PHILIPPE DE LANNOY – THE IMMIGRANT HIS LIFE & TIMES

On 7 December 1603, family members gathered at the Vrouwekerk in Leiden, Holland to witness the baptism of Philippe de Lannoy. Philippe was the son of Jean de Lannoy and Marie Mahieu. Accompanying his parents, Francois Kock (Francis Cooke) stood as witness. Francis had married Marie's younger sister, Hester, just five months earlier. Other witnesses were Tonnette and Margueritte de Lannoy (Jean's sisters) and Philippe Marines (relationship unknown).

Eighteen years later, Philippe de Lannoy arrived in New Plymouth to join his Uncle Francis and Cousin John at a struggling new settlement on the northeastern shore of North America. Unlike the English pilgrims, Philippe's family roots are found in Flanders.

From de Lannoy to Delano

The development of hereditary surnames was a long and complex process, propelled by a variety of forces including the feudal system, literacy, fashion and convenience. Surnames began to appear in Flanders in the 11th century for noble families but from the 13th century for more humble folks.

The surname de Lannoy originally denoted someone "of" Lannoy - a town once in Flanders and today in France. The name was adopted in several ways. First, it probably was used by the noble House of Lannoy. Although of no blood relation, servants sometimes adopted the surname of their lord. And finally, people who moved from one place to another sometimes used the name in their new home to indicate from whence they came.

By the 16th century, the name "de Lannoy" was not uncommon. Different spellings evolved over time with illiteracy, local dialects and recordings by scribes who spoke different languages all contributing. Between Flanders, Holland and the Plymouth Colony a few examples you'll find are de Lannoy, de Lanoy, de la Noye, DeLanoy, DeLanoy, Delanoy, de Lano, Lano, Dillano and Delano.

Philippe's baptismal record uses "de Lannoy." In this piece, I use this original spelling when referring to him. Over time in America, the common spelling has become "Delano," and I use this spelling for his children and descendants.

The de Lannoy & Mahieu Families

Philippe was Dutch by birth, but his parents' families originated in the French-speaking province of Flanders, ruled at that time by the King of Spain. His father, Jean de Lannoy, was baptized on 9 May 1575 at St. Christophe Catholic church in Tourcoing. Jean was one of seven known children of Guilbert de Lannoy and Jeanne du Bus who lived in the district of Verdequeue. While the name "de Lannoy" indicates an ancestor

originally came from Lannoy, no other reliable information about their ancestry has been found.

It's not known when Guilbert and Jeanne converted to Calvinism. Flanders was one of the 17 provinces of the Spanish Netherlands. As Calvinism spread across the provinces, staunchly Catholic King Phillip II of Spain aggressively and brutally fought to eradicate it. Thus, it was dangerous at the time to openly declare one's Protestant faith.

To escape King Phillip II's religious wars and Inquisition against Protestants, Guilbert and Jeanne packed up their children and fled their homeland around 1579. They sailed across the English Channel, joining a community of refugees from the Netherlands in Canterbury.²

The family of Philippe's mother, the Mahieus, also came from French-speaking Flanders, with children born in Armentieres, Houplynes, Lille and Bondues. They experienced the same religious persecution and violent wars and fled their homeland for Canterbury around 1579.³ The de Lannoy and Mahieu families lived in Canterbury for about a dozen years.

In 1581, seven northern provinces of the Spanish Netherlands, including Holland, united and declared their independence from King Phillip II. These United Provinces of the Dutch Republic became a highly prosperous trading center. The Republic tolerated divergent religious views and soon became a haven for those seeking freedom to worship as they chose.

Marie Mahieu's mother was Jeanne. Her father was probably Jacques. On 10 June 1590, a Jacques Mahieu and his wife (name not recorded) were received into the Leiden Walloon Church with a letter of introduction dated 30 April 1590 from the Walloon Church in London. These were likely Marie's parents, as the Mahieu family moved to Leiden around the same time and joined this church.⁴

The following year, the de Lannoy family returned to the Netherlands, settling in Leiden as well.⁵ And on Easter Sunday in 1591, Guilbert and Jeanne de Lannoy and their daughter, Marguerite, were received as members into the same Walloon Church.⁶

Huguenots, Walloons & the Walloon Church

Through the years, Philippe has been misidentified as both a Huguenot and Walloon. "Huguenot" was a term of both nationality and religion used for Protestants from neighboring France. Although the de Lannoy and Mahieu families spoke a dialect of French, they did not live in what was then France. Both families lived in Flanders, a province of the Spanish Netherlands. Thus, Philip was not a Huguenot.⁷

"Walloon" was a term of nationality for natives of the region of Wallonia, so called since Roman times. A region with no precise boundaries, Wallonia included the provinces of Namur and Liege and parts of Hainault and Brabant. The de Lannoy and Mahieu families were not from this region. Thus, Philip was not a Walloon.⁸

While neither Huguenot nor Walloon, Philippe's family did attend the "Walloon Church." The United Provinces of the Dutch Republic had established the Dutch Reformed Church for Protestants. In Leiden, French-speaking Protestants joined the French Reformed congregation, also known as the "Walloon Church." In the 16th and 17th century, this term referred to Protestant congregations for those who spoke French, including those from other parts of the Spanish Netherlands, such as Flanders.

The Vrouwekerk (Church of Our Lady), one of three medieval churches in Leiden, was assigned to this French-speaking congregation. It was this congregation the de Lannoy and Mahieu families joined, and it was the church Philippe came to know well.

Textile Manufacturing

For centuries, Flanders was at the forefront of the European economy with cloth as its chief product. A textile-production tradition had existed in the Low Countries from antiquity, using methods learned from the Romans. Although cloth making was done locally throughout Europe in the early medieval period, Flanders was the first to develop it into an industry with great intensity.¹⁰

Across Europe, high-quality Flanders cloth was in such high demand, the native wool suppliers couldn't keep up. English wool soon was imported in large quantities, and more people were engaged in textile production than in all other trades. Being a weaver or woolcomber was a long-standing family tradition in Flanders, and this may have been true for the de Lannoys and Mahieus.

Yet, things were changing, as they always do. While wool had been England's biggest export commodity for years, the English began making and exporting high-quality cloth themselves, and the traditional fabric made in Flanders began to lose its allure. When the de Lannoy and Mahieu families fled Flanders, new economic opportunities awaited them in England.

In Canterbury, most Protestant refugees were engaged in textile production. Woolcombers and carders prepared wool for spinners. Local women and children spun the yarns. And weavers wove the yarns into cloth on looms in their homes. 13

By the time the de Lannoy and Mahieu families moved to Leiden, the city was rebuilding its textile industry after a long and devastating siege by King Philip II's armies in 1573 and 1574. Once peace was established again, the city welcomed Protestant refugees to work at the looms. Thousands from the southern Netherlands, England, Germany and France found work there as weavers, woolcombers, carders and spinners. And during the 1600s, Leiden became the most important textile center in the world.¹⁴

About half of the town's general population worked in textile production. This included at least some member of Philippe's family and possibly his father and

grandfathers. Men working in a trade often socialized together. Three of Marie's sisters and two of Jean's sisters married woolcombers. One of these was Philippe's Uncle Francis (Cooke), married to Marie's sister, Hester Mahieu. Marie's second husband also was a woolcomber. No matter their specific trades, these families followed the developing textile industry and their lives were intertwined with it.

Jean de Lannoy & Marie Mahieu

Philippe's parents - Jean de Lannoy and Marie Mahieu - may have met in Canterbury as children. They attended the same church, and their parents likely knew each other.

On 14 October 1595, Jean de Lannoy and Marie Mahieu confessed their faith and joined Leiden's Walloon Church. They were betrothed on 13 January 1596, ¹⁵ and their marriage banns likely were read at Vrouwekerk on three Sundays in January and early February 1596, according to custom. Their marriage probably took place several weeks later.

We don't know when their first child was born. Baptismal records for Leiden's Walloon Church only exist from 1599 onward. Their first known child was a daughter, Jeanne, baptized at Vrouwekerk on 18 March 1601.¹⁶ Philippe followed in 1603.

The City of Leiden

Leiden was the second largest city in Holland, and between 1580 and 1620, it experienced dramatic increases in population - from 12,000 to around 40,000. About a third of its people came as Protestant refugees from the southern provinces including Flanders.¹⁷

Situated on a Roman road, now called the Breestraat, Leiden had been a city since 1200 when its castle, the Graven Steen, was the residence of the Count of Holland. Another older castle, the round Burcht, dominated a place where a major north-south road crossed the Rhine River and the old Roman Road, and where the river forked into three main streams. One stream flowed west to the ocean at Katwijk. Another flowed northward to a lake connecting with Harlem and Amsterdam. The third traveled south, passing The Hague and Delft and eventually running to Delftshaven. In 1620, Francis and John Cooke and the other Leiden Separatists sailed on *Speedwell* from Delftshaven to England to join *Mayflower*.

Leiden's wealth came from international trade. It produced and exported cloth, cheese, parchment, pewter, oils, books, beer and bricks to places as far away as Russia, England and Spain. It imported grain and wood from Poland and Scandinavia, wool from England and Spain, and spices and alum from Italy. With countless families carding, combing, spinning and weaving from dawn to dusk, the drapery industry grew.¹⁹

New buildings arose to reflect the city's wealth. The university flourished, and Leiden was a fountain of academic publishing, including many religious tracts. The city was becoming a major artistic center again, as it had been in the early 1500s.²⁰ This was the cosmopolitan city Philippe de Lannoy knew.

Philippe's Life in Leiden

Philippe grew up in the new Dutch Republic during a time of peace and growing cultural diversity, but very little is known of his early family life. On 16 December 1603, a week after his baptism, a "child of Jan de Lano" died of the plague and was buried. While there were several others named Jan de Lano (Jean de Lannoy) in Leiden, none of the others known fits this record. So, it's possible this was Philippe's sister, Jeanne.²¹

Philippe's father, Jean, may have contracted the plague around this time. He died within six months of Philippe's baptism at the age of 29 - sometime before 6 June 1604. We know this because a widow under 50 could not remarry within nine months of her husband's death - to avoid confusion over fatherhood. Philippe was a toddler on 6 March 1605 when his mother, Marie, married Robert Mannoo from Namur.²²

In the past, several writers have confused Marie Mahieu de Lannoy Mannoo with another woman in Leiden, Marie de Lannoy who married Jean Pesijn in 1636. A period portrait of this other Marie has occasionally been mis-identified as Philippe's mother. De Lannoy was a fairly common surname and to date, no familial connection has been found. ²³

Like Philippe's Uncle Francis, Robert Mannoo was a woolcomber, and their network of family and friends likely were those involved in textile manufacturing. Labor, performed at home, was expected from dawn to dark. Philippe may have assisted his stepfather or uncle as woolcombers.

What's a woolcomber? It's an ancient trade, learned through apprenticeship, starting around the age of 12 or 13. Combing is an essential step in the manufacture of worsted yarn - a fine, smooth, high-quality wool yarn spun from fibers over three inches long. Worsted cloth has a close-textured surface with no nap. In the making of woolen textiles, raw wool was carded to lay the tangled fibers into roughly parallel strands, so they could be drawn out more easily when spinning. Wool used for worsted yarn and cloth required more thorough treatment, because it was important to remove unwanted short fibers. This is where combing came in.²⁴

The comb was like a short-handled rake with several rows of long teeth made of wood or metal. The comb was heated in a comb pot; heated combs softened lanolin in the wool and extra oil was used to make the process easier. The woolcomber took a tress of wool, sprinkled it with oil and massaged it in. He then attached the comb to a post or frame and drew the wool over the teeth repeatedly, removing tangles, clumps and short fibers. Left behind in the comb were long, straight strands of wool fibers. This process was repeated over and over; the strands were then combined and sold by weight. Short

fibers, collected separately, could be sold for the making of courser cloth.²⁵ We don't know if Philippe helped with this work, but he certainly was familiar with it.

It appears Philippe developed a close relationship with his Uncle Francis. Francis and Hester had five children in Leiden. Their son, John, was three and half years younger than Philippe, so they may have grown up together.

Children sometimes learned to read and write in the evening after work. We don't know Philippe's level of literacy, but he could sign his own name.

Philippe's home may have been in northern Leiden, near Vrouwekerk, where the poorer homes were and many of the refugees lived. Or perhaps he lived near his Uncle Francis and Aunt Hester on Levendaal Canal in southeastern Leiden. Most Leiden houses were small one-room dwellings with a narrow entryway beside the room that held a staircase to a loft. Under the stairs was a bedstead, opening into the room opposite the fireplace. The loft provided additional sleeping space and storage. Philippe's family likely had such a home. Philippe's family likely had such a home.

Houses were lit by rush lights made of reeds soaked in fat drippings. Oil lamps used fish or vegetable oil. Candles also were available, although more expensive. Food came from the local market or was grown in small plots behind the house. Beer (safer than water) was the common drink. Families fetched beer in jugs or small casks from nearby inns or taverns.²⁸

The last reference to Philippe's mother was 22 April 1611 when she witnessed the betrothal of her sister, Francoise, to Daniel Cricket, a woolcomber from Sandwich, England.²⁹ Whether she lived to see her son depart for a new world is unknown.

English Separatists in Leiden

Philippe grew up under the teachings of the Walloon Church. Of the various religious groups living side by side in Leiden, Reverend John Robinson's Separatists seem to have found themselves most in agreement with the Walloon Church.

Robinson was a Cambridge University-trained pastor. While attending the University, he became attracted to Puritan principles and teachings. Puritans essentially wanted the Church of England to shed its Catholic influence. After graduation, Robinson became assistant pastor at St Andrew's Church in Norwich. At the time, the city had a significant population of Puritans, and it had contacts with Europe, particularly in Holland. In 1604, the Bishop of Norwich enforced a ruling that all who rejected the faith and practices of the established English church should be ejected, so Robinson was removed from office.

Reverend Robinson remained in Norwich until at least early 1607, and it's possible Francis and Hester Cooke met him there, as they lived in Norwich for a short time. In fact, they attended the Walloon Church across the street from St. Andrews Church.³⁰

In 1607, Robinson and his wife returned to his home town of Sturton-le-Steeple in Nottinghamshire, meeting others frustrated with the Church and its limitations. There, he joined a group, known as the Scrooby Separatists. Separatists were those so frustrated by the Church of England's attitudes and teaching they wished to separate entirely from it. At a time when the English Church and State were one, this was treasonous. This little congregation met mainly at Scrooby Manor, home of William Brewster. Richard Clifton became their minister, and Robinson was the assistant pastor.

In 1608, the congregation became international refugees and immigrated to Amsterdam. Here Robinson became their minister. The following year, they moved to Leiden. Under the leadership of Robinson and William Brewster, the congregation grew steadily, and in time it numbered several hundred. While many came from Scrooby, others were from East Anglia, London, Worcestershire, Somerset and the Isle of Man. These English refugees may have been pleased to meet the de Lannoys and Mahieus, who could speak English and had lived in their country for a dozen years.

Francis and Hester Cooke apparently joined his congregation sometime after 1611.³¹ There's no evidence Philippe was associated with Robinson's congregation, but growing up, he may have known some of their children.

A Colony in America

By 1620, John Robinson and his congregation - later known as "the Pilgrims" - had decided to leave Holland and go to America. This decision was born out of two fears. First, the group was suffering hardship in a strange land where their children were becoming more Dutch than English. Second, the Twelve-Year Truce signed in 1609 by the United Provinces of the Dutch Republic and the Spanish soon would be coming to an end. War with Spain loomed on the horizon and spelled danger for their religious freedom.

To go to America, Robinson and his congregation needed several things. One was financial backing for ships and provisions. After several years of negotiations, they found a group of English businessmen, called "Merchant Adventurers," who were willing to venture capital into a joint-stock fund in hopes of making a profit from fishing, the fur trade and other commodities. Adventurers received one share for every £10 invested to transport settlers and provisions to the Colony. In his writings, explorer Captain John Smith noted there were about 70 Adventurers including gentlemen, merchants and craftsmen.³² They invested various sums of money - some great, some small.

