

William Bradford and His Anglo-Saxon Influences

Michael Modarelli

Walsh University, Ohio

***Abstract:** This paper examines how William Bradford's *On Plymouth Plantation* attempts to link the Anglo-Saxon myth of migration and the notion of Christendom in a temporally identical socio-historical memory to promote a primarily national cause. Ultimately, Bradford's text emerges as an historical document that sought provide the foundation for an Anglo-Saxon-based Christendom linked historically, not simply geographically.*

***Keywords:** William Bradford, Anglo-Saxon, nation, history, Virginia*

The way in which early Anglo-Saxon authors envisioned history can be viewed as an important ideological model for the later American concept of historical identity. It is only by looking closely at early nationalist movements—through the ecclesiastical and secular, the myths and histories, and the conflation of both—can the level of British, or English, influence on America's myth of Anglo-Saxonism be properly understood. This paper examines how William Bradford's *On Plymouth Plantation* attempts to link the Anglo-Saxon myth of migration and the notion of Christendom in a temporally identical socio-historical memory to promote a primarily national cause. Ultimately, Bradford's text emerges as an historical document

that sought provide the foundation for an Anglo-Saxon-based Christendom linked *historically*, not simply geographically.

Reginald Horsman first coined the term “Anglo-Saxonism” in the early 1980s in his pioneering study, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism*. For Horsman, Anglo-Saxonism represents a more sophisticated elaboration of white racial lineage as a cultural concept beyond that based on racial typing.¹ Other studies followed. Laura Doyle’s *Freedom’s Empire: Race and the Rise of the Novel in Atlantic Modernity, 1640-1940* (2008) and Ritchie Devon Watson’s *Normans and Saxons: Southern Race Mythology and the Intellectual History of the American Civil War* (2008). *Freedom’s Empire* follows the recent transnational “Atlantic” body of work—some of the landmark primary works in this area of scholarship include Ian Baucom’s *Out of Place: Englishness, Empire and the Locations of Identity* (1999) and Clement Hawes’s *The British Eighteenth Century and Global Critique* (2005)—that argues for a literary and historical intersection of globalization, race, and political economy from the seventeenth century to the early twentieth century.² Focusing more on America and less on the transnational theme, Ritchie Devon Watson’s *Saxons and Normans* examines the differences within the two divergently developing regions of the country, the North and the South.³ These recent forays into Anglo-Saxon racial attitudes and ideologies have at their core a certain American-heavy historical application, which focuses more on the American reception aspect than on the early English textual side, and they prepare the way for a fresh approach to earlier North American migration movements such as Bradford’s.

The “migration myth,” as it pertains to the Anglo-Saxons, served as the foundation for a creation of a cultural identity. Anglo-Saxons regarded their journey to Britain as equal to *Exodus*, as witnessed by the earliest

- 1 Among other things, he argues that Anglo-Saxonism is the culmination of cultural capital, heightened to its acme in the nineteenth century, which claims superior innate endowments as a marker of and reason for national dominance and world power.
- 2 Doyle further pushes the claim for a genealogy and dialectic of race, namely “Anglo-Saxon” as one part of the equation, arguing that her investigation focuses on the kernel of “freedom,” in this case, race.
- 3 Watson’s project follows up on the thesis of his earlier work, *Yeoman Versus Cavalier: The Old Southwest’s Fictional Road to Rebellion* (1993). In *Yeoman Versus Cavalier*, he focuses his readings on the Old South and Southwest and the inherent cultural intricacies and inconstancies of ideologies, such as the stalwart Jeffersonian “yeoman” and the southern cavalier. In his recent work, Watson extends this thesis to include the Yankee in the form of the industrious American Saxon, while the chivalric southern cavalier is morphed into the Norman aristocrat.

writings of King Alfred's conception of Christianity. In fact, "Anglo-Saxon" was most likely coined by Alfred in the ninth century to distinguish members of the Angle and Saxon tribes from other Germanic islanders in Britain and to unite the *folc* into one *ethnie*, or *gens*.⁴ This migration myth had its inception following the arrival of Hengist and Horsa and their defeat of the Britons at Ebbsfield, Kent 449, the "Anglo-Saxons," as a semi-united race, then settled in all of Britain in the fifth century. This invading group, composed primarily of Angles and Saxons and probably some Picts, coalesced into a few kingdoms, and, before the seventh century was over, had accepted Christianity as their religion. Following the Germanic invasions in the fifth and sixth century, the influence of Rome gave way as the Anglo-Saxon peoples diffused widely throughout the region. British St. Gildas (c. 500-570), who authored *De Excidio et Conquestu Britanniae* (*On the Ruin and Conquest of Britain*, ca. 540), recounted this Anglo-Saxon invasion, which drove the Britons from their land.⁵ It is history and prophecy that Gildas models, so *De Excidio* couples a few pages of history with jeremiad, both set alongside the Old Testament: it is an interpretation of the flow of the Bible, where *Genesis* and *Exodus*, followed by *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah*, merge history and then prophecy. According to Gildas's tract decreed the "Saxon" revolt in direct retribution for the sins of the Britons—thus, in its first incarnation, the term "Saxon" served as heathen foil to the inconstant Briton. Thus, Gildas sets the Germanic migration in the frame of Christian history. The term gained religious currency in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (*Ecclesiastical History of the English People* [731]).

