Chapter 9

I AM SAILING

A BRIEF CATALOGUE OF MAYFLOWER MATERIALS IN LINCOLN CATHEDRAL'S WREN LIBRARY

ANNA MARIE ROOS

ABSTRACT Finished in 1676, the Library Gallery at Lincoln cathedral was designed by polymath and natural philosopher Christopher Wren, the first library he completed amongst a total of four Wren Libraries in the United Kingdom. Michael Honywood, dean of Lincoln from 1660 to 1681, commissioned Wren to create the architectural space, and also left his personal library to the cathedral. The collection and its gallery space survive largely intact, and the book collection is exceptional. The bibliophile Honywood was a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge and *au fait* with the latest intellectual networks. From 1643 until the restoration in 1660, the Royalist Honywood was in voluntary exile in the Low Countries, first in Leiden and then in Utrecht. The Netherlands was an epicentre of European publishing, so his collection is consequently rich. Largely due to Honywood's bequest, the Wren Library has a significant collection of books and pamphlets related to the voyage of the Mayflower, a voyage which had direct ties both to Lincolnshire and the Netherlands. The Wren Library's possession of these materials is underreported. This article thus will set the relevant books in the collection in historical context, providing a brief catalogue to highlight materials for future study and analysis.

ANNA MARIE ROOS, FLS, FSA, is Professor Emerita of the History of Science and Medicine at the University of Lincoln. She is a fellow of the Linnean Society of London and the Society of Antiquaries of London. Roos is the editor-in-chief of *Notes and Records: The Royal Society Journal of the History of Science*. Her latest book is *Martin Folkes (1690–1754): Newtonian, Antiquary, Connoisseur* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021). An edition of Folkes's Grand Tour diary is forthcoming with the Hakluyt Society of London. The author would like to thank Marika Keblusek, Claire Arrand, Nicholas Bennett, Anna Scott, and Julie Taylor, as well as the anonymous reviewer of this article. The catalogue for the library may be accessed online here: https://archive.lincolncathedral.com, accessed January 30, 2023.

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Introduction

Finished in 1676, the Library Gallery at Lincoln cathedral was designed by polymath and natural philosopher Christopher Wren (1632–1723), the first of four Wren Libraries he completed in the United Kingdom, the other three being Trinity College, Cambridge (1684), the lost library built for Thomas Tenison at St Martin in the Fields in London (1684), and the library at St Paul's cathedral (by 1710).[1] Michael Honywood, dean of Lincoln from 1660 to 1681, commissioned Wren to create the architectural space, and also left his personal library to the cathedral. As Linnell indicated, "Honywood was of particular importance because he not only gave his books to the dean and chapter, but also built the gallery to house them."[2] Although some of the incunabula were sold by the chapter in the nineteenth century, the collection and its gallery space survive largely intact, the art historian Sir Roy Strong calling Lincoln's Wren Library "the most beautiful room in England."[3]

Apart from its aesthetic appeal, the book collection is exceptional. The bibliophile Honywood was a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, and *au fait* with the latest intellectual networks, reflecting his interests in natural philosophy and music. From 1643 until the Restoration in 1660, the Royalist Honywood was also in voluntary exile in the Low Countries, first in Leiden and then in Utrecht. The Netherlands was an epicentre of European publishing, so his collection is consequently rich in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Continental literature, including sixteenth-century Italian plays and madrigals, pamphlets and broadsides from Europe concerning the English Civil War and Interregnum, Dutch ballads, and multilingual religious books and tracts.[4] While in exile, Honywood lent and borrowed books with his fellow émigrés including Henry Oldenburg, the future secretary of

1 The author thanks the anonymous reviewer for the reference to the Tenison Library.

2 Linnell, "Michael Honywood," 126.

3 For the Medieval and Wren Libraries at Lincoln Cathedral see https://www.visitlincoln.com/things-to-do/cathedral-library, accessed January 30, 2023. Much of Honywood's extensive music library was also sold to the British Museum in 1914: see Fenlon, "Michael Honywood's Music Books," 183–200. The author thanks the anonymous reviewer for the reference to this article.

4 Hurst, *Cathedral of the Wren Library*, x. All catalogue entries in this article will contain the numbered reference to this catalogue, as well as (when relevant) the English Short Title Catalogue Number (STC) and Wing number. Marika Keblusek at the University of Leiden is preparing a forthcoming analysis and updated catalogue of the Wren Library's collection with Boydell & Brewer and the Lincoln Record Society.

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the Royal Society of London, noting these transactions in an extant manuscript catalogue.[5]

Largely due to Honywood's bequest, the Wren Library has a significant collection of books and pamphlets related to the voyage of the Mayflower, which had direct ties to both Lincolnshire and the Netherlands.[6] Its possession of these materials is underreported. In 2020, a major exhibit was thus planned at the Wren Library in collaboration with the University of Lincoln to commemorate the Mayflower voyage. The exhibition was going to coincide with the launch of The Lincoln Centre for Ecological Justice (LinCEJ) with an inspirational seminar led by Chief Sâchem Wômpimeequin Wampatuck of the Mattakeeset Tribe of the Massachuset Indian Nation, a leading figure in indigenous claims for ecological justice. The event was cancelled due to the COVID-19 pandemic. This article will therefore set the relevant books in the collection in historical context, providing a brief catalogue to highlight materials for future study and analysis.

The Catalogue and Historical Context: The Voyage to the Netherlands

The Mayflower set sail on September 16, 1620, from Plymouth, in Devon, to voyage to America, known at the time as the New World. The Pilgrims on board were religious separatists, wishing to break away from the English Protestant Church and state religion which they believed was too Catholic in its practices. As Augsburger and Coggins have indicated, the separatists had a "radical commitment to follow truth wherever it might lead," and were fundamentally opposed to the use of the Book of Common Prayer:

> In order to be fully open to new light, one had to be totally freed from preconceived understandings of Scripture. The worship with the *Book of Common Prayer*, however, made it totally impossible for the preacher to convey any message from the Holy Spirit. The same negative attitude also applied to the *Geneva Bible* with its many human footnotes.[7]

5 Honywood, "A catalogue of books brought for myself since my comming out of England. July. 6 st. n. 1643," Lincoln Cathedral Library, MS 276.

6 That said, there is some evidence that Edward Winslow's *Good Newes from New-England* (1624) was acquired by the Library at a date earlier than Honywood's bequest, as it is included in the 1668 catalogue (Lincoln Cathedral Library, MS 251). The author thanks the anonymous reviewer for this information.

7 Augsburger, "Review," 123–24.

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In other words, set liturgies interfered with the progression of worship of God, which was thought to advance directly from the individual to the deity.

