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THE TRUE ORIGIN OF STEPHEN¹ HOPKINS OF THE *MAYFLOWER*

With Evidence of His Earlier Presence in Virginia

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It has been claimed for nearly seventy years that Stephen¹ Hopkins, a passenger on the *Mayflower* in 1620, was born at Wortley, Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, England. Additionally, it has been claimed that his first wife was Constance Dudley, though this claim was made without any supporting evidence. This article will show that Stephen Hopkins was, in fact, from an entirely different part of England, and will disprove the long-standing Constance Dudley myth. Additionally, evidence will be presented supporting the conclusion that Stephen Hopkins of the *Mayflower* was indeed the same man as the Stephen Hopkins who sailed for Jamestown, Virginia, on the *Sea Venture* in 1609 and was wrecked in Bermuda, as has long been speculated.

Since the Wotton-under-Edge origin of Stephen Hopkins has been so widely accepted, it will be necessary to review how this theory came about. In 1929 Charles Edward Banks first published the suggestion that Stephen Hopkins might be from a Hopkins family he had located at Wortley, Wotton-under-Edge.¹ He based his suggestion on the fact that the name *Stephen* occurred within the family, and presented his findings simply as possible clues. The much less careful George F. Willison in his popularized but frequently inaccurate book, *Saints and Strangers*, took Banks's few clues as absolute proof, and stated outright that Stephen Hopkins was from Wotton-under-Edge.²

Ralph D. Phillips furthered the theory in his "Hopkins Family of Wortley, Gloucestershire: Possible Ancestry of Stephen Hopkins" published in TAG for

¹ Charles Edward Banks, *The English Ancestry and Homes of the Pilgrim Fathers . . .* (New York, 1929), 61–64, at 63–64; hereafter cited as Banks, *English Ancestry*.

² George F. Willison, *Saints and Strangers . . .* (New York, 1945), 441.

April 1963. He proposed that the unnamed child of a Stephen Hopkins baptized at Wotton-under-Edge on 29 October 1581 might have been named Stephen (since that was the father's name), and thus was possibly the *Mayflower* passenger. Two Stephen Hopkinses were then located in a 1608 Wortley "Men and Armour" list.³ Phillips did not comment upon the fact that this Hopkins family carried the names of *Robert, Thomas, George, Edward, Gillian, Joan, Alice, and Agnes*—names which do not occur among the *Mayflower* passenger's children or grandchildren. Hence, the identification of Stephen Hopkins of the *Mayflower* with the Gloucestershire family depends entirely upon chronology and the name *Stephen*. Nonetheless, the theory became widely accepted.

In 1972 Margaret Hodges contributed greatly to its promotion by making the speculative Wotton-under-Edge origin the keystone to her biography, *Hopkins of the Mayflower: Portrait of a Dissenter*. She claims in her book that Stephen Hopkins was born [sic] on 29 October 1581 at Wortley, married Constance Dudley, was living in Wortley in 1608 (the "Men and Armour" list), and had children William and Stephen along with Constance and Giles.⁴

The alleged son William is based on Wotton-under-Edge records and does not need further comment since the Wortley origin will be disproven. The alleged son Stephen, however, should be mentioned. Hodges claims that Stephen, son of Stephen Hopkins, the *Mayflower* passenger, was baptized at St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, on 22 December 1609.⁵ This baptism actually occurred on 3 December 1609 at St. Katherine Coleman, London (not 22 December at St. Stephen's, Coleman Street). This child was buried at St. Katherine Coleman on 19 February 1609/10, and John, son of Stephen Hopkins, was baptized there on 14 April 1611.⁶ This second baptism eliminates the possibility that this is the correct family, for, as will be shown below, when the second child was conceived in 1610, the *Mayflower* passenger was in Virginia. The name *Stephen Hopkins* is fairly common, and I encountered no fewer than twelve individuals with this name living in England during the early 1600s, including four who were living in London.

The origin of the Constance Dudley myth is harder to explain, since there has never been any evidence to support it. It receives mention in Hodges's book, and even as recently as November 1997 an article in the *Mayflower Quarterly* accepts the Wortley origin as fact and adds that "it is the general consensus that she [Constance Dudley] was his wife," though "what seems to be in question is her rela-

³ Ralph D. Phillips, "Hopkins Family of Wortley, Gloucestershire: Possible Ancestry of Stephen Hopkins," TAG 39(1963):95-97.