Ecclesiastic in nature, Bede's Saxons rose and fell in relation to Christianity, eventually converted by Pope Gregory the Great. Bede famously

- 4 Reginald Horsman coined the term "Anglo-Saxonism" in the early 1980s in his pioneering study, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981). Horsman's project, still the definitive work on Anglo-Saxon appropriations in antebellum America, was also one of the first to argue for a more insidious side of Anglo-Saxonism. For Horsman, Anglo-Saxonism represents a more sophisticated elaboration of white racial lineage as a cultural concept beyond that based on racial typing. Among other things, he argues that Anglo-Saxonism is the culmination of cultural capital, heightened to its acme in the nineteenth century, which claims superior innate endowments as a marker of and reason for national dominance and world power.
- 5 Although he dated nothing, we can assume Gildas refers to the period around the late 440s to the early 450s. Modern dating trends figure Gildas authored *De Excidio* sometime near 520 AD, Thomas D. O' Sullivan, *The De Excidio of Gildas: Its Authenticity and Date* (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 7, Leiden, 1978).

coalesced the English groups, such as the Angles, Saxons, Jutes, and Picts, into one *gens Anglorum*, a literary portrait of the new Israel. By the time of Alfred, the “Anglo-Saxons” became national protagonists, battling against the Vikings, saving the homeland, and representing freedom and liberty. Alfred established culture in England. Through his laws and educational system, Alfred surpassed Bede’s *gens Anglorum*—he sought to create a single and entirely new *gens*, not a composite, called the *Angelcynn*, and the name of the *ethnie* changed: they began calling themselves the “Englisc.” Since that time, “Englishness” has traditionally maintained a certain tie to religion as part of its spiritual and cultural identity, and recent interest in ideas of Christianity as part of a nation-building ideology has attracted new interpretations.

Christendom remained an important part of the constructed memory of the newly-formed Anglo-Saxon tribes’ *ethnie*, which grew to ideas of English nationhood in the ninth and tenth centuries. According to Bede, the land was devoid of Christianity prior to the arrival of the missionary Augustine of Canterbury; thus, Bede saw the English as the new Chosen People. The Anglo-Saxon notion of Christendom formally entered the English vocabulary during the ninth century, or the time of King Alfred, a troubled time for Saxons. While not new, the term has no Greek or Latin parallel. “Christendome” was used by Alfred himself in 893 in his translation of Paulus Orosius’s *Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII*.⁶ In this work, as Stephen J. Harris points out, “Anglo-Saxon ethnogenesis—that is, the coming into being of an Anglo-Saxon *ethnie*—is expressed within the context not of a nation nor Christianity, but of Christendom.”⁷ Alfred’s translation of this history provided the final support for nationhood. Coupled with Bede, the translation of Orosius’s *History* served to unify the Alfredian vision of the Saxon state: an ethno-religious marker, Alfred’s manipulation of “Christendom” symbolized the reevaluation of the collective identity through language, politics, and history.⁸

Ultimately, one important and fundamental feature of Bradford’s use of Anglo-Saxonism is his reversal of myth’s general tropes. Unlike the

6 Judith Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987), 8-9.

7 “The Alfredian ‘World History’ and Anglo-Saxon Identity,” *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 100:4 (2001), 483.

8 Paulus Orosius is best known for his synthesis of biblical narrative and exegetical interpretations with the movement of national history, a practice that reached well into Middle Ages.

Virginia colony project, New England immigrants intentionally broke all *physical* ties to England, while at the same time remaining ideologically linked to its lineage; as the corporeal distancing increased, the need for greater continuity emerged. In this way, New England migration presents a pronounced notion of return that deserves special attention because the ancestral link to England satisfied, for early migrants, such as William Bradford, an ontic thirst, a lifeline to the ancient English notions of church and liberty that could provide a primordial root for their sense of communal being. Bradford's rightful place in the development of Anglo-Saxonism in North America deserves mention because he serves as the first instance of Anglo-Saxon themes in early American literature, placing the Saxon Christendom model squarely on New World shores with a purposeful social crossing. John Foxe's ideological notions of communal identity building through national tales of martyrdom served as a force capable of simultaneously supporting the migrant's physical distance and proximity to some unstated ancient rights.⁹ Buttressed by themes translated by John Foxe, Bradford's mission served as the link to a glorious ancient past, an authoritative voice of Anglo-Saxon vision and a religious connection to Christian Saxon liberties free from the constraint of a dominant power.

Even as Bradford and his group were migrating to New England, they surely believed that they were involved in a kind of return to original Christendom; positioned within eschatological time, the ancient Saxon myth of religious freedoms guided the migration, which held the promise of transforming them into a replica of the static original. To them, the transmission of ideas came from Old World books, largely comprised of popular volumes; apart from Greco-Roman classics, these included the standard English Bible, martyrologist John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, or *Book of Martyrs*, and works by Gildas and Bede. All of these works were quite popular in England during the period and carried over into multiple editions with each successive migration. In fact, the colonists initially brought with them a wide range of books—and did so on each subsequent crossing—and

9 Foxe's time with printer Day provided him easy access to dissemination of his material. As Foxe was always in search of Anglo-Saxon support for Protestant cause, he thought Alfred was an example *du jour* of the archetypal king and used him as an exemplar of what a king should be. During Elizabeth's reign, Alfred even surpassed Arthur in popularity; Clare A. Simmons, *Reversing the Conquest: History and Myth in Nineteenth-Century British Literature* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 25.

they had vast quantities of books shipped from Old England at a constant rate.¹⁰

John Foxe (1516-87) was perhaps the most influential link we have to Bradford. Foxe, who lived with John Day, Elizabethan printer, for a time, and the latter found his fame as the *publisher* of Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*. Foxe was instrumental in publishing a variety of Anglo-Saxon material—this became his niche—first printing a version of the *Anglo-Saxon Gospels* in 1571 with a preface and an English translation. Essentially, Foxe's *Gospels* “argued” that the Scripture should be put in the vulgar. Further, Foxe thought that Alfred was the greatest king, often using him as an exemplar of what a king should be; hence, “for Protestants, Alfred had the attraction of being a ruler of the English Golden Age, before the entry of Romish corruption.”¹¹ What texts really promoted, however, was Foxe's *interpretation* of Alfredian and other Anglo-Saxon texts.

Regardless, since Greek and Roman classics did not, however, participate in the culture of Christendom that the early English Saxons had, Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* made clear that connection. Arguably the most influential book in early New England's formative years, Foxe's *Acts* is an often graphic account of all Christian martyrs who suffered for religious causes from the first to the sixteenth century, complete with woodcut prints. In *Actes*, Foxe essentially separates the history of the church into five rough divisions, each spanning three hundred years.¹² It was his description of the third and fourth divisions, when Augustine comes to England and Christianizes the Saxons and the work of Satan is represented in the papacy (597), especially in Pope Gregory VII (1025-1085), that had a profound influence on Englishmen such as Bradford. Ultimately, the Norman rule imposed by William solidified the papal conversion, thus sparking the true

10 This is one foci of Thomas Goddard Wright's still influential study, *Literary Culture in Early New England, 1620-1730* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1920), from which I take much of my information. While Wright admits that written evidence remains scant as far as documentation is concerned, we can be sure colonists had “many good libraries” that they continued to stock with book shipments with the newest works. Indeed, they suffered, as Wright puts it, “no greater handicap than if they had been living in some remote place in the north or west of England”; 61. As Wright observes, “very few Pilgrims were without books”; 27.