Most of the separatists who would become known as the Pilgrims came from the East Midlands on the borders of Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, and Nottinghamshire. Towns and villages like Scrooby, Gainsborough, Austerfield, Babworth, North Wheatley, and Sturton-le-Steeple had many separatists.[8] John Robinson, who had lost his ministry in Norwich due to his beliefs, along with Reverend John Smyth were pastors for a congregation in Gainsborough, Lincolnshire. Richard Clyfton was pastor of an illegal Separatist congregation at Scrooby, Nottinghamshire, and Robinson eventually joined him there. The separatists at Scrooby who remained in the original congregation were protected by William Brewster, a district postmaster and royal bailiff, and who had been the assistant of the diplomat William Davison.[9] His manor house provided a place for worship. Increasing numbers of separatists and converts came to Scrooby, but unfortunately for the congregation this attracted the attention of Tobias Matthew, the new archbishop of York.

In 1607, Matthew began targeting the separatists of the East Midlands, arresting members of the congregations at Scrooby and Gainsborough, and firing bailiff and postmaster Brewster. This threat from Archbishop Matthew led separatists such as William Bradford from the East Midlands to flee England to Holland. The Scrooby separatists travelled to Boston, Lincolnshire, where they had contracted with a ship captain in good faith, but were betrayed by him, intercepted at Scotia Creek, and briefly imprisoned in the town. A second attempt in 1608 at Immingham on the Lincolnshire coast just north of Grimsby was successful. They ultimately settled in Amsterdam, there joining other separatists who had previously formed a congregation called the Ancient Brethren.[10]

Once in Holland, Pastor Smyth of the Gainsborough congregation announced he accepted doctrines that differed from the other separatists, namely that infant baptism had no Scriptural grounds, and only believer baptism was biblically based. The cathedral collection has a copy of Smyth's treatise detailing the dispute:

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8 A good website for a lay audience about the Lincolnshire roots of the Mayflower voyage is Pilgrim Roots, https://www.pilgrimroots.co.uk, accessed January 30, 2023.

9 Bangs, *New Light on the Old Colony*, 118.

10 Plimoth Patuxet Museums, "Who were the Pilgrims?"

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1. **John Smyth.** ***The Character of the Beast. Or the False Constitution of the Church Discovered in Certayne Passages betwixt Mr R. Clifton & John Smyth, Concerning True Christian Baptisme…Referred to Two Propositions. 1. That Infants are NOT to Bee Baptised. 2. That Anti-christians Converted Are to Bee Admitted into the True Church by Baptisme*****. [Middleburg: R. Schilders, 1609], 4°, STC 22875, Imperf.; wants all after p. 68, Hurst Ref S0381.**

In *The Character of the Beast* (1609) Smyth and Clyfton set out the arguments for believer baptism. John Smyth then baptized himself by affusion before baptizing Thomas Helwys and a group of others, who by this act broke from the other separatists and would be instrumental in the founding of America's Baptist denomination. Eventually Smyth and Helwys would come into dispute themselves. As Augsberger and Coggins noted, this was due to Smyth's compliance with a

> principle of baptismal succession, which led him to seek rebaptism by the Mennonites, after he had already rebaptized himself. Helwys, on the other hand, stressed the importance of a "spiritual succession" and rejected anything that echoed of the apostolic succession of the Catholics and Anglicans.[11]

In light of Smyth's pronouncements, the Scrooby congregation decided to leave Smyth and his followers and relocate to Leiden.[12]

Leiden was a university town with a renowned anatomy theatre and botanic "physic" garden and was a centre of publishing and trade. It was also known as the "City of Refugees" for taking in French Huguenot Protestants fleeing the Wars of Religion. Between the late sixteenth and mid-seventeenth century, the population of the city grew from 15,000 to about 45,000.[13] As they did not speak Dutch, the Pilgrim immigrants found employment in the relatively low-paying textile industry, many serving as spinners, dyers, and weavers and settling on land next to the St Pieterskerk called the Groene Poort.

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11 Augsburger, "Review," 123.

12 Plimoth Patuxet Museums, "Who were the Pilgrims?"

13 Spuyman, "Before Plymouth."

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2. ***Res curiosae & exoticae, quae in ambulacro horti academiae Leydensis curositatem amantibus offeruntur* [Leiden], 1651. s.sh., Hurst Ref L0276.** There are thirteen of this title listed in WorldCat, and only one other 1651 edition; a 1670 edition is in the British Library, shelfmark 728.c.38.

The *Res curiosae et exoticae* was a guide to the *ambulacrum* at the University of Leiden in 1600, which housed a collection of natural curiosities. A stuffed hippopotamus and a rhinoceros cub were displayed with "A Pair of Sandals or Slippers from the Kingdom of Siam." Botanical lectures by the professor of botany, who was also prefect of the Botanical Garden, were held here in bad weather. The Garden "was only open to students who had a special permit from the professor. This was easily obtainable by foreign students."[14] Although the copy does not bear Honywood's monogram, it is possible that he picked this guide up when in Leiden himself, and it would be interesting to speculate if any of the separatists were ever given an opportunity to visit during their time there.

3. ***Illustrium Hollandiae & Westfrisiae ordinum alma Academia Leidiensis*. Lugduni Batavorum [Leiden]: Iacobum Marci & Justum a Colster, 1614. 4°, 231 pp., folding plate, portraits, bearing the monogram of Michael Honywood, Hurst Ref L0274.**

Another work related to the University and contemporaneous with the separatists' stay in Leiden was the *Illustrium Hollandiae* collection of biographies of Leiden professors, portraying the anatomy theatre and botanic gardens. This 1614 version in the Wren Library also has five "blank" spots, because the subjects had died before their portraits could be done or their portraits were not ready in time (one could paste them in later).

In 1616, William Brewster, with John Brewer and Edward Winslow, operated a clandestine Pilgrim press in Leiden, which was devoted to publishing works of theological dispute. As Leiden was a university town and printing centre, it was relatively easy to procure the type, forms, and printing press. The press lasted approximately two years before the Mayflower voyage to America.[15] One of the books published was by Thomas Cartwright (1535–1603), an English Puritan leader, controversialist, and before his exile Lady Margaret Professor and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge:

14 Lindeboom, *Boerhaave and Great Britain*, 26.

15 Pearson, *Thomas Cartwright*, 210.

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4. **Thomas Cartwright, *A confutation of the Rhemists translation, glosses and annotations on the New Testament, so farre as they contain manifest impieties, heresies, idolatries* [Leiden: W. Brewster], 1618, 761 pp., STC 4709, Hurst Ref C0168.**

The main annotator of the Rheims New Testament was Richard Bristow (1538–1581), a fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, theologian, and member of the College at Douai in Louvain. Bristow's annotations that accompanied the translation "constituted a commentary of a highly polemical and decidedly anti-Protestant type."[16] Cartwright refuted Bristow's Biblical interpretations, criticizing the Rheims New Testament because it did not take its content from the original Hebrew and Greek texts, but rather from the fourth-century Latin Vulgate. Cartwright claimed it was thus not a true interpretation of the Bible, stating, "they would (as it were) cover the head and majesty of the authentical copies in the Greek to bring them to subjection unto the old translation" (p. 93). He considered the Rheims translation "absurd, troublesome, and fruitless."[17] Cartwright's work gives an indication of the difference the Pilgrims had with Catholics in Biblical interpretation.