The vision for the Colony was a permanent community of families. It would be a "plantation," not a trading or military outpost. According to the Pilgrims' contract with the Adventurers, they were to live a communal life, sharing land and other resources. Profits from their collective labors would accrue to the Adventurers for seven years, at which point all assets would be divided among the shareholders.³³

Now, the venture needed additional settlers to fill the ranks of the would-be colony. The Merchant Adventurers recruited passengers in London. In his writings, Governor Bradford called these other passengers "strangers," because they weren't of their faith. Some were conformists, some dissenters and some disinterested.

Departure of Speedwell

On 22 July 1620, Francis Cooke and his son, John, joined a small group of Robinson's congregation and boarded *Speedwell* at Delfshaven to sail to England, leaving family and friends behind. Reverend Robinson and a majority of his Church remained, but he led a solemn service before their departure and planned to join them with the others at a later date.³⁴

Speedwell rendezvoused with Mayflower in Southampton. After setting out, Speedwell proved unseaworthy, and the ships returned to England, docking at Plymouth. Francis and John Cooke then boarded Mayflower and sailed to America to establish the New Plymouth Colony. But about 20 passengers had to be left behind in Plymouth.³⁵

Did Philippe Sail on Speedwell?

For years there's been speculation Philippe accompanied his Uncle Francis and Cousin John to England on *Speedwell* but was left behind. It once was said to be a popular tradition in Canterbury that Philippe went there after *Mayflower* sailed without him. A number of old articles make this claim. But none provide any evidence, and no one at the Canterbury Cathedral Archives or Canterbury City Library knows of this tradition.³⁶

The bottom line: there is no surviving *Speedwell* passenger list, and no evidence has been found to support or discount this claim. What we do know is Philippe sailed out of London the following year.

Sailing on Fortune

In July 1621, Philippe de Lannoy boarded *Fortune* in London. He may have traveled with others from Leiden to London. Edward Winslow identified Moyses Symondson (Moses Simonson, later reduced to Simmons) as the "child of one that was in communion with the Dutch Church in Leiden." And some historians speculate Edward Bumpass came from the Leiden refugee family named Bompas that was part of the Walloon community there.³⁷ I can imagine Philippe, Moses and Edward – shipmates in their late teens - leaving home to seek adventure.

Some *Fortune* passengers had been on *Speedwell*, while others were "strangers" recruited in London by Adventurer Thomas Weston. Over half the passengers were unmarried men. The only couple was William and Elizabeth Bassett. And the widow Martha Ford was the only other known woman; she was emigrating with her son and

daughter. The rest were married men traveling without their families. In all, there were around 35 passengers on this voyage across the Atlantic.³⁸

Fortune was the second English ship with passengers destined for Plymouth Colony. She was a 55-ton ship, about a third the tonnage of *Mayflower*, and about the size of *Speedwell*. Very little is known about her voyage, except it took about four months, twice the time of *Mayflower*. After getting underway and sailing down the Thames, *Fortune* reached the English Channel. Here she stayed for close to a month due to contrary winds. Once in the Atlantic, they took the northern route which means they were sailing against the prevailing west wind and the Gulf Stream current. It was slow going.³⁹

Arrival

Making landfall at Cape Cod on 9 November 1621, the ship's Master, Thomas Barton, had only a vague idea where the settlement was located. No one aboard the ship had ever been to New England. Passengers were shocked by the barren and bleak shoreline, wondering how anyone could live in such a forbidding land.⁴⁰

William Bradford tells us, "They then began to think what should become of them, if the people here were dead or cut off by the Indians. They began to consult (on some of the speeches that some of the seaman had cast out) to take the sails from the yard lest the ship should get away and leave them there. But the master, hearing of it, gave them good words, and told them if any thing but well should have befallen the people here, he hoped he had victuals enough to carry them to Virginia, and whilst he had a bit they should have their part; which gave them good satisfaction."41

Slowly they began to sail along the inner shoreline of Cape Cod. It took them several more weeks to find Plymouth, arriving in December. I can well imagine Philippe's anticipation when he first saw the settlement from aboard the ship and his tremendous relief once he finally was reunited with his Uncle Francis and Cousin John.

Arriving in New Plymouth, the weather was cold, and Governor William Bradford's welcome appears to have been equally so. While he certainly was happy to see old friends from Leiden, he was not pleased to see so many "strangers" aboard *Fortune*.

To make matters worse, they brought no provisions or trade goods. It was a supply ship without provisions. Governor Bradford wrote, "So they were all landed; but there was not so much as bisket-cake or any other victuals for them, neither had they any bedding but some sorry things they had in their cabins, nor pot, nor pan to dress any meat in, nor over many clothes..."⁴² The settlement now was burdened to support them, and everyone immediately went on half rations. Bradford warned the Adventurers in England these passengers would bring famine on the Colony. Philippe's first winter in New Plymouth would be one of scarcity and hunger.⁴³

First Impressions

Yet, it was a land of promise. No record exists of Philippe's first impressions, but another *Fortune* passenger, Englishman William Hilton, captured the moment and his early observations in a letter written home in late 1621.

"At our arrival in New Plymouth, in New England, we found all our friends and planters in good health, though they were left sick and weak, with very small means; the Indians round about us peaceable and friendly; the country very pleasant and temperate, yielding naturally, of itself, great store of fruits, as vines of divers sorts in great abundance. There is likewise walnuts, chestnuts, small nuts and plums, with much variety of flowers, roots and herbs, no less pleasant than wholesome and profitable. No place hath more gooseberrries and strawberries, nor better. Timber of all sorts you have in England doth cover the land, that affords beasts of divers sorts, and great flocks of turkey, quails, pigeons and partridges; many great lakes abounding with fish, fowl, beavers, and otters. The sea affords us great plenty of all excellent sorts of sea-fish, as the rivers and isles doth variety of wild fowl of most useful sorts. Mines we find, to our thinking; but neither the goodness nor quality we know. Better grain cannot be than the Indian corn, if we will plant it upon as good ground as a man need desire. We are all freeholders; the rent-day doth not trouble us; and all those good blessings we have, of which and what we list in their seasons for taking. Our company are, for most part, very religious, honest people; the word of God sincerely taught us every Sabbath; so that I know not any thing a contented mind can here want."44

Within this bucolic landscape, the colonists had established their settlement. The first winter had been difficult and many died. Now a year later, Philippe found about 53 out of the 102 original settlers including 22 men, four married women and 27 children and teenagers. So far, the settlers had built seven houses, along with four common buildings and a fort-like structure on Fort Hill. With the arrival of *Fortune*, there was not enough housing, so the single men were housed wherever a roof could be found.

No doubt Philippe moved in with Francis and John. A period drawing of the early settlement shows the colonists laid out a broad street running from Fort Hill toward the shore. The street (Leyden Street today) was intersected by one cross street, known as the highway (now Main Street). The first seven houses lay on the south side of the street. At the far west end of the street, near the Fort, was Edmund Winslow's house. Next door was Uncle Francis' humble home.⁴⁶ It was a small, one-room structure. Its siding and roof were probably planking, and it had a dirt floor. Furnishings were simple, likely a box or trunk each man had carried to America.

Work to Be Done

Everyone would have to work hard to build more houses and grow more food. On 25 December 1621, the men prepared to head out to work. When the Pilgrims sailed to Plymouth, they sought to abandon traditions they believed interfered with the sanctity of Christianity. This included the celebration of Christmas. Finding no

reference to the date Jesus was born in the Bible, nor any acknowledgement of a holiday, they viewed the day like any other. They also associated caroling, public drinking, feasting and other rowdy behavior with pagan holidays, and thus, deeply offensive to religious worship.

Christmas day was a work day, but some of the "strangers" recruited in London had another idea. According to Governor Bradford, "Most of this new company excused them selves and said it went against their consciences to work on that day." So, he told them, "He would spare them till they were better informed." Believing they would observe the day privately in their homes in prayer, Bradford led the rest of the men out for the usual day of work.⁴⁷ Philippe probably accompanied Francis and John in Bradford's group.

Returning at noon, Bradford and his company discovered the streets of Plymouth in a state of joyous bedlam. The observers of Christmas were playing stool ball, pitching bars to see who could throw the farthest and engaging in other forms of revelry. Bradford impounded the ball and bars and sent them home, telling them it was against his conscience that they should play while others worked.⁴⁸

The Native People

Native people had inhabited southern New England for at least 12,000 years prior to English colonization. In the early 1600s, as many as 100,000 people lived in what now is southeastern Massachusetts and Rhode Island, including the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. Organized into some 70 communities, ranging in size from a few hundred to a few thousand people, these self-governing towns shared a common Algonquin language and way of life. Each town was led by a sachem (leader) who had his or her own council and made decisions for their community.⁴⁹

In the 1600s, Ousamequin was one of several influential sachems in southern New England. He was Pokanoket (later called Wampanoag by the colonists), and over 60 tribes, bands and clans paid tribute to him. Ousamequin presided over the region called Montaup (Mount Hope), around present-day Bristol and Warren, Rhode Island. Also known as "Massasoit," a title bestowed upon a great leader, it was his people who first made contact with the Plymouth Colony settlers.⁵⁰

Several years before the colonists arrived in Plymouth, a devastating plague arrived in New England, probably aboard European ships, and swept down the coast along trade routes from what's now northern Maine to eastern Rhode Island. By 1619, it's estimated 75% of the population had died. The most devastated area was the Wampanoag homeland including Patuxet, the future site of New Plymouth.⁵¹

Of prime importance when the *Mayflower* first arrived in New Plymouth was the establishment of peaceful relations with the Native people. In early 1621, the Colony's first governor, John Carver (Reverend John Robinson's brother-in-law) signed a treaty of mutual protection with Ousamequin. Ousamequin's enemy was the Narragansett, an unaffiliated group that lived further west. The Narragansett had avoided coming into

contact with the great epidemic, and now they were numerous, powerful and threatening.⁵²

Following the arrival of *Fortune*, the Narragansett sent the settlers a bundle of arrows wrapped in a rattlesnake skin as a warning. After consulting his advisors, William Bradford (now Governor) returned the skin full of gunpowder and shot. Under Captain Myles Standish, the settlers took military precautions, including dividing Plymouth men into four companies and assigning them defensive positions.⁵³ As an able-bodied young man of 18, Philippe surely was in one of these companies. Fortunately, no attack came.

Growing concern about the Narragansett soon led the settlers to palisade their town. Once completed, it stood eight or nine feet high and was nearly half a mile around.

In 1622, Thomas Weston (a former member of the Merchant Adventurers) sent 60 rough and rowdy settlers to establish his own community north of Plymouth at Wessagusset (Weymouth today). It wasn't long before they ran into trouble with the Native people to the north. In concert with their Pokanoket allies, Captain Standish led a company of Plymouth men to rescue them in March 1623, killing seven Indians in the process.⁵⁴ Two Englishmen also died. As a young single man, Philippe was probably part of this mission.

Back in Leiden, Reverend Robinson learned of this expedition and was furious. He reminded Governor Bradford all men are "made in God's image," and they should be converting Indians to Christianity, not killing them.⁵⁵

Joining the Church

For Reverend Robinson, a true church was a congregation formed when Christians came together freely and formed a covenant to walk in the ways of God. The Plymouth settlers believed Robinson would soon join them with other members of their Leiden congregation. In the meantime, they listened to the sermons from their ruling elder, William Brewster, and other laymen. The Fort building served as their meeting house where they gathered for Sunday worship.

In his <u>Hypocrisie Unmasked</u>, published in 1646, Edward Winslow wrote the following: "There is also one Philip DeLanoy, born of French parents, came to us from Leyden to New Plymouth, who coming to the age of discerning, demanded also communion with us; & proving himself to be come of such parents as were in full communion with the French Churches, was hereupon admitted by the Church of Plymouth..."⁵⁶ Philippe's age of discerning was 21, so he officially joined the church around 1624 or 1625, though he probably was attending since his arrival.

Scarcity

New Plymouth was basically a farming society. Outside the palisade were fields where the settlers planted the crops that were their main source of food. For the first three seasons, the colonists farmed together.

The spring of 1623 found Plymouth still short of food, with no promise of new supplies from England. In April and May, the settlers planted their corn, but little rain fell. In July, they had a day of Thanksgiving and were rewarded with "soft, sweet, and moderate showers of rain, which continued some fourteen days," according to Edward Winslow.⁵⁷

Another approach to their food shortage was to divide themselves into several groups or companies with each taking the settlement's one available boat out on the waters to fish. Philippe must have participated in these fishing voyages.

More Ships Arrive

Anne and Little James were the third and fourth ships financed by the London-based Merchant Adventurers to sail to Plymouth Colony. Anne carried mostly passengers, and the much smaller Little James carried primarily cargo. After a stormy three-month voyage from London, Anne arrived at New Plymouth in early July 1623, with Little James coming a week or so later.

Onboard was Philippe's Aunt Hester, Uncle Francis' wife. She brought their children - Jane (about 19), Elizabeth (about 11) and Jacob (5).⁵⁸ It must have been a joyous reunion, as it had been three long years since they'd seen each other. Hester surely brought news to share from home. She probably found much in common with her new neighbors, as she was a member of the Leiden contingent but also had been born in Canterbury and had lived in Norwich for a time with Francis.

First Lands - The 1623 Division

Toward the end of 1623, Governor Bradford and the Colony's government decided to give every man, woman and child the use of one acre of land to be cultivated as they wished, with the understanding each family could keep whatever they grew. Land still belonged to the Colony, and they still cultivated the greater common lands together for the Adventurers, but this change altered the spirit of the colonists dramatically. Governor Bradford commented, "...for it made all hands very industrious, so as much more corn was planted than other waise would have bene..." The autumn of 1623 marked the end of food shortages.⁵⁹

Known as "The 1623 Division of Land," the allotment came in the winter of 1623/24, between December and March, and just before April planting. "Moyses Simonson & Philipe de la Noye" were jointly granted two acres of land as passengers on Fortune. This land lay on the north side of town between the first and second brooks. Each took an acre. On one side of Philippe's lot was Stephen Dean. Edward Bumpass

also had an acre here. Moses, Stephen, Edward and Philippe had sailed on *Fortune* together. This supports the notion they were probably friends.

Philippe de Lannoy - Purchaser

In response to a request from Edward Winslow, who had been sent to England in 1623, the Merchant Adventurers dispatched *Charity* in 1624, laden with trade goods, ammunition, three black heifers, a bull and a few settlers. After this, the Adventurers were reluctant to support more colonists, resulting in the slowing down of new immigrants and the stranding of Separatists in Leiden who wished to join the congregation in New Plymouth. The Colony was not producing the anticipated profits for the investors. In spite of shipments of furs and other commodities to England, the Colony's indebtedness seemed to grow, rather than decrease.

Governor Bradford believed owning one's own property was the work incentive needed to make the New Plymouth Colony successful, and he was eager to sever ties with the London Adventurers. In October 1626, several of the Colony's leaders and the Adventurers negotiated a new agreement. For £1800 (£200 annually for nine years), the Adventurers sold their interests in the plantation to the settlers. And in 1627, common possession of all assets ended. 64

Now, there were two issues to resolve. To whom and in what proportion should the company properties be divided, and how were they going to pay their debt to the Adventurers?

Governor Bradford called the planters together into General Court and proposed all adult men who were either heads of households or single free young men of ability should share in the division of property, even if they were not former members of the joint stock company. He also proposed a single man receive one share and a family head receive one share for every member of their household. Each share would entitle the person to a certain amount of property when the assets were divided. And the amount of debt owed to the Adventurers by each man would be based on the number of shares they held.⁶⁵ Fifty-eight men shared in the division of assets in 1627 and were subsequently known as "Purchasers" or "Oldcomers." "Phillip Delanoy" was one of the Purchasers.⁶⁶

The following year, eight of Plymouth's leading men and four associates in England agreed to be responsible for making Plymouth's £200 annual payments and repaying any other debts the settlement owed at the time. In return, the colonists would grant them a monopoly on the Indian trade for six years and would pay an annual tax of three bushels of corn or six pounds of tobacco. (This tax was never paid.) Should the Colony default, these "Undertakers" personally would be liable.⁶⁷

A final element of the agreement was Purchasers, as a group, would have advantageous rights to subsequent divisions of land. Philippe would benefit from these favorable land rights in years to come, acquiring lands he passed on to several of his sons.