11 Hugh McDougall, *Racial Myth in English History: Trojans, Teutons, and Anglo-Saxons* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1982), 2, 25.

12 The first period was the earliest; the second, the time of Constantine, when the Britons were converted and then overrun by the Saxons; the third was the time of Alfred to Roman incursion; the fourth, from William the Conqueror and the Norman Invasion (1066) to John Wycliffe; the final, Foxe's own time, with a focus on English rulers.

reform, a part of which members of the New England clergy thought they were. It is important to remember that Foxe was one of the early Anglo-Saxon antiquarians who published protestant tracts for purely nationalistic reasons. A vigorous proponent of the idea that the true British church was in constant conflict with the Roman catholic Church, Foxe wanted to go back to a time before this dominance, and, with Bishop Matthew Parker's help, Foxe looked for documents attesting to the period before the Anglo-Saxon invasions of Britain, which supported the notion that the English Church was first formed by the native Britons and then continued through to the Anglo-Saxons. Bale, too, was convinced the church was corrupt, so both men sought the "true church" that had been corrupted by Rome, especially digging for Augustine's influence, and put forth Anglo-Saxon texts by Matthew Parker to show his vision. Thus, these antiquarians incorporated these old documents, containing Anglo-Saxon laws and religious tracts, to justify the way England once was.

In *Actes*, Foxe imposed an English national myth on ancient Christology¹³—the Church of Rome's incorporation of newer models of Christianity, seen clearly in the Norman subjugation of the ancient church and Saxon liberties—arguing for the ancient church as a microcosm of the history of the world. Early English migrants simply relocated that Christological myth. New Englanders were highly influenced by Foxe in more ways than have been previously imagined, so much so that "generations following its print actually believe Foxe to be truth, and they "memorized it, told their children stories from it [and] the illiterate 'read' the narratives through the woodcuts."¹⁴ In sum, the popularity of the *Actes and Monuments* was monumental for the English; among New England citizens, even up until the eighteenth century, it ranked second only to the Bible. A text read by virtually everyone from clergy to children, a great many people received their knowledge of English church history primarily from Foxe's *Actes*.¹⁵

13 Christology is concerned with theological aspects centered on Christ. Foxe followed Luther and other German reformers in this respect.

14 Peter Gay, *A Loss of Mastery: Puritan Historians in Colonial America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 15-17.

15 Kenneth Murdock, *Literature and Theology in Colonial New England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), 213. Not surprisingly, then, a copy of Foxe's *Actes* was at Bradford's side as he wrote his history; Douglas Anderson, *William Bradford's Books: Of Plimmoth Plantation and the Printed Word* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 157.

What was important to Bradford was the way in which Foxe argued for the promise of the true church. Although later often misquoted, Foxe was used in such a way that New Englanders unquestionably accepted him as *the* source for English church history. Bradford, especially, was influenced by Foxe's notion of the martyr, and he relies on Foxe for his model and as source material for *Of Plymouth Plantation*, going so far as to trace the Scrooby group's lineage from Plymouth "to those reformers that stood most steadfast against popery"—the early Anglo-Saxon English church Foxe details in *Actes*—proving that "while the details might [have differed in points], they resonated closely enough with the Massachusetts vision of the past."¹⁶ (Similarly, in *The Humble Request* signed during the Great Migration in 1630, John Winthrop connects the movement to the true English church, taking the idea from Foxe that non-conforming churches were part of the true English church, the notion that the Gospels brought into Anglo-Saxon England confirmed that lineage.) More than anything else, however, Foxe made Bradford and his company better aware that they were *English* in the Anglo-Saxon sense; Foxe gave contemporary value to the crossing, which, for Bradford, connected the migration to a noble, historical vision. Foxe's work provided such a strong link that "he did not contribute to their becoming Americans"; instead, "Foxe reinforced their self identity as Englishmen" and their "Christian right to English roots [making them more] likely to identify themselves with England and the seventeenth-century struggles for the reform of the English Church."¹⁷

Soon after the Pilgrims were directed to the funds by James, then, Bradford and company embarked for the New World, where, in autumn 1620, the small group actually found itself heading *away* from Jamestown, somewhere closer to New York; using Captain John Smith's maps, they beached at Cape Cod, some 200 miles outside of the patent boundary and the king's dominion. Bradford, likely taking the imaginative Smith as a model, composed the smaller *Mourts Relation* about the landing.¹⁸ *Mourts* attracted the

16 "Foxe in the Wilderness: The *Book of Martyrs in Seventeenth-Century New England*," *John Foxe at Home and Abroad*, David Loades, ed. (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 112; Anderson, 157.

17 Francis J. Bremer, "Foxe in the Wilderness: The *Book of Martyrs in Seventeenth-Century New England*," *John Foxe at Home and Abroad*, David Loades, ed. (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 111.

18 Although scholars agree that Bradford authored *Mourts*, Bradford, Edward Winslow, or a third figure, George Morton, were all, at one time, considered to be the author.

attention of major English publishers in the same way that Smith's *True Relation* did; in fact, Smith even included a snippet in his *Generall Historie*, and Samuel Purchas's 1625 edition of *Pilgrimes* contains a brief condensation of it. By providing a geography of the region, as well as descriptions of the inhabitants, resources, and climate, *Mourts* essentially serves New England much the same as Smith's brief *True Relation* served Virginia: it geographically marks the literary entrance of its focal point and yields a powerful image for the region's spiritual promise. Clearly, Bede was the model in both cases, mapping out the British Isles before his ecclesiastical history of England.