As Pearson has noted, because the Rheims New Testament was one of the most significant products of the Catholic Reformation, Cartwright's edition was one of the most important productions of Brewster's clandestine Pilgrim press in Leiden. Many of Cartwright's contemporaries "singled him out for the distinguished task of demolishing the latest bulwark of Romanism."[18]

5. ***De vera et genuina Iesu Christi Domini et Salvatoris Nostri Religione: Authore Minist. Angl.* [Leiden: W. Brewster], 1618, 8°, 326 pp., Hurst Ref C0587.** There is also a copy in the Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Bl., 326 S, which has been digitized: http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/yv-336-8f-helmst/start.htm, accessed February 3, 2023.

This is a smaller Latin treatise, "Concerning the true and genuine religion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," of which the "evidence is clear that Brewster was the publisher."[19] The English ambassador to the Netherlands,

16 Pearson, *Thomas Cartwright*, 201.

17 Pearson, *Thomas Cartwright*, 206.

18 Pearson, *Thomas Cartwright*, 201.

19 Steele, *Chief of the Pilgrims*, 174.

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Sir Dudley Carleton, 1st Viscount Dorchester (1573–1632), wrote in his correspondence of July 22, 1619, to Secretary of State Sir Robert Naunton that in the publishing of this book "Brewster doth openly avow."[20]

The Catalogue and Historical Context: The Voyage to the New World

Life in Holland proved difficult for the separatists. The morally more relaxed Dutch culture was of concern; there was religious toleration, but also a more casual attitude towards Biblically-based morality. Worse yet, a peace treaty between Spain and Holland signed in 1609 was to expire in 1621, and the separatists feared that if Catholic Spain invaded and occupied Holland they would be forced to flee. Pilgrim William Bradford remarked:

> The 12 years of truce were now out, there was nothing but beating of drums and preparing of war, the events whereof are always uncertain, the Spaniard might prove as cruel as the savages of America, and the famine and pestilence as sore here as there, their liberty less to look out for remedy.[21]

The congregation thus decided to leave Leiden and establish a village in the northern part of the Virginia Colony, near present-day New York.[22] On July 22, 1620, these Pilgrims from England via Holland boarded the ship Speedwell at the Dutch port of Delfshaven, near Rotterdam. From there, they would meet the Mayflower and journey to the "new Jerusalem" of America. Christopher Jones was the ship's captain, Myles Standish the military commander, and this 180-ton vessel docked at Plymouth to make final repairs before sailing across the Atlantic Ocean.

While in Plymouth, the congregation met the famous John Smith (1580–1631), a Lincolnshire native who saved the Jamestown colonists from disaster and who had mapped the American coast. Although they refused Smith's offer to join them on their voyage, as he was a "true and faithful servant" to the English monarchy and no friend to separatists, Smith was a formidable navigator.

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20 Steele, *Chief of the Pilgrims*, 174n5. Steele noted, "A copy of this, as well as other works printed by him, appears to have been in the Elder's library at his decease." The primary source is an eighteenth-century edition of the correspondence of Sir Dudley Carleton: *Letters from and to Sir Dudley Carleton, Knt.*, 380.

21 Bradford, "Of Plymouth Plantation," 176–91, at 178.

22 Plimoth Patuxet Museums, "Who were the Pilgrims?"

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6. **John Smith, *A Sea Grammar, with the Plaine Exposition of Smiths Accidence for young Sea-Men, Enlarged. Diuided into Fifteene Chapters: What They Are You May Partly Conceiue by the Contents. Written by Captaine Iohn Smith, Sometimes Gouernour of Virginia, and Admirall of Nevv-England*. London: John Hauiland, 1627. 4°, 86 pp., bearing the monogram of Michael Honywood, STC 22794, Hurst Ref C0358** (see fig. 9.1).

This is considered the first work on seamanship in the English language:

> The *Sea Grammar* is also a work of distinction in literary terms if one considers Smith's embellishment of the whole with "you are there" immediacy, as in the memorable scene of the fight at sea, or in his moving plea for better conditions for sailors, which makes up the last three pages of the work.[23]

In his typically bombastic language, Smith opens the work, "Julius Cæsar wrote his owne Commentaries, holding it no lesse honour to write, than fight; much hath bin writ concerning the art of war by land, yet nothing concerning the same at Sea."[24] Of use to the Pilgrims would have been his "Proper Sea tearmes for diuiding the company at Sea, and stearing, sayling, or moring a Ship in faire weather, or in a storme."[25] There was also practical advice about the duties of each of the members of the crew under the captain's command.

The Catalogue and Historical Context: Footfall in America and Epidemic Disease

Mayflower arrived in New England on November 11, 1620, after a voyage of 66 days. Although the Pilgrims had originally intended to settle near the Hudson River in New York, winds and dangerous shoals forced them to stay in Cape Cod. It was here the adult men signed the document known as the Mayflower Compact, the basis for government. After a search for a suitable place to settle, the Pilgrims decided upon the site of an abandoned Wampanoag village, which had ample water supply, a harbour, and fields that had been cleared. What the Pilgrims did not know is that the Wampanoag had abandoned their village due to epidemic disease brought by previous European explorers, of which over 2,000 Native Americans had perished.

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23 Virtual Jamestown, "John Smith," The Institute for Advanced Technology in the Humanities, University of Virginia, https://www.virtualjamestown.org/exist/cocoon/jamestown/fha-js/SmiWorks3, accessed May 16, 2019.