⁴ Margaret Hodges, *Hopkins of the Mayflower: Portrait of a Dissenter* (New York, 1972), 7, 12-13, 66-67, 142; hereafter cited as Hodges, *Hopkins*.

⁵ Hodges, *Hopkins*, 142.

⁶ St. Katherine Coleman, London, parish register [Family History Library (FHL), Salt Lake City, film #560,022, item 1]. The mistake in the date of the 1609 baptism and in attributing it to St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, apparently originated in Banks, *English Ancestry*, 61.

tionship” to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.⁷ Even the Internet web pages of the Plimoth Plantation Museum (<http://www.plimoth.org/hopkins.htm>) have been tainted with this myth, claiming Stephen Hopkins was born [*sic*] at Wortley on 29 October 1581, and that his first wife “may have been named Constance.” In the midst of all this, it is well to note that the best modern genealogy of this family, by John D. Austin, FASG, in the *Mayflower Families Through Five Generations* series, mentions the claimed Gloucestershire origin as only a possibility and states that “no authority has been found for the oft-repeated identification of her [Stephen’s first wife] as Constance Dudley.”⁸

Now it is time to set the record straight and present documented evidence that Stephen Hopkins was not from Wortley, Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucestershire, but instead from Hursley, Hampshire, England. The parish registers of Hursley, searched and photocopied by Leslie Mahler at my request, contain the following baptismal entries, literally transcribed from the original Latin with my own translation appearing below:⁹

- [1604] decimo tercio die maij Elizabetha filia Stephani Hopkyns fuit baptizata
[13th day of May, Elizabeth daughter of Stephen Hopkins was baptized]
[1606] undecimo die Maij Constancia filia Steph Hopkyns fuit baptizata
[11th day of May, Constance daughter of Steph[en] Hopkins was baptized]
[1607/8] tricesima die Januarij Egidius filius Stephani Hopkyns fuit baptizatus
[30th day of January, Giles¹⁰ son of Stephen Hopkins was baptized]

The following burial record was also discovered, entered in English:

- [1613] Mary Hopkines the wife of Steeven Hopkines was buried the ix day of May

Governor William Bradford, in the *Mayflower* passenger list he wrote in the spring of 1651,¹¹ recorded the following:

⁷ Marian L. Worthen, “In Search of an Ancestor,” *The Mayflower Quarterly* 63(1997):345–47, at 345; other recent articles accepting the Wotton origin include Jack Curry Redman, “Stephen Hopkins, Triple-Founder,” *Mayflower Quart.* 51(1985):168–71; and Virginia W. Shaw, “A Visit to the Birthplace of Stephen Hopkins,” *Mayflower Quart.* 51(1985):172.

⁸ *Mayflower Families Through Five Generations*, 15 vols. to date (Plymouth, 1975–), hereafter cited as *Mayflower Fams. 5Gs.*, 6: Stephen Hopkins, by John D. Austin, 2nd ed. (Plymouth, 1995), 3–4, 7. Caution is also expressed in other careful works, including Mary Walton Ferris, *Dawes–Gates Ancestral Lines*, 2 vols. (n.p., 1931–43), 2:443 n.; Eugene Aubrey Stratton, *Plymouth Colony: Its History and People, 1620–1691* (Salt Lake City, 1986), 309; and Robert Charles Anderson, *The Great Migration Begins: Immigrants to New England, 1620–1633*, 3 vols. (Boston, 1995), 2:988 (hereafter cited as Anderson, *Great Migration Begins*). See also Robert S. Wakefield, “Wrestling² Brewster: An Old Hoax Resurfaces and Other Mayflower Family Fables,” *The Mayflower Descendant* [MD] 43(1993):13–14, at 14; and Alicia Crane Williams, review of Hodges, *Hopkins of the Mayflower*, MD 43:88.

⁹ Hursley, Hampshire, parish register [FHL film #1,041,201].

¹⁰ *Egidius* is the Latin form of the English name *Giles*.

¹¹ George Ernest Bowman shows that it was written between 24 Feb. 1650/[1] and 24 March 1651, which Bowman shifts to New Style: 6 March 1651 and 3 April 1651 (“The Date of Governor Bradford’s Passenger List,” MD 1[1899]:161–63).