Thus, just three years before the decimating Indian attacks on Jamestown, the *Mayflower Compact*, drawn up and signed on November 11, became the first legal code of New England. It remained Bradford's sole reassurance that the social group remained an entity. (Solidarity immediately became an issue as Bradford finally realized that some Englishmen were *not* migrating for religious purposes; some merchants, taking no interest in the Puritan mission, chose to accompany the group for profit's sake alone). The *Compact* is a simple and telling early indicator of Anglo-Saxon themes in early American literature for two very important reasons—it emphasizes the importance of migratory group solidarity, and it situates the group in the dominant myth of historical procession. In it, we find a definitive statement that links Bradford's "project" with the ancient English church: "All other Churches of Europe are brought to desolation ... and seeing the Church hath no place left to fly into but the wilderness, what better work can there be, than to go and provide tabernacles and food for her when she be restored." In other words, the "restoration" of the ancient lineage justifies the migration and "permits" the seeds of this originary group to animate this new geographic space for these very reasons.¹⁹ Like the early Anglo-Saxon authors who took the migration myth as model for the "active life," Bradford invoked this myth of culture and space and believed in its historical veracity.

However, it is in Bradford's later history, *Of Plymouth*, written some twenty years after the events that took place, that we get a clearer sense

19 Morison and others have made this point, arguing that an original copy at some point existed; 60. All citations are from *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647* (hereafter *OPP*), Samuel Eliot Morison, ed. (New York: Knopf, 1952).

Kings, Commoners and Colonists: Puritan, 75 n. 2.

of his ecclesiastical vision for New England. Bradford's decision to write remains an important key to his vision.²⁰ The completed text was finally printed in 1647, just two years before Winthrop's death, and survives as an inconspicuously small volume; at roughly eight by eleven inches, it is nowhere near the size of Foxe's tome, its inspiration. On his deathbed, Bradford told the only three witnesses to his death—Thomas Cushman, Thomas Southworth, and Nathaniel Morton—about his writings. The text had a strange and circuitous history. Unrecorded in Bradford's will, *Of Plymouth* passed through many hands in New England circles: in his historiography, Increase Mather took the text as fact, as did, later, Cotton for the New England history section of the *Magnalia*. Then, *Of Plymouth* mysteriously disappeared. With no authorial hand to guide it, the small volume fell from circulation, leading a long and circuitous private life that ended only with its return to the public in the nineteenth century. Rediscovered in 1856 by an anonymous cataloguer, quite likely in the bishop of London's employment, who decided to scrawl "America" across its spine, *Of Plymouth* was mysteriously removed to the Steeple Room of the Old South Church in the New England Library until the twentieth century, when it somehow resurfaced in America.²¹

Of Plymouth serves as Bradford's interpretation of the divine occurrences that beheld the Puritans, as instruments, according to Bradford, in God's providential plan. From the passages flow, with varying degrees of fidelity, an account that reveals the tension in Bradford's historical imagination between actual, lived experience and "desires of the mind," as Francis Bacon called them, wherein a "feigned" history is more of a stubborn resistance to

20 The "life" of the text remains interesting as well. In his study of Bradford's authorial intentions, Douglass Anderson uses contemporary sources to reconstruct the sophisticated and often turbulent textual world in which Bradford wrote, arguing Bradford realized that "making a book could" help to "resemble as well as document the struggles entailed in making and preserving a compact religious and political community"; *William Bradford's Books: Of Plimmoth Plantation and the Printed Word* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 18. Anderson here hints at an interesting juxtaposition between "resemble" and "document"; as Bradford documented, he could *shape* a history, ultimately for ends *beyond* mere documentation.

21 Bradford's original copy now resides in the George Fingold Library of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in the basement of the State House of Boston. John Kemp has alluded to the notion that during the Revolutionary War period in America, the book was "lost" for ideological reasons—a "loss" that bolstered the strength of New England ideology when discovered in the nineteenth century. See Kemp's introduction to *Governor William Bradford's Letter Book* (Bedford: Applewood, 2002). For an in-depth account of this "history" of the history, see Morison's introduction in *OPP*, esp. xxvii–xxxviii.

the real in favor of the desired.²² Bradford has a clear narrative style and was a more skilled and cosmopolitan practitioner of historiography than he is given credit for. His depiction of the “rightful” migration to America shows a skilled use of earlier ecclesiastical accounts to shape his own nation-building model. Bradford envisions the Puritan mission as the unfolding of God’s plan for the English, citing Eusebius and Foxe in his introductory paragraphs, and situating himself in a lineage of historical ecclesiastical representations of nationhood and migration.

Unlike Smith’s more individual hero in *Generall Historie*, Bradford’s *Of Plymouth* represents a social vision: it is the textual expression of the community in the Anglo-Saxon tradition. Bradford migrated in the juncture of geography and the need for written, historical connection. Thus, he models his own ideas concerning the spread of Christendom to continue the historical Saxon lineage, an idea that was started by St. Augustine with his mission to the Saxons and continued through to Foxe’s written records of Saxon martyrs. Foxe, who publicly promoted the press for spreading the gospels, wrote “God hath opened the presse to preach, whose voice the Pope is never able to stop.”²³ Emphasizing the written word as *act*, he sought to bring England’s ecclesiastical Saxon past to the present. Similarly, Bradford’s *Of Plymouth* seeks to extend this act into the New World. For Bradford, Puritan success is proof of God’s grace and approval of the migration mission—that is, they *must* succeed to carry forward the Anglo-Saxon Christian vision—as well as proof of his own and others’ historical vision, such as that of his Anglo-Saxon predecessors. *Of Plymouth* would record that movement. In Bradford’s understanding, the Leyden group has been granted this special providence within the storied English narrative; and, taking his cue from Foxe, Bradford depicted a social crossing that involves written expression.

As such, in Bradford we see the first written social history of Anglo-Saxonism in the New England region, a connection to the Anglo-Saxon Christendom tradition, part of which involved working together to spread the Saxon message of Christendom. We must remember that this Saxon practice stemmed directly from St. Augustine to the Venerable Bede, who

22 *The Two Bookes of Francis Bacon. Of the Proficience and Advancement of learning, divine and humane* (London, 1605), 2:10r, 17v-18r.