1627 Division of Cattle

First, the Colony divided the livestock. At a General Court meeting on 22 May 1627, the settlers decided to distribute the cattle. Residents (including children and servants) were grouped into 12 companies or "lots," totaling 156 people. Each person was assigned a lot, generally arranged by family group. Each lot consisted of 13 people. The division took place in June, and the record tell us:

"The first lot fell to Francis Cooke & his Companie Joyned to him his wife Hester Cooke

- 3 John Cooke
- 4 Jacob Cooke
- 5 Jane Cooke
- 6 Hester Cooke
- 7 Mary Cooke
- 8 Moses Simonson
- 9 Phillip Delanoy
- 10 Experience Mitchell
- 11 John Fance [Faunce]
- 12 Joshua Pratt
- 13 Phinihas Pratt

To this lot fell the least of the 4 black heyfers Came in the Jacob, and two shee goats."68

Not surprisingly, Philippe was grouped with his Uncle Francis, Aunt Hester and their children. By this time, Hester had given birth to two more daughters - Hester and Mary. Sadly, she and Francis also had lost a daughter, Elizabeth.

Another in the group was Moses Simonson, reinforcing the suggestion he was Philippe's friend. Experience Mitchell had sailed to Plymouth on the same ship as Hester and her children. He and Jane Cooke probably met onboard and later began courting. They became husband and wife soon after this Division. John Faunce, Joshua Pratt and Phineas Pratt may have been friends, or they were just added to round out the number.

These individuals would share and breed their cattle and goats with the results to be divided among them in 10 years. Philippe, Moses Simonson and Experience and Jane Mitchell eventually would settle in Duxbury.

Land Ownership

The demand for privately-owned land was profound by 1627. As a by-product of the agreement between the Undertakers and Purchasers, Governor William Bradford and the Colony's government agreed to give land grants to most settlers. Single men received 20 acres, and heads of families received 20 acres per family member. By this formula, Philippe would have received 20 acres.⁶⁹

Individual land grants were to front the bay, extending both to the north and south as far as good land was available. The land division of June 1627 gave about one third of the colonists land north of Plymouth along the coast. It included dunes, salt marshes, rivers and streams, lakes and ponds, swamp and bogs, fresh water springs, as well as forests, fields and the beach. Philippe was one of these colonists.⁷⁰

First, There Was Mattakessett

Indigenous People had inhabited the land that would become Duxbury for about 12,000 years. At first Nomadic hunters, they began growing maize and beans around 1300. Prior to colonization, they came each summer from further inland to grow their crops along the shore where shell fish provided an easy food supply. Beaver meadows left large areas for planting, and hunting was good. They called this area Mattakessett, meaning "place of many fish."⁷¹

But the plague that had ravaged the population in Patuxet several years before the settlers arrived, also caused the Native inhabitants to leave Mattakessett. By the time the English began to claim this land, it had been untouched for just over a decade, and forest regeneration had begun.

The June 1627 land division is often cited as the date Duxbury settlement began, but it took several years for the town to become established. Grants here started at the mouth of the Jones River and extended northward. Locations were drawn by lot, but land changed hands rapidly in the early days.⁷²

Philippe's property was located at the northern edge of settlement, nestled between Stony Brook (Duck Hill River today) to the north and the Blue Fish River to the south. This waterway gave Philippe direct access to Duxbury Bay and made his farm a prime location.⁷³

Given that crops in Plymouth would have been sown by April, it's doubtful Philippe did any cultivation on his Mattakessett land that summer. Land had to be cleared for cultivation and livestock, and it probably took him and the other early settlers several years to ready their new lands for permanent occupation.

In August 1627, "Palipp deLanoy" sold to Stephen Deane for £4 "one acre of land lying on the north side of town between the first and second brook," to be paid in three installments on 1 October 1627, 1628, 1629.⁷⁴ This was the land Philippe had been granted in 1623. It also was the very first recorded land sale in the Colony after the institution of private property. This indicates Philippe now was focusing his time and attention on his new Mattakessett lands. It was only natural he'd want to get onto his land as soon as possible.

Then, There Was Duxbury

At first, the settlers were part-time residents of what would become Duxbury. Their shelters likely were constructed hastily. They traveled to their new lands to farm during the warmer months, returning to their more substantial homes in Plymouth during the winter. Philippe and his neighbors gradually shifted their permanent residences to Duxbury.

Other early settlers of Duxbury were *Mayflower* passengers William Brewster, Myles Standish, John Alden, Henry Howland, Francis Easton, Peter Brown and George Soule; and *Fortune* passengers Moses Simonson, Edward Bumpass, William Palmer, Jonathan Brewster, Robert Hicks, Thomas Prence, Thomas Morton and William Bassett. Merchant Adventurer William Collier joined them a few years later.⁷⁵

Philippe's friend, Moses Simonson lived north of Stoney Brook on a 40-acre grant.⁷⁶ John Alden, the cooper, lived across the Blue Fish River to the south. Edward Bumpass was another neighbor to the west, while George Soule lived on a neck of land to the east. Today, a sign along St. George Street marks the property first owned by Philippe de Lannoy.

The land came with rights and privileges. Every man was to have access to the shore, no matter where his land lay. All could hunt and fish on all lands. All could cut wood, except timber, on the Common Lands. Commons were the areas inland beyond the granted shore lots.⁷⁷

In 1632, William Bradford described the expansion of Plymouth plantation and the dispersal of its residents north:

"This year the people of the Plantation of Plymouth begin to Grow their outward estate by Reason of the flowing of Many people into the Country especially into the Bay of ye Massachusetts by which means Corn and Cattle Rose to a great price by which many were enriched and Commodities Grew plentiful; and yet in other Regards their benefit turned to their hurt and this accession of strength to their weakness for Now as their stocks increase and the Increase vendable; and the fear of Indians taken away there was no longer any holding of them together, But now they must of Necessity Go to their Great lots; they Could Not otherwise keep their Cattle; and having oxen Grown they must have land for plowing and tillage and No man not thought he could live except he had Cattle and a Great deal of Ground to keep them, all striving to Increase their stocks, by which means they were scattered all over the bay quickly and the town in which they lived Compactly until Now was left very thin and in a short time almost desolate; and if this had been all it had been less though too much But the Church must also be divided; and those that had lived so long together in Christian and Comfortable fellowship must Now part and suffer Many divisions; first those that lived on their lots on the other side of the bay (Called duxburrow) they could not long bring their wives and Children to the public worship and Church meetings here but with such burden, as Growing to some Competent Number they sued to be dismissed and become a body of themselves..."78

By 1632, Elder William Brewster began leading church meetings in Duxbury, probably in people's homes. Of Philippe, Edward Winslow later wrote: "...upon his removal of habitation to Duxburrow, where M. Ralph Partridge is Pastor of the Church; and upon Letters of recommendation from the Church at Plymouth, he was also admitted into fellowship with the Church at Duxborrow, being six miles distant from Plymouth; and so, I dare say, if his occasions lead him, may from church to church throughout New England. He was admitted permanently in January, 1632/3, being a resident of Duxborrow."⁷⁹

A New Neighbor – Massachusetts Bay Colony

In 1629, King Charles I had granted the Massachusetts Bay Company a charter for another colony in New England. During his reign, hostility toward Protestants and Puritans alike greatly increased. Groups of Puritan settlers began arriving from England and settling north of Duxbury. Between 1630 and 1643, more than 20,000 English men and women would migrate to New England.⁸⁰

Incoming settlers to the north needed food and other provisions, and Duxbury residents were well positioned to supply them. By 1630, their economy focused on farming, fishing, livestock production and trade. People of Duxbury and Plymouth sold corn and cattle to the newcomers of Massachusetts. This agricultural explosion increased prosperity to the Colony. Corn and cattle rose to such a high price that many were enriched and commodities grew plentiful. Some cattle were driven overland using the old Indian Trail to Boston. Several people with small boats, called coasters, also engaged in this trade.⁸¹ Philippe may have been one of them.

Settlers who came across the bay to Duxbury found water transportation their best means of getting around. Shipbuilding started in a small way, with a boat built here and another built there along the coast. Owning a northern lot on the Blue Fish River close to the shore may have enticed Philippe to build a small craft on his farm shores.⁸²

Fishing

Visiting the Colony in 1622, Secretary of the Colony of Virginia John Pory wrote, "This healthfulness is accompanied with much plenty both of fish and fowl every day in the year, as I know no place in the world can match it."83

Plymouth Colony depended upon fishing for survival during the early years, providing the settlers with a valuable source of protein. Rivers, streams, lakes, marshes, the bay and the ocean provided fish and shellfish that would become the basis of the colonial diet. John Pory documented the variety of fish and shellfish including eels, smelts, herring, bluefish, cod, hake, lobster, clams and mussels.

A few years later in 1628, another visitor Isaac de Rasieres tells us during spawning season, "This river the English have shut in with planks, and in the middle with a little door, which slides up and down, and at the sides with trellis work, through

which water has its course, but which they can also close with slides." The result was "a square pool, into which the fish aforesaid come swimming in such shoals... that at one tide there are 10,000 to 12,000 fish in it."84

At other times of the year, de Rasieres relates, "When the people have a desire for fish they send out two or three people in a sloop, whom they remunerate for their trouble, and who bring them in three or four hours time as much fish as the whole community require for a whole day; and they muster about fifty families." Given his location on the Blue Fish River, Philippe may have started fishing for his neighbors.

Personal stories of less-famous colonists are few and far between. This one confirms Philippe was a fisherman.

In May 1640, Thomas Keyser of Boston and his partner contracted with Duxbury shipwright, John Moses, to build a 30-foot pinnace for £40. Nearing completion, Keyser had diverse materials in Boston he'd agreed to furnish Moses to finish the boat. Moses asked Philippe to pick them up. Presumably, Philippe traveled to that area with some regularity.

Philippe made two attempts in late July or early August 1640, but he couldn't find where the materials had been left. Inquiring at various houses, he learned from two or three people that Thomas Keyser had no intention of buying the pinnace from John Moses, because neither he nor his partner could pay for it.⁸⁶

When Philippe returned to Duxbury and relayed this message to John Moses, he borrowed Philippe's boat and went to Boston himself to find Keyser. The result of this trip was not satisfactory to the shipwright.

John Moses sued Thomas Keyser in the Massachusetts Court in Boston, and in 1641 "Phillip De Lanoe of Duxbury planter" appeared in court for a deposition. Philippe testified John Moses borrowed his boat and was gone three weeks. Another witness, who'd traveled with Moses to Boston, confirmed this fact. But Philippe offered one last statement that is illuminating. Moses borrowed the boat "in chief mackerel time in September which was above 4£ damage."⁸⁷

Philippe's deposition confirms he caught and sold fish, earning a substantial income. In so doing, he frequented the shores as far north as Boston and likely sold fish there.

Colonists like Philippe could fish throughout the year, altering their practices to adapt to the behaviors of various fish. In March, eels came out from where they'd bedded during the winter and were caught in pots as they headed from the streams to the sea. In May the smelts swam up steam to spawn in such large numbers that they could be scooped out of the water, or cast upon the river bank with a piece of wood. Mackerel spawned in June, but could be caught in the bays and ocean from late spring through the fall. With his homestead bordering two rivers and the bay, it's not surprising Philippe would become a fisherman, as well as a farmer.

Philippe - Freeman

On 1 January 1632/33, "Phillip Delanoy" and three others "were admitted into the freedome of this society, and received the oath." His name then appeared on the first-recorded list of freemen in the Plymouth Colony.⁸⁸

The term "freeman" referred to a male citizen who possessed the right to vote for Governor and Assistants and who had the right to hold office. As an original shareholder in the Plymouth Colony, Philippe automatically was a freeman. Others wishing to become a freeman had to be approved by the existing freemen in his town, and then his name was submitted and accepted by the General Court in Plymouth. Freemen were required to take an oath of allegiance to the Colony and to England.⁸⁹

As a freeman, Philippe attended General Court sessions where legislative matters were considered. The Governor and Assistants presided over these sessions which met regularly in March, June, October and December. Between Court sessions, the Governor and Assistants handled administrative and judicial matters, but laws required the vote and approval of the freemen such as Philippe.⁹⁰

One action taken by the General Court in January 1632/33 was the decision to collect "rates" (a tax) for public use. Generally, these rates were one-time assessments for a specific community need. Records show Philippe was assessed a rate of 18 shillings in 1633 and 9 shillings in 1634, to be paid in corn.⁹¹

All freemen and other male inhabitants were expected to aid in the defense of the Colony. After the settlement of Duxbury, the settlers feared the Narragansett might take advantage of their dispersed and scattered situation. The Court passed an order requiring each male inhabitant of the Colony to provide himself (and any other man for whom he was responsible) with a musket, or other serviceable piece for war. Men also were to supply a bandoleer, two pounds of gunpowder and two pounds of bullets. Noncompliance resulted in a fine of ten shillings.⁹²

In 1635, Lt. William Holmes was appointed to provide Plymouth and Duxbury men with arms instruction. Captain Myles Standish joined him the next year. On training days, the men drilled with both muskets and pikes.⁹³ Philippe certainly participated.

"Phillip Delanoy" appeared again on the Plymouth Colony Freeman's list in 1636/37.94 In 1643, he appeared on the list for Duxbury.95 And in 165896 and 1670,97 he was listed for Duxbury as "*Phillip Delano*." The spelling of his name was evolving gradually into what is common today.

Love & Marriage

The colonists kept no public record of marriages during the early years at Plymouth, but fortunately they began entering them into the Colony's Court Orders in 1632. Thus, we know John Cooke married Sarah Warren on 28 March 1634.98 Sarah was the daughter of fellow *Mayflower* passenger Richard Warren. The couple began their lives together in the town of Plymouth.

Nine months later, Plymouth Colony Records read: "December 19, 1634. Phillip Dela noe and Hester Dewsbery wer maried." 99

No other account of their marriage (or of Hester) survives, but we do know something about Plymouth marriages in general that can help paint a picture of this event.

As Separatists, the Pilgrims believed the New Testament contained two sacraments - baptism and communion. For them, marriage was a civil function upon which inheritance depended. Thus, they broke from the English tradition of marriage by clergy and adopted the Low Countries' custom in which magistrates performed the ceremony.

We know nothing of Hester's background. If her parents were present, they played a role in the betrothal. But to date, no evidence of her family has been found. So, Philippe and Hester may have come to a private agreement about what each party would bring to the marriage and then publicly announced their intention to wed.

As was custom in both Leiden and England, the Plymouth Colony required banns be read by the church minister to ensure there was no reason to prevent the marriage. Reading of the banns was the only role a minister played in uniting a couple in the Plymouth Colony.

Once no objections were raised, Philippe and Hester could move forward with a ceremony in which they declared their vows before witnesses, and the magistrate declared them husband and wife. Unlike in England, Puritans objected to the use of rings, but their vows likely were much the same as those practiced by the Church of England. Following the ceremony, Philippe and Hester may have hosted a small social gathering with family and friends in Duxbury.