Mr. Steven Hopkins, and Elizabeth, his wife, and ·2· children, caled Giles, and Constanta, a daughter, both by a former wife; and ·2· more by this wife, caled Damaris and Oceanus; the last was borne at sea; and ·2· servants, called Edward Doty and Edward Litster.¹²

And in his "decreasings and increasings," written about the same time, Bradford stated that:

Mr. Hopkins and his wife are now both dead, but they lived above ·20· years in this place, and had one sone and ·4· daughters borne here. Ther sone became a seaman, and dyed at Barbadoes; one daughter dyed here, and ·2· are married; one of them hath ·2· children; and one is yet to mary. So their increase which still survive are ·5· But his sone Giles is married and hath ·4· children.

His daughter Constanta is also married, and hath ·12· children, all of them living, and one of them married.¹³

Bradford's comments accord exactly with these parish register records. Stephen and Mary Hopkins of Hursley, Hampshire, were the parents of Elizabeth, Constance, and Giles. It should also be noted that both Constance and Giles named their first daughter Mary.

At my request, the Hampshire Record Office undertook a search for Hopkins probate records, and uncovered only one at Hursley—an administration on the estate of Mary Hopkins in 1613. Her estate inventory was dated 10 May 1613, and administration was granted on 12 May 1613 to "Roberto Lyte [vir] gard de hursly" and "Thome Syms vir supra[vi]sor p[er] pauper" during the minority of "Constance, Elize[beth] et Egidij" (in that order).¹⁴ The inventory follows [*the lineation of the heading and of the Latin statement of probate is indicated by slashes (/)*]:

An inventory of the goods and Chattells of / Mary Hopkins of Hursley in the Countie of / South[amp]ton widowe deceased taken [*interlined: & prized*] the tenth day / of May 1613 as followeth vitz.

Inprimis certen Beames in the garden & wood in the back side _____	ix ^s
It[e]m the ymplem[en]ts in the Be[-]ehouse _____	vj ^s
It[e]m certen things in the kitchin _____	iiij ^s
It[e]m in the hall one table, one Cupboorde & certen other things _____	vj ^s
It[e]m in the buttry six small vessells & some other small things _____	vj ^s
It[e]m brasse and pewter _____	xxij ^s
It[e]m in the Chamber over the shop two beds one table & a forme w th some other small things _____	xxj ^s
It[e]m in the Chamber over the hall one fetherbed & 3 Chests & one box _____	x ^s
It[e]m Lynnen & wearing apparrell _____	xij ^s
It[e]m in the shop one shopborde & a plank _____	xij ^d

¹² William Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation, 1620–1647*, ed. Worthington Chauncey Ford, 2 vols. (Boston, 1912), 2:400; hereafter cited as Bradford, *History of Plymouth*.

¹³ Bradford, *History of Plymouth*, 2:406–7.

¹⁴ Estate of Mary Hopkins 1613, Hampshire Record Office, Winchester, 1613AD/046.

It[e]m the Lease of the house wherin she
 Late dwelled _____ xij^{li}
 It[e]m in ready mony & in debts by specialitie &
 wthout specialitie _____ xvij^{li} xij^s
 S[umm]^a total[is] _____ xxv^{li} xj^s
 Gregory
 his mark [*star*] horwood
 William toot
 Rychard Wolle

Commissa fuit Admi:^o bonorum at Callorum' / Marie Hopkins nuper de Hursley vid' defunc[tae] / Roberto Lyte [vir] gard de hursly et / Thome Syms vir supra[vi]sor p[er] pauper' / [—] [—] de par[—] duran' minor' / Constance, Elize[beth] et Egidij liberor' / d[i]c[t]i def^t duodecimo die maij / Anno Dni' 1613 de bene & c p[er]sonalir' iur' & c / salve iure cuiuscumq' salvaq' potestate & c'