23 Cited in David Loades, “The Press under the Early Tudors,” (1964), 29. See also Anderson, *Bradford’s Book*, 21.

artfully elaborated on this notion of genetic continuity of community. Bede was arguably the first historian to position the Anglo-Saxons within a positive nationalistic ideology.²⁴ The popularity of Bede's *Historia* during its time and after arose from the fact that it detailed a successful conversion of a heathen people and, further, stood as testimony to the new culture that incorporate these tribes. Given this, the term "Anglo-Saxon" gained national and religious currency through Bede's version of the past, retold in his history, and Bede's mythical tale speaks volumes about his nationalist ideology. The account depicts a scandalous beginning, where bands of the four nations poured into Britain, and Bede famously coalesced the English groups, such as the Angles, Saxons, Jutes, and Picts, into one *gens Anglorum*—"Anglo-Saxons." Following their conversion, the Anglo-Saxons served as a figuration of the new Israel. By Alfred's time, the Anglo-Saxons had become national protagonists, battling against invading Vikings, fighting for their geographical *terra*, or homeland, and, with the installment of the Saxon witenagemot, representing the freedom and liberty of a democratic society. Bede traces the introduction and triumph of Christianity into this society.

Unlike St. Gildas—ironically Bede's own source, however, who portrays the moral decay of his nation in the corruption of prominent kings and clergy—Bede gives more attention to prominent, positive models. In this way, Bede's work remains fundamental for any investigation into Americans' use of Anglo-Saxon racial ideologies. Bede's historical vision consisted of saints—his three "heroes" are Gregory, Germanus, and Augustine—who remain closely bound by their penchant for spreading the gospel; for Bede, the duty of the Christian hero is to fight, pray, and educate his society.²⁵ Whereas Gildas equated the Britons with the new Israelites, Bede equates the Britons with the *old* Israelites. In a sense, then, the flux, or plasticity, of historical imagination minimizes the temporality between past and present

24 Bede (672-735) first studied under Benedict Biscop and Ceofrith and was an ordained deacon and a priest, spending the majority of his life at the Northumbrian monastery Wearmouth-Jarrow. Widely knowledgeable in diverse areas, Bede wrote scholarly material on language and religion. He is best known for his work as historian.

25 All three—Pope Gregory (540-604), Germanus, Bishop of Gaul (c.378 – c.448), and St. Augustine of Canterbury (d. 603)—play a fundamental part in Bede's historically divine journey. Gregory initially sent Augustine to Britain on mission work (595); Germanus visited the isle on or about 429-30. For Bede, migration and conversion, or the meaning of successive individual events, such as those with Gregory, Germanus, and Augustine, lend narrative flashback to historical events and future national portents.

and highlights their proximity and continuity by creating a *vision* of reality, intellectual, spiritual, and sensual, which is equally relevant to both then and now. This vision varies as writing and history progress. In his creation, the historian joins knowledge and judgment to illuminate the past, or distorts it, and thus fires the imagination of a nation. In *Historia*, he had built upon Gildas's charge that the Britons were consummate sinners; however, Bede added the further damning accusation that they (the Britons) failed to preach to the Saxons upon arrival.

Likewise, Bradford's symbolic crossing challenges the collective group. Where in Smith we see the individual working on a level that will move the community through individual heroics, in Bradford we witness more the reshaping of a social *ethnie* to fit in and carry forward the message of Christendom. The final point of the mission, Bradford writes, promoted these ends: "a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation (or at least to make some way thereunto) for propagating and advancing the gospel of the Kingdom of Christ in the remote parts of the world, even though they should be but stepping stones to others in the performance of so great a work."²⁶ But, continues Bradford, "their condition was not ordinary, their ends good and honourable, their calling lawful and urgent."²⁷ In the Anglo-Saxon tradition, Bede wrote of the early Anglo-Saxon mission to bring Christendom to pagan regions. Bede's was a communal history; he believed it was *written* genealogies, not those oral or sung, which ultimately provide a solid national history. Coming from the monastic tradition, Bede sought to confirm the social creation of the proper Christendom narrative through the authority of the text.²⁸

At times, then, Bradford's group emulates the wanderings of the Israelites, the individual's pilgrimage through consciousness to God, and the social movement of a group seeking religious toleration.²⁹ But we can also read the narrative movement seen in *Of Plymouth* as the renewed connection to the ancient Saxons, who extolled the virtues of the nation as a social place. Bradford seeks to confirm the social authority of the

²⁶ *OPP* 25.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 27.

²⁸ Bede believed that in the power of their texts, scribes could convince kings of the social and communal connections to the ancient past. Working as he did in a closed monastic environment, he was naturally inclined to view this in a social light; see Harris, *Race and Ethnicity*, 175-77.

²⁹ Alan B. Howard, "Art and History in Bradford's *Of Plymouth Plantation*," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series 28:2 (1971): 237-266.

text in *Of Plymouth*. The textual object itself becomes, for Bradford, a community of the book, a documentation of those wanderers who seek to “return” to a homeland. The history properly begins with the flight to Holland and moves to the “fearful storm at sea.”³⁰ The next chapters brisk through the period at Holland, Netherlands, and their final removal to the New World. Thus, having weathered one “storm,” Bradford hints, the group encounters a series of challenges to their new *terra*. Unlike the itinerant Saxon missionaries, Bradford emphasizes community over individual. As much as Smith’s *True Relation* highlighted the heroic actions of the individual, *Of Plymouth* resounds with collective action. Bradford punctuates the text with the communal “we” as a literary trope. Following the sighting of Plymouth, he writes, “we espied land ... the appearance of it comforted us ... it caused us to rejoice together.”³¹ According to Bradford’s report, immediately following this introduction to the New World, the Pilgrims set about creating a formal, legal compact, for “observing not some well affected to unity and concord,” they thought it best “there should be an association and agreement that we should combine together

30 *OPP*, 13.