Philippe & Hester's Children

Philippe and Hester had six known children. Unfortunately, no records survive to document their dates of birth. All presumably were born in Duxbury. Based on marriage dates and other information, the following lists their estimated birth year and order. 100

- Mary Delano born say 1635
- Philip Delano, Jr. born say 1637
- Hester/Esther born 5 March 1639/40

- Thomas Delano born 12 March 1642
- John Delano born say 1644
- Jonathan Delano born about 1648

The Great Colonial Hurricane

In August 1635, a great hurricane struck the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies. Living in Plymouth and writing about the storm, William Bradford tell us it "...was such a mighty storm of wind and rain as none living in these parts, either English or Indians, ever saw... It blew down sundry houses and uncovered others. Diverse vessels were lost at sea and many more in extreme danger... And if it had continued long without the shifting of wind, it is like it would have drowned some part of the country. It blew down many hundred thousands of trees, turning up the stronger by the roots and breaking the higher pine trees off in the middle. And the tall young oaks and walnut trees of good bigness were wound like a withe, very strange and fearful to behold..."¹⁰¹

In his journal, Massachusetts Bay Governor John Winthrop described the storm arriving around midnight with "...such violence, with abundance of rain, that it blew down many hundreds of trees, near the towns, overthrew some houses, and drove the ships from their anchors."¹⁰²

Other accounts indicate the storm made landfall in Narragansett, Rhode Island in the morning and then tracked northeast between Plymouth and Boston. So, Duxbury was in the eye of the storm. At least 46 people died across New England, including eight Native people near Narragansett Bay. Meteorologists today believe it was a strong category 3 hurricane. ¹⁰³

Today we track a hurricane's path for days before it strikes land. For Philippe and Hester, it arrived with little warning just after sunrise, and it was a storm the likes of which they'd never seen before. We don't know the impact on Philippe and Hester, but it's hard to imagine there was no damage to their property. Coming just a few years after the settlement of Duxbury, for Philippe and his neighbors, the storm may have reinforced the need for sturdier structures.

"Duxburrough Town" Takes Shape

On 7 June 1637, the General Court passed an act making Duxbury the second town in the Plymouth Colony.¹⁰⁴ In that year, the precise boundaries of the Duxbury land grants finally were surveyed.

On 2 October 1637, Plymouth Colony Records read: "Forty acres of land are granted to Phillip Delanoy, lying on Duxborrow side, ranging in length east and west, and breadth north and south, having the marsh at the far end of Duxborrow lying on the north side, and the land of Mr. John Alden laying on the south side, the sea on the east side, and the lands of Edward Bumpasse on the west side: To have and to hold the said land to the said Phillip, his heirs and assigues forever, and their pper vse and

behoove forever."¹⁰⁵ Rather than 20 acres, he now received 40 since he had married Hester.

One of the privileges of being a town was having its own church. Although worship services had begun earlier in Duxbury, the church was formally established in 1637 when Reverend Ralph Partridge was called to be the town's first minister. A meeting house was built at the end of Kingston Bay, next to the burying ground (on Chestnut Street today). Here all church services were held, all town meetings assembled, and all public notices were posted. This was the center of the community, and it came to be known as "Duxburrough Town." 106

Philippe and other resident freemen now gathered at the meeting house to elect town officials. They chose Selectmen to serve as judges and handle town business between freemen's meetings. They also elected Deputies who traveled to Plymouth to represent Duxbury at General Court sessions. Unfortunately, early Duxbury town records are thought to have been lost in a fire, and 1666 is the first entry in the new record book.¹⁰⁷

No sooner had Duxbury residents gotten their government and minister settled, than they set about establishing a grist mill. On 7 November 1639, they voted for George Pollard, yeoman, and William Hiller, carpenter, to build a mill for grinding both Indian and English corn at "Stony brooke lying by the house of Phillip Delanoy." 108

The town would not allow another mill to be erected so long as this mill could grind all the corn for the town in a timely fashion. The town would also try to procure all the common lands lying on the north side of the brook and several pieces of private land for them. The fee for grinding each bushel of corn was set at one "pottle." A pottle was four quarts out of a bushel of grain, which was the normal fee for grinding. The following year, George Pollard and William Hiller built a wooden mill on the property adjacent to Philippe's lot, and it ran successfully for a number of years. This certainly was convenient for Philippe and Hester.

Philippe – Serving the Community

Freemen were expected to serve their community, and records show Philippe was a trusted and respected member of his town and colony. His first known appointment came on 20 March 1636/37 when he was assigned to a committee to "view the hay grounds from the river beyond Phillip DeLanoy [Stony Brook] to the South River." 110

On 2 May 1637, the Plymouth Court summoned a jury of 12 men "...to set forth the heigh wayes about Plymouth, Ducksborrow, and the Eel River." These men appeared on 9 May before the Governor and took their oaths to lay out the roads "...equally & justly, without respect of persons, and according as they shalbe directed by information of others, and as God should direct them in their discretion for the general good of the colony, and with as little prejudice to any mans particular as may be..."¹¹¹

Philippe was one of the 12 men - along with his Uncle Francis, Moses Simons, Robert Bartlett and Experience Mitchell (now married to Philippe's cousin, Jane Cooke). The group met the next day to begin identifying pathways, and they marked the trees along the way so all could see. Back in Court on 7 July, they presented their plan "...both for horse, cart and foot..." It was approved.¹¹²

Until this road was laid out, there was no direct way to get to the homesteads of the first Duxbury settlers. An old Indian trail, known as Green Harbor Path, ran through Duxbury, but it was too far west. The settlers lived further east, along the shore. They needed a highway they could use to get from one homestead to another and that would connect their farms more directly to the town of Plymouth. This new highway came to be known as Duxburrough Path.¹¹³

On 4 June 1639, Philippe was assigned to the Grand Enquest.¹¹⁴ This was a special jury of freemen, impaneled periodically, that would hear charges of suspected criminal conduct by persons in the Colony. If the Grand Enquest found the charges credible, the accused would be tried in the appropriate Court. The General Court handled capital crimes, and the Court of Assistants dealt with lesser crimes. The accused would have an opportunity to defend him or herself. From 1623 onward, the law required all criminal charges and charges of trespass or debt be tried by a jury of 12 freemen.¹¹⁵

Grand Jurors also were to watch for illicit behavior while outside the General Court sessions and report anything significant to the constable. Over a 40-year period, between 1639 and 1679, Plymouth Court Records show Philippe was appointed to be a juror or grand juror no fewer than 20 times.

By 1637, settlers in Connecticut appealed to both Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay for help against Pequot Indian raids. On 7 June 1637, the General Court passed an act that Plymouth would send aid. Lt. Holmes was to lead a force of thirty soldiers, and Philippe was one of forty-four men to volunteer. News soon arrived that Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay men had set a Pequot fort on fire and killed about 400. This action extinguished the threat, so the Plymouth men, including Philippe, stayed home.

In 1642, the Narraganset were planning to attack the English, but their plot was discovered. Over the next year, Plymouth Colony joined with Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut and New Hampshire in a mutual defense compact. In August 1643, Philippe was listed as one of 81 Duxbury men able to bear arms.¹¹⁷

A military company was formed from Plymouth, Duxbury and Marshfield men under the command of Captain Myles Standish. The full equipment of a soldier was ordered to be a musket, pair of bandoleers, powder pouch, bullets, sword, belt, worm, scourer, rest and knapsack. If actually called to serve, his pay would be 18 shillings per month and diet. There is no evidence Philippe was called, but for the next 30 plus years, Plymouth Colony instituted enhanced measures to prepare its soldiers for war and to ensure the safety of its people. Not only were colonists concerns about hostility from

certain Indian tribes, but the Dutch in the new colony of New York also posed a threat.¹¹⁸

Soon, Philippe was being called upon to help settle land boundary disputes and estates. In May 1648, he was appointed to determine the boundaries between Myles Standish and Samuel Eaton. ¹¹⁹ In October, he helped resolve another dispute Samuel Eaton now had with Love Brewster. ¹²⁰ The following October, Samuel Eaton was still having land boundary issues, so Philippe, John Alden and Henry Sampson were ordered to measure his land at the upper end and report back to the Court. ¹²¹

On another occasion in 1648, Philippe collaborated with Edmond Weston and Robert Carver to settle the estate of Thomas Howell.¹²² Then in July 1654, he was appointed to a group to resolve a land dispute of Arthur Howland in Marshfield.¹²³ In 1658, George Soule, Constant Southworth and he were assigned to set the range between Thomas Bourne's and Anthony Snowe's properties in Marshfield.¹²⁴ In December 1663, Philippe was one of three ordered to run the range between Moses Simons and Samuel Chandler.¹²⁵ And in May 1664, he was one of three appointed to settle the bounds of a parcel of upland granted to Constant Southworth.¹²⁶

Philippe continued to serve in this capacity into his late 70s. In June 1679, he was the foreman of a 12-man jury ordered to lay out a highway for George Soule that was convenient for him and least prejudicial to land owner Joseph Howland. Serving with him were his sons, Philip and Thomas. Clearly, Philippe was a reliable and trusted member of his town and colony.

Plymouth Colony Proprietors Challenged

The Plymouth Colony was growing. Between 1630 and 1640, the population grew from 300 to over 3,000. New settlers were clamoring for land. But the Colony's lands were held by the original Purchasers. Land in places like Plymouth, Duxbury and Marshfield had been given out to families, but much more land remained available to be granted.

In 1639, the right of the Purchasers to grant this land was challenged, and over the course of the next couple of years Governor Bradford worked out a compromise. The "Old Comer" Purchasers could have sole ownership of three Reserved Tracts of land, and the rest would be surrendered to the Plymouth General Court. By 1641, the General Court was deciding who received grants to unreserved land, and it considered petitions from residents and outsiders alike. ¹²⁹

Meanwhile, the Purchasers identified their three Reserved Tracts. Reserved Tract 1 was on the mid-Cape, about where Yarmouth is today. Reserved Tract 2 was southwest of Plymouth on Monmouth (now Buzzard) Bay. This area encompassed the Indian settlements of Acushnet, Sconticut (Fairhaven), Accushena (New Bedford), Apponaganset (Dartmouth) and Acoaxet (Westport) in present day Massachusetts and Sakonnet (Little Compton and Tiverton) in Rhode Island. Tract 3 was about where Rehoboth is today, east of Providence, Rhode Island.

Each Purchaser could select which Reserved Tract he (or she!) would participate in by taking a share in it. They generally did not participate in more than one Tract. Philippe, his Uncle Francis (Cooke) and Cousin John (Cooke) participated in Tract 2, but no action was taken by the group for a number of years.¹³¹

Before any settlement could take place, the land had to be purchased from the Native people. To maintain harmony between the settlers and the Indians, only officials of the Colony could buy land from them. Once this was accomplished, with permission of the Plymouth Court, the land could be divided among the Purchasers and officially granted by the Court.

Bridgewater Land

On 2 March 1641/42, the northern area of Duxbury, called Marshfield (previously called Green Harbor and Rexham), was incorporated as a separate township. To compensate for this loss of land, the men of Duxbury applied to Plymouth Court for a grant of common land to the west in Bridgewater. 132

It took several years to get an answer, but in 1645, Philippe was listed as one of the first Proprietors of Bridgewater when a group of 54 persons was granted land there by the Plymouth Court. The grant of this plantation was considered merely preemptive, as the land still had to be purchased. 133

On 23 March 1649 at Sachem's Rock in Bridgewater, Massasoit Ousamequin signed a deed transferring this land. In exchange, he received "7 coats, a yard and a half in a coat, 9 hatchets, 8 hoes, 20 knives, 4 moose skins, 10 ½ yards of cotton and £20." 134

There are no records on how the town divided the land, but each Proprietor had one share. To these 54 shares were added two more – one for their first minister and one for the miller. Philippe never lived in Bridgewater; this land was an investment. In December 1660, he and his friend, Moses Simmons, served as witnesses for each other's sale of their Bridgewater shares and all associated rights to Nicholas Byram of Weymouth. 136

Tract 2 - Dartmouth Lands

On 7 March 1652/53, the Dartmouth shareholders met in Plymouth and recorded a list of Purchasers. ¹³⁷ There were 34 total shares and 36 original Purchasers. Besides Philippe, others included his Uncle Francis and Cousin John. The Purchasers planned to purchase the territory from the Indians and to share any expenses in doing so. It's possible they established the Dartmouth Propriety at this meeting to manage the distribution of this enormous parcel of land, owned collectively by the Purchasers. ¹³⁸

Serving as representatives of the Colony on 29 November 1652, John Cooke and Edward Winslow purchased Reserved Tract 2 lands from Ousamequin and his son,

Wamsutta. The price was "thirty yards of cloth, eight mooseskins, fifteen axes, fifteen pairs of breeches, eight blankets, two kettles, one clock, two pounds of wampum, eight pair stockings, eight pair shoes, one iron pot, and ten shillings." ¹³⁹

The hides had particular importance, as moose are not native to this region but were valued for making moccasins. The wampum beads, worked from purple and white colored shells of the quahog clam and whelk, were valued as currency in colonial North America but had even greater significance to the Pokanoket. Belts made from wampum solidified treaties, recorded memories and commemorated important events. Ousamequin and Wamsutta promised "...to remove all the Indians within a year from the date thereof that do live in the said Tract." This was one of the largest land transfers during the period.

The boundaries of this tract, called "Dartmouth" during the 1600s, were estimated at about 115,000 acres or almost 180 square miles. They began three miles east of the Acushnet River and stretched westward to the Sakonnet River. Today, this area includes Acushnet, Fairhaven (Sconticut), New Bedford (Accushena), Dartmouth (Apponeganset) and Westport (Acoaxet), Massachusetts, as well as Little Compton and Tiverton (Sakonnett), Rhode Island.

As all the Purchasers had their residences in other parts of the Colony, most did not intend to move to this territory. It was merely a dividend in land that cost them nothing to buy and nothing in taxes to hold. A few settlers began to claim land, but for seven years, there were no interested buyers, and no transfers were made.¹⁴²

Mary Pontus Glass

Investigating the lives of Plymouth Colony women is challenging, as those of the middling and lower sort are barely visible in surviving records. This is definitely true of Hester Dewsbury de Lannoy. It's not known when Hester died. It may have been around 1648 with the birth of her last child, Jonathan. Philippe married the widow Mary Pontus Glass sometime between 4 March 1652/53¹⁴³ when she was called a widow in her father's probate records and 17 January 1653/54¹⁴⁴ when she was listed on a deed with Philippe as his wife.

Fortunately, we know much more about Philippe's second wife. Mary was the daughter of William and Wybra Hanson Pontus. William was a churchwarden at Mattersey (near Scrooby) before leaving England for the Netherlands, where he was a member of Reverend John Robinson's congregation. Fustian weaver William was betrothed to Wybra on 13 November 1610 in Leiden, and they married on 4 December 1610. William Brewster was a witness. 46

Although no birth records survive for Mary and her younger sister, Hannah, they likely were born in Leiden. 1622 Dutch tax records document William, his wife and daughter (probably Mary) living "in the close of the English church" and being too poor to be taxed. Known as the Groene Poort (Green Close), this property was the home and

church of Reverend John Robinson and supported apartments for less affluent members of the congregation.¹⁴⁷

The Pontus family probably arrived in Plymouth in 1629 or 1630, aboard one of the last two ships known to have brought members of the Leiden congregation. William became a Plymouth farmer and was listed on the 1633 freeman's list.¹⁴⁸

On 31 October 1645, Mary Pontus married James Glass, 149 thought to be the son of James and Mary Cogan Glass of Somerset, England. James probably came to Plymouth as an indentured servant. In February 1639, records document the sale of his remaining five years of servitude from Henry Cogan (his uncle) to Manasseh Kempton for 50 shillings and 20 bushels of Indian corn. 150

By 1643, James was free and living in Scituate, but he soon moved to Duxbury. ¹⁵¹ He met Mary, and they married and lived in Duxbury. Mary and James had four children - Hannah, Wybra, Hannah ¹⁵² and Mary ¹⁵³ - but their oldest daughter died within days of her birth, and the youngest was born soon after James died.

By the spring of 1653, Mary was a widow. Both her father and husband were dead, and she had inherited property. Here's what we know:

On 9 September 1650, William Pontus made a will, and he named son-in-law James Glass his executor. The date of William's death is not known. 154

During strong weather on 3 September 1652, William was knocked off a boat at Gurnet Point in Duxbury and drowned. He left Mary with two young daughters and pregnant with another.