There are several important observations to be made about this inventory. One is the reference to the shop and the "shopborde" (what we would call a counter),¹⁵ which tells us that Mary and presumably her husband Stephen were shopkeepers. In addition, Mary is stated as having the lease on her dwelling at the time of her death, which may be a clue to her identity. Most striking, however, is that the estate inventory calls Mary Hopkins a widow, although her burial record calls her "wife," not widow. It would have been very unusual for an administration to have been granted on the estate of a woman whose husband was living (i.e., a *feme covert*), and Stephen was not dead, as he came on the *Mayflower* in 1620 with his children Constance and Giles. The solution to this odd puzzle is found in the facts that Stephen and Mary Hopkins stopped having children in 1608, and that there was a Stephen Hopkins aboard the *Sea Venture* which left for Virginia in 1609. If Mary's husband Stephen was in Virginia in 1613 and his condition was unknown, the court or the parish might well have found it expedient to assume he was dead in order to make the property available for his children's support. And that assumption was not an unlikely one: Mortality rates at Jamestown were extremely high.

Circumstantial evidence has always pointed to the likelihood that Stephen Hopkins of the *Mayflower* was the same man as Stephen Hopkins of the *Sea Venture*,¹⁶ and even as early as 1768 Thomas Hutchinson was speculating that the two men might be one and the same.¹⁷ These parish register entries and probate records provide the first historical documentation to support this belief.

The voyage of the *Sea Venture* in 1609 would be one for the history books. Wrecked by a hurricane in the "Isle of Devils" (i.e., the Bermudas), the one hun-

¹⁵ *Shop-board*: "A counter or table upon which a tradesman's business is transacted or upon which his goods are exposed to sale" (*Oxford English Dictionary*).

¹⁶ Rev. B. F. de Costa, "Stephen Hopkins of the Mayflower," *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* [NEHGR] 33(1879):300–5. This identification is accepted in Virginia M. Meyer, and John Frederick Dorman, eds., *Adventurers of Purse and Person, Virginia, 1607–1624/5*, 3rd ed. (n.p., 1987), 374–75.

¹⁷ Thomas Hutchinson, *The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay*, ed. Lawrence Shaw Mayo, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), 2:353.

dred fifty castaways survived for ten months on the abundant sea turtles, flightless birds, shellfish, and wild hogs. After about six months, Stephen Hopkins began to challenge the authority of the governor, and went as far as to organize a mutiny.¹⁸ What happened next, as Stephen was sentenced to death, is described by fellow *Sea Venture* passenger William Strachey [*emphasis added*]:

... therein did one Stephen Hopkins commence the first act or overture [of mutiny]: A fellow who had much knowledge of Scriptures, and could reason well therein, whom our Minister therefore chose to be his Clarke, to read the Psalmes, and Chapters upon Sondays . . . it pleased the Governour to let this his factious offence to have a publique affront, and contestation by these two witnesses before the whole Company, who (at the toling of a Bell) assemble before a Corps du guard, where the Prisoner was brought forth in manacles, and both accused, and suffered to make at large, to every particular, his answer; which was onely full of sorrow and teares, pleading simplicity, and deniall. But hee being onely found, at this time, both the Captaine, and the follower of this Mutinie, and generally held worthy to satisfie the punishment of his offence, with the sacrifice of his life, our Governour passed the sentence of a Martiall Court upon him, such as belongs to Mutinie and Rebellion. *But so penitent hee was, and made so much moane, alleading the ruine of his Wife and Children in this his trespasse*, as it wrought in the hearts of all the better sorts of the Company, who therefore with humble intreaties, and earnest supplications, went unto our Governour, whom they besought . . . and never left him untill we had got his pardon.¹⁹

The castaways would eventually manage to work together to complete construction of two ships, which they used to sail to Jamestown, Virginia, the next year.²⁰ Strachey's account would shortly thereafter come into the hands of William Shakespeare, and it became partly responsible for inspiring his play *The Tempest*, which was first performed in November 1611. *The Tempest* relates the story of a shipwrecked group stranded on an enchanted island. A side plot includes a drunken and mutinous butler, whom Shakespeare named Stephano.

There are a number of indications that Stephen¹ Hopkins of the *Mayflower* had had previous contact with American Indians. *Mourt's Relation* (1622) tells us that Hopkins was a member of an exploring expedition on Cape Cod in November 1620. The group "came to a tree where a young sprit [i.e., sapling] was bowen down over a bow, and some acorns strewed underneath. Stephen Hopkins said it had been to catch some deer."²¹ The same source says that in March 1620/1, the

¹⁸ William Thorndale points out that Strachey identifies Humfrey Reede and Samuel Sharpe as the two men to whom Hopkins broached the mutiny; given the tendency of "countrymen," as the word was used then, to associate with each other, we may have a clue to Reede's and Sharpe's origins.