31 *OPP* 15, emphasis added. Smith’s influence on the Pilgrims was negligible at best, his books serving as their guide to the New World. (Smith, for his part, writes sadly that “my books and maps were much better cheap to teach them, than myself;” [Philip Barbour, *The Complete Works of John Smith*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986; 3:221]). Actually, Smith seemed somewhat envious of the Leyden group. In his documentation of the rise of the Plymouth Colony in *New England Trials*, Smith suggests that the pilgrim group was, in fact, the type of social group he wanted to build. Smith writes in “New England Trials” (1622): “It is too well knowne there hath been many undertakers of Patents and such sharing of them, as hath bred no lesse discouragement than wonder, to heare such great promises and so little performances”; 1:440. One of the “performances” in particular impressed Smith: “Master Peirce” and “a few private adventurers” promoted their *own* brand of liberty, claims Smith. Peirce, it will be remembered, was actually an English clothier whose patent in 1620 replaced the Wincop Patent, becoming the primary patent for the Leyden group. In fact, the 1619 patent to John Wincop, pastor and “friend” of the Leyden pilgrims, mysteriously “appeared.” Wincop was the tutor in the household of Thomas Fiennes-Clinton, third earl of Lincoln, whose daughters were among the first settlers in New England. Wincop’s patent was one of what the Virginia Company of London called “Hundreds,” or “Particular Plantations.” The company passed out hundreds of these patents, which offered self government to interested groups. Thus, through Edwin Sandys, treasurer of the Third Charter of Virginia, the Leyden group obtained not one but two patents—Wincop’s and Peirce’s, neither of which they used, since they landed farther from the Hudson region. Bradford and Smith did meet at least once. For his part, however, Bradford remains somewhat vague about Smith’s involvement, but Darrett B. Rutman claims that there was a deeper connection, that Smith writes “in veiled language [that] he had conferred with the Pilgrim leaders” secretly but “that they had refused him as a guide, trusting to his published Description and map.” Rutman points out that like the Pocahontas story, this is an “added” version of events, since the assertions are missing from his earlier works: “The Pilgrims and Their Harbor;” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser. 17:2 (1960): 164-182.

in one body."³² (Later, in "A dialogue or Third conference between some young men born in New England, and some ancient men which came out of Holland and Old England," written in 1652 during his focus on more spiritual and intellectual development, Bradford would expand this argument, further maintaining that true religion transcended national boundaries but not national characteristics; true religion, Bradford here argues, is best represented in an emigration not *from* but *to* a new geographic land in order to strengthen the unity between the true Church and the New World.) This textual presence reminds the reader of the social presence of an ancient Christian past, a tradition within which the New England region will unite.

Bradford's symbolic challenges to the community (such as the "fearful storm") develop most fully into the figure of Thomas Morton. The notorious character of Morton represents a dichotomy in Bradford's thought, one that complicates and unsettles his historical vision. One of the merchant class backed by Ferdinand Gorges to bring in indentured workers for the Virginia tobacco crop, Morton was twice tried for infractions in New England, initially for his involvement in the famous Merrymount episode, and twice returned to England; he was formally charged with both showing Virginia servants their liberty and introducing gunpowder and affiliating with the Indians. Morton becomes the representative outlaw in New World history. The notion of embedding martyrs in the public memory was not new, nor was the literary technique of creating a colorful villain. In the Elizabethan period, authors such as Richard Verstegan's *Theatrum Crudelitatum Hæreticorum Nostri Temporis* (1592) impressed images of tortured martyrs visually in woodcuts for Elizabethans; similarly, Foxe's *Actes*, complete with its accompanying woodcuts, depicted providential martyrs. For a largely non-literate society, such images also forged unity in the group: they served as a constant reminder of the providential struggle and what *could* happen should the church lose control. Bradford's adaptation of this stock figure to written history transfers these models—and these fears—to the New World, invoking empathy for the martyr, in this case the whole group of Puritans, in contrast to the foil in the character of Morton.

Through not explicitly racist but thoroughly artful rhetoric, Bradford's Morton illustrates the nascent notion that, having escaped the physical

32 *OPP* 17, emphasis added.

bonds of England, “invasion” of the divine promise might be defeated from *within*, rather than from without. In line with the ideologically-based theories that began to develop during this time—Las Casas’s, for example, depiction of Spain’s brutal treatment of the Indians, recounted in Hakluyt’s *Discourse on Western Planting* (1584) infused the English with the idea that somehow, perhaps, they would act differently if English mixed with native Indians—Morton represents a Christian fall from Saxon roots. The fiction of a “lower” race, in this case Indians (and, later, Africans) did exist so that between the imaginatively and experientially “lived” worlds there existed the possibility of physical reduction in race, a reversion to the primitive state of mankind. Primitive peoples were depicted as better adapted to the savagery of forest life, or so the argument ran. But this darker, more threatening claim also argued for either assimilation or eradication as the only possible means for refinement. In other words, primitive life must somehow be civilized.

The account of Morton’s rebellion, denunciation, retreat to “Merry-mount,” and eventual capture illustrates a certain racial language that was constructed out of an Anglo-Saxon cultural tradition in the guise of a threatening Other. Anglo-Saxon literature famously positioned tropes of “good” and “evil” in terms of heroes and monsters; later, following the Saxon conversion, these were reformulated in a Christian model. In the 1570 version of *Actes*, Foxe included a large amount of new Saxon material, including, importantly, Ælfric’s “Easter Sermon,” a text with which Bradford would have been acquainted.³³ Symbols of good and evil abound in Ælfric’s sermon, and Ælfric emphasizes spreading the gospel and the power of this connection to the good for the social group. Transferred to the New World, these tropes become the synthesis of heroic and ecclesiastical notions of good and evil. In the New World, this opposition positioned whites against the American Indians, and against all people of “lower races” and “lower states of civilization,” a trend that later shifted to *all* persons of questionable descent—in short, all those *not* Anglo-Saxon. An early depiction of this state of nature, Morton offers Bradford a foil to the Puritan mission.

33 Ælfric (d. 1005) was Abbot of Eynsham. His Easter Sermon, an Anglo-Saxon version, was printed by John Day in 1566 in Day’s *A Testimonie of Antiquity*. Importantly Ælfric’s accounts of Christ’s Resurrection involved examples of how the Holy Spirit empowered people to spread the gospels; Kees Dekker, “Pentecost and Linguistic Self-Consciousness in Anglo-Saxon England: Bede and Ælfric,” *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 104:3 (2005), 356.