24 Smith, Preface to *Sea Grammar*, unnumbered page.

25 Smith, *Sea Grammar*, 37.

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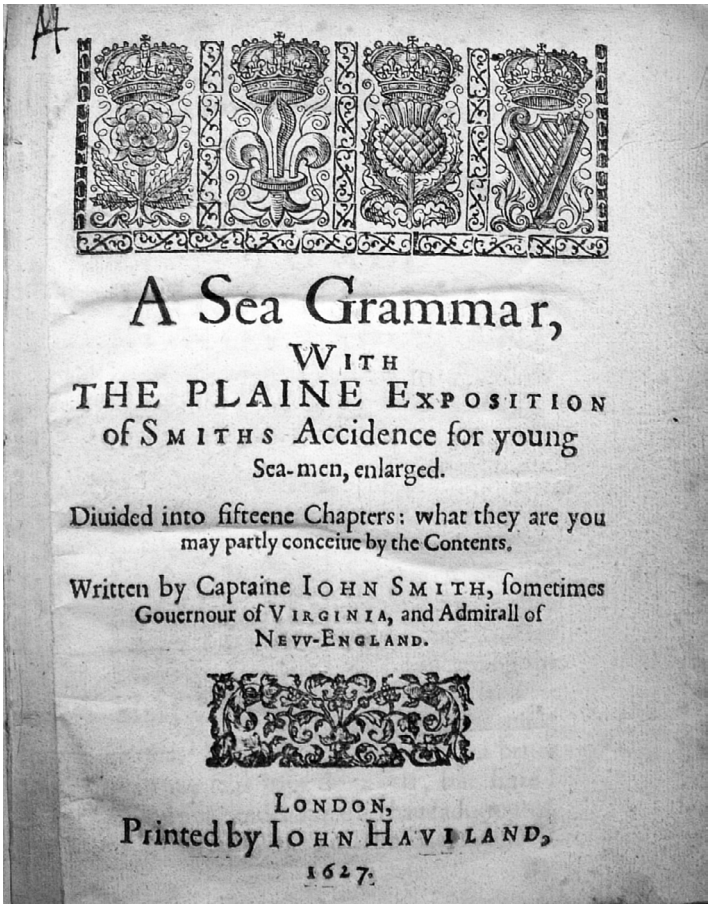
A Sea Grammar,
WITH
THE PLAINE EXPOSITION
of SMITHS Accidence for young
Sea-men, enlarged.
Diuided into fifteene Chapters: what they are you
may partly conceiue by the Contents.
Written by Captaine IOHN SMITH, sometimes
Gouernour of VIRGINIA, and Admirall of
NEVV-ENGLAND.
LONDON,
Printed by IOHN HAVILAND,
1627.

Figure 9.1. John Smith, Title Page of *A Sea Grammar* (London, 1627). Photograph by Lincoln Cathedral Library. Reproduced with permission.

Mayflower arrived in Plymouth Harbour on December 16, 1620, and the colonists began building their village, with many remaining onboard their ship. The colonists, like the Native Americans, fell ill themselves, not of epidemic disease, but probably scurvy and pneumonia caused by a lack of shelter in the cold, wet weather, and a high-salt diet lacking in fruit and vegetables. "Only 52 people survived the first year in Plymouth. When *Mayflower* left Plymouth on April 5, 1621, she was sailed back to England by only half of her crew."[26] There was no doctor available to the Mayflower settlers, but The Pilgrims had a copy of *The Surgeon's Mate* by Dr John Woodall, the standard manual carried by the East India Company, and someone who could read and apply it, Deacon Samuel Fuller, a previous member of the Scrooby congregation.

26 Plimoth Patuxet Museums, "Who were the Pilgrims?"

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Treatment was largely herbalism, prayer, and bloodletting, as the theory of blood circulation by William Harvey had not yet been published. Medical practice was still based upon the theory of the humours, first presented by Hippocrates and Galen in Antiquity. Galen stated that good health relied on the balance of four humours or bodily fluids, defined as phlegm, blood, yellow bile, and black bile. The job of the humours was to nourish the body, as well as to provide the material for sperm and in pregnancy for the foetus. It was believed that travel to unfamiliar climates could disrupt the humoral balance determined by one's place of origin, with consequences that included illness, changes in skin colour, strength, or even behaviour.[27] As Earle has noted, "fluidity, rather than fixity, was the hall mark of the early modern body."[28] One's diet thus reflected profound European anxieties about colonial environments: "early colonial actors ascribed great significance to the differences they perceived between their bodies and those of Amerindians," and "food was in fact central to the early modern discourses about human difference."[29] Humoral balance could then be restored by therapeutic bloodletting via leeches or lancet. The vein was manually perforated by the doctor and sometimes many shallow cuts were made or a scarifier was used. When the patient felt faint and was considered "calmer" thanks to the purgation of the excess humour, the bleeding was stopped. Bleeding was also done if another humour was too predominant, as the pure humour blood contained a smaller amount of the other humours. Humoral balance could also be achieved via diet or herbal remedies, using a treatment of opposites. For instance, if there was an overabundance of cold and moist phlegm, the physician would give the patient remedies associated with hot and dry yellow bile.

This is a shortened version of the works of the Roman physician Galen (2nd/3rd c. CE), doctor to the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius, who systematised the medical theory of Antiquity:

27 Earle, "'If You Eat Their Food'," 688–713.

28 Earle, "'If You Eat Their Food'," 690.

29 Earle, "'If You Eat Their Food'," 689–90.

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7. ***Epitome Galeni Pergameni operum, in quatuor partes digesta*. Basel: Mich. Isingrinium, 1551, Folio 1292 coll., 2293[1293]–1298pp., Hurst Ref G0011.** There is another copy in the Lincoln Cathedral Library, Hurst Ref G0011.

His work was the basis of medical knowledge until the nineteenth century. The one illustration in it shows the human skeleton and skull, the skeleton not articulated correctly, largely because Galen based most of his anatomies on those of animals including the Barbary ape. Galen also postulated that blood ebbed and flowed in the human body, blood being continually made by the liver, rather than circulating. It is a second edition, the first published in Venice in 1548, and it was edited by the Spanish physician-humanist Andrés Laguna de Segovia, known for his Latin and Spanish editions of Dioscorides' *Peri hyles iatrikes* (*De materia medica*).[30]

This work by William Harvey, Royal Physician to Charles I, was the first to postulate the circulation of the blood:

8. **William Harvey, *Exercitationes duae anatomicae de circulatione sanguinis*. Rotterdam: Arnoldi Leers, 1649, 12°, 140 pp., bearing the monogram of Michael Honywood, Hurst Ref H0117.**

Harvey took quantitative measures of the amount of blood in the body and realized it would be impossible for it to be continually created from food by the liver; he concluded the blood must circulate and outlined the role of veins and arteries, showing how the vessels' valves promoted one-way blood flow.

> In 1649, after maintaining a twenty-one-year silence against his detractors, Harvey published two essays addressed to Jean Riolan the younger, a Parisian professor of anatomy who had put forth a rival theory of the circulation in his *Enchiridium anatomicum* (1648). Harvey demolished Riolan's arguments point by point in the first essay, and in the second essay refuted Descartes, who had denied Harvey's claims about the movements of the heart.[31]

The *Exercitationes duae* were published in two editions in 1649, the Rotterdam edition such as the cathedral library has, and a more famous Cambridge edition by Roger Daniels (Wing H-1087).

Several medical treatments were herbal in nature, and in 1597 the Englishman John Gerard (1545–1612) incorporated New World plants in his *Herball*, or *Generall Historie of Plants*:

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30 Kousolis et al., "Andrés Laguna," 671–74.

31 Christie's, *Haskell F. Norman Library of Science and Medicine Part I*, 368.

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9. **John Gerard, *The Herball or General Historie of Plantes*. London: Iohn Norton, 1597, folio, 1392 pp., title page missing, over 2,000 woodcuts, some coloured, STC 11750, Hurst Ref G0086.** The library also has an imperfect 1633 edition enlarged by Thomas Iohnson (missing all after p. 688), bearing the monogram of Michael Honywood, Hurst Ref G0087.

