

The American Genealogist

Whole Number 310

Vol. 78, No. 2

April 2003

THE MARRIAGE OF RICHARD¹ WARREN OF THE *MAYFLOWER*

By Edward J. Davies

[*Editors' Note:* For many years, one of the most vexatious problems in *Mayflower* genealogy has been the origin of Richard¹ Warren and the identity of his wife, Elizabeth. All that was actually known about their background was that Richard Warren was a London merchant.

The most frequent statements about the identity of his wife are that she was an *Ivatt* or a *Juatt*—the letters *I* and *J* were interchangeable, as were *v* and *u*—or a *Marsh*, or both. The assertion that she was Elizabeth (Juatt) Marsh is found as far back as the 1854 Warren genealogy by Dr. John Collins Warren,¹ apparently from information provided by Horatio Gates Somerby. These statements are analyzed by John Ward Dean and J. Granville Leach in footnotes to Mrs. Washington A. Roebling's 1901 article on Richard Warren² and by George E. McCracken, FASG, in the April 1976 issue of TAG.³ The apparent origin of *Juatt/Ivatt* and *Marsh* is a pedigree "ins[erte]d by a later hand" in the 1620 Visitation of Devon; it shows that a Richard Warren of Greenwich, co. Kent, married Elizabeth, daughter of — Ivatt and widow of — Marsh.⁴ McCracken states that Mrs. Arlene M. Skehan found the marriage [license] of "Francis March, Aldgate, gent., of Stepney, bachelor, [aged] 26, and Elizabeth Ivatt, of St. Botolph, Aldgate, spinster, [aged] 15, daughter of Oliver Ivatt, deceased, consent of Hugh Bourman her father-in-law [i.e., stepfather]—at Westham, Essex [license granted] 20 Aug. 1629."⁵ If this is the first marriage, as it appears to be, of the woman who later married the Greenwich Richard Warren, then that Richard must have married Elizabeth (Ivatt) Marsh/March after the death of the *Mayflower* passenger in 1628. Despite the fact that this identification of the wife of Richard¹ Warren of the *Mayflower* was questioned in 1901 and shown almost certainly to be wrong in 1976, it is still repeated.

¹ John C. Warren, *Genealogy of Warren, with Some Historical Sketches* (Boston, 1854), 54, 100.

² Mrs. Washington A. Roebling, "Richard Warren of the Mayflower, and Some of His Descendants," *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 55(1901):70–78, 161–70, at 71.

³ George E. McCracken, "President Grant's Ancestry: Aftermath," TAG 52(1976):88–90, at 89.

⁴ Frederic Thomas Colby, ed., *The Visitation of the County of Devon in the Year 1620*, Harleian Soc. Pubs., 6(London, 1872):299–300, 354.

⁵ This is actually a marriage license; it appears in Joseph Foster, ed., *London Marriage Licences, 1521–1869 . . . from Excerpts by the late Col. [Joseph Lemuel] Chester, D.C.L.* (London, 1887), col. 884. Using this work, we have slightly corrected Mrs. Skehan's reading.

The most recent discussion of Richard¹ Warren is that by Robert Charles Anderson, FASG, in *The Great Migration Begins*. He notes that “[m]any attempts, all fruitless, have been made to discover the English origin of Richard Warren and the identity of his wife.”⁶ This last December, however, Edward J. Davies of Leeds, England, posted information on the Internet that appears to solve the problem of Elizabeth’s identity; later he submitted an article on his discoveries to *The American Genealogist*. We are pleased to publish it here.]

Richard¹ Warren, one of the passengers on the *Mayflower* in 1620, was married to a woman named Elizabeth. In the past, more than one maiden surname has been claimed for her, but the suggestions have not been supported by any reasonable evidence.

In 1650 in his *History of Plymouth Plantation*, William Bradford listed the *Mayflower* passengers and included their “increasings and decreasings”; for Richard Warren, he noted that:

Mr. Richard Warren lived some ·4· or ·5· years [after the arrival of the *Mayflower*], and had his wife come over to him, by whom he had ·2· sons before [he] dyed; and one of them is maryed, and hath ·2· children. So his increase is ·4·[.] But he had ·5· daughters more came over with his wife, who are all married, and living, and have many children.⁷

Banks believed that this wording indicated that the mother of Richard’s sons was not the mother of his daughters, though the evidence for this theory seems to have been overstated.⁸ Bradford’s language may be only to distinguish between children born after and children born before immigration. Banks uses the fact that Elizabeth survived until 1673 (nearly half a century after the death of her husband) to support his suggestion, but she was described as being “aged about 90 yeares” at the time of her death⁹ and would have been easily old enough to be the mother of all Richard Warren’s children.