¹⁹ William Strachey, *A True Reporatory of the Wracke and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates, Knight*. . . , in Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, 4 vols. (London, 1625), 4:1744; repr. 20 vols. (Glasgow, 1905), 19:30–32. A modernized version can be found in Louis B. Wright, ed., *A Voyage to Virginia in 1609* (Charlottesville, Va., 1964).

²⁰ The basic story of the *Sea Venture* is related in Avery Kolb, "The Tempest," *American Heritage* 34 no. 3(1983):26–35.

²¹ Dwight B. Heath, ed., *A Journal of the Pilgrims at Plymouth: Mourt's Relation* (New York, 1963), 23 (hereafter cited as Heath, *Mourt's Relation*); Da Costa, "Stephen Hopkins," *NEHGR* 33:304.

Pilgrims lodged the Indian Samoset with Hopkins,²² and Bradford states that in July 1621, Edward Winslow and Hopkins were sent with Squanto to visit Massasoit.²³ Thereafter he undertook such missions frequently.²⁴ The English evidence, the presence of a Stephen Hopkins in Virginia, the indication that shortly after landing the *Mayflower* man was able to recognize an Indian deer trap, and his being made one of the colony's representatives to deal with the natives, all support the conclusion that the *Mayflower* passenger and the man who was earlier in Virginia were identical. And, while it does not prove the connection, the man we now know led a mutiny in Bermuda managed to get into trouble with the Plymouth authorities several times in the 1630s, despite his high social standing.²⁵ On one of these occasions, we learn the sort of retail business Hopkins may have had when he was in Hampshire: On 4 September 1638, "M^r Steephen Hopkins" was fined "for selling wine, beere, strong waters, and nutmeggs at excessiue rates."²⁶

Now that Stephen Hopkins's claimed origin in Gloucestershire has been disposed of, the Hursley records given above provide most of the information known about his immediate family in England. However, a letter written by William Bradford on 8 September 1623 and brought to my attention by John C. Brandon shows that Stephen Hopkins had a brother in England who provided nails to the Pilgrims [*emphasis added*]:

About Hobkins and his men [Edward Doty and Edward Leister] we are come to this isew. the men we retain in the generall according to his resignation and equietie of the thinge. and about that reckoning of .20. ode pounds, we have brought it to this pass, he is to have . 6 .¹¹. payed by you ther, and the rest to be quite; *it is for nails and shuch other things as we have had of his brother here for the companies use, and upon promise of paymente by us, we desire you will accordingly doe it.*²⁷

Paul C. Reed was brought in at this point to conduct a thorough search of Hampshire records for information on Stephen Hopkins or his wife Mary's ancestry. Unfortunately, the search failed to turn up any conclusive proof on either count. The Hopkins families of Hampshire are found in three main regions: Andover and surrounding parishes, Isle of Wight, and Hursley–Winchester. The parish registers of Hursley, unfortunately, do not begin until January 1599/1600, and there is no mention of Hopkinses in the eleven wills surviving from the Peculiar Court of Hursley, 1566–1705; no wills in this court survive between 1599 and

²² Heath, *Mourt's Relation*, 52.

²³ Bradford, *History of Plymouth*, 1:219.

²⁴ Anderson, *Great Migration Begins*, 2:989.

²⁵ Anderson, *Great Migration Begins*, 2:989.

²⁶ Nathaniel B. Shurtleff and David Pulsifer, eds., *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth, in New England*, 12 vols. in 10 [Boston, 1855–61], 1:97; hereafter cited as Shurtleff and Pulsifer, *Plymouth Colony Records*.

²⁷ R. G. Marsden, "A Letter of William Bradford and Isaac Allerton," *American Historical Review* 8(1903):294–301. This portion of Bradford's letter is a response to a specific piece of business recorded in Charles Deane, "Records of the Council for New England," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* (Cambridge, Mass., 1867), 93–94.