On 20 February 1652/53, two inventories were taken - that of William Pontus in Plymouth and that of James Glass in Duxbury. 156

On 4 March 1652/53, both inventories were exhibited at Plymouth Court "on oath of Mary Glasse Widdow." 157

William Pontus's inventory totaled £12 17s, including his Plymouth house and land valued at £8. William left this dwelling house, land, goods and other belongings to Mary. Mary's sister, Hannah, who had married John Churchill, was willed 20 shillings in addition to what she and John previously had been promised by her father which included "one third part of his meadow at the watering place near Plymouth." Apparently, Mary received the other two-thirds. 158

On 4 March 1652/53, Mary and Hannah appeared and testified in Court that they agreed on this settlement, and the Court transferred Hannah's meadow land to John Churchill and his heirs forever. During married life, a woman's husband legally controlled their property.

The inventory of James Glass was valued at £32 06s 05d including £5 in land. As in England, Plymouth widows were assured one third of their husband's land during her lifetime. Unlike England, Mary also would have a third of his goods and chattels to dispose of as she liked. Now, Mary controlled the land and personal property from her husband's estate, as well as her father's.

However, Mary's widowhood was short-lived. Within a year, she'd wed Philippe. As a remarried widow, Mary would retain the moveable estate that was hers. And her interest in any housing and land from her marriage with James would go to their children together.¹⁶²

On 17 January 1653/54, Philippe appeared with Mary in Court to acknowledge the sale of her father's Plymouth house and land to her brother-in-law John Churchill and Benniah Pratt for £9. This land was estimated at 20 acres. They also acknowledged they sold John Churchill an acre and a half of marsh meadow at the watering place near Plymouth for £8. This must have been the two-thirds share Mary inherited. 163

Mary appeared in Court several other times during their marriage to consent to Philippe's land transactions. A law enacted in 1646, required a wife to consent to a sale of land made by her husband. Court records document Mary played an active role in the real estate affairs of the family.

Philippe & Mary's Children

When Mary married Philippe, she had three daughters, making Philippe a step-father. It must have been a busy household with Philippe's children - Mary, Philip, Hester, Thomas, John, and Jonathan (ranging in age from about 19 to 5) - and the Glass children - Wybra, Hannah and Mary (ages 4-1). Mary and Philippe would have three more children. ¹⁶⁵

- Jane born say 1655.
- Rebecca born say 1657.
- Samuel born say 1659.

Life on the Farm

Surviving a New England winter in the 1600s was no easy task. Food, shelter, firewood and warm clothing were essential. An important job for women was to preserve enough food to feed their family throughout the long winter months. Corn was eaten at most every meal. It was dried and stored in barrels and could be ground into meal or flour when needed throughout the winter.

Early spring was planting time. Along with Indian corn, families grew beans, pumpkins, wheat, barley, oats and peas in their fields. Hester, and later Mary, probably grew herbs and vegetables such as parsley, lettuce, spinach, carrots and turnips in their vegetable gardens near the house. They also were responsible for tending to the chickens and dairy cattle; milking cows and making butter and cheese; baking bread and preparing all the meals.

During harvest time, Hester and Mary may have lent a hand in the fields. Fall was the time when women brewed beer, the most common drink for the Plymouth colonists. They also may have fermented apples and native grapes to make cider and wine. These beverages then were stored in the coolest part of the home or in a root cellar.

Wives sewed clothing, washed laundry and provided healthcare for the family. Of course, mothers were responsible for childrearing, and they taught their children as they worked. Even young ones could fetch firewood, pick vegetables or grind corn. At a certain age, sons went off to help their fathers, but Hester and Mary were responsible for teaching their daughters the skills of housewifery. They would be expected to run households of their own one day.

Hester had two daughters to teach - Mary and Hester. But Mary had a houseful of young girls. When she married Philippe, teenagers Mary and Hester became her stepdaughters. Mary also brought Wybra, Hannah and Mary to the marriage. And soon she gave birth to Jane and Rebecca.

Morning, noon and night - it was Hester and Mary who kept the fire going in the hearth. I expect their work was never done.

Family Story – Lightening Strike

Few personal family stories come down to us from this time period. But Increase Mather, a Puritan from Boston and President of Harvard College, wrote about an incident that occurred one day in the home of Constant Southworth of Duxbury that involved Philippe's teenage son, Philip.¹⁶⁶

On 11 September 1653, the Southworth family was walking back home with neighbors from Sunday service at the meeting house. A storm was brewing, and they were talking about the terrible thunder and lightning overhead. They hurried along the path and soon found shelter at the Southworth house.

Lightning struck the house, exploded the chimney, set a lean-to on fire, melted pewter and filled the room with smoke and flame. The lightning hit Elizabeth Southworth's arm where she was holding a baby, stunned the baby, killed a dog lying by the hearth and numbed 16-year-old Philip Delano's arm. It must have been a frightening experience and one that was retold time and again. Whether Philip had any lasting effect is not known.

Mary's Match

In 1655, Philippe's oldest daughter, Mary, was married in Plymouth. She was about 21, and her new husband, Jonathan Dunham, was about the same age. Jonathan was the son of John Dunham, a member of Reverend John Robinson's congregation before immigrating to the Plymouth Colony.

John Dunham was also a long-time friend of the Pontus family. The families of William Pontus and John Dunham had lived in the same Leiden neighborhood, and it's believed they came to Plymouth at the same time. William Pontus and John Dunham were granted adjacent parcels of land after their arrival. Growing up, the Dunham family lived next door to Mary Pontus. In 1638-39, William and John undertook to get the town's herring weir repaired, drawn and the catch delivered. John witnessed William's will and gave testimony about his intentions at his probate hearing. He also was an appraiser for the inventory of James Glass. So, Mary Pontus Glass had known the family for years and may have played a role in the match.

Sadly, Mary Delano Dunham died soon after their marriage. It's possible she suffered complications of childbirth, as some genealogies claim she had a son, Daniel, who died soon after his birth in 1656. Jonathan Dunham married again in 1657, and they later had a son named Daniel. 169

Old Dartmouth Land Sales

When buyers appeared, Old Dartmouth Purchasers were ready to sell. To bring land to market, it was essential to institute a preliminary survey and establish a convenient center, so the Dartmouth Proprietary secured the services of John Howard and paid him in land.

Most of the original Purchasers, with the exception of John Cooke, never moved to their Dartmouth lands. Most sold the land or willed it to their children. On 3 December 1659, with Mary's consent, Philippe sold one-half share of his Dartmouth lands to William Earle for £20. It was to be paid in part with a young mare at £8; and 12 ewes to be delivered to his house at Duxbury the next year, 1660. 170

The first Dartmouth land division occurred in 1660, with each shareholder allotted 200 upland acres.¹⁷¹ Upland is where one established their homestead farm with house, farm buildings and cultivated fields. Philippe's remaining one-half share entitled him to claim 100 acres, but no record survives indicating he did. In fact, Plymouth Colony land deeds document on 5 June 1667, Philippe de Lannoy of Duxbury, husbandman, sold to John Russell, Sr. of Dartmouth, yeoman, his other half share of Dartmouth lands. With this sale, his interests in the Old Dartmouth territory ended.¹⁷²

By this time, John and Sarah Cooke had decided to move to Dartmouth, and Philippe's son, Jonathan, soon followed.

Family Stories -Accusations

As mentioned previously, *Mayflower* passengers John and Priscilla Alden and their family lived next door, so the Alden and Delano children grew up together and came to know each other well. Hester Delano and Rebecca Alden were around the same age, and I suspect they were friends. Apparently, Abraham Pierce, a local man in his

early 20s made scandalous accusations against them that started tongues wagging in Duxbury. What began as a childish rumor must have created enough of a stir to end up in court.

On 1 October 1661, he appeared in Plymouth Court to withdraw his claims and apologize. The Court record reads: "Whereas, I Abraham Pierce, Jr., have foolishly and unadvisedly reported to Ruth Sprague and Bethyah Tubbs, at the house of Francis Sprague, that Rebeckah Alden and Hester Delanoy were with child, and that thereupon we should have young troopers within three quarters of a year, I do freely and from my heart own my fault herein, and am heartily sorry that I have so spoken, to their great reproach and wrong and the defamation of their relations, which I earnestly desire may be passed by of them all; and I shall forever hereafter take heed what I do speak and report of any at any time." ¹⁷³

Abraham's confession acknowledged he'd spread the false story at the house of Francis Sprague. Sprague ran the local Duxbury ordinary (tavern), a place where gossip surely spread. Ruth Sprague was married to Sprague's son, John. Bethyah Tubbs was her 13-year-old niece.

Rebecca Alden was party to a similar Plymouth Court case six years later. This time, her partner was Hester's brother, Thomas. The pathway between the Delano and Alden homesteads apparently was a well-worn trail. By 30 October 1667, Thomas Delano had married Rebecca Alden. On that day, Thomas was called to the Plymouth Court to answer charges of "carnall copulation with his now wife before marriage." 174

How did the authorities know? Well, a baby boy was the evidence. He had entered the world a wee bit too soon. To make matters worse, the judge in the case was the groom's father-in-law, John Alden. Poor Thomas was fined £10. The baby was named Benoni, meaning "son of my sorrow." And such human stories are why I love family history.

Nemasket Lands

Plymouth Colony men were constantly on the lookout for available land to purchase from the Indians, so they could help establish their sons when they came of age. Without more land, a father might have to subdivide his own homestead, leaving his sons with smaller farms, and presumably a lower standard of living. Thus, land became a highly coveted resource. This had ominous consequences for Native people.

Inland from Plymouth and south of Bridgewater lay the Indian villages of Nemasket and Titicut, the favorite summer residences of the principal Chiefs of the New England tribes. They came to fish and hunt at the ponds. Here was the hunting house of Massasoit Ousamequin and his sons.

For years, English settlements were confined to the seacoast, and to interior areas depopulated by the plagues. So much so that the villages of Nemasket and Titicut did

not begin to be settled by the English until about 1660.¹⁷⁵ Josiah Wampatuck sold the first portion of these lands in 1662 for £70. Additional purchases followed until the entire territory had been acquired from their Native owners.¹⁷⁶

On 3 June 1662, Philippe and his Uncle Francis appeared on a list of the first Nemasket Purchasers, ¹⁷⁷ and in 1664, lots there were divided and recorded for 28 men. ¹⁷⁸ Once the various Nemasket land purchases were made, authorized and confirmed by the General Court, and land division begun, the town was officially incorporated in June 1669. It was called Middleborough. ¹⁷⁹ On 14 October 1672, Cedar Swamp was divided into seven lots of five shares each. Philippe was in the lot with George Partridge, John Alden, John Soule and Francis West. ¹⁸⁰

Another person on the list of Nemasket Purchasers was William Pontus, deceased. Mary received this land, and on 3 May 1664, Philippe and Mary appeared in Court to confirm half of it belonged to her sister, Hannah Churchill.¹⁸¹

Family Transitions

In 1651, William Bradford wrote, "Francis Cooke is still living, a very old man, and hath seen his children's children have their children." Philippe's Uncle Francis was around 68 at that time. He would live another 12 years, passing away in Plymouth on 7 April 1663 at the age of 80.183 With his passing, Philippe lost the man who was at his baptism, the man he looked up to as a boy in Leiden and the man he followed to a new life across the globe. It must have been a significant loss. Francis Cooke probably was laid to rest at Burial Hill in Plymouth.

Philippe's Aunt Hester, who probably was like a mother to him, lived a few more years. No record of her has been found after 8 June 1666, when her children registered a land division in court and stated she was still living. Aunt Hester was Philippe's last tie to his own mother, and to the life he left a world away in Holland.

Sometime in the 1660s, John Delano apprenticed with John Hill of Bridgewater to become a shoemaker. He appears to have gotten into some minor trouble that caused his brother, Thomas, to sign an agreement in April 1667 stating he would absolve Bridgewater and take personal responsibility for "all losses and detriments & damages and charges whatsoever, that may any way arise by my aforesaid brother John Delano, either by impotency or any other causal providence that may fall in reference to charge after his apprenticeship shall be expired, till such time that my brother John shall be received legally as an inhabitant of another town..." John Hill signed the agreement as a witness. ¹⁸⁵ It seems this was the end of John's troubles.

On a happier note, Philip, Jr. married Elizabeth Sampson, daughter of Abraham Sampson of Duxbury, about 1670. Philip and Elizabeth lived in Duxbury. While undocumented, it's now believed Hester Delano married Samuel Sampson around the same time. Thus, brother and sister Delano married sister and brother Sampson. 187

Transferring Lands

On 11 April 1674, Philippe began transferring land to his sons. Plymouth land records document, "Phillip Delano, senior" planter of Duxbury "for and in consideration of the love and Natural affection" granted "unto my true and natural son John Delano" his 25-acre lot in Middleborough and three acres of upland in Duxbury, reserving his own right to cut hay for two cows. This deed was witnessed by Thomas Delano and Joseph Chandeler, and acknowledged by John Alden as Court Assistant. 188

On the same day, Philippe granted "unto Thomas Delano, his true and natural son" one half of his hundred-acre lot in Middleborough. The lot was to be divided between him and his brother, Philip Delano, with Philip having first choice. 189

Next, he granted Thomas Delano and his heirs forever half of his meadow land in Middleborough with half of the privileges and parcels associated with this half-share. Thomas also received one-half of his lot in Duxbury, except for three acres; one-half of five acres of meadow land at the beach on the south side of Pine Point; and three acres of meadow land at Mill River, except the cutting of hay for two cows. This land deed was witnessed by John Delano and Jonathan Alden, and acknowledged in Court by John Alden, Assistant.¹⁹⁰

Thus, three of Philippe and Hester's sons received lands from their father.

John & Jonathan - Settle in Dartmouth

Jonathan Delano and John Cooke had a close relationship. John had five daughters but no sons, and he seems to have taken several young men in the family under his wing, including sons-in-law and Jonathan. John was 40 years older than Jonathan, and it's possible the younger cousin admired his older cousin's adventurous spirit.

Around 1660, John orchestrated the settlement of several family members in Dartmouth. Arthur Hathaway (married to John's daughter, Sarah) and James Shaw (married to John's niece, Mary Mitchell) established homes there. John and his wife, Sarah, settled in late 1662 or early 1663, around the time his father died in Plymouth. Jonathan soon followed, possibly living with John and Sarah for a time. Like his father, he was off to a new frontier in his late teens.

The earliest Dartmouth territory settlement extended along the eastern shore of the Acushnet River in what today is Fairhaven. John and Sarah built their house on a hill overlooking the river. Halfway between the house and the river, he built a fortified garrison as protection for residents. This would turn out to be a wise decision.

Dark Clouds Over New England

Trouble had been brewing for some time with the Indigenous inhabitants of New England. Before his death in 1660, Massasoit Ousamequin turned the rule of his

chiefdom over to his son, Wamsutta, but soon he was dead, and his brother, Metacom became Sachem. Metacom - known as "King Philip" - represented a younger generation who no longer saw Plymouth as a source of strength for their people.¹⁹¹

At issue were land encroachment by the English, the religious conversion and rights of Native people and the loss of power felt by Metacom and other local sachems.¹⁹² But the spark that ignited the war was the trial and hanging of three Indians and the shooting of another caught looting homes in Swansea. Retaliatory raids followed and soon war erupted.

In July 1675, Metacom's warriors led an attack on the towns of Dartmouth and Middleborough with overwhelming force. Warned of immanent attack, residents of Dartmouth sought safety at John Cooke's garrison house, but four people died. Jacob and Susannah Pope Mitchell were two of them, slain going to the garrison where their three children had been sent the night before. Jacob was a cousin of the Delano family - son of Jane Cooke and Experience Mitchell. Susannah's brother, John Pope, also died, as well as unrelated William Parker.

Thirty houses in Dartmouth burned. We don't know where Jonathan, John and Sarah were during the attack, presumably in the garrison house. Philippe must have been relieved to learn they were safe and had abandoned Dartmouth.

