Unknown Speaker 1:12:56

Oh, this one. I mean, I always had an interest in history. And I continued it through through Gloucester High School. And I did part of my undergrad in London, and I wanted to do a PhD and I didn't know what I wanted to do it on. And then I, I then thought it would be nice for me to try to understand why people left England to go to New England before 1640 and then I thought, more interesting to work on the fishermen. So that's what I did the doctorate on, which is 20 years ago, and I've never published that. And, you know, there are, over on that side, they don't know this. You know, they don't know Gloucester. They know Salem. They know Boston, but nobody's ever heard of Gloucester really. So it's an area which nobody's interested in. This is an area of American history that's of no interest to anybody else.

(We probably have time for one more question.) Yeah, I was just thinking it's getting on isn't it.

Audience Member 1:14:12

I just want to ask, the idea that the Pilgrims were going to Virginia is not correct.

Todd Gray

This is one last question. They always say they are going to Virginia. (And that they, did they get their documents for that?) Yes, they say this, but it was illegal for them to go there because they did not have permission. And it's this tussle between Sir Fernando Gorges, who's not willing to let the Puritans come here, because he thinks, this is officially, he's going to lose out. Question I have is, isn't it a bit of a coincidence that they end up in the place where he is? They spend time there, did somebody not say, did that not influence them? I mean, Plymouth is a place of crumbs. I mean, we would have been a good portion of Plymouth at the time and on that side of the Atlantic, so Fernando Gorges would have known of them being in there. And yet there they are, a ship going off with codmens, a rarity. They were bound to have had some communication.

Anyways, Thank you all very much.