Gerard served as superintendent of gardens for William Cecil, chief advisor to Queen Elizabeth I. Although Gerard was an acclaimed botanist, his work was largely a translation from the Dutch scholar Rembert Dodoen's herbal of 1554. Gerard had contacts with explorers Walter Raleigh and Francis Drake, and acquired a Virginia potato plant for his garden; his illustration of the plant was the first most English people had seen.[32] It was not at first understood that the tuber was the edible part, the berries poisonous (the potato is in the Solanaceae family of flowering plants, along with nightshade, tobacco, aubergines, and petunias). Gerard also included better-known plants in his herbal that were used for medical treatments, such as foxglove (also known as Folksglove, "glove of the fairy folk," since the flowers resemble the fingers of tiny gloves). This was prescribed as an expectorant: "Fox-glove boiled in water or wine, and drunken, doth cut and consume the thick toughnesse of grosse and slimie flegme and naughty humours; it openeth also the stopping of the liver, spleene, and milt, and of other inward parts."[33] However, as digitoxin, the active ingredient in foxglove, can slow down the heart rate, the results were often unpredictable, and sometimes fatal.

The Catalogue and Historical Context: Edward Winslow, Native Americans, and Colonization

The Pilgrims' knowledge of medicine was very useful on one occasion, in that it helped ease their relationship with Native American tribes, including the Wampanoag, Massachusett, and Narragansett Indians. Edward Winslow (1595–1655) had been an apprentice in London for printer John Beale, where he was exposed to a variety of works of learning and would have become familiar with travellers' descriptions of England and Native peoples' medicinal knowledge and expertise. By 1617 he joined the separatists in Leiden, then agreed to travel to America as a settler and an investor,

32 Gerard, *Herball or general historie of plantes*, 780–81.

33 Gerard, *Herball or General Historie of Plantes*, 647. Materials have also been used from "Herbs: Friends of physicians, praise of cooks," Online Exhibit, University of Virginia Library, accessed July 12, 2020 (website no longer to be available as of June 11, 2024).

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contributing personally to the costs of the journey and supplies so in future he would make a return on his investment.[34] For several years Winslow was the Pilgrims' primary negotiator with Native American peoples, and was credited with having cured the Wampanoag sachem Massasoit, one of the colonists' most valuable allies, of life-threatening illness with a medicinal cordial. He also served as the Pilgrims' chief agent in England.

Winslow wrote *Good News* from New England to modify preconceived ideas potential settlers had of Native Americans, and thus to encourage potential settlers to come to Plymouth:

10. Edward Winslow. *Good newes from New-England: or a true relation of things very remarkable at the plantation of Plimoth in New England … Written by E. W*. London: I. D. for William Bladen and John Bellamie, 1624, 4°, 59[67] pp., STC 25855, Hurst Ref W0251.

These preconceptions were based on other travellers' accounts, or earlier Spanish, Italian, and French salacious accounts of cannibalism, violence, and exotic practices, rather than on first-hand reports from New England. Winslow instead noted how settlers had to imitate Native American methods of healing and finding food to survive. As Wisecup indicated, "Winslow also tried to show how colonists were bringing "good news" to New England, that is, that they had attempted to bring God's Word and the gospel to Algonquins," and that the colonists had survived.[35] Although clearly a work of diplomacy, masking as it did incidents of violence against Native Americans as well mutual mistrust, the work nevertheless offers, according to Wisecup, a more complicated and nuanced representation of the Pilgrims' first years in New England and of their relationship with Native Americans than other primary documents of the period. Wisecup also notes that seven copies of the first edition and ten copies of the second edition are in special collections, although she does not specifically indicate Lincoln cathedral's copy.

A decade after the sailing of the Mayflower, the need for the better planning and organization of the settlement was recognized. The formation of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1629, and the fleet of settlers led by John Winthrop in 1630, arose to a large extent out of the plans of a group of Puritans based around the household of the dowager Countess of Lincoln at Sempringham. The group included her three daughters and their husbands,

34 Wisecup, ed., *"Good News from New England."*

35 Wisecup, ed., *"Good News from New England."*

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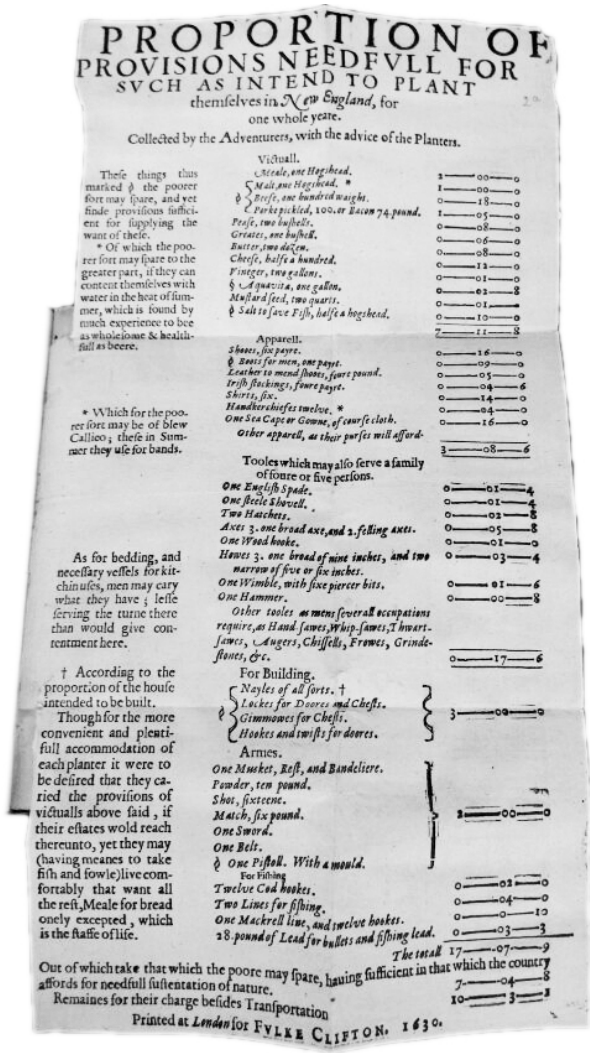
together with her steward Thomas Dudley, who sailed as deputy-governor to Winthrop himself. Printed lists were issued of the supplies that each planter ought to take:

11. **New England.** ***Proportion of provisions needful for such as intend to plant themselves in New England, for one whole yeare*. London: for Fulke Clifton, 1630, single sheet folio, bearing the monogram of Michael Honywood, STC 18486, Hurst Ref N0087** (see fig. 9.2).