1682. Hursley wills in the Consistory Court of Winchester and the Prerogative Court of Canterbury from this period were also read without finding any mention of Hopkines; there are no Hursley wills in the indexes of the Archdeaconry Court of Winchester from 1590 through 1613. Some significant clues were discovered, however, and are briefly summarized below.

Hursley had one manor at the time, Merdon; and Stephen Hopkins is mentioned in these records on "~~xx~~¹⁹" May 6 James I [1608] as one of the men who were penalized or fined.²⁸ The records are not clear as to why he was penalized. The name *Giles* was somewhat uncommon in the area. There were three men of that name in the 1598 lay subsidy of Hursley: Giles Hobby, Giles Kinge, and Giles Machilde;²⁹ no connections have yet been found to Stephen Hopkins or his wife Mary.

The name *Constance* was extremely rare in Hampshire, and only one occurrence of the name was found during the course of this research: the marriage of William Hopkins to Constance Marline at St. Swithin-over-Kingsgate, Winchester, Hampshire, on 16 April 1591.³⁰ The Soke of Winchester borders Hursley. The lay subsidies of Winchester list a John Hopkins in 1586, 1589, and 1590.³¹ On 4 October 1593, administration on the estate of John Hopkyns of Winchester was granted to the widow Elizabeth, W^m Hopkines posting bond; the inventory had been taken on the previous 10 September.³² It seems probable that William Hopkins was the son of John Hopkins of Winchester and that he was the William who married Constance Marline. Stephen Hopkins of Hursley and Plymouth may also be a son of John, though no direct evidence for this relationship has been found. Listed in the lay subsidies in 1589 and 1590 is Rainold Marlin, who may have been the father of the Constance Marline who married William Hopkins.³³

A Stephen Hopkins was named as a son in the 1636 will of Thomas Hopkins of Blashford in the parish of Ellingham on the Isle of Wight.³⁴ No records were found that could tie this Stephen Hopkins to the *Mayflower* pilgrim.

One additional clue deserves mention. On 20 September 1614, a letter was written to Sir Thomas Dale, Marshal of the Colony of Virginia, requesting that he "send home by the next ship Eliezer Hopkins."³⁵ It seems possible that Eliezer Hopkins of Jamestown in 1614 was related to Stephen.

²⁸ Merdon manorial court rolls [FHL film #1,471,826].

²⁹ Douglas F. Vick, *Central Hampshire Lay Subsidy Assessments, 1558-1603* (Farnham, Hants., n.d.); hereafter cited as Vick, *Central Hants. Subsidies*.

³⁰ St. Swithin-over-Kingsgate, Winchester, Hampshire, parish register [FHL film #1,041,221].

³¹ Vick, *Central Hants. Subsidies*, 29-30.

³² Winchester administrations [FHL film #197,336].

³³ Vick, *Central Hants. Subsidies*, 29-30.

³⁴ Archdeaconry Court of Winchester, original wills [FHL #186,925].

³⁵ Alexander Brown, comp., *The Genesis of the United States: A Narrative of the Movements in England Which Resulted in the Plantation of North America by Englishmen*. . . , 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1890), 2:736.

This article has shown that Stephen Hopkins was actually from Hursley, Hampshire, England, and that his first wife was named Mary. The baptisms of Constance and Giles have been revealed, and the additional child Elizabeth has been here identified for the first time. Evidence has been provided to document the long-standing belief that Stephen Hopkins of the *Mayflower* was the same man as Stephen Hopkins of the *Sea Venture*. And lastly the results of Paul C. Reed's search of Hampshire records have been presented, which provide some solid clues for future researchers.

SUMMARY

STEPHEN¹ HOPKINS was born probably in Hampshire, England, say 1578; the possibility that he was a son of John Hopkins of the city of Winchester merits further investigation. He died in Plymouth, now Massachusetts, between 6 June 1644, when he executed his will, and 17 July 1644, when the inventory of his estate was taken (see below). He married first, by 13 May 1604 (baptism of a child), MARY —, who was buried at Hursley, Hampshire, on 9 May 1613. He married secondly, at St. Mary Matfellow, Whitechapel, Middlesex, on 19 February 1617/8, ELIZABETH FISHER,³⁶ who died in Plymouth in the early 1640s, since Bradford stated that both Stephen Hopkins and his wife had "lived above 20 years in this place."³⁷ She was certainly dead when her husband executed his will.