The parish registers of Great Amwell in Hertfordshire show that a Richard Warren married an Elizabeth Walker on 14 April 1610.¹⁰ No baptisms of any children of this couple are recorded in the Great Amwell parish registers, but the will of Elizabeth’s father, Augustine Walker, shows that Richard and Elizabeth

⁶ Robert Charles Anderson, *The Great Migration Begins: Immigrants to New England, 1620–1633*, 3 vols. (Boston, 1995), 3:1935–37, at 1937.

⁷ William Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation 1620–1647*, ed. Worthington Chauncey Ford, 2 vols. (Boston, 1912), 2:407.

⁸ Charles Edward Banks, *The English Ancestry and Homes of the Pilgrim Fathers* (New York, 1929; repr. with additions and corrections, Baltimore, 1980), 92.

⁹ Nathaniel B. Shurtleff and David Pulsifer, eds., *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England*, 12 vols. in 10 (Boston, 1855–61), 8:35 (hereafter cited as Shurtleff and Pulsifer, *Plymouth Colony Records*).

¹⁰ Great Amwell, Herts., parish registers (Society of Genealogists, London, microfilm #1845). See also Stephen G. Doree, ed., *The Parish Register and Tithing Book of Thomas Hassall of Amwell*, Hertfordshire Record Soc. Pubs., 5(1989):157 (hereafter cited as Doree, *Amwell Parish Register*).

(Walker) Warren had a family that fits very well with what is known of the family of the *Mayflower* passenger.

An account of the children of Richard Warren of the *Mayflower* is given by Robert S. Wakefield.¹¹ The order of birth of the daughters appears to be: first Mary, second Ann(a), third Sarah, fourth Elizabeth, and fifth Abigail. This is the order in which they are listed in the 1627 division of cattle¹² and in a codicil to the will of their brother Nathaniel Warren.¹³ At the death of the first known child, Mary (Warren) Bartlett, on 27 March 1683, she was said to be "in her 73d yeare."¹⁴ If this is accurate, it gives a birthdate of 1610 or 1611, which is an excellent fit with the marriage date of Richard and Elizabeth (Walker) Warren. The second child of the *Mayflower* passenger was Ann or Anna (Warren) Little. She deposed on 6 June 1672 "aged sixty yeares or therabouts,"¹⁵ which provides a birthdate of about 1611 or 1612.

The will of Augustine Walker of "much" Amwell was dated 19 April 1613; there is no date of probate on the will or in the act book.¹⁶ It states, "I give & bequeath unto my daughter Elizabeth Warren wife of Richard Warren Sixteene pounds of lawefull money of England, and unto her three Children Marey, Ann and Sarey Warren Fower pounds. . . ."¹⁷ These three children have the same names and are listed in the same order as the first three children known for the immigrant Richard¹ Warren. Since their parents were married in 1610 and they were named in their maternal grandfather's will of 1613, the dates of birth of these daughters can be stated reasonably accurately, and match very closely what is known of the dates of birth of the daughters of Richard Warren, the *Mayflower* passenger. (Since Richard Warren and his wife Elizabeth (Walker) had three children in three years, Elizabeth may have used wet nurses—though there are other possibilities.) It is unfortunate that the first three daughters each had a com-

¹¹ Robert S. Wakefield, *Mayflower Families Through Five Generations, Volume Eighteen Part One, Family of Richard Warren* (Plymouth, 1999), 1–10 (hereafter cited as Wakefield, *Richard Warren*).

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

¹³ George Ernest Bowman, "The Will and Inventory of Nathaniel Warren," *The Mayflower Reader*, ed. Ruth Wilder Sherman (Baltimore, 1978), 61–65 at 64 (reprinted from *The Mayflower Descendant* 2[1900]:36–40): "my sisters Mary Bartlett seni^r Ann Little Sarah Cooke Elizabeth Church and Abigaill Snow."

¹⁴ *Plymouth Church Records, 1620–1859, Part I*, Colonial Soc. of Mass. Pubs., 22(1920): 250.

¹⁵ Wakefield, *Richard Warren*, 4.

¹⁶ F. G. Emmison, ed., *Index to Wills at Chelmsford (Essex and East Hertfordshire)*, vol. 1, Index Library, 78(London, 1958):vii, 441.