King Philip's War Begins

The New England colonies responded to these and other raids by assembling a combined force of militia soldiers and Native allies. While Duxbury was never directly attacked, its residents were on constant alert, and the town was called upon to supply soldiers at various times over the next year and half.¹⁹⁴

Philippe, now in his early 70s, had been excused from militia duty at the age of 60, but younger men in the family likely served. Soldier lists do not survive, but daughter Hester's husband, Samuel Sampson, was one of them. Court records document he was "slayn in the countres service," and on 4 October 1675, the town granted her a pension of £10, paid for two years and until the time she married. Hester would marry John Soule a few years later. 196

When the war began, King Philip's warriors would fall on a town, and the townspeople would run to garrison houses to fight off their attackers. This European method of warfare was completely dependent on Native soldiers taking the offensive against these garrison houses. Instead, the attackers burned the settlers' homes, storehouses and crops, and then dispersed into the woods. Crisscrossing New England, the results were devastating.

The colonists knew they needed to take the war to the Indians, but they were challenged to know how. Captain Benjamin Church, Sarah Cooke's nephew, had been leading a scouting company that traveled ahead of the army to locate the enemy.

Originally from Duxbury, he had settled among the Native people in Sakonnet and befriended them. There, he learned their language and ways.¹⁹⁷

Over the first months of the war, Church became increasingly frustrated with the ineffective military tactics of the army. Finally in the spring of 1676, he convinced Governor Josiah Winslow to allow him to assemble a new mixed-race unit of Native and English frontier soldiers. Given command of 200 men, mostly Sakonnet, loyal Wampanoag and, as Church recalled, "English not exceeding the number of 60," he pursued the war in Native fashion. Jonathan Delano joined this unit and served as its lieutenant.

Like Benjamin Church, Jonathan had lived on the frontier and had interacted with Native people. In 1668, he had accompanied John Cooke when he negotiated the purchase of Nakatay Island (West Island) from King Philip. ¹⁹⁹ In 1673, Jonathan also had assisted two Native men get the bounds of their Mattapoisett lands recorded with the Plymouth Court. ²⁰⁰ By this time, he knew their language and was familiar with their customs.

Benjamin Church recognized the need for colonial soldiers to learn and adopt Native methods of warfare; and this required an understanding of Indian culture. Church used Native soldiers to train his men, integrating their tactics and weapons with European weapons and rank structure. While most Englishmen strongly discouraged the adoption of Indian cultural practices, doing so now was the turning point in King Philip's War.²⁰¹

Church's men were the first colonial forces to be successful in raiding the camps of hostile Indians in forests and swamps.²⁰² Gradually, the English gained the advantage. As Church's lieutenant, Jonathan tracked Indian movements, served as a translator of Native languages, guarded and transported prisoners, and fought alongside his men. In his published account of the war, Benjamin Church later recounted how he, a Mr. Barnes and "Mr. Dillano, who was acquainted with the grounds, and Indian language," road on horseback through the swamps ahead of their men to scout out the location of their enemies.²⁰³

In victory, Benjamin Church's men took as many prisoners as possible. As his lieutenant, Jonathan marched hundreds of prisoners to Plymouth. At times, Church convinced enemy soldiers to switch sides, as this would save them and their families from foreign slavery. And on occasion, skilled Native soldiers were accepted into Church's unit.

As the war progressed, more and more Indians came over to the colonists' side, and King Philip and his followers found themselves increasingly alone. Destitute and with only a few tired, hungry men, he returned to his traditional home at Potumtuk (or Montaup - Mount Hope).

In August, Church was across the water at Aquidneck Island when a deserter revealed King Philip's location. Church's men, including Jonathan, ferried across the

bay and at morning light on 12 August 1676, his main force charged the camp. King Philip was known for running to escape during attacks, so Church posted men in pairs around the camp.

A pair of men, Caleb Cooke (son of Philippe and Jonathan's cousin, Jacob Cooke) and John Alderman (a Sakonnet Indian), saw someone running toward them. Caleb Cooke aimed his gun, but it misfired. Then Alderman shot the runner dead. It was King Philip. According to family tradition, Cooke traded his gun for Alderman's. The lock made its way to the Massachusetts Historical Society and the barrel to the Pilgrim Hall Museum in Plymouth.²⁰⁴

Church had King Philip's lifeless body beheaded and quartered - hanging the quarters from four trees. His head later was mounted on a pike at the entrance to Plymouth where tradition says it stayed for some 20 years. This gruesome treatment was the mandated English ritual for treason against the Crown.

Shortly thereafter, Church's unit captured Anawon, Philip's war chief, and the war was over. It was a victory for the English, but one that had ravaged the English and Native communities throughout New England. An estimated one in ten soldiers had died on each side, the highest per capita fatality rate in North American history.

After the war, John and Jonathan returned to their lands in Dartmouth. Eighteen months later on 27 February 1677/78, Jonathan married Benjamin Church's cousin and Sarah Cook's niece, Mercy Warren, in Dartmouth.²⁰⁵

Philippe de Lannoy's Last Days

Philippe lived long enough to see son John marry Mary Weston. She was the daughter of Edmond Weston of Duxbury.²⁰⁶ Philippe's last documented activity came in June 1679, at the age of 76, when he was foreman of a jury to lay out a highway for George Soule.²⁰⁷ Based on the nature of the task, it appears he was still in fairly good physical shape.

On 22 August 1681, Philippe wrote or dictated a memo regarding the disposal of his estate. Sometime between that action and 4 March 1681/82, Philippe de Lannoy died. He was 79.

After a person died in Plymouth Colony, their will and a probate inventory of their possessions had to be taken and approved by the Governor and Assistants at the next Plymouth Court. Letters of administration then would be granted to the executor so the estate could be settled. When someone died without a will, an inventory of their possessions was taken, and the Court, through letters of administration, gave legal authority to someone to settle the estate. This was usually the wife, husband or a close relative.²⁰⁸ In Philippe's case, he left no will.

Taking the Inventory

Samuel Delano began outside on 4 March 1681/82,²⁰⁹ counting Philippe's most prized property - his livestock. Appraised at £24 18s, livestock represented half the total value of his inventory. Other items outside were a cart, cart tacking, four axes, five wedges, two saws and a few other tools.

Moving into the house, Samuel worked his way around the room. He started with the bed, furniture and bedding which he valued at $\pounds 6$. "Furniture" referred to the bed hangings, the most expensive part of the bed. While the wooden bed may have been locally-made, the textiles probably were imported.

Three chests and a chair were the only other furniture listed. Samuel may have paused to remember his father sitting in this chair. From ancient times, chairs were associated with those of authority and high status. In England, simple folks began using chairs in the late 16th and early 17th century. Prior to that, they were rare in households. Those that possessed them frequently had only one, and it belonged to the husbandman. In this case, that was Philippe. His chair probably was a straight-backed, flat-wooden-seated armchair. With no stools or benches listed, others in this household probably sat on the chests or settled on rush-covered floors.²¹⁰

Another listing of note was "corn and clothing," valued at £7. The corn must have been what remained from the previous harvest, having been stored and used over the winter. Apparently, he had no clothing worthy of note.

There also was his gun, required for all militia men. Household items, likely imported, included a mortar and pestle for grinding spices, earthenware and a few non-descript items of pewter, tin, brass and iron. These few simple belongings provide a glimpse into Philippe's home life.

INVENTORY²¹¹

```
1 oxen 07 00 00
3 cowes 06 15 00
2 steers 02 10 00
1 heiffer 01 08 00
1 horse 02 05 00
1 mare 01 05 00
1 colt 00 12 00
15 sheep 01 10 00
3 swine 01 13 00
4 axes 00 10 00
5 wedges, 2 sawes and other tools 01 04 00
a cart and cart tacking
                    01 07 00
a bed and furniture and other bedding of oo oo
corn and clothing
                07 00 00
brass ware and a spice mortar and pestell o1 o0 o0
iron household stuff 01 11 00
```

pewter and tin 00 14 00 earthen ware 00 02 00 1 gun 00 15 00 1 chest 00 05 00 2 chests and a chair with other household lumber 01 17 00

SUM TOTAL 50 13 00

Many original inventories of the period weren't totaled. This one was, but the total is incorrect. The total should have been £47 3s. At first glance, this appears meager, but it's important to note what was not included. No real estate is listed, and the widow's thirds (one-third of the moveable estate) was not included in Plymouth Colony inventories or valuations.²¹² Most household items probably were part of Mary's dower third, and therefore, not be listed.

We also need to remember Mary had inherited property from her father and husband – both land and movable items. This property does not appear on this inventory. On 3 January 1676/77, Philippe and Mary had taken an oath before Assistant John Alden, that prior to their marriage, she had given all her lands to her three children by James Glass – Wybra, Hannah and Mary.²¹³

Philippe already had given land to three sons. I've found no record of land given by Philippe to his sons Jonathan or Samuel, although Mary provided land in Bridgewater and Middleborough for Samuel.²¹⁴

Settling the Estate

On 5 July 1682, Samuel presented his father's inventory to the Court. While Philippe had dictated a memorandum, it apparently did not match some family members' understanding of his intentions. So, Thomas (probably representing Hester's children) and Samuel (representing Mary's children) agreed to follow what they knew to be their father's intent and prepared a joint memorandum to present to the Court.²¹⁵

This new memorandum documented the following bequests: "...his three eldest [sons] and each of [them] know their proportions, and John hath twenty five acres more at Namassakett." With this additional land, each of Philippe's three eldest sons had received 50 acres at Nemasket.

To his son Samuel went a horse, cow, two steers, a chain and cart, saw and wedges. To sons Philip, Thomas and Samuel a yoke of old oxen to improve, and when their service was done, they were to revert wholly to Phillip and Thomas.

There was no mention by name of his fourth son, Jonathan. For a time, some researchers questioned whether Jonathan was really Philippe's son, but a DNA research initiative of the Delano Kindred has confirmed his parentage.

To daughter Jane went one cow and a heifer; to daughter Rebecca a yearling heifer. There was no mention of daughter Hester by name, although she lived in Duxbury until 1735.

Widow Mary was given a cow and free use of one third of the orchard and land, both upland and meadow, during her life.

Each of his "seven eldest children" were to receive 5s, and the memorandum noted Phillip and Thomas had already received their proportions. At Mary's death, all movables were to go to his "four youngest children." ²¹⁶ Assuming he had no other children, the seven eldest would be five of Hester's children and two of Mary's - Philip Jr., Hester, Thomas, John, Jonathan, Jane and Rebecca. The four youngest would include one of Hester's and three of Mary's - Jonathan, Jane, Rebecca and Samuel.

These delineations have sparked questions as to the rationale and whether Philippe had more children who have not come to light. Could the seven eldest have been Hester's children, and the four youngest been Mary's? But if this were the case, there would be three additional unknown children, which seems highly unlikely. For now, without specific names listed, these questions will remain unanswered.

Thomas was appointed executor, but administration of the estate was granted to Samuel. Samuel and Thomas Delano posted bond of £150, acknowledging Samuel's obligation to pay all debts and legacies and to faithfully administer the estate. All debts and funeral expenses were to be discharged out of the movables. 217

There is no record of Philippe's burial, but it's believed he rests in Duxbury's Old Burying Ground (Myles Standish Burial Ground), as was local custom. Nothing more is known of Mary Pontus Glass de Lannoy.

After this, Philippe and Mary's first daughter, Jane, also disappears from the records. Their second daughter, Rebecca married her cousin, John Churchill IV in Plymouth on 28 December 1686. John was the son of John and Hannah Pontus Churchill, her mother's sister. The couple lived in Plymouth.²¹⁸

Samuel married Elizabeth Standish around 1683. Elizabeth was the daughter of Alexander and Sarah Alden Standish; and the granddaughter of *Mayflower* passengers Myles Standish, John Alden and Priscilla Mullins Alden. Like the Delanos and Aldens, the Standish family had settled in Duxbury. Samuel and Elizabeth Delano also lived in Duxbury.²¹⁹

Legacy of Philippe de Lannoy

As the son of refugees who fled religious persecution in their homeland of Flanders to settle first in England and then in Holland, Philippe de Lannoy transported his family's story of strength and resilience to a brand-new home in America.

Arriving in New Plymouth a year after its settlement, when the success of the Colony was in question, Philippe was one of its founders - an Oldcomer or Purchaser as they came to be known. With a pioneering spirit, he built a new life virtually from scratch, establishing his homestead in Duxbury and becoming a successful farmer and fisherman. Throughout his adult life, Philippe de Lannoy gave back to his community and left this world a trusted and respected citizen.

Six of Philippe's children had children of their own - Philip Jr. (5), Hester (5), Thomas (9), John (6), Jonathan (13), Rebecca (5) and Samuel (9) - giving him 52 known grandchildren.

The most famous of his descendants were Presidents - Ulysses S. Grant, Calvin Coolidge and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Others have included anthropologist Robert Redfield, astronaut Alan B. Shepard, author Laura Ingalls-Wilder and actor Geena Davis. Still others were industrialists, statesmen, diplomats, politicians, architects, physicists, engineers, ship captains and smugglers.

Today, the Delano Kindred is a lineage society dedicated to researching and preserving the genealogy and history of Philippe de Lannoy and his descendants in America.

Pam Stickney Pettengell 7th great-granddaughter of Philippe de Lannoy November 2025

Notes

¹ "Philippe de Lannoy." *Pilgrim Documents*. Leiden Archives (Erfgoed Leiden En Omstrenken).

² English, George. "Ancestry and History of Philip Delano, Born Philippe de Lannoy, Further Findings about the de Lannoy and Mahieu Families." *Mayflower Descendant*, Vol. 69 (2021) p. 21.

³ English. *MD* 69:21.

⁴ Jeremy Bangs. "The Pilgrim and Other English in Leiden Records: Some New Pilgrim Documents." *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Vol. 143 (1989), p. 199. [*NEHGR* 143]

⁵ English. MD 69:23.

⁶ George English. *The Delano and Cooke Ancestors*. Research Through People Publishing, 2022, p. 34.

⁷ English. *Delano and Cooke Ancestors*, p. 15; *MD* 69:8-9.

⁸ English. *Delano and Cooke Ancestors*, p. 15; MD 69:8-9.

⁹ Jeremy Bangs. *Strangers and Pilgrims, Travellers and Sojourners*. General Society of Mayflower Descendants, p. 165.

- ¹⁰ Donald J. Harreld. *The Dutch Economy in the Golden Age* ($16^{th} 17^{th}$ *Centuries*). Economic History Association website.
- ¹¹ Harreld. *Dutch Economy in the Golden Age*.
- ¹² Harreld. *Dutch Economy in the Golden Age*.
- ¹³ English. MD 69:22.
- ¹⁴ Seven Centuries of Leiden Cloth. Museum of Lakenhal Leiden website.
- ¹⁵ English. Delano and Cook Ancestors, pp. 36-37.
- ¹⁶ English. *Delano and Cook Ancestors*, p. 37.
- ¹⁷ English. *Delano and Cook Ancestors*, p. 41.
- ¹⁸ *Pilgrim Life in Leiden Leiden, a Fair and Beautiful City*. Leiden American Pilgrim Museum website.
- ¹⁹ Pilgrim Life in Leiden Leiden...
- ²⁰ Pilgrim Life in Leiden Leiden...
- ²¹ Tamura Jones. *The Burial of Jenne de Lanno [Jeanne de Lannoy] in 1603 in Leiden?* Tamurajones.net, 2022.
- ²² English. MD, 69:24.
- ²³ Schelhaas, T.N. "Letter from T.N. Schelhaas (Keeper of Records, City of Leiden) to George Delano," *Bonnes Nouvelles, No. 37*. Delano Kindred June 2001, p. 9.
- ²⁴ "Past Occupations Woolcomber." *Past and Present* website, citing *Family Tree*, Vol. 13 No. 1 (1996). Edited by Janet McNeilly.
- ²⁵ "Past Occupations Woolcomber."
- ²⁶ Bangs. Strangers and Pilgrims. p. 342.
- ²⁷ "Pilgrim Life in Leiden Daily Life." Leiden American Pilgrim Museum website.
- ²⁸ "Pilgrim Life in Leiden Daily Life."
- ²⁹ Bangs. *NEHGR* 143:199.
- ³⁰ Bangs. Strangers and Pilgrims. p. 26.
- ³¹ Robert C. Anderson. *The Mayflower Migration*. New England Historical and Genealogical Society, 2020, p. 63.
- ³² Eugene A. Stratton. *Plymouth Colony: Its History and People, 1620-1691*. The Generations Network Inc., 1986, pp. 19-20.
- 33 Stratton. *Plymouth Colony*, p. 25.
- ³⁴ George D. Langdon. *Pilgrim Colony*. Yale University Press, 1966, p. 10.
- 35 Stratton. *Plymouth Colony*, p. 20.
- ³⁶ English. *MD* 69:26.
- ³⁷ Bangs. Strangers and Pilgrims. p. 30.
- ³⁸ Becket W. Soule. *Passengers of the Fortune (1621)*. Heritage Books Inc., 2023, p. xxxix-xl.
- ³⁹ Soule. *Fortune (1621)*, p. lii.
- 40 Soule. Fortune (1621), p. liii.
- ⁴¹ William Bradford. *History of Plymouth Plantation 1620-1647*. Massachusetts Historical Society, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912, p. 232.
- ⁴² Bradford. *Plymouth Plantation*, pp. 232-33.
- 43 Langdon. Pilgrim Colony, p. 17.
- 44 Caleb Johnson. *Primary Sources*. Caleb Johnson's MayflowerHistory.com.
- ⁴⁵ Kate LaPrad. *Who they Were The People of the First Thanksgiving*. Plimoth Patuxet Museums, 2024, p. 9.