Only two such lists have survived from 1630, one in the British Library and one at Lincoln. Winthrop's fleet departed from Southampton in April 1630. John Cotton, the Puritan vicar of Boston, went to bid Godspeed to those of his congregation who were sailing to a new life in America. Winthrop and the other leaders issued a letter of farewell to their native land, *The Humble Request of his Maiesties loyall Subjects, the Governour and the Company Late Gone for Nevv-England; to the Rest of Their Brethren, in and of the Church of England. For the Obtaining of Their Prayers*, which was later printed.



PROPORTION OF
PROVISIONS NEEDFVLL FOR
SVCH AS INTEND TO PLANT
themſelves in New England, for
one whole yeare.

Collected by the Adventurers, with the advice of the Planters.

Victuall.

These things thus marked ℔ the poorer ſort may ſpare, and yet finde proviſions ſufficient for ſupplying the want of theſe.

* Of which the poorer ſort may ſpare to the greater part, if they can content themſelves with water in the heat of ſummer, which is found by much experience to bee as wholeſome & healthfull as beere.

Meale, one Hogſhead.
Malt, one Hogſhead. *
℔ Beefe, one hundred waight.
Porke pickled, 100. or Bacon 74. pound.
Peaſe, two buſhells.
Greates, one buſhell.
Butter, two dozen.
Cheeſe, halfe a hundred.
Vinegar, two gallons.
§ Aquavitæ, one gallon.
Muſtard ſeed, two quarts.
℔ Salt to ſave Fiſh, halfe a hogſhead.

Apparell.

Shoes, ſix payre.
℔ Boots for men, one payre.
Leather to mend ſhoes, foure pound.
Iriſh ſtockings, foure payre.
Shirts, ſix.
Handkerchiefes twelve. *
One Sea Cape or Gowne, of courſe cloth.
Other apparell, as their purſes will afford.

* Which for the poorer ſort may be of blew Callico; theſe in Summer they uſe for bands.

Tooles which may alſo ſerve a family of foure or five perſons.

One Engliſh Spade.
One ſteele Shovell.
Two Hatchets.
Axes 3. one broad axe, and 2. felling axes.
One Wood hooke.
Hewes 3. one broad of nine inches, and two narrow of ſive or ſix inches.
One Wimble, with ſixe pierced bits.
One Hammer.
Other tooles as mens ſeverall occupations require, as Hand ſawes, Whip-ſawes, Thwart-ſawes, Augers, Chiſſells, Frowes, Grindeſtones, &c.

As for bedding, and neceſſary veſſels for kitchin uſes, men may carry what they have; leſſe ſerving the turne there than would give contentment here.

† According to the proportion of the houſe intended to be built.

Though for the more convenient and plentifull accommodation of each planter it were to be deſired that they carried the proviſions of victualls above ſaid, if their eſtates wold reach thereunto, yet they may (having meanes to take fiſh and fowle) live comfortably that want all the reſt, Meale for bread onely excepted, which is the ſtaffe of life.

For Building.

℔ Nayles of all ſorts. †
Lockes for Doores and Cheſts.
Gimmowes for Cheſts.
Hookes and twiſts for doores.

Armes.

One Muſket, Reſt, and Bandeliere.
Powder, ten pound.
Shot, ſixteene.
Match, ſix pound.
One Sword.
One Belt.
℔ One Piſtoll. With a mould.

For Fiſhing

Twelve Cod hookes.
Two Lines for fiſhing.
One Mackrell line, and twelve hookes.
28. pound of Lead for bullets and fiſhing lead.

The totall

Out of which take that which the poore may ſpare, having ſufficient in that which the country affords for needfull ſuſtentation of nature.

Remaines for their charge beſides Tranſportation

Printed at London for FVLKE CLIFTON. 1630.

Figure 9.2. Anonymous, *Proportion of Provisions Needfull for Such as Intend to Plant Themselves in New England, for One Whole Year* (London, 1630). Photograph by Lincoln Cathedral Library. Reproduced with permission.

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The cathedral library's copy of the *Humble Request* is bound in the front of the *Proportion of provisions*.[36] We can see a detailed enumeration of costs for the well-off planter, and for the poor who would have to work to repay their cost of transportation. We can also thank Michael Honywood for having the prescience to collect such a rare and historically valuable piece of ephemera.

12. [John Winthrop and George Phillips?], *The Humble Request of his Maiesties loyall Subjects, the Governour and the Company Late Gone for Nevv-England; to the Rest of Their Brethren, in and of the Church of England. For the Obtaining of Their Prayers, and the Removall of Suspitions, and Misconstructions of Their Intentions*. London: Iohn Bellamie, 1630, 4°, 10pp., bearing the monogram of Michael Honywood, STC 18485, Hurst Ref N0086.

The text notes that it is "Dated and signed: From Yarmouth aboord the Arabella April 7. 1630. Io: Winthrope Gov., Richa: Saltonstall, Charles Fines, Isaac Iohnson, Tho: Dudley, George Philipps, William Coddington, etc. etc." This is the first official statement of the Company of the Massachusetts Bay, enumerating their reasons for emigrating to New England.[37] Here the colonists promoted the view of a Puritan New England as a "Protestant showcase, a light to the world, a place of godly discipline and spiritual cleansing."[38] George Philipps was the only clergyman on the flagship, Arabella, of the Winthrop fleet, so he is the likely author, although the *Humble Request* has also been attributed to John Winthrop.

The conversion to Christianity of the Native American people was a common aim of the early settlers. On the seal of the Massachusetts Bay Colony was the figure of a Native American ringed by the words "Come over and help us" (Acts 16:9). The Puritan preacher John Eliot, who emigrated in 1631 on the same ship as the colony's first governor John Winthrop, dedicated his life to evangelizing the local tribes, learning the language and preaching in the native dialect. Part of his evangelizing efforts included creating a Bible in the Massachusetts Algonquin language.

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36 The text for this caption was taken from Nicholas Bennett's exhibition catalogue, *Good Newes from New England: Early English Colonisation in New England and Virginia, 1585–1660*, typescript, Lincoln Cathedral Library. My thanks to Claire Arrand and Nicholas Bennett for this document.

37 Vail, *Voice of the Old Frontier*, 116.

38 Cressy, *Coming Over*, 20.

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> The scale of the project made it necessary to recruit Marmaduke Johnson, an English printer, to assist Samuel Green, the official printer for the colony, and to secure additional printing equipment. Two Native Americans played important roles in publishing the Bible. John Nesutan, a preacher who had studied at Harvard, assisted Eliot with the translation, and James Printer, a young Nipmuck who had been apprenticed to Green, assisted both with the translation and the printing.[39]

This was the first Bible printed in the New World, with the New Testament produced in 1661, and then incorporated into a complete Bible in 1663:

13. Bible, Massachusetts Algonquin. ***Mamusse Wunneetupanatamwe Up-Biblum God Naneeswe Nukkone Testament kah wonk Wusku Testament. Ne quoshkinnumuk nashpe Wuttinneumoh Christ noh asoowesit John Eliot. (Wame Keroohomae uketoohomaongash David.)*** **Cambridge, MA: Samuel Green kah Marmaduke Johnson, 1663, 4°, 3pt. Without English title page. Wing Ref B2755, Hurst Ref B0364** (see figs. 9.3 and 9.4).