As a narrative figure, Morton becomes a literary trope used to symbolize God's opponents (and, by extension, the archetypal enemy of the Puritan mission). Bradford describes Morton as a rebel having "more craft then honestie," an adventurer having "had some small adventure (of his owne or other mens) amongst [the men of Mount Wollaston]; but had litle respecte amongst them, and was sleighted by the meanest servants."³⁴ Figuratively, he threatens Christendom. Morton's character embodies an evil that forecasts possible deterioration—of both colony, in the smaller sense, *and*, in the larger idea, of the lineage of Christendom. Following the infamous incident at Merrymount, Bradford contends, "Morton became lord of misrule, and maintained (as it were) a schools of Athisme."³⁵ This charge came from the fact that Morton composed verses, traded with the Indians and French, and, in general rebelled against existing order. Because of this narrative build up, his subsequent capture is loaded with symbolic details: "they found him to *stand stify in his defence, having made fast his dors, armed his consorts, set diverse dishes of powder and bullets ready on the table; and if they had not been over armed with drinke, more hurt might have been done.*"³⁶ This scene, which depicts Morton amidst his band of Atheists, paints a visual portrait of the forecast of doom upon which Bradford wishes the reader to reflect. In an authorial aside directed at the reader, Bradford forecasts dark days ahead:

O that princes and parlements would take some timly order to prevente this mischeefe; and at length to suppress it, by some exemplerie punishments upon some of these gains thirstie murderers, (for they deserve no better title,) before their coloonies in these parts be over throwne by these barbarous savages, thus armed with their owms weapons, by these evill instruments, and traytors to their neighbors and cuntrie.³⁷

The narrative representation of the "re-fall" of the civilized white Saxon, Morton—as a literary character for Bradford *and* in his own writing—functions to serve as a foil for individual and state. He represents the corrupted individual and symbolizes social corruption. Further, Morton presents a problem to the migration myth: his place in the narrative serves to question the validity of the justified migration to another land, a geographical space already populated with inhabitants.

34 *OPP*, 204.

35 *Ibid.*, 205.

36 *Ibid.*, 209.

37 *Ibid.*, 208.

Historically speaking, Morton's verified history with New England ran deep. Briefly, he was one of the merchant classes backed by Ferdinand Gorges to bring in indentured workers for the Virginia tobacco crop.³⁸ As Bradford's descriptions of him attest, Morton was twice tried for infractions in New England, initially for his involvement in the famous Merrymount episode, and twice returned to England, ultimately charged with both empowering Virginia servants to seek their liberty and introducing gunpowder and also affiliating with the Indians. Finally exiled in 1630, Morton composed his *New English Canaan*. Afterward, Morton attacked the Massachusetts Bay Company, winning a lawsuit and, in a strange turn of events, becoming legal council of the company. He had some sway in the ultimate revocation of the charter—the major project of Charles I, who constantly struggled against the Puritans—thus further weakening the already tenuous social bonds in the Massachusetts Bay area. In one sense, then, Bradford's fears were realized.

In 1637, Morton published his own version of events. *Canaan*, the antithesis for the Bradfordian idea of New Israel, levels a vitriolic attack on Puritan practices. Morton's narrative provides an excellent account against which we can read the dominant New England histories. For his part, Morton was trying to do more than simply mix with the Indians; his subtly crafted argument spins a wider web than that. In an intriguing argument that highlights Morton's push for a more diverse population, the very fear Bradford was addressing, the *Canaan* makes a "sophisticated argument for a plural, literate culture of intellectual exchange."³⁹ Essentially, Morton wanted to be as powerful, in a literary sense, as Bradford was, and he knew that differences in language and customs reflect differences in ethnography and history. If he could decentralize this literary culture, he could perhaps help fashion or construct a culture with more immediate discourses centered upon its multiple, and sometimes disjointed, parts.⁴⁰ Finally exiled in 1630, Morton composed his *New English*

38 Bradford writes that Morton came with Wollonstone: "Captaine Wolastone, (a man of pretie parts and with him 3. or 4. more of some eminentie, who brought with them a great many servants, with provissions and other implements for to begane a plantation; and pitched them selves in a place within the Massachusets, which they called, after their Captains name, Mount-Wollaston. Amongst whom was one Mr. Morton, who, it should seems, had some small adventure (of his owne or other mens) amongst them"; *OPP*, 204.

39 Matt Cohen, "Morton's Maypole and the Indians: Publishing in Early New England," *Book History* 5 (2002), 6.

40 David Read makes this point in his chapter on Morton in "Thomas Morton's *New English Canaan*" in *New*

Canaan. This “romance” of Merrymount has Morton as the noble outlaw, harassed and finally captured by Miles Standish (represented in the text as “Captain Shrimpe”), eventually imprisoned in a “castle” at Plymouth, and sent to England. The Maypole becomes a trope for “good” and “evil,” and the cast of caricatures of the pilgrims involved reduces events into a mock heroic epic, with Morton as the hero. In short, Morton *did* want what Bradford feared: he wanted New England to be more inclusive of its multiculturalism, to include Indians as members of a certain new geographic area, and to create a more diverse population than that of the “Israelites” who would, in the Bedean sense, shape a nation based upon insularity.

The context of *Of Plymouth* transplants Bradford’s history to a setting far greater than simply the New World: its conclusion must be *more* than simply the continuation of English history in the New World. Reflections in history remain fundamental to notions of race and lineage. Similarly, at the conclusion of his narrative, Bradford pensively reflects on what he wishes the reader to have witnessed in his retelling of the story:

I cannot but here take occasion, not only to mention, but greatly to admire the marvelous providence of God! That notwithstanding the many changes and hardships that these people went through, and the many enemies they had and difficulties they met with all, that so many of them should live to very old age!⁴¹

In this sense, Bradford’s work emphasizes purposeful reflection on all that has happened. “What was it then that upheld them?” Bradford asks rhetorically, answering, “It was Gods visitation that preserved their spirits.”⁴² Put into narrative form, Bradford’s exegetical “reading” becomes history. Again, Bede was the model. In his *Historia*, Bede presents a “young church born of the feats of great evangelists, wracked at first by a dispute over customs, saved from schism by a pivotal church council, and then blessed by miracles in a show of divine favor toward a new Christian people destined to preach the Gospel even beyond the seas.”⁴³ For Bradford, *Of Plymouth*

World, Known World: Shaping Knowledge in Early Anglo-American Writing (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005); see esp. 89-92.