- ⁴⁶ Records of the Colony of Plymouth in New England, Vol. XII Deeds &c. Vol. 1 1620-1651 Book of Indian Records for Their Lands. Edited by David Pulsifer. Press of William White, 1861, p. 3. [PCR 12]
- ⁴⁷ Bradford. *Plymouth Plantation*, pp. 244-45.
- ⁴⁸ Bradford. *Plymouth Plantation*, pp. 245-46.
- ⁴⁹ LaPrad. Who they Were, p. 2.
- ⁵⁰ The Nation that Welcomed the Pilgrims Maintains Connection to the Land.
- Pokanoket: The First People of the East Bay website. Pokanoket Tribe of the Pokanoket Nation.
- ⁵¹ LaPrad. *Who they Were*, p. 3.
- ⁵² LaPrad. *Who they Were*, p. 3.
- 53 Stratton. Plymouth Colony, p. 23.
- 54 Stratton. *Plymouth Colony*, p. 23.
- ⁵⁵ Taylor, Graham. *The Mayflower in Britain How an Icon Was Made in London*. Ambersley Publishing, 2020, pp. 174-175.
- ⁵⁶ Robert C. Anderson. *The Great Migration Begins, Immigrants to New England* 1620-1633. New England Historical and Genealogical Society, 1995, p. 57.
- 57 Anderson, Robert Charles. "1623," American Ancestors, Fall 2024, p. 41.
- ⁵⁸ Anderson. *Mayflower Migration*, p. 66.
- ⁵⁹ Langdon. *Pilgrim Colony*, pp. 29-30.
- ⁶⁰ Wakefield, Robert S. "The 1623 Plymouth Land Division." *Mayflower Quarterly*, Vol. 40, 1974, p. 7.
- ⁶¹ PCR 12:5; Stratton. Plymouth Colony, p. 416.
- ⁶² Taylor. *Mayflower in Britain*, p. 184.
- ⁶³ Stratton. *Pilgrim Colony*, p. 27.
- 64 Langdon. Pilgrim Colony, pp. 29-30; Stratton. Plymouth Colony, p. 419.
- 65 Langdon. *Pilgrim Colony*, pp. 30-31.
- ⁶⁶ Records of the Colony of Plymouth in New England, Vol. II Court Orders 1641-1651. Edited by Nathaniel Shurtleff. Press of William White, 1855, p. 177. [PCR 2] ⁶⁷ Langdon. *Pilgrim Colony*. pp. 31-32.
- ⁶⁸ PCR 12:9-13; Stratton. Plymouth Colony, p.421.
- ⁶⁹ Dorothy Wentworth. *The Settlement and Growth of Duxbury, 1628-*1870. The Duxbury Rural & Historical Society, 2000, pp. 1-2.
- ⁷⁰ Wentworth. Duxbury, p. 2.
- ⁷¹ Leslie A. Lawrence. *The Town of Duxbury Massachusetts*. Duxbury Historical Commission website.
- ⁷² Wentworth. *Duxbury*, pp. 8-9.
- 73 Wentworth. Duxbury, p. 12.
- 74 PCR 12: 7.
- ⁷⁵ Justin Winsor. *History of the Town of Duxbury, Massachusetts with Genealogical Registers*. Crosby & Nichols, 1849, p. 64.
- ⁷⁶ Wentworth. *Duxbury*, 76.
- 77 Wentworth. Duxbury, p. 8.
- ⁷⁸ Plymouth Church Records, Vol. 1 1620-1859. New England Society, 1920, p.69.
- ⁷⁹ Anderson. *Great Migration Begins*, p. 517.
- ⁸⁰ Robert C. Anderson. *Puritan Pedigrees The Deep Roots of the Great Migration to New England*. New England Historical and Genealogical Society, 2018, p.13.

⁸¹ Lamont R. Healy. "Duxbury's Early Lands and Leaders." *Duxbury Our Pilgrim Story*. Duxbury Rural & Historical Society and Alden House Historic Site, 2021, p. 42.

82 Wentworth. *Duxbury*, p. 107.

83 Johnson. Primary Sources.

84 Johnson. Primary Sources.

85 Johnson. Primary Sources.

⁸⁶ Thomas Lechford. *Note-Book Kept By Thomas Lechford, Esq. (June 27, 1638-July 2, 1641)*. John Wilson & Son, University Press, 1885, pp. 418-21.

87 Lechford. *Note-book*, pp. 418-21.

⁸⁸ Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England, Vol. 1 – Court Orders 1633-1640. Edited by Nathaniel Shurtleff. Press of William White, 1855, pp. 3-5. [PCR 1]

⁸⁹ Christopher Fennell. "Plymouth Colony Legal Structures." *The Plymouth Colony Archive Project*. University of Illinois Urbana-Campaign website, 1998.

90 Fennell. Plymouth Archive Project.

91 PCR 1:11 & 28.

92 PCR 1:6.

93 Winsor. *Duxbury*, pp. 89-90.

94 *PCR* 1:53.

⁹⁵ Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England, Vol. VIII – Miscellaneous Records 1633-1689. Edited by Nathaniel Shurtleff. Press of William White, 1857, p. 175. [PCR 8]

96 PCR 8:198.

97 Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England, Vol. V – Court Orders 1668-1678. Edited by Nathaniel Shurtleff. Press of William White, 1856, p. 274. [PCR 5]

98 *PCR* 1:29.

99 PCR 1:32.

¹⁰⁰ Muriel Curtis Cushing. *Philip Delano of the "Fortune" 1621 and His Descendants for Four Generations, Part 1.* General Society of Mayflower Descendants, 2002, pp. 2-9.

¹⁰¹ Brian R. Jarvinen. "The Great Colonial Hurricane of 1635." *Storm Tides*.

NOAA/Tropical Prediction Center, National Hurricane Center website, 2006, p. 6. ¹⁰² Jarvinen. *Storm Tides*, p. 6.

¹⁰³ "1635 – The Great Colonial Hurricane," *Hurricanes: Science and Society*. School of Oceanography, University of RI website, 2020.

¹⁰⁴ Winsor. *Duxbury*, p. 11.

¹⁰⁵ *PCR* 1:67.

¹⁰⁶ Wentworth. *Duxbury*, p. 20.

¹⁰⁷ Winsor. *Duxbury*, p. 82.

¹⁰⁸ *PCR* 12:72.

¹⁰⁹ Wentworth. *Duxbury*, p. 95.

¹¹⁰ PCR 1:55.

¹¹¹ *PCR* 1:58.

¹¹² *PCR* 1:58.

¹¹³ Wentworth. *Duxbury*. p. 16.

¹¹⁴ *PCR* 1:126.

¹¹⁵ Fennell. Plymouth Colony Archive Project.

- ¹¹⁶ PCR 1:60-61.
- ¹¹⁷ PCR 12:189.
- ¹¹⁸ Winsor. *Duxbury*. pp. 90-94.
- 119 PCR 2:122.
- 120 PCR 2:136.
- ¹²¹ PCR 2:147.
- ¹²² PCR 2:15.
- ¹²³ Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England, Vol. III Court Orders 1651-1661. Edited by Nathaniel Shurtleff. Press of William White, 1855, p. 62. [PCR 3] ¹²⁴ PCR 3:138.
- ¹²⁵ Records of the Colony of New England in New England, Vol. IV Court Orders 1661-1668. Edited by Nathaniel Shurtleff. Press of William White, 1855, p. 48. [PCR 4] ¹²⁶ PCR 4:58
- ¹²⁷ Records of the Colony of New England in New England, Vol. VI Court Orders 1678-1691. Edited by Nathaniel Shurtleff. Press of William White, 1856, p. 15. [PCR 6] ¹²⁸ "British Colonials & Progenitors The Massachusetts Settlements." *Explorers & Settlers*. National Park Service website, 2005.
- 129 Stratton. Plymouth Colony, p. 75.
- ¹³⁰ Sally M. Aldridge. *Overview Old Dartmouth Proprietors Records*. Dartmouth Historical & Arts Society website, 2018.
- ¹³¹ Daniel Ricketson. *History of New Bedford including A History of the Old Township of Dartmouth and The Present Townships of Westport, Dartmouth, and Fairhaven.* Published by author, 1858, p. 26.
- ¹³² Edward C. Mitchell. *Mitchell's History of Bridgewater, Massachusetts*. Edward Alden, 1897, p. 9; Hosea Starr Ballou. "Dr. Thomas Starr, Surgeon in the Pequot War, and His Family Connections." *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Vol. 94 (1940), pp. 241-243.
- ¹³³ Mitchell. *Bridgewater*, pp. 10-12.
- 134 Ballou. NEHGR 94:241-242.
- ¹³⁵ Ballou. *NEHGR* 94:241.
- ¹³⁶ Massachusetts: Plymouth Colony Deeds, 1671-1673 (Online database: AmericanAncestors.org, New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2019), from Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England, Deeds, &c, Vol. III, part 2, 1671-1673, pp. 70-72. [PCLR 3:2]
- ¹³⁷ Plymouth Colony Records Deeds, &c. Vol. 2, 1651-1663. Transcribed & edited by Jeremy Dupertius Bangs. Leiden American Pilgrim Museum, 2016. Original Deeds II, Book 1, p. 106. [PCLR 2:1]
- ¹³⁸ Ricketson. New Bedford, pp. 26-27.
- ¹³⁹ Franklin Howland. *A History of the Town of Acushnet*. Published by the author, 1907, pp. 10-11.
- ¹⁴⁰ Howland. Acushnet, p. 10.
- ¹⁴¹ Howland. Acushnet, p. 112.
- ¹⁴² Aldridge. *Old Dartmouth Proprietor Records*, p. 9.
- ¹⁴³ George Ernes Bowman. "Delano Notes." *Mayflower Descendant*, Vol. 11 (1909), Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants, pp. 93-95.
- 144 PCLR 2:1:93
- ¹⁴⁵ Bangs. Strangers and Pilgrims, p. 42.

- ¹⁴⁶ "William Pontus" & "Wybra Hanson." *Pilgrim Documents*. Leiden Archives (Erfgoed Leiden En Omstrenken).
- ¹⁴⁷ Bangs. Strangers and Pilgrims, p. 316.
- ¹⁴⁸ Anderson. *Great Migration Begins*, p. 1493.
- 149 PCR 2: 88.
- ¹⁵⁰ English Origins of New England Families From the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Second Series, Vol. I. Edited by Gary Boyd Roberts.

Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1985, p. 561.

- ¹⁵¹ Stratton. *Plymouth Colony*, p. 296.
- ¹⁵² PCR 8:4, 5, 7, 13.
- ¹⁵³ Winsor. *Duxbury*, p. 262.
- ¹⁵⁴ "The Will of William Pontus." *Mayflower Descendant*, Vol. 11 (1909). Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants, pp. 92-93. [*MD* 11]
- ¹⁵⁵ Winsor. *Duxbury*, p. 262.
- ¹⁵⁶ Bowman. *MD* 11:93-95.
- ¹⁵⁷ Bowman. *MD* 11:93-95.
- ¹⁵⁸ Bowman. *MD* 11:93-94.
- ¹⁵⁹ Bowman. *MD* 11:93.
- ¹⁶⁰ Bowman. *MD* 11:94-95.
- ¹⁶¹ James & Patricia Scott Deetz. *The Times of Their Lives Life, Love, and Death in Plymouth Colony*. W.H. Freeman and Co. p. 102.
- ¹⁶² Deetz. *Times of Their Lives*, p. 104.
- ¹⁶³ PCLR 2:1:93.
- ¹⁶⁴ Deetz. Times of Their Lives, p. 103.
- ¹⁶⁵ Cushing. *Philip Delano*, p. 2.
- ¹⁶⁶ Tony Kelso. "Along Ancient Paths." *Duxbury Our Pilgrim Story*. Duxbury Rural & Historical Society and Alden House Historic Site, Duxbury 2020 Inc., 2020, p. 151.
- ¹⁶⁷ Anderson. *Great Migration Begins*, p. 1493.
- ¹⁶⁸ Bowman. *MD* 11:92-94.
- ¹⁶⁹ Cushing. *Philip Delano*, p. 3.
- 170 PCLR 2:2:41.
- ¹⁷¹ Aldridge. *Old Dartmouth Proprietor Records*, p. 17.
- 172 PCLR 3:1:83.
- ¹⁷³ PCR 4:7
- ¹⁷⁴ Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England, Vol. VII Judicial Acts 1636-1692. Edited by Nathaniel Shurtleff. Press of William White, 1857, p. 122. [PCR 7]
- ¹⁷⁵ "Sketches in the Early History of the Town of Middleborough in the County of Plymouth." *New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. 3 (1849).* New England Historical and Genealogical Society, p. 332. [*NEHGR* 3]
- 176 NEHGR 3:333-334.
- ¹⁷⁷ PCR 4:19.
- ¹⁷⁸ NEHGR 3:334-37.
- ¹⁷⁹ NEHGR 3:338-39.
- ¹⁸⁰ Winsor. *Duxbury*, pp. 34-35.
- ¹⁸¹ PCR 4:58.
- ¹⁸² Stratton. *Plymouth Colony*, p. 409.

```
<sup>183</sup> PCR 8:23.
```

- ¹⁸⁵ Town Records of Bridgewater, Massachusetts 1656-1683. Edited by Lawrence D. Conant. Old Bridgewater Historical Society. William S. Sullwold Publishing, Inc., 1988, #49.
- ¹⁸⁶ Cushing. *Philip Delano*. pp. 3-4.
- ¹⁸⁷ Cushing. *Philip Delano*, pp. 4-5.
- ¹⁸⁸ Anderson. *Great Migration Begins*, p. 519; PCLR 3:2:220.
- ¹⁸⁹ Anderson. *Great Migration Begins*, pp. 518-519; PCLR 3:2:220-21.
- ¹⁹⁰ Anderson. *Great Migration Begins*, pp. 518-519; PCLR 3:2:221.
- ¹⁹¹ David J. Silverman. *This Land is Their Land*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019, p. 253.
- ¹⁹² Garrett DeWayne Hall. *Benjamin Church and the Origins of American Rangers*. Valdosta University, 2016, p. 83.
- ¹⁹³ Henry B. Worth. *Henry B. Worth Papers Pertaining to old Dartmouth*. New Bedford Whaling Museum & The Millicent Library, 2020, pp. 169-170.
- ¹⁹⁴ Winsor. *Duxbury*, p. 105-106.
- ¹⁹⁵ PCR 5:177.
- 196 Cushing. Philip Delano, p. 4-5.
- ¹⁹⁷ Hall. *Benjamin Church*, p. i.
- ¹⁹⁸ Don Holloway. "Benjamin Church Created America's First Ranger Force." *Military Heritage* website, 2016.
- ¹⁹⁹ *PCLR* 3:2:158-159.
- ²⁰⁰ PCLR 1:225-226.
- ²⁰¹ Hall. Benjamin Church, p. 81.
- ²⁰² Hall. *Benjamin Church*, p. 81.
- ²⁰³ Thomas Church. *The History of King Philip's War*. Edited by Henry Martine Dexter. John Kimball Wiggins, 1865, p. 114-116.
- ²⁰⁴ Church. King Philip's War, p. 147.
- ²⁰⁵ Cushing. *Philip Delano*, p. 8.
- ²⁰⁶ Cushing. *Philip Delano*, p. 7-8.
- ²⁰⁷ PCR 6:15.
- ²⁰⁸ Deetz. *Times of Their Lives*, p. 102.
- ²⁰⁹ "Phillip DeLano Sr. of Duxbury." *Plymouth Probate Records, IV* (2), p. 120. [*PCPR* 4]
- ²¹⁰ Deetz, James. *In Small Things Forgotten*. Anchor Books, Random House Inc., 1996, pp. 166-167.
- ²¹¹ *PCPR* 4:2:120.
- ²¹² Deetz. *Times of Their Lives*, p. 189.
- ²¹³ *PCR* 4:93; Bowman, *MD* 14:64.
- ²¹⁴ Bowman. *MD*:251; "Samuel Dilano/Delano," *Mayflower Deeds & Probate 1600-1850*. Ancestry.com online database, 2013, p. 439.
- ²¹⁵ PCPR 4:2:120.
- ²¹⁶ PCPR 4:2:120.
- ²¹⁷ PCPR 4:2:120.
- ²¹⁸ Cushing. *Philip Delano*, p. 9.
- ²¹⁹ Cushing. *Philip Delano*, p. 10.