The Bible was printed in Algonquin by the Society for the Propagation of the Bible in New England and Adjacent Parts, as a conversion tool and a tool of empire.

During King Philip's War (1675–1676), most of the indigenous population of southern New England were massacred, enslaved, or driven out of their lands. Native Americans were

> kept under guard on Deer Island in Boston Harbour, and in the turmoil of the war, most copies of the Eliot Bible were destroyed. James Printer took the side of King Philip against the colonists, although after his capture he returned to his printing craft. John Nesutan was killed while serving in the colonial forces against his own people.[40]

Eliot printed a second edition of the Bible in 1685, used by the Mashpee Tribe. The printing of the Algonquin Bible was a significant, though ultimately tragic achievement, just as the Mayflower voyage and subsequent efforts at colonizing the early Americas were also tragic for the indigenous Native American tribes. It is sincerely hoped that further study and contextualization of the sources in the Lincoln Cathedral Library can lead to a more balanced analysis of these events.

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39 *Mamusse Wunneetupanatamwe Up-Biblum God*.

40 *Mamusse Wunneetupanatamwe Up-Biblum God*; Amory, *First Impressions*, 41–42.

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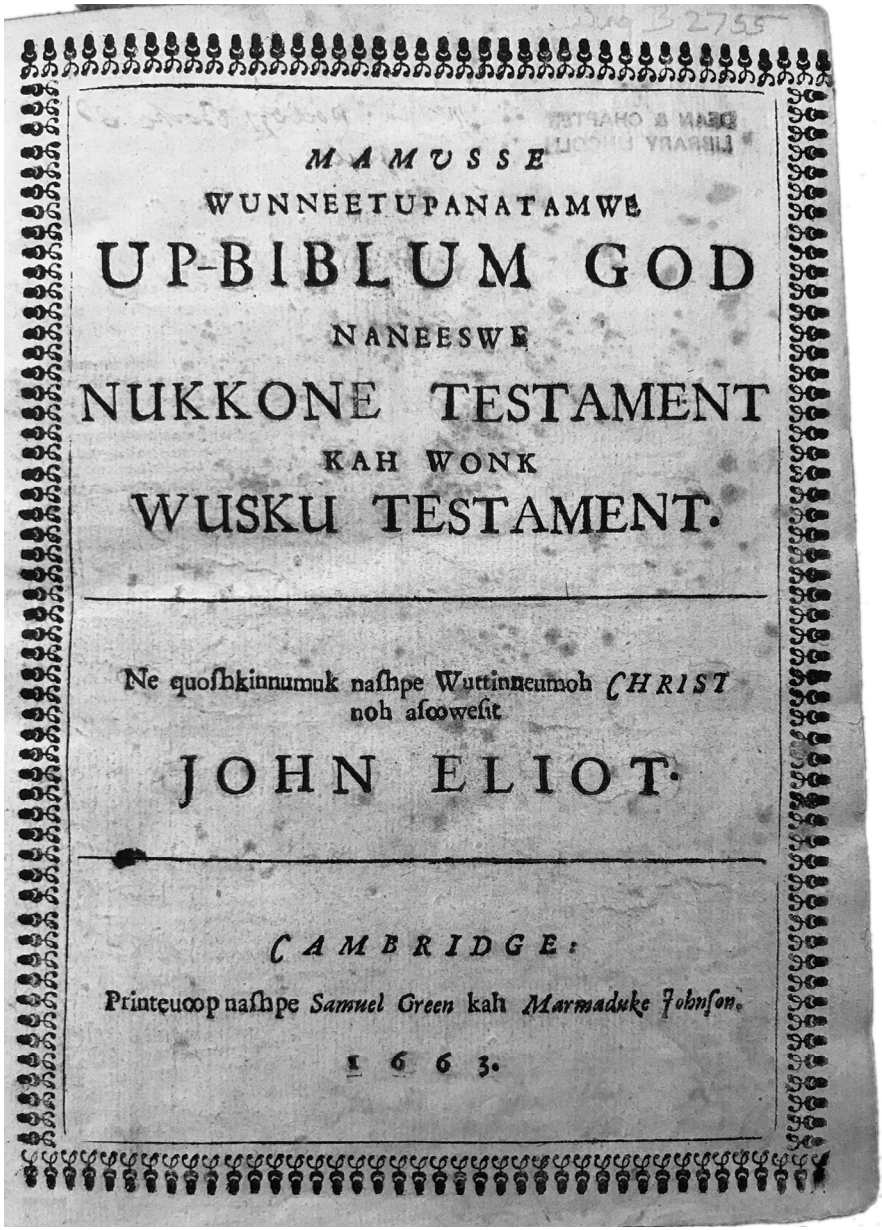
MAMUSSE
WUNNEETUPANATAMWE
UP-BIBLUM GOD
NANEESWE
NUKKONE TESTAMENT
KAH WONK
WUSKU TESTAMENT.

Ne quoſhkinnumuk naſhpe Wuttinneumoh CHRIST
noh aſcoweſit
JOHN ELIOT.

CAMBRIDGE:
Printeuoop naſhpe Samuel Green kah Marmaduke Johnſon.
1663.

Figure 9.3. Title Page of John Eliot, ed., *Mamusse Wunneetupanatamwe Up-Biblum God* (Cambridge, 1663). Photograph by Lincoln Cathedral Library. Reproduced with permission.