41 *OPP*, 328.

42 *Ibid.*

43 Roger Ray, “Historiography,” in Frank Anthony Carl Mantello and A. G. Rigg, eds. *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1996), 643.

traces the paths of evil the Pilgrims encountered, of which Morton was symbolic, and shows the divine outcome.

This narrative manipulation was a purely ancient English technique. The path of evil represented, for Bradford, the more secular Indian obstacles in Smith's New World narrative. The difference can be seen in Bradford's borrowing of the ecclesiastical vision. At the close of *De Excidio*, Gildas had stressed faith in the few good shepherds and warned against the destructive forces of the "common enemy":

May the same Almighty God, of all consolation and mercy, preserve his few good pastors from all evil, and (the common enemy being overcome) make them free inhabitants of the heavenly city of Jerusalem, which is the congregation of all saints; grant this, O Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to whom be honour and glory, world without end.⁴⁴

In Gildas, "the common enemy" stands as representative of the invading force that must be overcome; the "few good pastors" symbolize those who take his prophecy seriously. For Gildas, integration from the outside represented doom, for the invasion is both spiritual *and* corporeal—Saxon invaders will destroy the common bond of the Britons. Bradford imagines a similar fate. Writing almost twenty years after Morton's troubles in New England, Bradford imagines the socio-ideological threat of integration: "Oh! that princes and parliaments would take some timely order to prevent this mischief; and at length to suppress it ... before their colonies in these parts be overthrown by these barbarous savages, thus armed with their own weapons, by these evil instruments, and traitors to their neighbors and country."⁴⁵ Had not Morton been exiled, Bradford claims, "this mischief would quietly spread over all."⁴⁶ This is Bradford at his most alarmingly straightforward and racially most questionable. Not only can a figure such as Morton affect changes in the outcome of the plantation, Bradford cautions, he can also precipitate the downfall for the entire group. For in Morton, Bradford is portraying the very real possibility of a second Fall, in this case the fall from the *promise* of a paradise rather than from an actual paradise itself. Morton, then transplanted from the Old Eden, becomes the archetypal English man, but fallen in

44 *Gildas: De Excidio Brittonum*, trans. John Allan Giles, *Six Old English Chronicles, of which two are now first translated from the monkish Latin originals* (London, George Bell and Sons, 1891), 388.

45 *OPP*, 208.

46 *Ibid.*,

the New Eden. "It was clear to Bradford that the 'Ancient Church' was one of the principal progenitors of the Plymouth venture," as David B. Quinn argues, and "this mischief" spurred by Morton's interaction with the Indians threatened the hope of a pure lineage, transposed to a new geographic paradise with the promise of salvation to become part of the new Exodus.⁴⁷ Symbolically, for Bradford, this follows the direct path of the ancient English church.

Works Cited

- Anderson, Douglas. *William Bradford's Books: Of Plimmoth Plantation and the Printed Word*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.
- Bradford, William. *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647*. Ed. Samuel Eliot Morison. New York: Knopf, 1952.
- Bremer, Francis J. "Foxe in the Wilderness: The *Book of Martyrs in Seventeenth-Century New England*," *John Foxe at Home and Abroad*, David Loades, ed. Burlington: Ashgate, 2004. 105-15.
- Cohen, Matt. "Morton's Maypole and the Indians: Publishing in Early New England." *Book History* 5 (2002):1-18.
- Dekker, Kees. "Pentecost and Linguistic Self-Consciousness in Anglo-Saxon England: Bede and Ælfric." *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 104:3 (2005): 345-372.
- Gay, Peter. *A Loss of Mastery: Puritan Historians in Colonial America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966.
- Gildas: *De Excidio Brittonum*. Trans. John Allan Giles. *Six Old English Chronicles, of which two are now first translated from the monkish Latin originals*. London, George Bell and Sons, 1891.
- Harris, Stephen J. "The Alfredian 'World History' and Anglo-Saxon Identity." *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 100: 4 (2001): 482- 510.
- _____. *Race and Ethnicity in Anglo-Saxon Literature*. New York: Routledge, 2003.
- Horsman, Reginald. *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981.
- Howard, Alan B. "Art and History in Bradford's *Of Plymouth Plantation*." *The William and Mary Quarterly*. Third Series. 28:2 (1971): 237-266.
- Kemp, John. *Governor William Bradford's Letter Book*. Bedford: Applewood, 2002.
- Loades, David. "The Press under the Early Tudors." *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*. 4 (1964-68): 29-50.
- MacDougall, Hugh A. *Racial Myth in English History: Trojans, Teutons, and Anglo-Saxons*. Montreal: Harvest House, 1982.
- Murdock, Kenneth. *Literature and Theology in Colonial New England*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949.

⁴⁷ *England and the Discovery of America, 1481-1620, from the Bristol Voyages of the Fifteenth Century to the Pilgrim Settlement at Plymouth: The Exploration, Exploitation, and Trial-and-Error Colonization of North America by the English* (New York: Knopf, 1974), 363.

- Olsen, Viggo Norskov. *John Foxe and the Elizabethan Church*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.
- Quinn, David B. *England and the Discovery of America, 1481-1620, from the Bristol Voyages of the Fifteenth Century to the Pilgrim Settlement at Plymouth: The Exploration, Exploitation, and Trial-and-Error Colonization of North America by the English*. New York: Knopf, 1974.
- Ray, Roger. "Historiography." *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*. Frank Anthony Carl Mantello and A. G. Rigg, Eds. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1996. 639-49.
- Read, David. *New World, Known World: Shaping Knowledge in Early Anglo-American Writing*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005.
- Rutman, Darrett B. "The Pilgrims and Their Harbor." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser. 17:2 (1960): 164-182.
- Simmons, Clare A. *Reversing the Conquest: History and Myth in Nineteenth-Century British Literature*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990.
- Smith, John. *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith*. 3 vols. Ed. Philip L. Barbour. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.
- Wright, Thomas Goddard. *Literary Culture in Early New England, 1620-1730*. New York: Russell & Russell, 1920.