"Steuën Hobkins" received six acres in the 1623 division of land, indicating five people in his household (since Stephen should have had an extra share).³⁸ In the Division of Cattle, 22 May 1627, the seventh lot "fell to Stephen Hopkins & his companie Joyned to him": wife Elizabeth Hopkins, Gyles Hopkins, Caleb Hopkins, Debora Hopkins, Nickolas Snow, Constance Snow, Wil[l]iam Pallmer, Frances Pallmer, Wil[l]iam Pallmer Jr., John Billington Sr., Hellen Billington, and Francis Billington.³⁹

Stephen Hopkins, "being weake," executed his will on 6 June 1644. He asked to be "buried as neare as convenyently may be to my wyfe Deceased," and mentioned his son Giles; Giles's son Stephen; daughter Constanc[e] Snow, wife of Nicholas Snow; daughter Deborah Hopkins; daughter Damaris Hopkins; daughter

³⁶ Banks, *English Ancestry*, 61. Given Banks's confusion between the London parishes of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, and St. Katherine Coleman, and his providing an erroneous date (22 Dec. 1609 rather than 3 Dec.), it might be worthwhile to reconfirm this entry.

³⁷ Bradford, *History of Plymouth*, 2:406. *Mayflower Fams. 5Gs.*, 6:7, states that she died after 4 Feb. 1638/9. We have not been able to find a primary source that she was alive on this specific date. 4 Feb. 1638/9 is the date of the Plymouth court session that weighed the situation of Stephen Hopkins's pregnant servant, Dorothy Temple; Stephen's wife is not mentioned (Shurtleff and Pulsifer, *Plymouth Colony Records*, 1:111-13).

³⁸ Shurtleff and Pulsifer, *Plymouth Colony Records*, 12:4; Robert S. Wakefield, "The 1623 Plymouth Land Division," *Mayflower Quart.* 40(1974):7-13, 55-59, at 10.

³⁹ Shurtleff and Pulsifer, *Plymouth Colony Records*, 12:11.

Ruth; daughter Elizabeth; and Caleb Hopkins, "my sonn and heire apparent." The inventory was taken on 17 July 1644, and the will was proved on 20 August 1644. Verbatim transcripts of both the will and inventory are readily available.⁴⁰

The portions of the estate for the daughters Deborah, Damaris, Ruth, and Elizabeth were divided "equally by Capt Myles Standish [and] Caleb Hopkins their brother" at a date not given, and an agreement was reached on 30 9th month [Nov.] 1644 between Capt. Myles Standish and Caleb Hopkins with Richard Sparrow that Sparrow would have "Elizabeth Hopkins as his owne child untill the tyme of her marriage or untill shee be nineteene years of age," noting "the weaknes of the Child and her inabillytie to p[er]forme such service as may acquite their charge in bringing of her up and that shee bee not too much oppressed now in her childhood wth hard labour. . . ." On 15 8th month [Oct.] 1644, Richard Sparrow acknowledged receiving "the half of a Cow from Capt Miles Standish w^{ch} is Ruth Hopkins," and on 19 May 1647, Myles Standish acknowledged receiving "two young steers in full Satisfaction for halfe a Cow which was Ruth hopkins which Richard Sparrow bought of me. . . ."⁴¹

The "Cattle that goeth under the Name of Elizabeth hopkines" were valued on 29 7th month [Sept.] 1659, and an inventory of her estate was taken on 6 October 1659. On 5 October, the court ordered that, "incase Elizabeth hopkins Doe Come Noe more," the cattle be awarded to Gyles Hopkins, and that he not "[d]emaund of; or molest . . . Andrew Ringe or Jacob Cooke in the peacable enjoyment of that which they have of the estate of Elizabeth hopkins."⁴²

Children of Stephen¹ and Mary (—) Hopkins, all baptized at Hursley:⁴³

- i ELIZABETH² HOPKINS, bp. 13 May 1604, living in 1613 when she was mentioned in her mother's estate records; no further record found.
- ii CONSTANCE HOPKINS, bp. 11 May 1606; m. NICHOLAS¹ SNOW, by 22 May 1627, when they appeared in Stephen Hopkins's "companie" in the division of cattle.
- iii GILES HOPKINS, bp. 30 Jan. 1607/8; m. Plymouth, 9 Oct. 1639, CATHERINE² WHELDEN (*Gabriel*¹).⁴⁴

⁴⁰ George Ernest Bowman, "The Will and Inventory of Stephen Hopkins," MD 2(1900):12-17; C. H. Simmons Jr., ed., *Plymouth Colony Records*, 1(Camden, Maine, 1996):129-33 (hereafter cited as Simmons, *Plymouth Colony Records*).