¹⁷ Court of the Bishop of London's Commissary, Essex and Herts (Essex Record Office, D/ABW 41/186).

mon name, unlike the rarer name *Abigail*, which was given to a later daughter of the immigrant.

Richard¹ Warren of the *Mayflower* was described as "of London."¹⁸ Unfortunately, Augustine Walker's will does not give Richard Warren's residence. Great Amwell, however, had clear connections with London. The parish was situated on two major routes leading from the capital city: the River Lea and the Old North Road.¹⁹ There are many references in the Great Amwell parish registers to people from London, including some connected with Augustine Walker himself. In 1603 Susan Addams, "a maiden borne in Amwell dwellinge at London died heere at Augustine Walkkar's" and "Marye surnamed Fanchurch, a child of the hospitall in London, was buried from Augustine Walkkar's of Amwell."²⁰ Another connection is the appointment in Augustine's will of Simon Adams, citizen of London, as an overseer.

Augustine Walker was buried at Great Amwell on 18 August 1614 as "Austen Walkkar of Amwell Streete an owld man."²¹ His widow Mary was buried at Great Amwell on 26 December of the same year,²² but she was evidently not the mother of Elizabeth (Walker) Warren. Augustine Walker and Mary Stringer were married at Great Amwell on 27 June 1597.²³ Mary's will, dated 23 December 1614 and proved on 10 January 1614/5, does not name Augustine's children, but does refer to the "legacies of my husband Augustine Walkkar lately deceased."²⁴

An Elizabeth, daughter of Augustine Walker, was baptized at Baldock, Hertfordshire, approximately fifteen miles from Great Amwell, in September 1583.²⁵ The children of Augustine Walker of Great Amwell mentioned in his will are: Elizabeth, wife of Richard Warren; Ann, wife of Thomas Holland; and Mary Johnson. No record of the baptisms of Ann or Mary was found in the Baldock parish registers. A Dorothy daughter of Augustine Walker, baptized there in 1573,²⁶ could be the Dorothy Walker who married Edward Grave at Great Amwell in 1595.²⁷ If the Elizabeth Walker baptized at Baldock was baptized soon

¹⁸ *A Relation or Journall of the Beginning and Proceedings of the English Plantation Settled at Plimoth . . .* (London, 1622), 15. The preface of this anonymous work is signed by "G. MOVRT"; hence, it is usually called *Mourt's Relation*. "G. Mourt" was apparently George Morton, who arrived in Plymouth in 1623, having arranged the publication of the *Relation* the previous year; the work, however, was primarily written by Edward Winslow.

¹⁹ Doree, *Amwell Parish Register*, ix.

²⁰ Doree, *Amwell Parish Register*, 80.

²¹ Doree, *Amwell Parish Register*, 94.

²² Doree, *Amwell Parish Register*, 94.

²³ Great Amwell parish registers.

²⁴ Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 3 Rudd.

²⁵ Baldock, Herts., parish registers (Society of Genealogists, London, microfilm #1862).

²⁶ Baldock parish registers.

²⁷ Great Amwell parish registers.

after birth, then she would have been ninety years old in October 1673, which would fit with the age of "aboue 90 yeares" given for the immigrant Richard Warren's widow.

It is clear from the above that there are good reasons to identify the immigrants Richard¹ Warren and his wife Elizabeth with Richard and Elizabeth (Walker) Warren. As far as is known, there is nothing inconsistent with the identification. It is hoped that those interested in the family of the *Mayflower* passenger will find further evidence about the origin and ancestry of Richard¹ Warren and his wife.

APPENDIX: THE WILL OF AUGUSTINE WALKER

[*emphasis added*]