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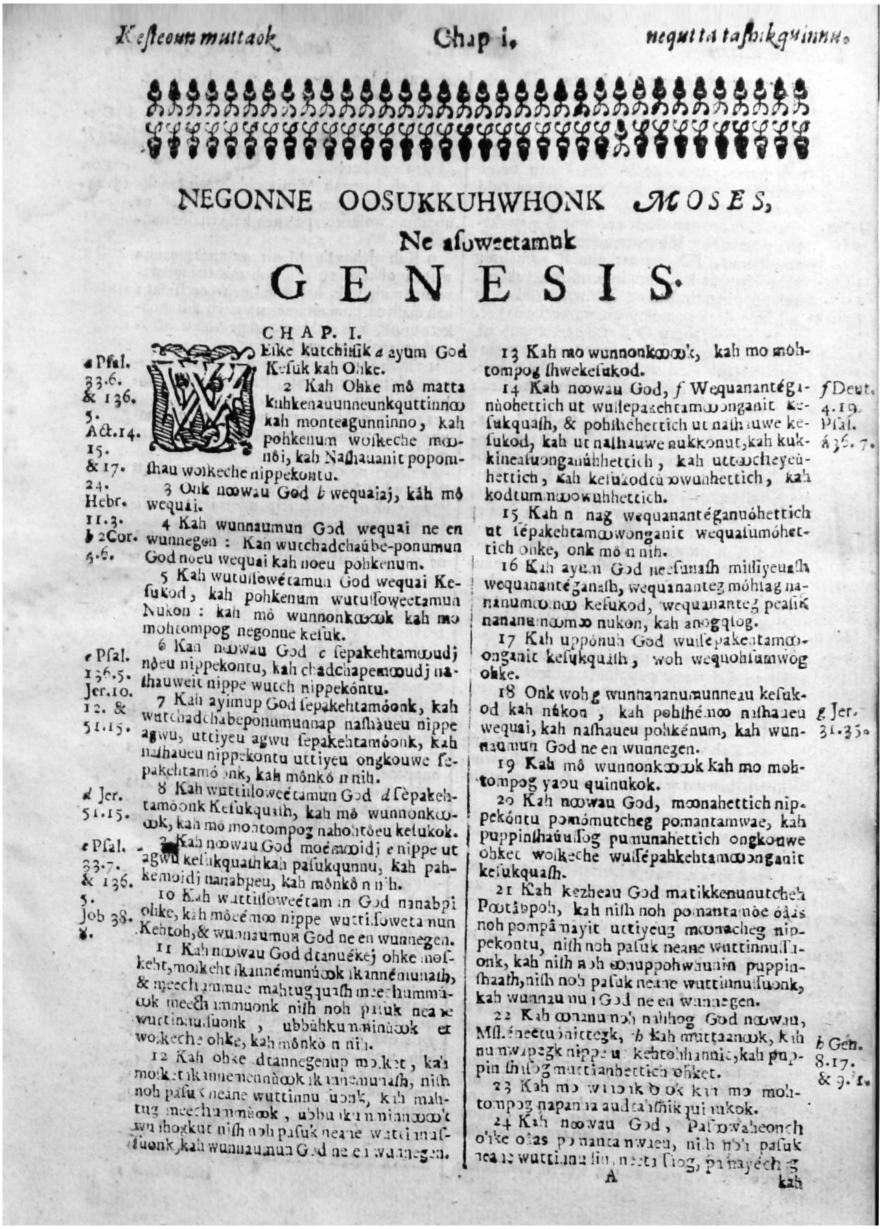

Kesteoum muttaok Chap. i. *nequtta tashikquinnu.*

NEGONNE OOSUKKUHWHONK *MOSES,*

Ne asoweetamuk

GENESIS.

CHAP. I.

a Psal. 33.6. & 136.5. Act.14.15. & 17.24. Hebr. 11.3. WEske kutchissik a ayum God Kesuk kah Ohke.
2 Kah Ohke mô matta kuhkenauunneunkquttinnoo kah monteagunninno, kah pohkenum woskeche moonôi, kah Nashauanit popomshau woskeche nippekontu.
b 2Cor. 4.6. 3 Onk noowau God b wequaiaj, kah mô wequai.
4 Kah wunnaumun God wequai ne en wunnegen: Kah wutchadchaûbe-ponumun God noeu wequai kah noeu pohkenum.
5 Kah wutussowetamun God wequai Kesukod, kah pohkenum wutussoweetamun Nukon: kah mô wunnonkooook kah mo mohtompog negonne kesuk.
c Psal. 136.5. Jer.10.12. & 51.15. 6 Kah noowau God c sepakehtamoudj noeu nippekontu, kah chadchapemoudj nashauweit nippe wutch nippekontu.
7 Kah ayimup God sepakehtamóonk, kah wutchadchabeponumunnap nashaueu nippe agwu, uttiyeu agwu sepakehtamóonk, kah nashaueu nippekontu uttiyeu ongkouwe sepakehtamóonk, kah mônkô n nih.
d Jer. 51.15. 8 Kah wuttissoweetamun God d sepakehtamóonk Kesukquash, kah mô wunnonkooook, kah mô montompog nahohtoeu kesukok.
e Psal. 33.7. & 136.5. Job 38.8. 9 Kah noowau God moemoodj e nippe ut agwu kesukquash kah pasukqunnu, kah pahkemoidj nanabpeu, kah mônkô n nih.
10 Kah wuttissoweetam in God nanabpi ohke, kah moeemoo nippe wuttissoweta nun Kehtoh, & wunnaumun God ne en wunnegen.
11 Kah noowau God dtanuekej ohke ... wuttinnussuonk, ubbuhkunninuook ut woskeche ohke, kah mônkô n nih.
12 Kah ohke dtaunnegenup ... wunnaumun God ne en wunnegen.

13 Kah mo wunnonkooook, kah mo mohtompog shwekesukod.
14 Kah noowau God, f Wequanantéganuohettich ut wussepakehtamoonganit Kesukquash, & pohshehettich ut nashauwe kesukod, kah ut nashauwe nukkonut, kah kukkineasuonganuhhettich, kah uttoocheyeuhettich, kah kesukodtuwunhettich, kah kodtumunoowuhhettich. f Deut. 4.19. Psal. 136.7.
15 Kah n nag wequanantéganuóhettich ut sepakehtamoowonganit wequasumóhettich ohke, onk mô n nih.
16 Kah ayum God neesunash mishiyeuash wequanantéganash, wequananteg móhtag nananumoonoo kesukod, wequananteg peasik nananumoomoo nukon, kah anogqsog.
17 Kah upponuh God wussepakehtamoonganit kesukquash, woh wequohsumwog ohke.
18 Onk woh g wunnananumunneau kesukod kah nukon, kah pohshénoo nashaueu wequai, kah nashaueu pohkenum, kah wunnaumun God ne en wunnegen. g Jer. 31.35.
19 Kah mô wunnonkooook kah mo mohtompog yaou quinukok.
20 Kah noowau God, moonahettich nippekontu pomomutcheg pomantamwae, kah puppinshaûassog pumunahettich ongkouwe ohket woskeche wussepahkehtamoonganit kesukquash.
21 Kah kezheau God matikkenunutchesh Pootâpoh, kah nish noh pomantamoe òâas noh pompâmayit uttiyeug moonacheg nippekontu, nish noh pasuk neane wuttinnussuonk, kah nish noh ... puppinshaash, nish noh pasuk neane wuttinnussuonk, kah wunnaumun God ne en wunnegen.
22 Kah ... noowau, Mishéneetuonittegk, h kah muttaanook, kah ... nippe u kehtohhannit, kah puppinshaog muttaanhettich ohket. h Gen. 8.17. & 9.1.
23 Kah mô wunnonkooook kah mo mohtompog napannâ audtahshik quinukok.
24 Kah noowau God, Pasoowaheonch ohke ohas pomantamwaeu, nish noh pasuk neane wuttinnussuonk, ... pahayéchag

A kah

Figure 9.4. The first Book of Genesis in Algonquin in John Eliot, ed., *Mamusse Wunneetupanatamwe Up-Biblum God* (Cambridge, 1663). Photograph by Lincoln Cathedral Library. Reproduced with permission.

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