⁴¹ George Ernest Bowman, "The Portions of Stephen Hopkins' Daughters, and the Estate of Elizabeth² Hopkins," MD 4(1902):114-19, at 114-17; Simmons, *Plymouth Colony Records*, 1:137-39.

⁴² Bowman, ". . . Estate of Elizabeth² Hopkins," MD 4:118-19.

⁴³ For further details on the children of both marriages, see *Mayflower Fams. 5Gs.*, 6:7-14, and Anderson, *Great Migration Begins*, 2:986-89; we have followed Anderson's "say" birth years, except for Caleb, whose birth year Anderson places as "say 1624." Researchers should also consult George Ernest Bowman's discussion of the Hopkins children ("The Mayflower Genealogies: Stephen Hopkins and His Descendants," MD 5[1903]:47-53).

⁴⁴ Shurtleff and Pulsifer, *Plymouth Colony Records*, 1:134. For the Wheldens, see Maclean W. McLean, "John and Mary (Folland) Whelden of Yarmouth, Mass.," TAG 48(1972):4-11, 81-88; McLean accepts Catherine (Whelden) Hopkins as a daughter of Gabriel¹ Whelden of Yar-

Children of Stephen and Elizabeth (Fisher) Hopkins:

- iv DAMARIS HOPKINS, b. say 1618, d. before 22 May 1627 (division of cattle). Either Damaris or Oceanus must have d. before the 1623 land division, which indicates, as Robert Wakefield has shown, that there were then five members in Stephen¹ Hopkins's family.⁴⁵
- v OCEANUS HOPKINS, b. on the *Mayflower* between 6 Sept. and 11 Nov. 1620 (Old Style), the dates that the ship was at sea, d. before 22 May 1627 (division of cattle) and possibly before the 1623 land division.
- vi CALEB HOPKINS, b. say 1623, living Plymouth, 30 Nov. 1644, when he signed an agreement with Richard Sparrow to rear his sister Elizabeth, d. Barbados, before spring 1651, when Bradford called him deceased.
- vii DEBORAH HOPKINS, b. Plymouth, say 1626; m. Plymouth, 23 April 1646, ANDREW² RING (*widow Mary*¹).⁴⁶
- viii DAMARIS HOPKINS (again), b. Plymouth, say 1628 (after 22 May 1627 [division of cattle]); m. shortly after 10 June 1646 (antenuptial agreement), JACOB² COOKE (*Francis*¹ of the *Mayflower*).⁴⁷
- ix RUTH HOPKINS, b. say 1630 (after 22 May 1627 [division of cattle]), d. unmarried after [30 Nov.?] 1644 (distribution of father's estate) and before spring 1651 (since Elizabeth must be the unmarried sister mentioned by Bradford).
- x ELIZABETH HOPKINS (again), b. say 1632 (after 22 May 1627 [division of cattle]). She had left Plymouth by 29 7m [Sept.] 1659, when the process of settling her estate began; the records, however, are careful not to state that she was dead.

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mouth, Lynn, and Malden, Mass., but points out that explicit evidence for this relationship has not been found (TAG 48:4-5).

⁴⁵ Wakefield, "1623 Plymouth Land Division," *Mayflower Quart.* 40:8, 10.

⁴⁶ Shurtleff and Pulsifer, *Plymouth Colony Records*, 2:98. For the Rings, see John Insley Coddington, "The Widow Mary Ring, of Plymouth, Mass., and Her Children," TAG 42(1966): 193-205; and Anderson, *Great Migration Begins*, 3:1586-88.

⁴⁷ "Plymouth Colony Deeds," MD 2(1900):27-28. For this Cooke family, see *Mayflower Families Through Five Generations*, 12: Francis Cooke, by Ralph Van Wood Jr. (Camden, Maine, 1996); and Anderson, *Great Migration Begins*, 1:467-71.