In the name of god amen The xixth daye of Aprill in the yeere of oure lord god .1613. and in the yeeres of the raigne of our sovraigne Lord James by the grace of god of England Fraunce and Ireland the eleventh and of Sco[tl]and the six and fortieth kinge defender of the faith. I Augustine Walker of much Amwell in the Com of Herts: yeoma[n] now beinge in good health and of p[er]fect memorie thankes be unto the lorde therefore; doe make and ordayne this my last Will & Testament, in manner and forme followinge (vizt) First I com[m]end my Soule into the hands of the Allmightie god my Creato^r, not doubtinge to obtayne free remission of my sines by and through the death and demeryts [*sic*] of my saviour Christ Jesus Alsoe I bequeath my bodie to xpian buriall, to be buried in the Church or Church yearde of much Amwell aforesaide, as to my Executrix shall be best beseemeinge And as touching the disposinge of such temporall goods wherewth the lorde hath endued mee I give and bequeath them in manner and forme as followeth (vizt) *First I give & bequeath unto my daughter Elizabeth Warren wife of Richard Warren Sixteene pounds of lawefull money of England, and unto her three Children Marey, Ann and Sarey Warren Fower pounds of like Englishe money equally betwixt them three to be devyded and to be payde unto the saide Richard Warren to the use of the saide child[ren] and the survivour or survivours of them* Alsoe I give to Thomas, John, and Frauncis Holland children of Thomas Holland & of my daughter Ann his wife, Twentie shillinges apeece, And unto that Childe, whether sone or daughter, wherewth the saide Ann is now conceyved Twenty shillinges Alsoe unto her the said Ann, wife of the saide Thomas Holland, Twenty shillinges wth severall Leagacies I will to be payed unto the saide Thomas Holland the Father to the use of his afore saide Wife & Children and the survyvo^r of them Alsoe I give to my daughter Mary Johnson Twenty shillinges Alsoe I give to Symon Adams sone of Symon Adams Citizen & drap[er] of London Twentie shillinges And to Dorotheie his daughter Twentie shilling[s] and a Gymmoll-Ringe of gold w^{ch} was her mothers. Which Legacyes I will shalbe payed and delyvered unto the saide Symon Adams the Father, to thuse [i.e., the use] of his saide Children The rest & reasidue of my goods and Chattels, after my debts and Leagacyes payde & my Funerall charges discharged I give and bequeath as followeth (vizt) *Thone [i.e., the one] half of my saide goods & chattells unto my afore saide daughter Elizabeth and her Children, to be payde & delyvered unto them and the survivour or survivors of them or eyther of them after the decease of Marey my wife; And the residue (vizt) the other halfe of my goods & chattells unto the saide Marey my wife Ordayninge and makeing her the the [*sic*] saide Marey my Wife my full sole & only Executrix of this my last Will & Testam^{te}, Orderinge & further ordayninge, that, half of that half p[ar]t of such my goods & chattells (as after my decease) shall remayne undispoosed in the hand or possession of Mary my now Wif: shall (after her death & decease) of right be due & belonginge Unto Elizab: Warren, Wife of thafore named Rich: Warren, my daughter or to her*

then lawfull survyvant heire or Assigne whatsoever Alsoe I give unto Thomas Hassall Vicar of much Amwell afore saide Tenn shillinges of lawfull englishe money to preach one Sermond at my funerall in Amwell Church afore saide Alsoe unto the poore of the saide Towne of much Amwell my Will is to have given and distributed at my buriall Five shillinges And I appoynte the afore named Symon Adams thelder Cittizen and drap[er] of London to be my lawfull Overseer of this my last will and Testament, And for his paynes therein to be taken I give him Tenn shillinges In wyttnesse whereof to this my last will & Testam^{te} contayninge Only On[e] sheete

The markes of Augustine Walker

and twoe lynes of paper I have here unto sett my usuall marke²⁸ & seale, the daye and yeeres²⁹ first above written

The marke of Augustine Walker.

Signed & sealed in the p[rese]nce
of us whose names are hereunto
subscribed Thomas Holmested
Thomas Robarts John Larke

[no date of probate]

Edward J. Davies (11 Cavendish Road, Guiseley, Leeds, LS20 8DW, UK) may be contacted at this address or at <edwarddavies@guiseley94.freemove.co.uk>.

²⁸ Despite these words—doubtless those of the scribe—the will contains three marks made by Augustine Walker, all quite different; two are given in the first subscription, and one in the second.

²⁹ This word is plural, probably because the will uses both the AD year and the regnal year.

CHERISHED FAMILY MEMORIES

Contributed by Leslie Mahler

When Charles Southall of St. Giles in the Fields, Middlesex, gent., wrote his will on 1 June 1665, he took some time to remember his daughter “who notwithstanding my absolute prohibicon did dare to marry with the said Briscoe,” and had later “in a violent manner knocking and raising a tumult at my doore and struck her mother upon the head and scratched her by the face who had tenderly brought her upp from the cradle and most brutishly broak the windowes of the houses” and then proceeded “until I was arrested and by the Baylife dragged out of my house to prison.” He noted that “although I have forgiven them yet I thought it very fitt to publish this much for example sake to deterr others from committing the like crimes of ingratitude and disobedience against their Parents.”¹

3260 Meridian Ave., San Jose CA 95124

¹ Commissary Court of London, registered wills, vol. 36, f. 231 [Family History Library, Salt Lake City, film #94,116].