¹⁸⁴ PCLR 3:1:73.

SOURCE LIST

PRIMARY SOURCES

Bradford, William. *History of Plymouth Plantation 1620-1647*. Massachusetts Historical Society, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1912. Lechford, Thomas. *Note-Book Kept By Thomas Lechford, Esq. (June 27, 1638 – July 29, 1641)*. John Wilson & Son, University Press, 1885.

Massachusetts: Plymouth Colony Deeds, 1671-1673 (Online database: AmericanAncestors.org, New England Genealogical Society, 2019) from Records of Colony of New Plymouth in New England, Deeds &c., Vol. III, pt. 2.

"Philippe de Lannoy." *Pilgrim Documents*. Leiden Archives (Erfgoed Leiden En Omstrenken).

https://www.erfgoedleiden.nl/pilgrimdocs/persons?ss=%7B%22q%22:%22Philippe%2ode%2oLannoy%22%7D

"Phillip DeLano, Sr. of Duxbury." Plymouth Probate Records, IV (2), p. 120.

Plymouth Colony Records – Deeds, &c. Vol. 2, 1651-1663. Transcribed & edited by Jeremy Dupertius Bangs. Leiden American Pilgrim Museum, 2016.

Plymouth Colony Records – Deeds, &c. Vol. 3, Part 1, 1664-1671. Edited by Jeremy Dupertius Bangs. Leiden American Museum, 2017.

Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England, Vol. I - Court Orders 1633-1640. Edited by Nathaniel Shurtleff. Press of William White, 1855.

Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England, Vol. II - Court Orders 1641-1651. Edited by Nathaniel Shurtleff. Press of William White, 1855.

Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England, Vol. III - Court Orders 1651-1661. Edited by Nathaniel Shurtleff. Press of William White, 1855.

Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England, Vol. IV - Court Orders 1661-1668. Edited by Nathaniel Shurtleff. Press of William White, 1855.

Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England, Vol. V - Court Orders 1668-1678. Edited by Nathaniel Shurtleff. Press of William White, 1856.

Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England, Vol. VI - Court Orders 1678-1691. Edited by Nathaniel Shurtleff. Press of William White, 1856.

Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England, Vol. VII - Judicial Acts 1636-1692. Edited by Nathaniel Shurtleff. Press of William White, 1857.

Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England, Vol. VIII - Miscellaneous Records 1633-1689. Edited by Nathaniel Shurtleff. Press of William White, 1857.

Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England, Vol. IX - Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England 1643-1651. Edited by David Pulsifer. Press of William White, 1859.

Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England, Vol. X - Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England Vol. II 1653-1678/79. Edited by David Pulsifer. Press of William White, 1859.

Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England, Vol. XI - Laws 1623-1682. Edited by David Pulsifer. Press of William White, 1861.

Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England, Vol. XII - Deeds &c. Vol. 1 1620-1651 Book of Indian Records for Their Lands. Edited by David Pulsifer. Press of William White, 1861.

Town Records of Bridgewater, Massachusetts 1656-1683. Edited by Lawrence D. Conant. Old Bridgewater Historical Society, William S. Sullwold Publishing, Inc., 1988.

"William Pontus." *Pilgrim Documents*. Leiden Archives (Erfgoed Leiden En Omstrenken).

https://www.erfgoedleiden.nl/pilgrimdocs/persons?ss=%7B%22q%22:%22William%20Pontus%22%7D

Winslow, Edward. *Mourt's Relation or Journal of the Plantation at Plymouth*, J.K. Wiggen, 1865.

"Wybra Hanson." *Pilgrim Documents*. Leiden Archives (Erfgoed Leiden En Omstrenken).

https://www.erfgoedleiden.nl/pilgrimdocs/persons?ss=%7B%22q%22:%22Wybra%20Hanson%22%7D

SECONDARY SOURCES

"1635 – The Great Colonial Hurricane." *Hurricanes: Science and Society* website. Graduate School of Oceanography, University of Rhode Island, 2020. https://hurricanescience.org/history/storms/pre1900s/1635/

Alden, Mrs. Charles L. "Alden Genealogy." *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Vol. 52 (1898), p. 364. New England Historic Genealogical Society. (Online database: AmericanAncestors.org).

Aldrich, Sally M. *Overview Old Dartmouth Proprietors Records*. Dartmouth Historical & Arts Society website, 2018.

https://www.dartmouthhas.org/uploads/1/0/0/2/100287044/sally_aldrich_-delano_kindred_talk.pdf

Anderson, Robert C. "1623." American Ancestors, Fall 2024, p. 41.

Anderson, Robert C. *The Great Migration Begins, Immigrants to New England 1620-1633*. New England Historical and Genealogical Society, 1995.

Anderson, Robert C. *The Mayflower Migration*. New England Historical and Genealogical Society, 2020.

Anderson, Robert C. *Puritan Pedigrees – The Deep Roots of the Great Migration to New England*. New England Historical and Genealogical Society, 2018.

Ballou, Hosea Starr. "Dr. Thomas Starr, Surgeon in the Pequot War, and His Family Connections," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Vol. 94 (1940), pp.241-243. New England Historic Genealogical Society. (Online database: AmericanAncestors.org).

Bangs, Jeremy Dupertuis. "De Lannoy – Le Mahieu Research." *Mayflower Descendent*, Vol. 56, 2008, p. 83. Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants. (Online database: AmericanAncestors.org).

Bangs, Jeremy Dupertuis. "The Pilgrims and Other English in Leiden Records: Some New Pilgrim Documents." *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* Vol. 143 (1989) pp. 195-212. New England Historic Genealogical Society. (Online database: AmericanAncestors.org).

Bangs, Jeremy Dupertuis. *Strangers and Pilgrims, Travellers and Sojourners*. General Society of Mayflower Descendants, 2009.

Bowman, George Ernest. "Delano Notes." *Mayflower Descendant*, Vol. 11 (1909), pp. 92-95 and pp. 249-251. Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants. (Online database; American Ancestors.org).

Bowman, George Ernest. "Notes by the Editor: Delano-Glass." *Mayflower Descendant*, Vol. 14 (1912), p. 64. Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants. (Online database; American Ancestors.org).

Bowman, George Ernest. "Plymouth Colony Deeds." *Mayflower Descendant*, Vol. 5 (1903), pp. 92-9. Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants. (Online database; American Ancestors.org).

"British Colonials & Progenitors – The Massachusetts Settlements." *Explorers & Settlers*. National Park Service.

https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online books/explorers/intro24.htm

Church, Thomas. *The History of King Philip's War*. Edited by Henry Martine Dexter. John Kimball Wiggins, 1865.

Cushing, Murial Curtis, "The Delano Family." *Duxbury Our Pilgrim Story*. Duxbury Rural & Historical Society and Alden House Historic Site, Duxbury 2020 Inc., 2021.

Cushing, Murial Curtis. *Philip Delano of the "Fortune" 1621 and His Descendants for Four Generations*, Part 1. General Society of Mayflower Descendants, 2002.

Deetz, James. *In Small Things Forgotten*. Anchor Books, Random House Inc., 1996. Deetz, James & Patricia Scott. *The Times of Their Lives – Life, Love, and Death in Plymouth Colony*. W.H. Freeman and Co., 2000.

Delano, Joel A. *The Genealogy, History and Alliances of the American House of Delano, 1621-1899.* Self-published, 1899. Note: pp. 99-104.

English, George. "Ancestry and History of Philip Delano, Born Philippe de Lannoy." *Mayflower Descendant*, Vol. 56, No. 1 (2007), pp. 70-90 and No. 2 (2007), pp. 163-184. Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants.

English, George. "Ancestry and History of Philip Delano, Born Philippe de Lannoy, Further Findings about the de Lannoy and Mahieu Families." *Mayflower Descendant*, Vol. 69 (2021), pp. 5-29 & 178-192. Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants.

English, George. *The Delano and Cooke Ancestors*. Research Through People Publishing, 2022.

English Origins of New England Families – From the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Second Series, Vol. I. Edited by Gary Boyd Roberts. Genealogical Publishing Co. Inc., 1985.

Fennell, Christopher. "Plymouth Colony Legal Structures." *The Plymouth Colony Archive Project*. University of Illinois Urbana-Campaign, 1998. http://www.histarch.illinois.edu/plymouth/ccflaw.html

Hall, Garrett DeWayne. *Benjamin Church and the Origins of American Rangers*. Valdosta University, 2016.

https://vtext.valdosta.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10428/2174/hall-garrett_thesis_history_2016.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Harding, Robert E. "Delano and Surprises in the Old Dartmouth Town Meeting Records 1680-1786." Dartmouth Historical & Arts Society website (Dartmouthhas.org), 2018. https://www.dartmouthhas.org/uploads/1/0/0/2/100287044/delano_paper-14jun18.pdf

Harreld, Donald J. *The Dutch Economy in the Golden Age* (16th-17th Centuries). Economic History Association. https://eh.net.

Healy, Lamont, R. "Duxbury's Early Lands and Leaders." *Duxbury Our Pilgrim Story*. Duxbury Rural & Historical Society and Alden House Historic Site, 2021.

Holloway, Don. "Benjamin Church Created America's First Ranger Force." *Military Heritage*, 2016. https://warfarehistorynetwork.com/article/benjamin-church/

Howland, Franklin A. *A History of the Town of Acushnet*. Published by the author. 1907.

Jarvinen, Brian R. "The Great Colonial Hurricane of 1635." *Storm Tides*. NOAA/Tropical Prediction Center, National Hurricane Center, 2006. https://www.aoml.noaa.gov/hrd/Landsea/12Tides.pdf

Johnson, Caleb. "Primary Sources." *Caleb Johnson's Mayflower History.com*. http://mayflowerhistory.com/primary-sources-and-books

Jones, Tamura. "The Burial of Jenne de Lanno [Jeanne de Lannoy] in 1603 in Leiden." 2022. https://www.tamurajones.net/TheBurialOfJenneDeLannoIn1603InLeiden.xhtml

Kelso, Tony. "A Long Ancient Path." *Duxbury Our Pilgrim Story*. Duxbury Rural & Historical Society and Alden House Historic Site, Duxbury 2020 Inc., 2021.

Langdon, George D. *Pilgrim Colony*, Yale University Press, 1966.

LaPrad, Kate. *Who they Were – The People of the First Thanksgiving*. Plimoth Patuxet Museums, 2024.

Lawrence, Leslie A. *Town of Duxbury Massachusetts*. Duxbury Historical Commission.

https://www.town.duxbury.ma.us/historical-commission/pages/town-history

McCracken, George. "Early Cogans English and American." *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Vol. 111 (1957), p. 178. New England Historic Genealogical Society. (Online database: AmericanAncestors.org).

Mitchell, Edward C. *Mitchell's History of Bridewater, Massachusetts*. Edward Alden, 1897.

Moses, Zebina. *Historical Sketches of John Moses, of Plymouth, John Moses, of Windsor and Simsbury, and John Moses, of Portsmouth*. Press of the Case, Lockwood & Brainard Company, 1890.

"The Nation that Welcomed the Pilgrims Maintains Connection to the Land." *Pokanoket: The First People of the East Bay.* Pokanoket Tribe of the Pokanoket Nation.

https://sites.google.com/g.rwu.edu/pokanoketfirstpeopleofpotumtuc/home

"Past Occupations - Woolcomber." *Past and Present*. Edited by Janet McNeilly. Information citing *Family Tree*, Vol. 13, No. 1. Nov. 1996. https://freepages.rootsweb.com/~mcneillyandco/genealogy/old_occupations.htm

Philbrick, Nathaniel. Mayflower. Penguin Books, 2020.

"Pilgrim Life in Leiden – Daily Life." Leiden America Pilgrim Museum. https://leidenamericanpilgrimmuseum.org/en/page/pilgrim-life-in-leiden-leiden-daily-life

"Pilgrim Life in Leiden – Leiden, a Fair and Beautiful City." Leiden American Pilgrim Museum.

https://leidenamericanpilgrimmuseum.org/en/page/pilgrim-life-in-leiden-leiden-a-fair-and-beautiful-

<u>city#:~:text=Leiden%2C%20where%20the%20Pilgrims%20sought,of%20the%20Count</u>%20of%20Holland

Ricketson, Daniel. *History of New Bedford including A History of the Old Township of Dartmouth and The Present Townships of Westport, Dartmouth, and Fairhaven.*Published by author, 1858.

"Samuel Dilano/Delano." *Mayflower Deeds & Probate 1600-1850*. Ancestry.com online database, 2013.

Schelhaas, T. N. "Letter from T. N. Schelhaas (Keeper of Records, City of Leiden) to George Delano," *Bonnes Nouvelles, No. 37*, Delano Kindred, June 2001, p.9.

"Seven Centuries of Leiden Cloth." *Museum de Lakenhall Leiden* website. https://www.lakenhal.nl/en/story/seven-centuries-leiden-cloth

Silverman, David J. *This Land is Their Land*, Bloomsbury Publishing, 2019.

"Sketches in the Early History of the Town of Middleborough in the County of Plymouth." *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Vol. 3 (1849), pp. 330-343. New England Historic Genealogical Society. (Online database: AmericanAncestors.org).

Soule, W. Becket. Passengers of the Fortune (1621). Heritage Books Inc., 2023.

Stratton, Eugene A. *Plymouth Colony: Its History and People, 1620-1691*. The Generations Network Inc., 1986.

Taylor, Graham. *The Mayflower in Britain – How an Icon Was Made in London*. Amberley Publishing, 2020.

Turner, John G. They Knew They Were Pilgrims. Yale University Press, 2020.

Wakefield, Robert S. "The 1623 Plymouth Land Division." The Mayflower Quarterly, 40 (1974), pp. 7-13. General Society of Mayflower Descendants.

Wentworth, Dorothy. *The Settlement and Growth of Duxbury, 1628-1870*. The Duxbury Rural & Historical Society, 2000.

"The Will of William Pontus." *Mayflower Descendant*, Vol. 11 (1909), pp. 92-95. Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants. (Online database; American Ancestors.org).

Winsor, Justin. *History of the Town of Duxbury, Massachusetts with Genealogical Registers*, pp. 9-17; 65-65, & 89-95. Crosby & Nichols, 1849.

Worth, Henry B. *Henry B. Worth Papers Pertaining to Old Dartmouth*. New Bedford Whaling Museum & The Millicent Library, 2020.